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CONTENTS

Column

Working Hours under the COVID-19 Pandemic in Japan: Reviewing Changes by Situation Phase during and after the 2020 State of Emergency Declaration

TAKAMI Tomohiro

I. Introduction

This column discusses how working hours changed by COVID-19 spread during the State of Emergency Declaration (April 7–May 25) and up to July in 2020. The Japan Institute for Labour Policy and Training (JILPT) examined the changes by situation phase based on a series of questionnaire survey "Survey on the Impact That Spreading Novel Coronavirus Infection Has on Work and Daily Life."[1] It especially focused on the decreases in working hours that hit bottom during the declaration and subsequent delays in recovery as economic activity returned.

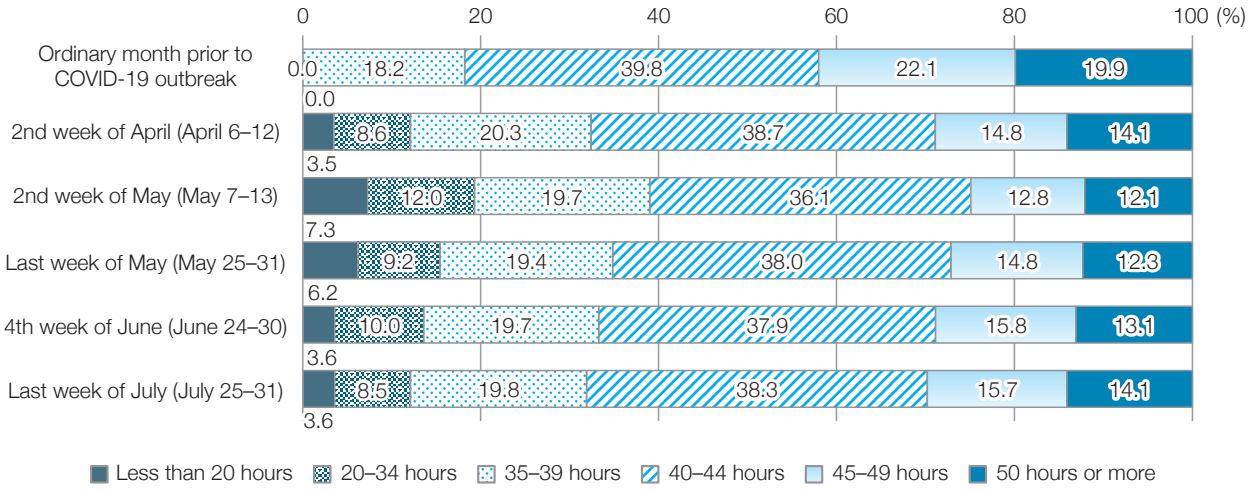
Up to the end of 2020, no broad increase in the unemployment rate was observed as the COVID-19 pandemic's impact on employment and labor according to official statistics. However, the number of employed persons at work (i.e., the population of people actually working) temporarily fell significantly, as, for example, a large increase was seen in that of employed persons not at work which peaked in April 2020.[2]

Shortened working hours is also a major aspect. For one thing, overtime work was drastically curtailed as a way of adjusting company employment, and a decreasing trend on overtime work continues even after the end of the declaration.[3] In addition, there were cases in which working hours were significantly reduced due to the shortening of not only overtime but also scheduled working hours per day and to reduced workdays.[4] There were also not a few workers, especially female workers, being forced to reduce their working hours due to the school closures.

Such reductions in working hours had a major impact on working people's daily living with reduced pay and other consequences.[5] It also has a direct impact on their health and welfare in such areas as psychological well-being. Thus, whether or not working hours were maintained should be discussed in terms of decent working conditions under the COVID-19 related recession. The discussion of this column is based on the analysis of the August data from the abovementioned survey. The results show that hours worked decreased significantly in April and May 2020 and later entered a recovering trend up until the last week of July that year, but they have not yet returned to their pre-pandemic level. Who suffered significant decreases in working hours? And who experienced sluggish recovery? This column considers these questions by focusing on people who were employed full-time before the pandemic.

II. Overall trends of hours worked for full-time employees

Taking a look at hours worked per week from April up until the end of July 2020 based on the surveys' data, let us examine how the distribution of working hours has changed for those who worked full-time (namely, people whose hours worked per week were 35 hours or more) before the pandemic. The data provides information of hours worked at five time points according to the May and August surveys (Figure 1).[6]



Source: The author, based on JILPT (2020a).

Figure 1. Distribution of hours worked among pre-COVID full-time workers (N=1,785)

Looking at hours worked in the second week of April, which was during the state of emergency declaration, hours worked decreased greatly overall, with the percentages of "45–49 hours" and "at 50 hours or more" which decreased markedly in comparison with the pre-pandemic ordinary month before the pandemic. The other characteristic is that those whose working hours fell under 35 hours per week ("under 20 hours" and "20–34 hours") are seen in a certain percentage, and they increased in the second week of May.[7]

The state of emergency declaration was lifted in stages with the final phase ending on May 25. While a recovery trend in working hours is observed within the overall trend following the declaration's end, working hours did not returned to their pre-pandemic levels at the last week of July. Its recovery is still on the way.

III. Differences in fall and recovery of hours worked due to personal attributes and work characteristics

Then, which groups saw their working hours fall most notably during the pandemic in 2020? The following discussion focuses on differences that come from personal attributes and work characteristics. Table 1 shows the average hours worked per week before the pandemic (ordinary month) and the amount of change in working hours compared to the pre-pandemic ordinary month (difference in hours worked per week) at five time points ("second week of April," "second week of May," "last week of May," "fourth week of June," and "last week of July").

Not everyone experienced the same number of decreases in working hours. There are groups with large decreases in working hours and groups with almost no decreases. Specifically, differences in the fluctuation of working hours can be seen depending on sex, the existence of minor children (dependent children under the age of 18),[8] educational attainment, type of employment, industry, occupation, size of enterprise, possession of managerial position, individual annual income before the pandemic, and region of residence. For example, looking at difference in industries, major decreases are observed particularly in April and May in industries such as "accommodations, eating and drinking services" and "services." Looking at difference in occupations, decreases are large particularly for workers engaged in "sales," "service," and "transport and machine operation." And looking at difference in regions, decreases are large in the "Tokyo metropolitan area (four prefectures)" and the "Kansai area (three prefectures)" in comparison with "others."

Looking at difference regarding categories of

Table 1. Hours worked per week before the pandemic (ordinary month) and differences with pre-pandemic working hours at each time point during the pandemic (people who were employed full-time before the pandemic) (N=1,785)

		Hours worked per week before the pandemic (ordinary month)	Difference with pre-pandemic working hours at each time point (number of hours)					N
			2nd week of April	2nd week of May	Last week of May	4th week of June	Last week of July	
Total		45.5	−3.6	−5.7	−4.9	−3.9	−3.6	1,785
Age group	20–29 years old	45.0	−4.8	−6.7	−6.6	−4.6	−3.9	227
	30–39 years old	46.0	−4.4	−6.3	−5.3	−4.3	−4.1	384
	40–49 years old	46.0	−3.3	−5.4	−5.1	−4.3	−3.8	577
	50–59 years old	45.5	−3.2	−5.6	−3.9	−3.1	−2.7	460
	60–64 years old	43.4	−2.8	−4.4	−3.4	−3.1	−3.1	137
Sex	Male	46.4	−3.4	−5.1	−4.0	−3.3	−3.0	1,190
	(with minor child)	47.0	−3.4	−4.8	−3.5	−2.9	−2.7	(386)
	Female	43.7	−4.2	−6.9	−6.7	−5.2	−4.7	595
	(with minor child)	43.1	−4.3	−6.2	−10.0	−7.8	−7.5	(109)
Educational attainment	Junior high school/high school graduate	45.5	−3.1	−5.3	−4.5	−3.9	−3.6	529
	Specialized training college/Junior college graduate	45.4	−4.0	−6.9	−6.6	−5.5	−5.2	340
	University/Graduate school graduate	45.6	−3.8	−5.5	−4.5	−3.3	−2.9	916
Type of employment	Regular employees	46.1	−3.5	−5.4	−4.6	−3.7	−3.4	1,535
	Non-regular employees	42.0	−4.3	−7.6	−6.5	−5.2	−4.4	250
Industry	Construction	46.5	−2.3	−3.1	−2.3	−1.4	−1.4	133
	Manufacturing	45.4	−2.9	−4.9	−4.7	−4.4	−4.5	548
	Electricity, gas, heat supply and water	46.6	−1.4	−2.7	−3.8	−3.9	−4.2	32
	Information and communications	44.7	−2.3	−3.3	−2.7	−2.6	−2.1	130
	Transport	47.8	−3.4	−6.1	−5.8	−4.7	−4.5	133
	Wholesale and retail trade	45.8	−4.6	−6.5	−5.3	−4.3	−3.6	210
	Finance and insurance	45.4	−5.0	−8.6	−6.0	−3.2	−2.3	109
	Real estate	45.2	−5.0	−7.9	−3.9	−2.3	−2.0	42
	Accommodations, eating and drinking services	46.8	−9.0	−15.1	−11.0	−8.1	−6.7	36
	Medical, health care and welfare	43.6	−1.1	−1.3	−2.6	−2.4	−2.3	157
	Education, learning support	43.3	−4.8	−7.7	−5.6	−4.1	−2.5	32
	Postal services, cooperative associations	41.6	−0.3	−0.3	−3.8	−3.8	−3.8	17
	Services	45.9	−6.9	−10.4	−7.7	−5.4	−4.2	206
Occupation	Administrative and managerial workers (section manager level or higher)	46.6	−3.0	−4.9	−2.6	−1.6	−1.4	243
	Professional and engineering workers	45.8	−2.6	−3.3	−3.4	−3.2	−2.8	346
	Clerical workers	43.4	−2.7	−5.2	−4.8	−3.9	−3.5	478
	Sales workers	47.2	−6.2	−8.6	−7.0	−5.1	−4.1	242
	Service workers	45.7	−8.1	−11.2	−8.0	−5.5	−4.4	119
	Security workers	48.3	−3.8	−4.2	−3.8	−2.9	−1.7	12
	Production/skilled workers	44.9	−3.1	−6.1	−6.0	−5.6	−6.0	209
	Transport and machine operation workers	50.0	−5.0	−7.6	−8.1	−7.4	−6.5	51
	Construction and mining workers	48.8	−3.0	−3.4	−1.3	0.0	−0.4	28
	Carrying, cleaning, and packaging workers	46.2	−1.4	−3.7	−3.8	−3.9	−4.1	57
Size of enterprise	29 or fewer employees	46.0	−3.4	−5.1	−3.9	−3.4	−3.4	349
	30–299 employees	45.5	−3.7	−5.9	−5.3	−4.6	−3.9	599
	300–999 employees	45.2	−3.1	−5.4	−4.9	−3.8	−3.4	261
	1,000 or more employees	45.5	−4.0	−6.0	−5.1	−3.7	−3.4	576
Years of continuous service	Fewer than 5 years	45.1	−3.8	−5.8	−5.1	−4.0	−3.4	456
	At least 5 but fewer than 10 years	45.9	−4.3	−6.4	−5.9	−4.6	−4.4	370
	At least 10 but fewer than 20 years	45.7	−3.9	−6.1	−4.8	−4.0	−3.5	493
	At least 20 years	45.5	−2.8	−4.7	−3.8	−3.3	−3.1	466
Posession of managerial position	No managerial position	45.0	−3.7	−6.0	−5.3	−4.3	−3.9	1,286
	In Managerial position	46.8	−3.5	−5.0	−3.7	−2.9	−2.8	499
Individual annual income before the pandemic	Less than 3 million yen	43.6	−4.3	−6.8	−6.4	−5.0	−4.5	505
	3 million to less than 5 million yen	45.9	−3.2	−5.3	−4.6	−3.8	−3.4	650
	5 million to less than 7 million yen	46.8	−3.8	−5.8	−3.8	−3.0	−2.7	347
	7 million yen or more	46.7	−3.4	−4.6	−4.2	−3.5	−3.4	283
Area of residence	Tokyo metropolitan area (4 prefectures)	46.0	−4.7	−6.7	−5.6	−4.1	−3.6	514
	Kansai area (3 prefectures)	45.5	−4.6	−7.1	−5.5	−4.1	−3.8	236
	Others	45.3	−2.9	−4.9	−4.4	−3.8	−3.5	1,035
Hours worked per week before the pandemic (ordinary month)	35–39 hours	37.5	−2.7	−4.8	−1.8	−1.0	−0.7	325
	40–44 hours	42.5	−2.4	−4.1	−3.0	−2.2	−1.9	711
	45–49 hours	47.5	−4.0	−6.1	−5.7	−4.3	−4.0	394
	50 hours or more	56.8	−6.8	−9.4	−10.4	−9.6	−9.1	355

Source: The author, based on JILPT (2020a).

Notes: 1. Indicators concerning employment and living conditions (type of employment, industry, occupation, size of enterprise, years of continuous service, position, and area of residence) are as of April 1, 2020.

2. "Possession of managerial position" is identified by working in a management position equivalent to assistant manager or higher.

3."Individual annual income before the pandemic" is based on "your own annual wage income (pretax) during the past one year" in the RENGO-RIALS April survey (conducted during April 1 through 3).

4. "Hours worked per week before the pandemic (ordinary month)" is a response item on the questionnaire. However, in handling responses in terms of numbers of hours, the author calculated "35–39 hours" as 37.5 hours and "60 hours or more" as 62.5 hours.

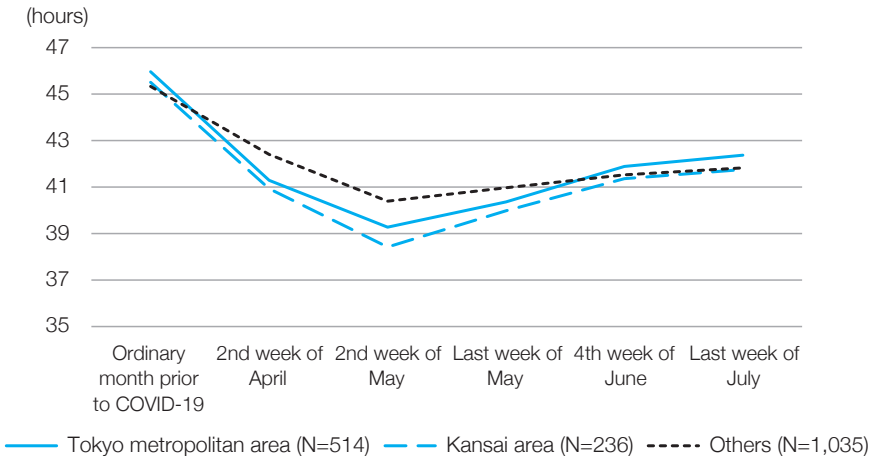
hours worked per week before the pandemic, groups that had long working hours, such as "50 hours or more," had large decreases during the pandemic, and this trend has not changed even at the last week of July. This shows that companies made large cutbacks in overtime work as a means of adjusting their employment due to the pandemic. It can be interpreted that this situation of curtailed overtime remains unchanged through to the end of July.

The following discussion explores in detail changes in hours worked by some of specific attributes based on figures shown in Table 1. Looking first at individual regions of residence (Figure 2), decreases in working hours in the second week of April and the second week of May, which occurred during the state of emergency declaration, were large for residents of the Tokyo metropolitan area and the Kansai area in comparison with other regions. However, if we look at the average values for the last week of July, these values can be interpreted as showing that regional differences have disappeared.

Looking at the situation by sex (Figure 3), the decreasing trend for women is larger than it is for men even as we recognize that a gender gap in working hour levels existed before the pandemic. In particular, for women with minor children (women of child-rearing households), the decrease in working hours continues after the last week of May, when the state of emergency declaration was lifted. After schools reopened in the first half of June, shortened school hours and constraints on the use of afterschool childcare services placed significant restrictions on the labor supplied by those women and hindered their full-time employment.[9]

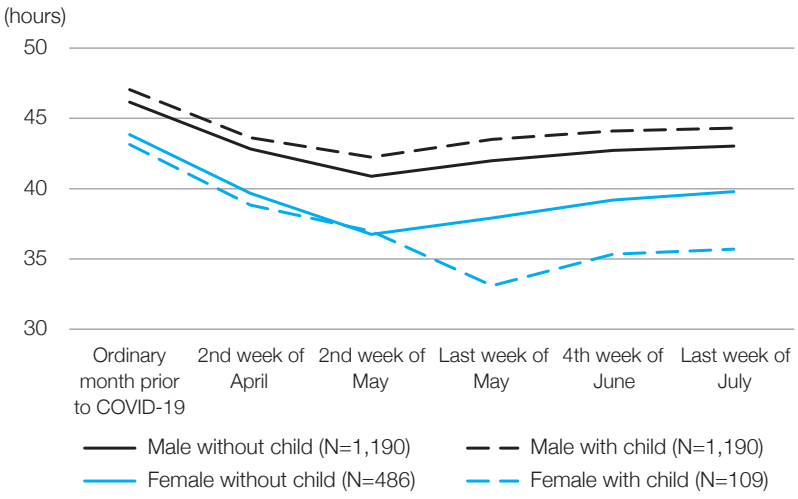
IV. Who experienced sluggish recovery after the end of the state of emergency?

Whose working hours drastically fell during the 2020 State of Emergency Declaration? And whose working hours were recovering sluggishly? It is difficult to draw simple conclusions here as various factors are intertwined—among them, industrial and occupational characteristics as well as regional and household circumstances. There is a possibility that the major factors of working hours fluctuation shifts slightly depending on the time point. In April and May, regional differences in the spread of infection as well as requests from the local government in response to the declaration possibly meant that decreases occurred primarily in the Tokyo metropolitan area and the Kansai area and that certain industries and occupations were hit particularly hard. However, with the lifting of the state of emergency declaration and as the social situation changes, a shift may be underway away from the state whereby effects are concentrated in



Source: The author, based on JILPT (2020a).

Figure 2. Changes in average hours worked per week: by region (full-time workers before the COVID-19 pandemic) (N=1,785)



Source: The author, based on JILPT (2020a).

Figure 3. Changes in average hours worked per week: by sex and existence of minor children (full-time workers before the COVID-19 pandemic) (N=1,785)

certain regions and industries/occupations. Instead, each worker's position (strong position/vulnerable position) in the labor market is coming to the fore as a main factor relating to the maintenance of working conditions. Specifically, it is thought that the concentration of effects on non-regular employment, women (of child-rearing households), low-income earners, and other attributes is becoming clear.

To test this hypothesis, I conducted OLS regression on working hours at five time points beginning from the second week of April, setting change (in number of hours) from the pre-pandemic ordinary month as the explained variable. The explanatory variables are age group, sex, with/without minor children, interaction term of woman and existence of minor children, educational attainment, type of employment, industry, occupation, size of enterprise, years of continuous service, possession of managerial position, pre-pandemic working hours, pre-pandemic annual income, and region of residence.[10]

Let us look at the results (Table 2). Because making detailed comparisons of the five time points is complicated, I interpret changes with focus on the "second week of May," which is during the state of emergency declaration, and the "last week of July," which represents the point after the state of emergency. The following points concerning changes in the determinants are uncovered.

The first is regional differences. Looking at results from the duration of time that the state of emergency declaration was in effect (the second week of April and the second week of May), the coefficient values (B) for the Tokyo metropolitan area and the Kansai area show negative effects in comparison with other regions. Thus, it can be interpreted that their decreases in working hours were large. In particular, in the second week of May, working hours in the Tokyo metropolitan area fell by 1.484 hours in terms of average compared to other regions. However, statistical significance disappeared in the fourth week of June and last week of July. We can say that the regional differences seen in April and May were on their way to being eliminated.

Next, let us look at differences in terms of industry and occupation. Like regional differences, it is confirmed that particularly large decreases in working hours occurred in the industrial categories of "finance and insurance," "accommodations, eating and drinking services," and "services," and in the occupational classifications of "sales workers," "service workers," and "production/skilled workers," most notably in the second week of May.

Table 2. Determinants of Change in working hours at each time point compared to pre-pandemic ordinary month (OLS)

Explained variable: change in working hours compared to pre-pandemic ordinary month (number of hours)										
Explained variable	[2nd week of April]		[2nd week of May]		[Last week of May]		[4th week of June]		[Last week of July]	
	B	Standard error	B	Standard error	B	Standard error	B	Standard error	B	Standard error
Constant	9.849	1.864**	11.695	2.407**	22.866	2.451**	21.825	2.135**	21.057	2.094**
Age	.036	.022	.025	.028	.065	.029*	.041	.025	.040	.025
Female	−1.264	.531*	−2.151	.685**	−2.346	.698**	−1.868	.608**	−1.726	.596**
With minor child	.045	.513	.305	.662	.670	.674	.664	.587	.726	.576
Female with minor child [interaction term]	−.590	.977	−.037	1.261	−5.234	1.284**	−4.171	1.119**	−4.357	1.097**
Educational attainment (ref. junior high school/high school graduate)										
Specialized training college/junior college graduate	−.765	.555	−1.440	.716*	−1.630	.730*	−1.196	.636	−1.366	.623*
University/graduate school graduate	−.921	.487	−1.057	.629	−1.107	.640	−.443	.558	−.406	.547
Non-regular employee	−.805	.633	−1.524	.817	−1.878	.832*	−2.011	.725**	−1.614	.711*
Industry (ref. manufacturing)										
Construction	.464	.869	.962	1.122	1.319	1.143	2.151	.995*	2.280	.976*
Electricity, gas, heat supply, and water	1.391	1.439	1.579	1.857	.706	1.891	.362	1.648	−.028	1.616
Information and communications	.718	.816	.904	1.053	.934	1.072	.560	.934	.830	.916
Transport	−.398	.970	−1.165	1.252	−.730	1.274	.429	1.110	.475	1.089
Wholesale and retail trade	−.683	.728	−.559	.940	.215	.958	.482	.834	.805	.818
Finance and insurance	−1.269	.876	−3.068	1.131**	−.801	1.151	.908	1.003	1.684	.984
Real estate	−1.698	1.296	−3.053	1.672	.134	1.703	1.248	1.484	1.409	1.455
Accommodations, eating and drinking services	−3.645	1.487*	−7.710	1.919**	−4.848	1.954*	−2.908	1.703	−1.935	1.670
Medical, health care and welfare	1.868	.795*	3.334	1.027**	1.627	1.045	1.238	.911	1.058	.893
Education, learning support	−1.609	1.458	−2.590	1.882	−1.101	1.916	−.222	1.670	.945	1.637
Postal services, cooperative associations	1.094	1.984	2.800	2.560	−1.770	2.607	−1.600	2.271	−1.534	2.228
Services	−3.256	.736**	−5.063	.950**	−3.084	.967**	−1.233	.843	−.315	.827
Occupation (ref. clerical workers)										
Administrative and managerial workers (section manager level or higher)	−.566	.814	−1.091	1.051	1.331	1.071	2.470	.933**	2.670	.915**
Professional and engineering workers	−.495	.614	.526	.793	.602	.808	.609	.704	.769	.690
Sales workers	−2.802	.682**	−3.081	.880**	−1.690	.897	−.448	.781	.133	.766
Service workers	−3.861	.901**	−3.567	1.162**	−1.010	1.184	.194	1.031	.610	1.011
Security workers	1.522	2.351	4.758	3.035	3.877	3.090	2.879	2.692	3.201	2.641
Production/skilled workers	−1.356	.769	−2.374	.993*	−2.129	1.011*	−1.599	.881	−2.200	.864*
Transport and machine operation workers	−1.921	1.378	−1.808	1.778	−2.149	1.811	−2.167	1.578	−1.518	1.547
Construction and mining workers	−2.035	1.700	−1.345	2.194	.658	2.234	2.213	1.946	1.978	1.909
Carrying, cleaning, and packaging workers	1.203	1.215	1.249	1.568	1.090	1.597	.316	1.391	−.278	1.364
Size of enterprise (ref. 29 or fewer employees)										
30–299 employees	−.797	.556	−1.488	.717*	−2.011	.730**	−1.439	.636*	−.680	.624
300–999 employees	−.084	.681	−.893	.879	−1.661	.895	−.727	.780	−.309	.765
1,000 or more employees	−.739	.610	−1.254	.787	−1.601	.801*	−.446	.698	−.239	.685
Years of continuous service	−.015	.024	−.024	.030	−.069	.031*	−.060	.027*	−.058	.026*
Managerial position	.145	.585	1.059	.755	.497	.769	.076	.670	−.285	.657
Pre-pandemic working hours	−.232	.029**	−.283	.038**	−.545	.039**	−.538	.034**	−.529	.033**
Pre-pandemic annual income (ref. 3 million to less than 5 million yen)										
Less than 3 million yen	−1.309	.532*	−1.159	.687	−1.633	.699*	−.977	.609	−.913	.597
5 million to less than 7 million yen	−.905	.570	−1.247	.736	.318	.749	.344	.653	.347	.640
At least 7 million yen or more	−.436	.720	.189	.929	−.626	.946	−1.201	.824	−1.364	.809
Area of residence (ref. other regions)										
Tokyo metropolitan area (4 prefectures)	−1.502	.457**	−1.484	.590*	−1.413	.601*	−.542	.523	−.444	.513
Kansai area (3 prefectures)	−1.569	.571**	−1.937	.737**	−1.172	.751	−.417	.654	−.336	.641
F-value		6.488**		7.41**		9.429**		9.807**		9.644**
R2 squared		0.127		0.142		0.174		0.18		0.177
Adjusted R^2 squared		0.107		0.123		0.156		0.161		0.159
N		1,785		1,785		1,785		1,785		1,785

Source: The author, based on JILPT (2020a).
**Significant at 1% level, *significant at 5% level

For example, in the second week of May, working hours in "accommodations, eating and drinking services" fell by a remarkable 7.710 hours in terms of average compared to manufacturing. We can say that decreases in working hours were largely skewed toward certain industries and occupations at that time. However, if we look at subsequent changes, the only industry or occupation in the last week of July that shows a negative effect is "production or skilled workers." This suggests that differences in decreases in working hours that are dependent on industries and occupations were diminishing, and that the situation is not one in which effects are concentrated in certain industries and occupations.

As these regional differences and disparities among industries and occupations have shrunk, other disparities have come to the fore. One is a gender gap. Large decreases in working hours are seen for female in comparison with male at each time point beginning the second week of April, and this situation has not changed even after the state of emergency declaration was lifted. Another point that becomes conspicuous is that the interaction term "female with minor children" shows statistically negative values beginning with the last week of May. Particularly, at the last week of July, the working hours of female of child-rearing households fall by about 6.083 hours (1.726 + 4.357) on average compared to males without children. Women in general faced consistently adverse circumstances through the COVID-19 pandemic. Moreover, the above shows that, despite a trend toward recovery after the state of emergency declaration's end, women of child-rearing households were in a position whereby working hours tended not to return even at the end of July. This is likely an effect of their double burden in terms of housework and child-rearing.

Next, it deserves noting that the "non-regular employee" variable shows a negative effect from the last week of May. A possible interpretation here is that, until the end of the state of emergency declaration, the main focus of the pandemic's effects was on specific industries and occupations, and no clear disparities depending on the type of employment appeared; but, later, the working hours of regular employees returned but the recovery of non-regular employees has been sluggish. In other words, the differences among types of employment in April and May (during the state of emergency declaration) seen in Table 1 could be mostly explained as differences in industry and occupation. However, it can be seen that type of employment-based differences in companies' employment adjustment are coming to the forefront as the situation changes.

As trends, differences based on pre-pandemic income levels are somewhat difficult to explain. However, the "less than 3 million yen" group shows a strong trend toward decreased working hours at the second week of April and last week of May. Although its statistical significance disappears at later time points, the fact that income groups' influence has a strong correlation with type of employment also plays a role.[11]

It should be noted that "pre-pandemic hours worked" consistently show negative effects. From this, it can be read that the tendency whereby working hours decreased more for people who originally had longer working hours, which means cutting overtime work, was continuing.[12]

V. Conclusion

In this column, we examined which groups were severely affected by the COVID-19 pandemic from the aspect of working hours in 2020. While working hours decreased markedly during the pandemic in terms of overall trends, the degree of decrease largely depended on workers' attributes and positions in labor market.

Who experienced shortened working hours? From the results of analysis, it was confirmed that decreases during the state of emergency declaration primarily occurred in the Tokyo metropolitan area and the Kansai area as well as in certain industries and occupations (e.g., eating and drinking establishments, entertainment). As far as can be seen from the aspect of working hours, the pandemic was a major blow to certain regions and

certain industries/occupations during this period.

Such differences in region and differences based on industries/occupations have been diminishing following the state of emergency declaration's end. In their place have arisen delays in recovery for certain groups—namely women (and especially those of child-rearing households) and non-regular employees.

As Zhou (2021) pointed out, the pandemic had major impacts on female employment. Women have consistently been in a tough position as a result of the pandemic. In this column, it can be seen that after the end of the state of emergency declaration (rather than during it, when many people, including men, were affected), child-rearing duties continue to make it difficult for women to participate in the labor market full-time, and thus women are becoming conspicuous as a group "left behind" by the recovery in working hours.

Differences depending on the type of employment are also beginning to appear in the post-declaration situation. During the declaration period, economic activity was artificially restricted as a so-called emergency measure. However, as economic activity resumes following the declaration's lifting, companies experiencing worsening performance or those who saw an uncertain future had to continue adjusting their employment. This is being reflected in fluctuations in working hours. Moreover, a look at survey data for the end of July showed that type of employment has become a factor determining the degree of recovery in working hours; it reveals the possibility that companies undertook adjustment to bring scheduled working hours back to their original level for regular employees first.

Differences in strength or weakness of position in the labor market may urge amplify income disparities during crisis. It is necessary to continue identifying groups that are severely affected by the COVID-19 crisis and to consider ways of supporting them.

I thank Yuko Watanabe (JILPT), Yuzo Yamamoto (Kyushu International University and an invited member for JILPT survey and analysis of COVID-19's effects on employment), Koji Takahashi (JILPT), and Hanae Ishii (JILPT) for their excellent research assistance. I should note that the views presented in this column are mine and do not necessarily reflect the official views of this organization.

1. For the survey's design and overall aggregation, see JILPT (2020a).
2. "Employed persons not at work," as understood by the MIC's *Labour Force Survey*, are defined as "persons with jobs but did not work during the reference week."
3. According to the MHLW's *Monthly Labour Survey*, non-scheduled working hours, which express overtime work and the like, decreased markedly by 30.7% year-on-year in May. A company survey conducted by JILPT (JILPT 2020b) in June also revealed that the percentage of companies that "curtailed overtime" as a means of adjusting employment for regular employees reached 35.4% in April and 36.6% in May.
4. According to reports, a considerable number of instances were seen whereby employees were furloughed on a rotating basis (i.e., each employee's number of weekly workdays was reduced) in factories, public transport, etc. There were also cases in which, in addition to reducing workday numbers, companies reduced per-day scheduled working hours or took other steps in the interest of shortening business hours or as a means of reducing employee commuting.
5. According to *Monthly Labour Survey*, non-scheduled earnings (indicating overtime pay, etc.) in May fell 26.3% compared to the same month of the previous year. This was the largest drop on record. The link between COVID-19-caused losses in working hours and reduced wages is verified in Takahashi (2020).
6. The sample used in this column's analysis consists of people who responded to all of the surveys of April, May, and August and who continued to work for the same employer during this period. In this respect, cases in which working hours were reduced as a result of changes in employment (for example, cases in which people shifted to part-time employment), becoming unemployed, or dropping out of the labor force are not included in the analysis. Accordingly, this column does not attempt to grasp COVID-19-caused decreases (losses) in working hours throughout society as a whole, but rather analyzes changes in working hours among people whose employment at the same company was maintained.
7. In this column, people whose hours worked amounted to zero hours are aggregated into the "less than 20 hours" group. As portions of the analysis sample (N=1,785), respondents who indicated that their hours worked per week amounted to zero hours made up 0.0% in the second week of April, 1.3% in the second week of May, 2.2% in the last week of May, 1.0% in the fourth week of June, and 0.9% in the last week of July. So long as employment continued, I considered zero hours as having only a small qualitative difference with extremely short working hours (less than 20 hours) and treated such responses without distinction in this column.
8. The indicator of whether or not minor children exist is based on the age of the youngest child of respondents in this analysis.
9. A detailed analysis of the COVID-19-caused employment crisis for women as a whole, including unemployment, temporary leave ("furlough"), decreases in wages, and reduced working

hours for part-time workers, etc., is provided in Zhou (2021).

10. All of the explanatory variables concern the situation before the pandemic or as of April 1, 2020.

11. In fact, when the type of employment variable is excluded, the "less than 3 million yen" group becomes negative and statistically significant at each time point, and it becomes clear that the tendency for working hours to decrease with lower income groups can be explained to a certain degree in terms of differences in the type of employment.

12. It should be noted that the trend toward decreased overtime hours is thought to be related to not only company policy (i.e., curtailment of overtime) but also the fact that work levels (the amount of work) have not recovered to the point that overtime becomes necessary.

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Japan's Employment System and Public Policy
2017-2022
This five-year series systematically outlines the basis of labor situations and analysis in Japan.

Labor-management Relations in Japan Part I: Characteristics of the Collective Labor Relations System

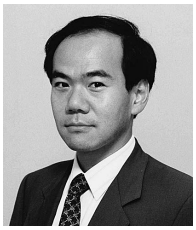
HAMAGUCHI Keiichiro

I. Organization and participation

The systems of labor-management relations around the world can be broadly categorized into three in terms of their different stances toward the collectivity of workers' interests—that is, the non-recognition, recognition, or facilitation of workers' collectives and collective activities. There are systems that are so intent on perceiving labor-management relations solely as individual relationships that they reject such collectives and collective activities, and systems that seek to solely perceive labor-management relations as collective relationships such that they recognize and/or facilitate such collectives and collective activities. At the same time, the orientation of the systems that do not recognize collectivity and the orientation of the systems that recognize and/or facilitate collectivity can also be broadly divided into two conceptual orientations.

1. Non-recognition of the collectivity

The orientation of those systems that do not recognize collectivity consist of the following two models: a market-oriented individual bargaining model and a state-oriented individual command model. In the market-oriented individual bargaining model, labor-management relations are reduced to the individual bargaining relationships between the sellers of labor and the purchasers of labor within the labor market. In such a model, workers' collectives and collective activities are seen as none other than cartels that seek to manipulate labor market transactions. This has been a typical stance



in the UK, the US, and other such Anglo-Saxon countries, and as a result, laws on collective labor relations in these countries have been developed amid the removal of legislation that prohibited organization in the sense of worker cartels. Even today, the main points of contention surrounding labor-management relations systems are disputes between the market model, which rejects organization, and the organization model. The clearest evidence of this has been recognized in Australia and New Zealand. The legal policy developed in New Zealand from 1990 onward and in Australia from 1996 onward sought to rectify the manipulation that can result from organization by reducing industrial relations to agreements made on an as far as possible individual basis. Both countries subsequently made a backward swing in such legislation and have settled on frameworks centered on collective labor relations at the enterprise level.

The second type of model, a state-oriented individual command model, that do not recognize collectivity reduces labor-management relations to the individual supervision and command relationships between those who manage and those who carry out the work within the state as a vast structure. In such a model, workers' collectives and collective activities that are formed and take place at certain locations within the state structure are deemed rebellious activity that seeks to distort the composition of labor within the state as a whole. This view was taken to the extreme in Stalin's regime, such that labor unions became state bodies. On the

other hand, in former Yugoslavia, there was a trend toward utilizing workers' collectives as a means of *participation* in business management in the workplace. In that sense, labor-management relations models in socialist countries have shifted between state models that do not recognize participation and participation-oriented models.

2. Recognition/facilitation of the collectivity

The orientation of the systems that recognize and/or facilitate collectivity also consists of two models: the "organization-oriented" collective labor relations model and the "participation-oriented" collective labor relations model. The organization-oriented collective labor relations model can be described as the "democratization of the market" model, as it seeks to conduct the relations between the sellers of labor and the purchasers of labor in the labor market as collective bargaining as opposed to individual negotiations. The UK and US labor unions are based entirely on this model. A report by the Clinton administration's Dunlop commission in 1994 (The Dunlop Commission on the Future of Worker-Management Relations: Final Report) readdressed the provision prohibiting employer domination or interference that had been in place since the enactment of the National Labor Relations Act, or Wagner Act, and recommended the introduction of programs for employee participation, but strong opposition from labor unions deterred the Democratic administration from pursuing such amendments, and the labor relations bill known as the Team Act was also consigned to oblivion by a presidential veto; this fact demonstrates the deeply-rooted nature of the pure organization-oriented model. In contrast, the participation-oriented collective labor relations model can be described as the "democratization of organizational structures" model, as it seeks to determine the composition of labor within the structured bodies that are enterprises in the context of collective consultation between those who manage and those who carry out the work.

While these two orientations have their contrasting elements, legal policy in mainland European countries has combined them as required. These approaches can be broadly divided into three types of models, although there are more.

The first of these models that combine organization and participation is the German system. In Germany, workers form labor unions at the industry level that are organization-oriented worker collectives and engage in collective bargaining on terms and conditions of employment such as salary or working hours. On the other hand, at the enterprise level, workers form *Betriebsrat* (a works council) at their workplace that is a *participation*-oriented worker collective, which is involved in decision-making as well as coordinating various aspects in the enterprise. This system is unique in that there is a clear distinction between the levels on which the collectives responsible for organization and the collectives responsible for participation exist.

The second type of combined model is the French system. Although it coincides with the German system in that there are organization-oriented labor unions at the industry level and participation-oriented *comité social et économique* (works councils) and employee representatives (*délégués du personnel*) at the enterprise level, the French system is unique in that workers also form organization-oriented labor unions at the enterprise level and allow them to conduct collective bargaining at the enterprise level. While the model tentatively distinguishes between the collectives responsible for organization and the collectives responsible for participation, these two types may exist on the same level.

The third of the combined models is the Swedish system. In Sweden, only labor unions operate as worker collectives, on the industry level, the national level, and also the enterprise level. That is, labor unions pursue collective bargaining as *organization*-oriented collectives at the (state and) industrial level as well as the enterprise level, while also being involved in decision-making as *participation*-oriented collectives at the enterprise level. In this model, the participation of labor unions in policy decisions is also prominent even at the national and the industrial level, and in this sense, it is a form of what is referred to in the study of politics as corporatism.

It is also important to note the model adopted in Austria—a variant on the German system—which has, in addition to labor unions, a participation-oriented national *Arbeiterkammer* (Chamber of Labour). This is also a form of corporatism.

II. The nature of the Japanese collective labor relations system

Now let us consider how the Japanese collective labor relations system can be interpreted in terms of the system types described above. As Japan's laws on collective labor relations were established during the postwar American occupation, the American *organization*-oriented model had a highly significant influence on their development. Labor unions are, therefore, organizations of sellers of labor largely aimed at determining salary and other such terms and conditions of employment through collective bargaining. They exist outside of enterprises—in fact, the law does not assume the existence of enterprise unions in the first place. The Labor Union Act and other such laws on collective labor relations do not account for the possibility of labor unions participating in decision-making within enterprises.

However, nearly all of the existing Japanese labor unions are enterprise unions. What is more, their main tasks are not limited to collective bargaining regarding salary and other such terms and conditions of employment. Rather, they dedicate more of their energy to participating in decision-making within enterprises and coordinating various aspects of the workplaces. As the majority of researchers in Japanese labor relations would suggest, a significant portion of the activities of Japan's enterprise unions is similar to those of the *Betriebsrat* in Germany. In that sense, Japanese collective labor relations are really *participation*-oriented.

Let us take a brief look at the historical developments that brought this about. Laws on collective labor relations were nonexistent in Japan prior to the Second World War, and the government's proposed labor union legislation was repeatedly rejected by the Imperial Diet (1890–1947). In the major enterprise sector, intra-enterprise organizations known as *kōjō iinkai* (factory committees) were established to prevent the development of labor unions. In wartime Japan, a system for worker mobilization called the *Sangyo Hokoku-kai* (Industrial Patriotic Labor Front) was established as part of national mobilization, but this consisted of government-controlled, enterprise-based bodies including not only workers but also management, and was subsequently placed under the control of the sole governing organization, the *Taisei Yokusankai* (Imperial Rule Assistance Association). After the war, when GHQ dissolved the *Sangyo Hokoku-kai* and promoted labor unions, the only equivalent to labor unions were organizations based on the *Sangyo Hokoku-kai* but excluding management. It was these organizations that formed the original model of the postwar enterprise unions. In the early postwar period, the labor unions' activities were all the more focused on the struggle for workers' control of production and seeking the establishment of management councils rather than raising wages, such that they were highly aggressively oriented toward *participation*. Even later, when the union movement largely shifted toward cooperative labor-management relations such as those of the productivity movement, it still retained its strong orientation toward *participation*. As a result, while the laws enacted during the occupation intended the unions to be purely *organization*-oriented, the actual labor unions did, in fact, place more emphasis on *participation*.

This system shares some similarity with the Swedish model, in that the same labor unions conduct collective bargaining as "organization-oriented" groups while also being involved in decision-making in the enterprises as "participation-oriented" groups. However, the Japanese model differs significantly in that both collective bargaining and involvement in decision-making are conducted entirely at the enterprise level, and in the levels beyond that, neither "organization" nor "participation" exists in real terms.

That is not to suggest that "organization" and "participation" always exist at the enterprise level. In the mainland European models where "organization" and "participation" are combined,

labor unions exist at the industry level, conducting collective bargaining and forming labor agreements. As they are applied to workers at the industry level, these agreements cover high proportions of workers even if the unionization rate is low. Moreover, in European countries, the law requires establishing an organization to represent employees separate from the labor union, and when combined, the employee representative system and labor unions cover a rather high proportion of workers.

In contrast, in Japan, an employee representation organization separate from the labor unions is not required by law. As the enterprise unions do not exist in many enterprises (particularly in micro-, small and medium-sized enterprises), it is typical for neither "organization" nor "participation" to exist. The nonexistence of both "organization" and "participation" means that ultimately the market-oriented individual labor relations model holds true. Furthermore, as many labor unions, even among major enterprises, limit their membership to regular employees, non-regular workers—such as part-time, fixed-term contract, or temporary agency workers—are excluded from "organization" and "participation." On the macro level, the Japanese collective labor relations system can therefore be seen as a structure consisting of two layers: the major enterprises, regular employee layer, where labor unions are responsible for both "organization" and "participation," and the non-regular worker, small and medium-sized enterprise layer, where neither "organization" nor "participation" exists.

This is a series of three articles on the topic of labor-management relations in Japan.

Part II will be in the next issue focusing on trends in labor unions and dispute.

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Special Feature on Research Papers (III)

Here is a special feature for three (I-III) including six significant papers selected by the Editorial Office of Japan Labor Issues from various relevant papers published in 2019–2020. Each author has arranged the original papers written in Japanese for the benefit of overseas readers. We sincerely thank authors for their effort. These papers address the latest subjects as well as conventional themes on labor in Japan and surely will offer useful information and deeper insights into the state of labor in Japan.

Editorial Office, *Japan Labor Issues*

The Necessity of Reduced Working Hours under the Re-familization of Elderly Care

IKEDA Shingou

While Japan's Long-term Care Insurance System has sought to ensure the "de-familization" of long-term care through greater provision of long-term care services, financial constraints resulting from increases in the numbers of people requiring long-term care have prompted the gradual "re-familization" of long-term care for the elderly. If this re-familization of long-term care progresses in the future, companies may be forced to further expand and improve the measures that they have in place to support employees to combine work with providing long-term care. However, looking at a system to reduce scheduled working hours, for example, the demand for such system is low and seems unlikely to increase in the future. Even where family members take on the task of providing care, it is only in cases where the care recipient has severe care needs that the family carer goes to the extent of reducing their working hours to make time to provide care. This is due to the widespread tendency toward encouraging care recipients to do as much as they can themselves, an approach referred to as "autonomy-oriented caring[1]." It is important that future systems for supporting workers to combine work with providing long-term care are premised on this new approach to long-term family care, rather than allowing the re-familization of long-term care to spell a return to family carers providing complete assistance for all of the care recipients' needs ("devoted caring") as was expected in the past.

I. Introduction

Long-term care for the elderly has been an issue in Japanese society for a number of years due to the declining birth rate and aging population. A quarter century has passed since the enactment of the Act on Childcare Leave, Caregiver Leave, and Other Measures for the Welfare of Workers Caring for Children or Other Family Members (the "Child Care and Family Care Leave Act") in 1995[2] and two decades have passed since the implementation of the Long-term Care Insurance System in 2000. There are, however, still many outstanding issues regarding what constitutes an effective system to support those who need to balance providing long-term care with work. Japan

urgently needs to develop such systems given that it is already the nation with the world's highest population aging rate (percentage of the population aged sixty-five and over) and is heading toward what is expected to be the Age of Long-Term Care, a time of unprecedentedly high demand for long-term care set to start in 2025 when the baby boomers pass the age of seventy-five.

The amendment to the Child Care and Family Care Leave Act in 2016 saw major revisions to the existing framework of the system for supporting the combination of work and care to develop a support system to cover the period from the initial timing at which the person requiring care (care recipient) begins to require care (start) to the point at which they no longer require care (end), as shown in Figure 1. The JILPT conducted survey research on the balance of work with providing long-term care to investigate the effects of said revised system and elucidate any further issues regarding the combination of work with providing care. This paper will introduce the key points of that research, while also focusing on reduced scheduled working hours as a core issue and drawing on data to shed light on the demand for such systems.

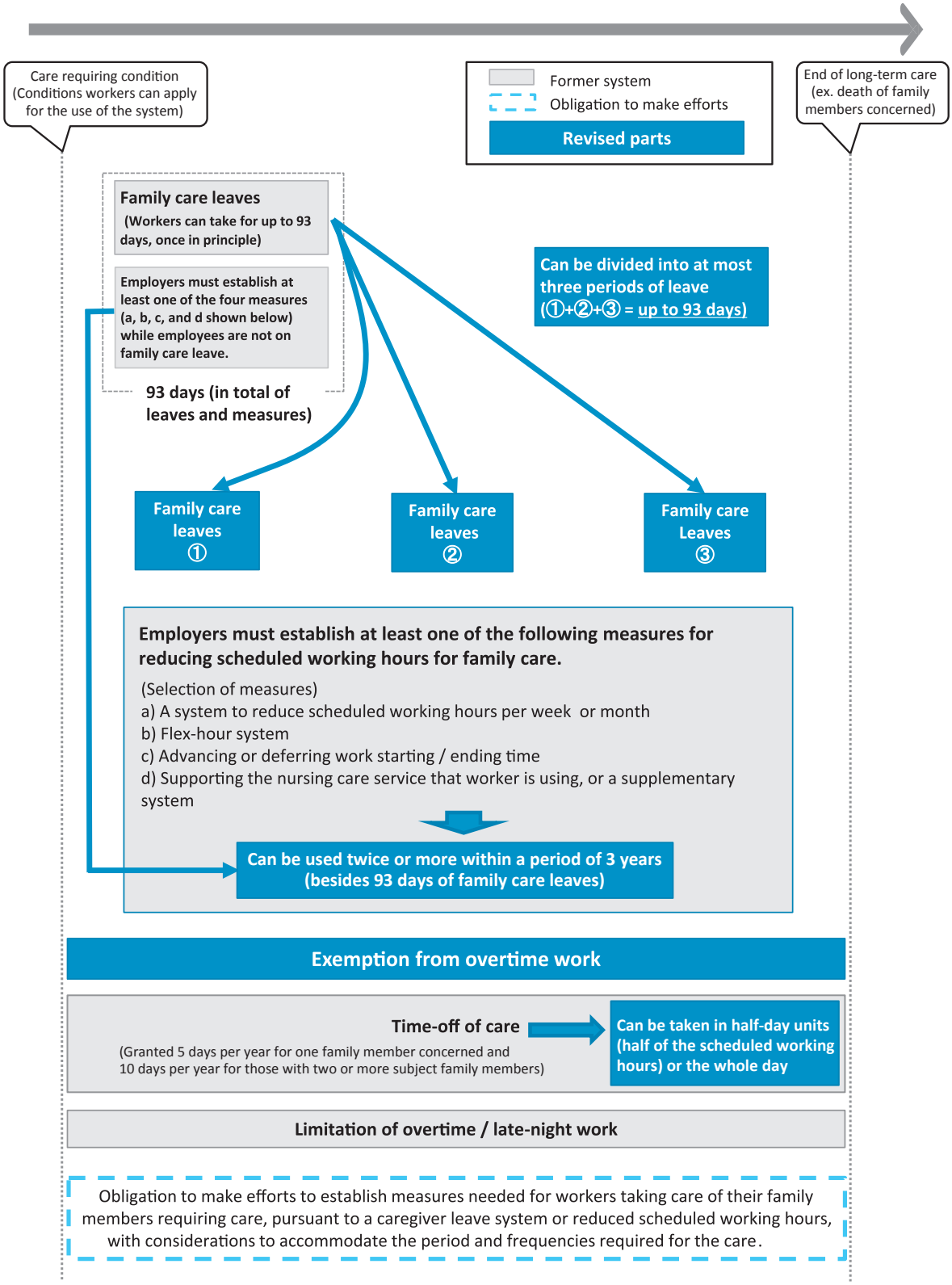
The amendment to the Child Care and Family Care Leave Act in 2016 has been covered in an earlier edition of this journal (Ikeda 2019). Here we will introduce most recent research which addressed the 2016 amendment in the context of Japan's shift back to the provision of care by families—the "re-familization" of care—and sought to verify the demand for support for combining family care with work that may arise amid the re-familization of long-term care in the future. The opposite approach to re-familization—namely, "de-familization"—was previously pursued in Japan with the Long-term Care Insurance System implemented in 2000, following the enforcement of the Child Care and Family Care Leave Act the previous year. This Long-term Care Insurance System sought to achieve the de-familization—or "socialization"—of long-term care by social services to substitute the care that was being provided by family members. However, there has in practice been relatively little progress in the de-familization of care. In fact, issues have arisen due to limitations on the provision of long-term care services and there is a growing trend toward re-familization, by which social services cover less areas of care and the areas assumed by families are increased again (Fujisaki 2009). This trend in the Long-term Care Insurance System formed the background to the 2016 amendment. While the re-familization of long-term care was not explicitly discussed at the time, it could be suggested that the 2016 amendment and its measures to ensure that family carers are able to work while fulfilling care responsibilities in various areas of daily life were the first to respond to the high likelihood of the re-familization of long-term care along with birth rate decline and population aging. Japanese companies are understandably concerned and braced for the challenges that may arise as further birth rate decline and population aging in turn prompts further re-familization of long-term care, putting them under pressure to greatly develop their measures to support employees providing long-term care for their family members to balance those commitments with work.

However, many issues remain unclear regarding the impact that workers' long-term care commitments have on their work. Continuous research on this topic by the JILPT since the mid-2000s has successively revealed new problems that were not foreseen at the outset. This paper addresses future approaches to support for combining long-term care with work from these latest perspectives.

II. Three types of issues on combining work and care

1. Time budgeting

Combining work with family life is—even outside of the context of the Child Care and Family Care Leave Act—most commonly treated as an issue of time budgeting. Such a perspective was originated from the support provided for combining work with raising children. Combining work and long-term care, however, entails problems that are rarely addressed in relation to combining work with raising children. The JILPT's research thus far[3] suggests that issues regarding the balance of long-term care with work can be roughly divided into three areas.



Source: Ikeda (2019), https://www.jil.go.jp/english/jli/documents/2019/015-04.pdf, based on Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare, https://www.mhlw.go.jp/english/policy/children/work-family/dl/160802-01e.pdf.

Figure 1. The system for combining long-term care commitments with work under the 2016 amendment to the Child Care and Family Care Leave Act (Workers can use the following system for each family member concerned in a condition requiring long-term care)

The first of these is time budgeting. The Child Care and Family Care Leave Act adopts this perspective in laying out a system for supporting the combination of work with providing long-term care. This is based on the recognition that working carers may require leave, time off, or changes to working hours where they need to address tangible care tasks that arise during working hours. For instance, the 93 days of leave for providing long-term care ("family care leave") are intended as a preparation period to deal at short notice with hospital admittance and release procedures and other such tasks that arise in the case of the onset of cerebrovascular disease or other such primary diseases, and conduct the subsequent discussions within the family about providing care and procedures for using long-term care services. It is based on the concept that workers require a long period of leave in which they can focus solely on providing care, as it is not possible for them to allocate time to work within their daily time budget during such a period. The provision of time off for family carers is also based on the assumption that they will need to carry out tasks such as accompanying the care recipient on hospital visits—that is, they will be unable to come to work because they must allocate time to provide care.

Ikeda (2010; 2017a; 2017b) has confirmed that the family care leave system is effective in curbing the tendency for workers to leave jobs. Moreover, as addressed later in this paper, the latest research by the JILPT has confirmed the effectiveness of the system in curbing the tendency to leave jobs within one year after starting to provide care. On the other hand, the reducing of working hours and other such flexible working arrangements—the period for which was extended under the 2016 amendment—involve a number of issues that need to be investigated in the future.

Even outside of Japan, there is relatively little research investigating the role of flexible labor environments, and results remain inconsistent. For example, Pavalko and Henderson (2006) indicate that among employed women in the US who are responsible for providing family care those who are employed in positions in which they have flextime systems, unpaid family leave, paid leave and sick leave tend not to leave their jobs or decrease their working hours. Likewise, Schneider et al. (2013) notes that in Austria, flexible labor environments are effective in limiting tendency to leave jobs exclusively among employed women. In contrast, in examining trends among employed women in the UK, Henz (2006) shows that the job flexibility has no impact on decisions such as whether to take on care responsibilities or whether to leave the labor market.

2. Carers' health issues

Even workers who do not have a problem with time budgeting for their work and care commitments are likely to damage their health due to fatigue or stress if they spend their entire day working and providing care with no time to rest.

For instance, many working carers caring for dementia sufferers who sleep during the day and stay awake at night may also accumulate additional fatigue and stress in the evenings and at night when they should be recovering from the strains of the working daytime. Reports of carers who have struggled with such a lifestyle for extended periods resorting to suicide or violence toward care recipients are not uncommon in the Japanese media. There are also clear risks to carers' abilities to fulfil their responsibilities at work, such as the risk of falling asleep during work or causing major mistakes or accidents (Ikeda 2016; 2019).

While such health issues may ultimately result in workers leaving their jobs, in the prior stage they may lead to presenteeism—namely, a worker coming to work despite health issues that cause reduction of productivity (Ikeda 2013; 2014; 2015, Ikeda 2016; 2019). In terms of the fact that taking time off may increase burden on other workers, the problems of workers taking care leave, time off and reducing working hours due to time budgeting issues are very similar to that of absenteeism caused by health issues. However, as it is clear that in reality the costs of presenteeism are higher than those of absenteeism, employers' interests are beginning to shift toward managing the health of the employees who *are* coming to work (Wada et al. 2013).

There are in fact few employees who leave their workplace—that is, quit their jobs or take time off or care leave—to provide care. Rather, it has been revealed that it is more common for workers to see a decline in

their performance because they are coming to work tired or under stress due to their care commitments (JILPT 2015). It is essential to uncover the potential factors behind such difficulties combining work and care as we further investigate the issues of support for combining these commitments.

At the same time, it is difficult for companies to identify poor health in employees who are coming to work as usual. Burden on carers outside of working hours are particularly difficult for companies to see. Health problems imply the possibility that care-related problems arising in such areas that are not visible to companies may be having a negative impact on work.

3. Human relationships

Let us now address an aspect that is even less visible for companies: human relationships. Whether a person has good human relationships with the people around them has a significant impact on their ability to combine work with providing care.

The relationships among the family members responsible for providing care, for instance, may entail differing views on the approach to providing care, or cases where siblings are estranged in the first place. In contrast, a good relationship with one's family may reduce the burdens a carer faces in providing care—both in terms of time budgeting and health-related issues—helping them to combine care with their work. If carers have good relationships with local people or acquaintances, they may be able to handle the aforementioned time budgeting and healthcare issues by receiving support in the form of opportunities to relieve their stress by discussing their care-related concerns or such people checking in on the care recipient in their place. In the workplace, if carers have developed relationships with their superiors and colleagues which allow them to easily seek consultation about their care commitments, they may find it easier to receive support regarding areas of time budgeting such as taking time off or leave or changing working hours. And if they have concerns about their health, they may be able to receive support to prevent it from hindering their work.

Such informal means of assistance built on human relationships undoubtedly play a significant role where the provision of formal care services is no longer sufficient due to the financial constraints on the Long-term Care Insurance System. In that sense, it can be suggested that human relationships will occupy an important position in Japanese society in the future as the re-familization of care progresses. However, human relationships are an aspect that is considerably difficult for companies to recognize. Even in the case of human relationships in the workplace, it would be wrong to make the sweeping suggestion that workers with good relationships in their work are also able to receive support for their care commitments, and the state of carers' relationships with family members and local people or acquaintances are even more difficult to ascertain. There is a tendency for carers to take on care responsibilities alone without confiding in anyone because they feel that the care recipient's condition—that is, the reason why they require care—is not a topic to be discussed with just anyone. These carers are more likely to quit their jobs.

Such problems are set out in Figure 2. The Child Care and Family Care Leave Act shown in Figure 1 established a system for supporting the combination of care commitments with work from the start to the end of the period for which care is required, and these long-term care periods are generally growing longer. There are three sources of support for providing care over such long periods: the company at which the carer is employed, local long-term care services, and family. However, all three of these sources are highly likely to experience severe labor shortages as population aging and decline continue. Moreover, the actual challenges faced by carers are not limited to time budgeting concerns that can be addressed by taking time off or leave or reducing working hours. They also include factors such as healthcare problems resulting from the fatigue or stress caregiving, as well as the underlying human relationships with the care recipient and other family members and their human relationships with the superiors and colleagues with whom they need to be able to consult with regarding their care commitments.

Amid this circumstance, it is important to take a more diverse approach to examining the kinds of problems faced by working carers in such areas rather than limiting ourselves to the problems of leaving jobs

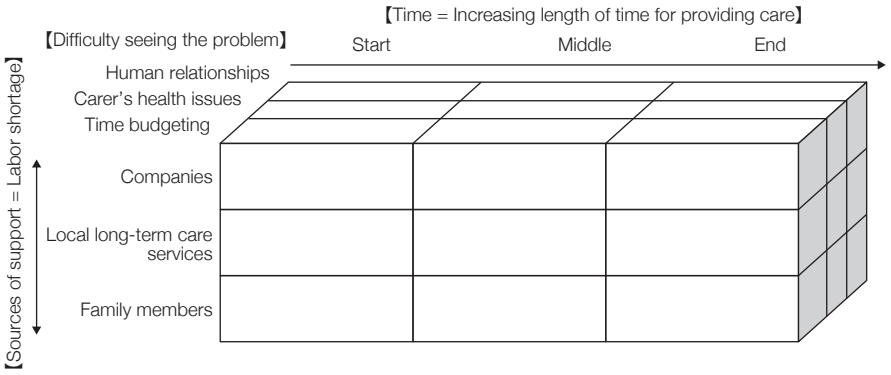


Figure 2. Three-dimensional image of combining work with providing long-term care

due to care commitments and the system for supporting combining work with providing care. While it is not possible to cover all of these in this study, below we present the new issues regarding support for combining work with providing care that we have shown through analysis of various topics regarding the combination of those commitments.

III. Survey on work and long-term family care

1. Outline of the survey

The following analysis utilizes data from the "Survey on Work and Long-term Family Care" conducted by the JILPT in February 2019. The survey investigated trends in leaving jobs due to long-term care commitments and the employment situations of family carers. It is intended to reveal further potential issues with regard to support for combining work with providing care, in light of the revisions to the support system under the 2016 amendment to the Child Care and Family Care Leave Act (implemented in January 2017).

The survey covered men and women who had experienced the long-term care of a family member in or after April 2000 and fulfilled one of the following conditions:

1. Currently providing care and currently between 20 and 69 years of age, or
2. Finished providing care but age at the end of the care period was between 20 and 69

*Includes cases where the care recipient live/lived elsewhere or is/was cared for at a care facility, as opposed to only cases where the carer and care recipient live/lived together.

The sample was selected by conducting a screening survey of the monitors registered with a survey company (2,212,088 registered monitors as of April 2018). The monitors were screened and requested to response until 4,000 responses fulfilling the following conditions had been acquired. Respondents completed the survey online using a browser or similar format. The following aspects were taken into consideration when gathering the responses to minimize bias within the sample as far as possible.

1) Gather responses such that the employment rates and percentages for different forms of employment by gender and age at the end of the care period (at present for those currently providing care) closely resemble the distribution ratios for people providing care to family members set out in the 2017 *Employment Status Survey* by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications.
2) Likewise, gather responses such that the figures for occupation at the end of the care period (at present for those currently providing care) closely resemble the distribution ratios for people providing care to family members set out in the 2017 *Employment Status Survey*.
3) For place of residence, gather responses from across the 47 prefectures in order to avoid bias toward the large urban areas such as the Tokyo Metropolitan area or cities in the Kinki area.

4) Gather at least 1,000 responses from people whose relatives became in need of care in or after January 2017.
5) Gather at least 1,000 responses from people whose relatives became in need of care in or before December 2016.
6) Ensure as far as possible that around half of the respondents are people currently providing care and around half are people who have finished providing care.

2. Main findings

The JILPT research group analyzed the data gathered from various perspectives. The results revealed the following:[4]

1) Curbing effects of support for combining work with care and flexible working arrangement on tendency to leave jobs: If the correlation with the legally prescribed support system for combining work with care is controlled, the family care leave system has a significant curbing effect on the tendency to quit jobs.
2) Extent to which the amended Child Care and Family Care Leave Act has become recognized: Carers who are aware of the amendment are not likely to leave their jobs in the future. However, the degree of awareness of the amendment is relatively low, and there is no widespread understanding of the systems of time off, reduced scheduled working hours, and exemption from unscheduled work.
3) Demand for reduced scheduled working hours: The system to reduce scheduled working hours and exemptions from unscheduled work are based on the thinking that it is preferable that family members provide care for the day-to-day activities such as bathing, eating meals, and using the toilet. However, there is a growing trend toward emphasizing the autonomy of the care recipient which has seen a decline in demand for such measures.
4) Working carers' wellbeing and inclination to leave jobs: The trends differ among currently employed carers between those who responded that they are "unable to continue" working and those who responded that they "do not know" whether they wish to leave their jobs. Those who respond "do not know" have issues such as a tendency toward depression or having no one to confide in.
5) Marital status and likelihood of job continuation: In the case of people who have a spouse, likelihood of job continuation is affected by their relationship with the care recipient, their ability to consult with family or relatives and their workplace having an environment conducive to talking about private matters. In the case of people who do not have a spouse, likelihood to of job continuation is affected by whether they have access to care services that fit with their working hours, and whether there are other people who are able to do their work.
6) Negative impact on marriage among young carers: There is a significant decrease in the likelihood of marrying among women who start to provide care in their thirties and forties. Use of care facilities has a significantly positive influence on likelihood to marry among both men and women.

Of these points, the first and second are concerned with the effects of a system of support for combining work with care that has been developed from the perspective of time budgeting, while the third suggests that human relationships—particularly the relationship with the person requiring care—have an impact on the issue of time budgeting. The fourth indicates that human relationships (whether the carer has someone to confide in) and health issues (depression) may correlate. In that sense, this reveals that the three areas covered above—namely, time budgeting, health issues, and human relationships—are deeply connected. The issues for single people as noted in the fifth and sixth points are a key concern when considering future approaches to the balance of work with care given the progressive tendency among Japanese people to remain unmarried.

Support for combining work with providing care can be divided into the tangible—such as managing working hours (time off, leave, changing working hours), long-term care services (in the home or at care facilities), health management, and financial support—and the intangible—that is, human relationships with

superiors, colleagues and family, people to confide in, and sources of information. It is important to ensure that working carers receive not only tangible support but also these intangible forms of support in order to ensure that they are able to combine providing care with work and do not leave their jobs due to their care commitments. The dilemma that Japan will face in seeking to provide support for combining work with providing care in the future lies in the fact that while efforts to develop the tangible forms of support will become ever more in earnest as the numbers of single carers rise, there is also the risk that labor shortages and financial constraints will prevent such improvements to tangible support.

The issue of shortage of tangible means of support for combining work and care will be particularly serious in the event of an increase in the numbers of single carers as noted in the fifth and sixth points above. The needs for support for combining work and care differ according to whether the carer has a spouse. In the case of carers who have a spouse, a good relationship with the care recipient and a workplace environment conducive to discussing private matters raise the likelihood of the carer's job continuation, and developing support in intangible terms is therefore important. On the other hand, in the case of single carers, who have come to account for a conspicuous portion of carers in recent years, factors such as whether the hours for which the care facility is fit with the carer's lifestyle and whether there is a colleague who can take over their work duties raise the likelihood of job continuation (JILPT 2020, chap. 5). That is, single carers have a greater need for the *tangible* forms of support as opposed to the intangible. Moreover, the analysis of the impact of caregiving experience on marriage also shows that use of care facilities increases the likelihood of getting married (JILPT 2020, chap. 6). In that sense also there is a high demand for development of tangible support.

However, it is unlikely that care services will be expanded to solve the issue of available hours not fitting with working hours. It is also difficult to imagine that care facilities will be expanded to allow carers to improve their private lives—that is, to allow them to get married. These problems are the structural result of the demographic trends in Japanese society. As the population declines, regional society faces labor shortage for running care services. This trend prompted the course reversal from the de-familization to the re-familization of care. At the same time, the families who will be expected to take on such care are also becoming smaller in size. Moreover, company workplaces—where those families' work should be supported—are seeing increasingly chronic labor shortages. The impact of this "triple downsizing" in the support offered by society—that is, the decline in manpower on the three fronts of companies, families and local society—is concentrated in single carers.

The following section will address how this issue can be solved in the context of the re-familization of care by reexamining the role of family members as carers assisting day-to-day activities as noted in point three above, and setting out the future approaches to support for combining work with care.

IV. Reconsidering family care and working hours

1. Considering the demand for reduced scheduled working hours based on the relationship with the care recipient

Here we will address a system to reduce scheduled working hours as a tangible form of support for combining providing care with work. The Child Care and Family Care Leave Act obliges employers to provide carers with one of a number of measures such as reduced scheduled working hours, flextime, staggered hours or assistance with the costs of care ("measures including the reducing of working hours") and the 2016 amendment expanded the period within which such measures can be taken to three years. The most popular of these measures is a system to reduce scheduled working hours and providing the system for people raising children has been obligatory for companies since 2010.

For caregiving, the 2016 amendment introduced the obligation for companies to allow exemption from unscheduled work, but the introduction of a system to reduce scheduled working hours was not made obligatory. The existing act recognizes the choice for scheduled working hours to be worked through flextime

or staggered hours systems rather than reduced scheduled working hours. In other words, it assumes that, unless there are special circumstances, the carer will work the scheduled working hours as usual. In terms of time budgeting, the current act defines that work takes precedence over care commitments during the scheduled working hours, while care commitments take precedence over work during overtime.

However, due to the aforementioned constraints on the supply of care services, it is possible that demand for reduced scheduled working hours may increase in the future. This is because a system to reduce scheduled working hours will conceivably be closely connected with hours of availability of care services as is the case with the opening hours of childcare services for workers raising children. It is also possible that child raising and providing care differ in terms of the relationship between services and working hours.

Japan's public childcare services take into account the employment situation of family members in providing childcare, however the Long-term Care Insurance System does not. In fact, the existence of families is not even defined within the system in the first place. The system consists of three parties: the older person (insured person or service user), the local government (the insurer), and the service provider. The family is not part of this structure. In terms of the fact that even older people who do not have a family are able to receive care by arranging for themselves a contract with a service provider and using those services, this is a "de-familized" system of care. However, as, in reality, the existence of a family is not a *part* of the system but a *premise* upon which the system is based, it is an issue that the family's role in providing care has not been defined (Ikeda 2002) (JILPT 2020, chap. 2–3). The fact that the role of the family is not defined but assumed as a premise for the system may spell the indefinite expansion of the role of the family as the re-familization of care progresses.

It would be natural to assume that this would in turn increase the necessity for a system to reduce scheduled working hours. However, it is important to note that, unlike children, elderly relatives who require care are unlikely to require constant assistance. Even in cases where the care recipient is bedridden and requires extensive assistance on a daily basis, there are few cases in which the carer must permanently observe them. It is commonly said that though such care recipients' physical functions may have declined, they have the mental capacity of a mature adult, and although they may not physically be able to do anything, they are quite capable of spending a few hours alone in bed, perhaps watching television or similar.

While a system to reduce scheduled working hours are a tangible factor, such a relationship with the care recipient is an intangible factor. It may be assumed that if a care recipient can be left alone for certain periods, the carer can dedicate that time to work and is unlikely to require reduced scheduled working hours. In contrast, if a care recipient constantly requires someone present, the shortage of care services directly increases the family's care burdens, which accordingly increases demand for reduced scheduled working hours.

This problem can therefore be divided into the following two stages. The first stage is the likelihood that the growing tendency toward a familialist approach to care—namely, the shift toward the family providing care as opposed to professional services outside of the family providing care (de-familization)—will increase the burdens of providing care upon the family. However, family members who provide care may not be with the care recipient at all times. There may also be an approach to care by which carers do not go to the extent of taking reduced scheduled working hours in order to dedicate time to provide care, as, although the care recipient may require care, they complete the tasks that they are capable of doing by themselves and spend what time they are able to be alone. Given such a perspective on the provision of care, it is important to clarify the approaches that carers currently adopt toward providing care and how they perceive the boundary between work and providing care.

In terms of form of employment, a part-time worker may work even shorter hours as a result of providing care, but as in such cases the original working hours are not clear, we only analyze full-time regular employees. This analysis excludes subjects who had finished providing care and focusses only on those who were providing care at the time of the survey.

2. Demand for a system to reduce scheduled working hours

While among child-raising workers a system to reduce scheduled working hours have high usage rates and are in high demand, the demand for these systems among workers providing care is comparatively low. Table 1 shows that no more than 14.9% of regular employee carers are working reduced scheduled hours. Furthermore, the right-hand side of Table 1 shows that 79.6% of those not working reduced scheduled hours[5] felt that such systems are "not necessary."

Another problem that is often noted with regard to the demand for reduced scheduled working hours is that the available hours for care services do not fit with the carers' daily lifestyles. It is typical to see cases where a working carer is forced to reduce working hours because their scheduled working hours do not fit with the available hours of the care service. If we look at the middle section of Table 1 from that perspective, there are higher percentages of carers working reduced hours and higher percentages of carers who believe a system to reduce working hours to be necessary among those where there is a mismatch with the service hours, in comparison with among those where there is no mismatch with the service hours. This may indicate that greater constraints on the provision of care services in the future may prompt a rise in demand for reduced scheduled working hours.

Another factor related to the demand for reduced scheduled working hours that we should address is the impact of the carer's health issues. The bottom section of Table 1 shows that there are higher percentages of carers working reduced scheduled hours and higher percentages of carers who believe a system to reduce scheduled working hours to be necessary among those who responded that providing care entails physical fatigue, in comparison with those who responded that it causes no fatigue. Even if a working carer is able to budget their time such that they can work full-time, they are likely to experience increasing physical fatigue if all of their time is occupied with work or providing care. Many of those middle-aged or older people who are particularly common among working carers take on care burdens despite already having concerns about their own physical fitness and health. If workers in such a position are able to reduce their working hours by one or two hours, they can enjoy a less physically demanding time. These are the kinds of scenarios in which a system to reduce scheduled working hours are required. If there is a rise in the numbers of the aforementioned single working carers and other such working carers who do not share care commitments with other family members there may be a greater need to investigate the approaches to a system to reduce scheduled working hours from a health management perspective.

However, even with regard to factors related to care services or fatigue among carers, the majority of respondents do not work reduced hours and do not believe it is necessary. Let us consider the potential reasons

Table 1. Percentages on the necessity of a system to reduce scheduled working hours

	Working reduced hours (%)	Not working reduced hours (%)	Scheduled working hours are variable (%)	N	Necessary (%)	Not necessary (%)	N
Overall figures	14.9	75.2	9.9	444	20.4	79.6	334
Men	17.0	72.3	10.6	282	15.2	84.8	204
Women	11.1	80.2	8.6	162	28.5	71.5	130
Mismatches with the service hours	28.7	61.4	9.9	101	37.1	62.9	62
No mismatches with the service hours	10.8	79.3	9.9	343	16.5	83.5	272
Caregiving causes physical fatigue	24.6	65.3	10.1	199	38.5	61.5	130
No physical fatigue	6.9	83.3	9.8	245	8.8	91.2	204

Note: Percentages for the necessity of a system to reduce scheduled working hours are the responses for those currently "not working reduced hours" and those whose "scheduled working hours are variable."

for this by looking at the role of the family in providing care.

3. Familialist approach to care roles

The Child Care and Family Care Leave Act was originally set out on the assumption that family members would provide care only in emergency situations where people other than family members are unable to act as substitute, while assistance with daily activities such as taking a bath, eating meals, or going to the toilet would be provided by professional services such as in-home care services or care facilities. However, as, in reality, family members are also providing support for daily activities, the 2016 amendment to the Child Care and Family Care Leave Act expanded the period in which measures including the reducing of working hours could be taken to three years.

The aforementioned re-familization of care has largely been prompted by the shortage in provision of services resulting from financial constraints in the Long-term Care Insurance System, but surely another important factor is whether the family members themselves are willing to take on care commitments. Is it possible that the low demand for a system to reduce scheduled working hours is due to family members not wanting to become that closely involved in providing care? With this question in mind, let us look at families' attitudes regarding the division of care responsibilities between family members and professional carers.

Table 2 shows the attitudes of family members regarding the preferable division of care commitments between family and external professionals for each type of care provided. People who responded that a task should be done "entirely by the family" and "mainly by the family" can be described as having a familialist approach to care. In contrast, people who responded that a task should be done "mainly by professionals" and "entirely by professionals" can be regarded as de-familialist.

The Child Care and Family Care Leave Act assumed that family members would take care of "admittance and release from hospital" and "determining treatment plans" and handle the taking the care recipient to hospital portion of "shopping, hospital appointments and other such trips" by taking time off. When considering the assumption that families would receive assistance from home helpers and other such professionals for "daily activities such as bathing and eating meals," the concept that family members should take care of daily activities in particular is thought to be a strongly familialist approach. It is also imaginable that family members who take on providing care for daily activities rather than entrusting those tasks to professionals will have to decrease their working hours accordingly.

Looking at the results in Table 2, we can see that for the tasks related to "admittance and release from hospital," 71.9% advocate a familialism ("entirely by the family" (43.5%) and "mainly by the family" (28.4%)), and for "determining treatment plans," 59.1% agree with an approach ("entirely by the family"

Table 2. The preferable division of care roles between family and external professionals

	Familialist (%)		Neutral (%)	De-familialist (%)		N
	Entirely by the family	Mainly by the family	Half and half	Mainly by professionals	Entirely by professionals	
Admittance and release from hospital	43.5	28.4	12.5	8.3	7.2	457
Determining treatment plans	30.9	28.2	14.9	15.5	10.5	457
Shopping, hospital appointments and other such trips	40.7	24.7	12.7	12.0	9.8	457
Person to confide in	24.3	33.7	23.9	10.9	7.2	457
Daily activities such as bathing and eating meals	24.9	25.2	12.7	18.8	18.4	457
Figures regarding daily activities by gender						
Men	26.4	26.0	10.8	16.3	20.5	288
Women	22.5	23.7	16.0	23.1	14.8	169

Table 3. Percentages on the necessity of reduced scheduled working hours by the preferable division of care roles between family and external professionals with regard to assistance with daily activities

	Working reduced hours (%)	Not working reduced hours (%)	Scheduled working hours are variable (%)	N	Necessary (%)	Not necessary (%)	N
Familialist	19.6	71.4	8.9	224	21.9	78.1	160
Neutral	20.0	70.9	9.1	55	25.6	74.4	39
De-familialist	6.7	81.8	11.5	165	17.0	83.0	135

Note: Percentages for the necessity of reduced scheduled working hours are the responses for those currently "not working reduced hours" and those whose "scheduled working hours are variable."

(30.9%) and "mainly by the family" (28.2%)). In contrast, for "daily activities such as bathing and eating meals," the percentage advocating a familialist approach is relatively low, at 50.1% ("entirely by the family" (24.9%) and "mainly by the family" (25.2%)). At the same time, the percentage supporting a de-familialist approach to care for daily activities is also low at 37.2% ("mainly by professionals" (18.8%) and "entirely by professionals" (18.4%)), suggesting a strong tendency toward a familialist approach. There are no differences between men and women with regard to these trends.

However, such a familialist approach to care roles does not directly lead to the necessity to reduce scheduled hours in order to take on care commitments. Table 3 shows the percentages of working carers according to whether they work reduced scheduled hours at their current workplace and the perceived necessity of reduced scheduled working hours for those carers who are not working reduced hours according to the approaches to the family's role in daily activities that we have looked at above. To show the trends more clearly, we have combined "entirely by the family" and "mainly by the family" as "familialist" and "mainly by professionals" and "entirely by professionals" as "de-familialist."

There is a higher percentage of working carers working reduced hours among the "familialist" in comparison with the "de-familialist." Likewise, the percentages regarding the necessity of reduced scheduled working hours show that a greater percentage of the "familialist" respondents believe that it is "necessary." At the same time, even among the familialist, the majority are not working reduced scheduled hours (71.4%) and responded that it is not necessary (78.1%). It could be assumed that carers who have accepted the need to provide care for daily activities would need to decrease their working hours, but this may not be the case. Let us pursue this with more in-depth analysis.

4. Involvement with the care recipient

Even among those who believe that family members should provide care, there are differences in opinion on the level of involvement with the care recipient—in other words, to what extent assistance should be provided.

While there are carers who engage in "devoted caring"—providing such assistance that the care recipient feels as little discomfort as possible—there are carers who believe it is best to allow care recipients to do what they can themselves. This survey directly asked subjects—that is, the carers—which of these two approaches their own involvement with the care recipient more closely resembles.

Question: Of the following options, A and B, which is your involvement with the care recipient closer to?

A: I provide all means of assistance to ensure that the care recipient feels as little discomfort as possible.

B: I provide as little assistance as possible and allow the care recipient to do what they can themselves.

The approach described in option A shall be referred to as "devoted caring" and that described in option B shall be referred to as "autonomy-oriented caring."[6]

Hirayama (2014; 2017) and others have noted that in terms of traditional gender roles, autonomy-oriented caring (B) can be seen as a male approach, while devoted caring (A) can be regarded as a female approach. It

Table 4. Involvement with the care recipient

	Devoted (%)	Somewhat devoted (%)	Somewhat autonomy-oriented (%)	Autonomy-oriented (%)	N
Overall figures	14.7	22.8	41.1	21.4	457
Men	14.6	26.7	39.2	19.4	288
Women	14.8	16.0	44.4	24.9	169
Familialist	14.8	25.8	38.9	20.5	229
Neutral	13.8	22.4	37.9	25.9	58
De-familialist	14.7	18.8	45.3	21.2	170
Long-term care level 1	9.4	18.8	39.1	32.8	64
Long-term care level 2	6.9	25.7	40.6	26.7	101
Long-term care level 3	13.9	21.5	49.4	15.2	79
Long-term care level 4	22.9	29.2	43.8	4.2	48
Long-term care level 5	37.5	27.5	22.5	12.5	40

Note: Familialist: Assistance with daily activities provided "entirely by the family" and "mainly by the family." Neutral: Assistance with daily activities provided "half and half" (half by the family, half by professional services). De-familialist: Assistance with daily activities provided "entirely by professionals" and "mainly by professionals."

can also be suggested that in the current long-term care policies, which seek to support the self-reliance of the care recipient, the autonomy-oriented caring (B) approach is preferred, due to the fact that devoted caring (A) may encourage the care recipient's dependence on the carer.

The results for this question are set out in Table 4. Starting with the overall figures, 37.5% responded that their approach is closer to "devoted caring" ("devoted" (14.7%) and "somewhat devoted" (22.8%)), while 62.5% responded that they tended toward "autonomy-oriented caring" ("autonomy-oriented" (21.4%) and "somewhat autonomy-oriented" (41.1%)). Those adopting "autonomy-oriented caring" as an approach outnumber those pursuing "devoted caring" at a ratio of roughly 6 to 4. A comparison of the figures for men and women shows that the percentage for "autonomy-oriented caring" is slightly higher among women.

It is worth noting that even those who adopt the familialist attitude as introduced above have a strong tendency toward autonomy-oriented caring. Here the figures were divided according to whether respondents were familialist or de-familialist based on their responses regarding assistance with daily activities such as taking a bath or eating meals, and, as to be expected, even among the familialist around 60% pursue autonomy-oriented caring—a total of 59.4%, when "autonomy-oriented" (20.5%) and "somewhat autonomy-oriented" (38.9%) are combined. In other words, there appears to be a sense of balance in that even those who believe that the family—as opposed to an external, professional service—should provide care do not go to the extent of providing devoted caring (namely, providing all means of assistance to spare the care recipient discomfort).

At the same time, the more severe the care recipient's condition, the more carers tend toward devoted caring rather than autonomy-oriented caring. The final section of Table 4 shows the percentages for devoted caring and autonomy-oriented caring respectively by the levels of care required by care recipients as set out in the Long-term Care Insurance System. The higher the long-term care level, the higher the percentage for "devoted caring," and, at long-term care level 5, over half of the respondents (65.0%) tended toward "devoted caring" ("devoted" (37.5%), "somewhat devoted" (27.5%)). However, there are still 35.0% who tend toward autonomy-oriented caring.

Why do the majority of carers tend toward autonomy-oriented caring? If we consider the insights of Kasuga (2001) and Iguchi (2007), it would not be surprising for the majority to tend toward devoted caring.

Firstly, issues of carers' health may play a role in this trend. Table 5 shows the differing impacts on carers' health depending on their involvement with the care recipient. The percentage of those who responded

Table 5. Impact on carers' health by the level of involvement with the care recipient

		Yes (%)	A little (%)	Not really (%)	No (%)	N
Illness or injury due to care commitments	Devoted	8.8	23..4	22.8	45.0	171
	Autonomy-oriented	5.6	10.5	22.0	61.9	286
Physical fatigue from care commitments	Devoted	23.4	36.3	24.0	16.4	171
	Autonomy-oriented	11.2	25.2	33.6	30.1	286
Mental stress from care commitments	Devoted	25.1	41.5	19.3	14.0	171
	Autonomy-oriented	24.5	32.5	23.4	19.6	286

Table 6. Time mismatch with care services by the level of involvement with the care recipient

	There is a mismatch (%)	Slight mismatch (%)	Not much mismatch (%)	No mismatch (%)	N
Devoted	5.8	24.6	33.9	35.7	171
Autonomy-oriented	7.3	11.2	25.9	55.6	286

"yes" and "a little" when asked if they have experienced illness or injury due to their care commitments was higher among those tending toward devoted caring than among those pursuing autonomy-oriented caring. In contrast, a high percentage of those tending toward autonomy-oriented caring responded that they had experienced no illnesses or injuries. The percentages for physical fatigue and mental stress (total of "yes" and "a little") were also higher among those pursuing devoted caring, while a high percentage of those pursuing autonomy-oriented caring had experienced no such problems.

In the short term, devoted caring may appear to be a good approach, one which suggests that a carer really cares for their family. However, as the period for which care is required grows ever longer, fatigue and stress accumulate, placing the carer at high risk of damage to their health. It is conceivable that a high percentage of carers tend toward autonomous care in the sense that they are appropriately distancing themselves from the care recipient in an attempt to avoid such a buildup of stress and fatigue.

Table 6 addresses another potential reason why the majority tend toward autonomous caregiving: namely, the question of time budgeting. It is significant that a high percentage of people pursuing devoted caring feel that there is a mismatch between the hours of the care services and their own lifestyles. Devoted carers are trying to provide care in such a way that the care recipient experiences as little discomfort as possible. They undoubtedly wish to use care services at times when they are unable to provide care. On the other hand, carers who pursue autonomy-oriented caring feel little inconvenience if they are unable to use care services when they cannot provide care for the care recipient themselves, because they believe that the care recipient is able to spend time alone.

It is also possible that the perception that while care recipients may require care, they are able to spend short periods of time alone is curbing the demand for reduced scheduled working hours. Table 7 shows the demand for the systems across two axes: familialist vs. de-familialist and devoted vs. autonomy-oriented caring.

Even among those with a familialist approach, if carers tend toward autonomy-oriented caring, only a low percentage are working reduced hours, and a high percentage believe a system to reduce scheduled working hours to be unnecessary. It appears that even those who believe that it is preferable for family, as opposed to professional services, to provide care do not feel they should go to the extent of decreasing their working

Table 7. Reduced scheduled working hours and the demand for reduced scheduled working hours by involvement with the care recipient (by opinion on roles of family and external professionals in providing care)

		Working reduced hours (%)	Not working reduced hours (%)	Scheduled working hours are variable (%)	N	Necessary (%)	Not necessary (%)	N
Familialist	Devoted	34.8	54.3	10.9	92	38.0	62.0	50
	Autonomy-oriented	9.1	83.3	7.6	132	14.5	85.5	110
Neutral	Devoted	28.6	61.9	9.5	21	15.4	84.6	13
	Autonomy-oriented	14.7	76.5	8.8	34	30.8	69.2	26
De-familialist	Devoted	1.8	87.5	10.7	56	12.2	87.8	49
	Autonomy-oriented	9.2	78.9	11.9	109	19.8	80.2	86

Note: Familialist: Assistance with daily activities provided "entirely by the family" and "mainly by the family." De-familialist: Assistance with daily activities provided "entirely by professionals" and "mainly by professionals." Neutral: Assistance with daily activities provided "half and half" (half by the family, half by professional services). Devoted: I provide all means of assistance to ensure that the care recipient feels no discomfort. Autonomous-oriented: I provide as little assistance as possible and allow the care recipient to do what they can themselves. The figures for the necessity of reduced scheduled working hours are responses from those "not working reduced hours" and those who responded "scheduled working hours are variable."

hours to ensure that the care recipient does not experience discomfort in their daily life. Moreover, the percentage of familialist, autonomy-oriented caring carers who are working reduced scheduled hours (9.1%) is approximately the same as the percentage of de-familialist, autonomy-oriented caring carers who are working reduced scheduled hours (9.2%). Among de-familialist carers, the percentage those working reduced scheduled hours is lower among those who tend toward devoted caring (1.8%). However, it is possible that in this case carers are using professional care services to ensure the care recipient has no discomfort in their daily life. There is a severe strain on the public finances required to maintain the Long-term Care Insurance System that is expected to answer such demands. Table 7 indicates that the demand for reduced scheduled working hours will rise if care is re-familialized with an emphasis on devoted care. However, given that the majority tend in fact toward autonomy-oriented caring, it appears that there will be little increase in demand for reduced scheduled working hours.

When the Child Care and Family Care Leave Act and the Long-term Care Insurance System were first established, carers were suffering under heavy care burdens probably due to the fact that they were expected to provide devoted care. While the Long-term Care Insurance System responded to the recognition that such devoted caring was unsustainable by seeking to ensure the de-familization of care, in reality there has not progressed as expected in the de-familization of care, and, quite the opposite, the re-familization of care has been developed. At the same time, these analysis results seem to suggest that this re-familization of care does not spell a reversion to the devoted caring expected prior to the de-familization of care under the Long-Term Care Insurance System, but a shift toward a new kind of familization where emphasis is placed on the autonomy of the care recipient.

However, if autonomy-oriented caring is taken to excess, care recipients may feel lonely or isolated, and may not receive the appropriate care. The challenge for the future is to investigate such questions as whether carers who remain appropriately distanced from the care recipient may require a system to reduce scheduled working hours and in what kind of situation that may arise.

V. Conclusion

We have investigated the issues of support for balancing providing care with work that Japanese society will face in the future amid the progressive re-familization of care. As we address this issue it is necessary

to be aware of the premise that the families that are expected to take on care are also losing their capacity to assume the care burdens. Workplaces are also unable to allow workers the flexibility to take time off or change their working hours at any time. What are carers supposed to do when they have neither care services nor family to rely on but are still expected to avoid missing work?

The analysis results of this paper indicate that a new option may be the answer. That is the option for carers not to provide care all the time, in other words, the option for care recipients to be alone for a short period of time if possible.

In the 1990s, when the Child Care and Family Care Leave Act and Long-Term Care Insurance System were first established, carers were suffering from heavy care burdens because family members were expected to provide devoted caring. The Long-term Care Insurance System was expected to ensure the "de-familization" of care and liberate family carers from such heavy care burdens. However, in reality, there has been little progress in de-familization, and instead a growing trend toward the re-familization of care due to the rising numbers of elderly people and subsequent increase in the demand for care amid restrictions on provision of care services due to public financial constraints. However, these analysis results seem to suggest that this re-familization of care does not spell a reversion to the devoted caring expected prior to the de-familization set in motion by the launch of the Long-Term Care Insurance System, but a shift toward a new kind of familization where emphasis is placed on the autonomy of the care recipient.

Elderly people have the mental capacity of a mature adult even with need for assistance due to a decline in their physical functions. Prior to receiving care, they did what they could do for themselves and enjoyed an equal relationship with their family treated as an adult. Naturally, they feel constrained when they constantly receive care from their family members. Such an approach to providing care leads to the accumulation of fatigue and stress and is unsustainable on a long-term basis. If a care recipient has become less capable of doing daily activities for themselves but is still able to do certain activities, it is possible to ensure that care can be maintained on a long-term basis by respecting their autonomy within that scope and allowing them to be alone even in a short period of time where they are able to do so.

The analysis in this paper has shown that at present a greater percentage of carers prefer to emphasize the autonomy of the care recipient and provide as little assistance as possible, rather than pursuing devoted caring so that the care recipient experiences as little discomfort as possible. This tendency toward autonomy-oriented caring is keeping the demand for reduced scheduled working hours low even amid the growing re-familization of care. It is not easy to estimate how long a care recipient may need to receive care. As reduced scheduled hours is a special working style, a working carer will inevitably suffer disadvantages both in terms of their income and their career if they continue such a way of working indefinitely. The optimal solution would be for such working carers to be able to combine their care commitments with work without having to reduce working hours. Of course, neglect of care recipients may become an issue if carers visit care recipients less frequently and provide insufficient care. In fact, while carers' job-leaving due to their care commitments is a growing problem, isolation among care recipients is also becoming an increasingly severe issue.

If a care recipient's condition worsens, and they are able to do less and less alone, the carer must provide accordingly devoted caring. In such situations the carer is highly likely to require a system to reduce scheduled working hours. However, the system will not be so essential that anyone needs to work reduced scheduled hours. The system to reduce schedule working hours will be simply one of the necessary options.

The question of de-familization or re-familization of care demands the choice between care provided by professional services or by the family. There is the issue of whether to provide devoted caring and seek to spare the care recipient all discomfort, or to emphasize the autonomy of the care recipient while recognizing that they may experience some discomfort. At the same time, regardless of whether care is de-familized or re-familized, it is still difficult to provide such devoted caring that the care recipient feels no discomfort at all. In addressing the issue of long-term care in the future, it is important that the appropriate forms of support for balancing providing care with work will be considered on the basis that care recipients will be encouraged

to have autonomy, such that even those who are classed as requiring care and have become less capable in certain areas will look after themselves as far as they can.

This paper is based on "Saikazokuka suru kaigo to shigoto no ryoritsu: 2016 nen kaisei ikuji kaigo kyugyo ho to sono saki no kadai" [Balancing Work and the Re-familization of Elderly Care: Challenges after the amended Child Care and Family Care Leave Act of 2016], JILPT Research Report no. 204 (March 2017, in Japanese).

Notes

1. I use the term "autonomy-oriented caring" in this paper to emphasize the autonomy of *care recipient*, not that of *carer*, although this approach was mentioned as "autonomous caring" in Ikeda (2020).
2. The Child Care and Family Care Leave Act was enacted in 1995 after the provisions on long-term care were added to the 1991 Child Care Leave Act.
3. The JILPT's existing research on combining care commitments with work has been published as JILPT (2006; 2013; 2015; 2016). The latest research that forms the basis for this paper has been published as JILPT (2020). While these reports are both in Japanese, the key points have been covered in English in Ikeda (2016; 2017a; 2017b).
4. See JILPT (2020) for more detail. The authors are Yoko Niimi (Chapter 1), Shingou Ikeda (Chapters 2 and 3), Mai Yamaguchi (Chapter 4), Kaoru Okaze (Chapter 5), and Yanfei Zhou (Chapter 6). The insights set out in (1) through (6) are the core findings of Chapters 1 through 6.
5. Those who responded "not working reduced hours" or "scheduled working hours are variable."
6. Kasuga (2001) regards care as a "devoted labor" and addresses the severity of those burdens. Likewise, in recent research, Iguchi (2007) has noted the "infiniteness" of care commitments. While the concept of "devoted caring" described in A does not fit exactly with such research, the fact that the carer seeks to "ensure that the care recipient feels as little discomfort as possible" shows devotion where the needs of the care recipient, rather than the carer, determine the care, and the "providing all means of assistance" reflects the sense of infiniteness. On the other hand, "autonomy-oriented caring" is similar to what Hirayama (2017) describes as "minimum care." And yet, if, from the perspective of supporting the self-reliance of the older person, we take the stance that it is natural not to assist an older person with activities that they can do themselves, it is possible to see autonomy-oriented caring as not the "minimum" but "sufficient" care, and any assistance above that as "excessive." In that sense, this paper does not address what is the minimum or what is the maximum—that is, the different levels of commitment or the excess or lack thereof.

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Selection and Training of Women Officers in Japanese Labor Unions: Focusing on Enterprise Unions

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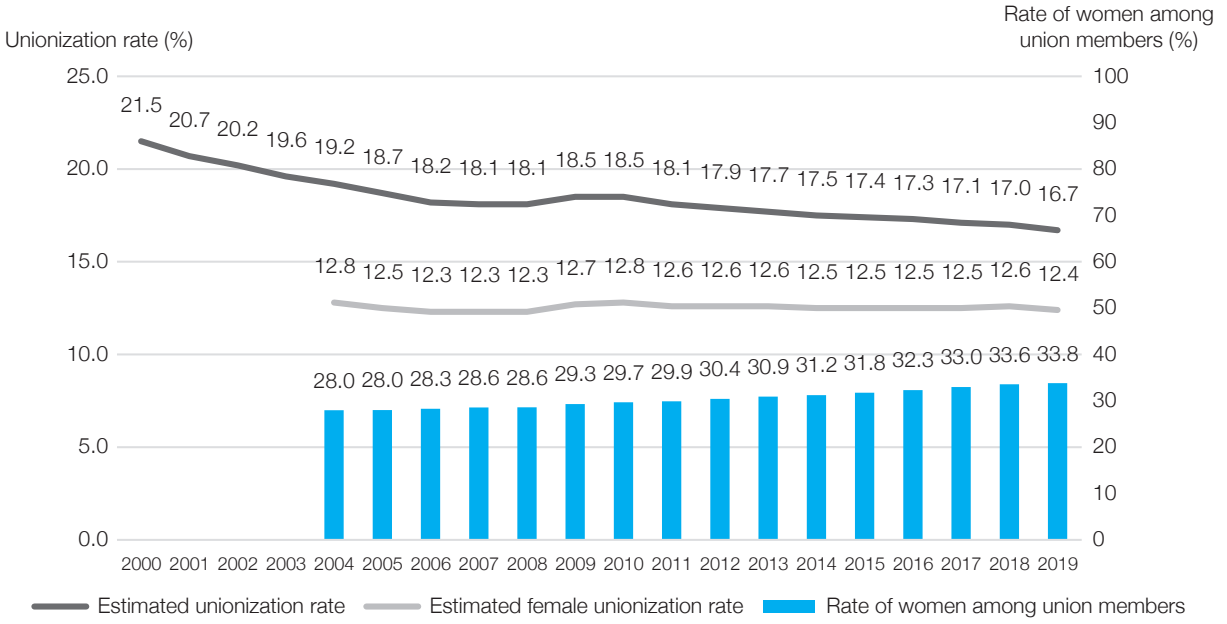
Recognition of the importance of the selection of women for officer positions in Japanese labor unions has prompted a rise in the numbers of women union officers. However, there are still major gaps between the rates of women union members and those of women officers, and union-officer positions tend to be dominated by men. This paper draws on the results of the Labour Research Council's "Union Leader Survey" of union officers of enterprise unions to reanalyze the means of selecting and training men and women union officers in private enterprise unions, and attitudes toward labor union activities and careers as union officers, in order to clarify the challenges regarding the selection and training of women union officers in enterprise unions. The results of the Union Leader Survey revealed that while women union officers engaged in union activities with similarly high levels of awareness of being trained as union officers compared to their men counterparts, women's attitudes toward careers as union officers were less proactive than those of men. This may be attributable to factors such as the differences in women's experience of union activities in comparison with men as a result of the gender division of assigned work or other reasons, or the time burdens of labor union activities.

I. Introduction

1. Japanese labor union organization rates and the percentage of women among union members

According to the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare's "Basic Survey on Labour Unions," the number of union members in 2019 was 10,087,915, which was slightly higher than the previous year's number. However, the estimated unionization rate (the percentage of the number of union members within the number of employees) was 16.7% or 0.3 percentage points below that of the previous year. This labor union organization rate has continued to fall after peaking at 55.8% in 1949, falling below 30% in the early 1980s and below 20% in the early 2000s (Figure 1).

Looking at the estimated female unionization rate since 2004, when data on the number of women union members and the estimated female unionization rate first became available, the rate has shown very



Source: Basic Survey on Labour Unions, 2019, Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare.

Figure 1. Changes in the labor union organization rate and the rate of women among union members in Japan

little change over these 15 years, levelling off at the 12% level. Calculating the rate of women among union members (the percentage of women members among members of both sexes) based on the survey's published data shows a rise in the rate of 5.8 percentage points, from 28.0% in 2004 to 33.8% in 2019. Thus, an increase in women members, albeit gradual, can be observed.[1]

Although Japan has seen significant changes in its labor market including an expanding service industry and a growing number of non-regular workers, the country's labor unions continue to be comprised mainly of "men and regular employees." Consequently, questions have arisen concerning whether Japan's labor unions can speak for "women and non-regular" workers, who face comparatively severe conditions in the labor market, as the workers' representatives in the formulation of labor policy. While the labor union organization rate continues to fall, the organization of non-regular workers—and particularly part-time workers—is rising little by little; however, this rise is not enough to drive up the labor union organization rate.

On the other hand, the non-regular segment of employment has been growing among women in Japan. However, as women achieve higher levels of academic qualifications and systems relating to the combining of work and child-rearing become more sophisticated, an increasing number of women are continuing employment without leaving work for marriage or childbirth. As a result, the valley of the M-shaped curve, which had been a characteristic of female employment in Japan, is gradually flattening out. Additionally, "gender equality" and "women's participation" are being declared as national objectives in Japan, which were reflected in the execution of the Basic Act for Gender Equal Society in 1999 and Act on Promotion of Women's Participation and Advancement in the Workplace in 2016. Within this context, the selection of women officers is receiving attention as an important issue in labor unions, mirroring a trend seen in the government and private enterprises, and the number of women officers has been growing in recent years accordingly. The main purpose of selecting women officers is to gain the participation of women in decision-making by labor unions. However, as the number of women members increases with more women continuing employment, it can be assumed that the length of time that women are union members is growing, and thus

efforts to increase the number of women officers in labor unions are a natural extension of this. Nonetheless, it must be admitted that there are still major gaps between the rates of women union members and the rates of women officers, and union-officer positions tend to be dominated by men.

In view of these circumstances, I will examine in this paper the selection and training of women officers in the enterprise unions in Japan. The selection of women union officers is, as in enterprise unions, an issue in national centers and industry-based organizations in Japan. However, the officers in those organizations are largely selected from among officers of enterprise unions, and therefore it is important to focus on enterprise unions to ensure the participation of women in the decision-making organizations of labor unions as a whole.

2. Previous studies

There have been almost no studies or research focused on the "human resources" of labor unions in Japan in recent years. Going back thirty years, the Ohara Institute for Social Research's Union Leaders Study Group conducted a "Survey on Union Leaders in Japan" and the 21st Century Study Group conducted a "Questionnaire Survey on Union Leaders" in 1990, which was the year following the formation of the national center known as the Japanese Trade Union Confederation (JTUC-Rengo). Both focused on the union officers of private-sector industry-based organizations. The former sought to grasp the individual attributes, histories within the organization, and corporate careers of union leaders who led the Japanese Private Sector Trade Union Confederation (JPTUC-RENGO) while also investigating their perception concerning labor union activities, Japanese society, politics, and other matters. The latter aimed to shed light on the characteristics of union leaders' career paths and career development. It was conducted in the forms of a questionnaire survey and an interview survey. There was also a survey by Fujimura (1995) conducted in the early 1990s that focused on the officers of enterprise unions. It regarded enterprise unions themselves as a main source of union officers and was marked by its attention on the training and career formation of union officers. However, analyses by studies conducted up through the 1990s focused almost exclusively on men officers, in part because the number of women officers was even smaller than it is today.[2]

On the other hand, sources illuminating the actual circumstances of women officers are primarily comprised of records in which women union officers noted their own experiences, such as Takagi and the Division of Gender Equality of JTUC-Rengo (2004), and analyses based on interview surveys by Shuto (2011) and others. Additionally, Iwamoto and Okura (2019) clarify the characteristics of the political preferences of men and women union members and attributes of women officers based on a political awareness survey of union members. However, they do not shed light on actual circumstances in the selection and training of women officers.

3. Data used in analysis

In the following, I will first present the career patterns of officers in enterprise unions. I will then give a current picture of the selection of women officers based on the results of surveys targeting enterprise unions and other sources. From there, I will draw on the results of the Labour Research Council's[3] "Next Generation Union Leader Survey" (conducted in 2014; hereinafter "the Union Leader Survey") to reanalyze the means of selecting and training men and women union officers in private enterprise unions and attitudes toward careers as union officers and labor union activities. My aim here will be to clarify challenges regarding the selection and training of women union officers in enterprise unions.

The Union Leader Survey used in this paper has been conducted a total of four times thus far: in 1995, 2001, 2007, and 2014. The survey targets those who "are expected to lead the labor union in the future" within enterprise unions, and many of them have comparatively little experience among the officers of enterprise unions. This point makes it difficult to assert that the survey is providing a sample representing all current officers of enterprise unions. Nevertheless, given that no cross-industry surveys of union officers have been conducted in recent years, and that the perceptions of union officers who will lead the next generation will

likely affect the labor union activities' future direction, I will attempt to conduct an analysis based on the Union Leader Survey. Ten organizations participated in the fourth survey used in this paper. They are UA Zensen (The Japanese Federation of Textile, Chemical, Food, Commercial, Service, and General Worker's Unions), Jichiro (All-Japan Prefectural and Municipal Workers Union), Denki Rengo (Japanese Electrical Electronic & Information Union), JAM (Japanese Association of Metal, Machinery and Manufacturing Workers), Kikan Roren (Japan Federation of Basic Industry Workers' Unions), JP Rouso (Japan Postal Group Union), NTT Rouso (All NTT Workers Union of Japan), Gomu Rengo (Japanese Rubber Workers' Union Confederation), Nikkyoso (Japan Teachers' Union), and Zen Insatsu (All Printing Bureau Labour Union). Thus, it is fair to say that JTUC-Rengo's affiliates are covered to a certain extent. Among the respondents to the Union Leader Survey, I look in this paper at 2,489 (250 women, 2,237 men, and 2 who did not indicate their sex) who are executive committee members or among the so-called "three highest ranks" (chairperson, deputy chairperson, and chief secretary; collectively called *sanyaku*) in the headquarters or business establishments/branches of private-sector enterprise unions, with consideration for differences in the private/public composition of male and female samples, differences in the means of the selection and training of officers in private and public unions, and other matters.[4]

II. The selection of women officers in enterprise unions

1. Officer careers in enterprise unions

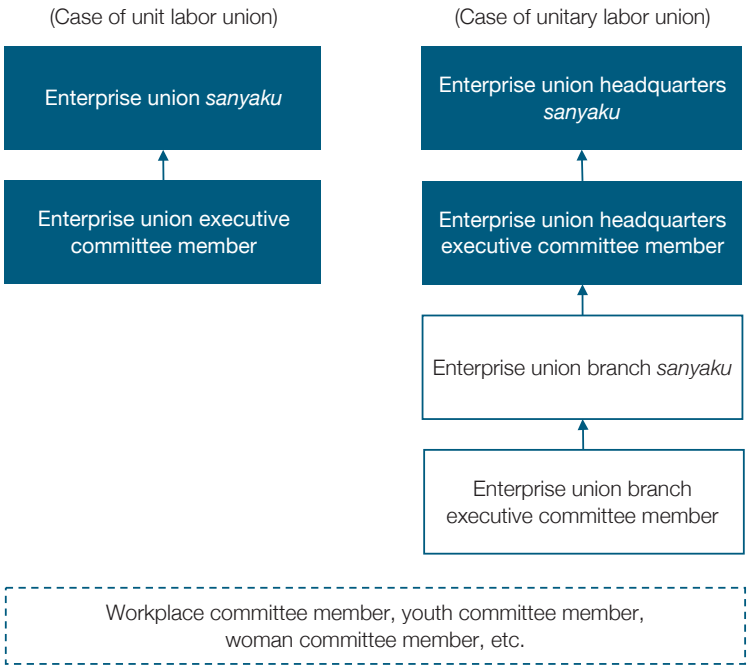
The officers of Japan's enterprise unions have the characteristic of keeping their qualifications and status as company employees and serving as union officers only for the time that they are being selected (Shirai 1966: 120). Because of this, the "careers" of union officers are closely related to their careers in their companies.

Fujimura (1995) clearly shows that the careers of union officers are not uniform, varying depending on the size, industry, traditions, and other attributes of the union organization. Even today, it is difficult to define them in terms of not only their titles but also their roles. In general, in the case of unit labor unions, the careers of union officers involve first serving as executive committee members and then being selected as *sanyaku*. In the case of unitary labor unions, the basic route is to first experience serving as executive committee members or *sanyaku* at a branch and then become officers in the headquarters.[5] There are also cases in which people experience being workplace committee members or youth/women committee members as a stage before selection as executive committee members (Figure 2).

2. The selection of women officers

According to a "Survey on Women's Participation in Labor Union Activities"[6] that JTUC-Rengo conducted in 2017 (JTUC-Rengo 2018) targeting member enterprise unions (headquarters)[7] (hereinafter "the JTUC-Rengo Survey"), only about half of unions (52.5%) select women officers, and the rate of women officers (i.e., the percentage of women officers among officers of both sexes; weighted average) is 11.8%. This rate of women officers showed a rising trend during the 1990s and 2000s but has been levelling off since the 2010s. The rate of women union members (i.e., the percentage of women members among members of both sexes; weighted average) in private-sector unions is 30.2%. Thus, there is a large gap between the rate of women union members and rate of women officers. Moreover, the percentage of private-sector unions in which women serve as *sanyaku* stands at just 12.7%, and the rate of women in *sanyaku* (i.e., the percentage of women in *sanyaku* among people in *sanyaku* of both sexes; weighted average) is very small at 4.3%.

JTUC-Rengo specified within its "4th RENGO Action Plan for Gender Equality" (plan period: October 2013 to September 2020) that it would strengthen its support to member unions in terms of the introduction of quota systems. And within JTUC-Rengo itself, one woman vice president and twelve women central executive committee members have been selected as its quota of women's representatives in its executive committee.[8] Additionally, according to a survey by Department of Gender and Employment Equality of JTUC-Rengo



Notes: 1. "Unit labor union" refers to a labor union that takes a form of individual membership and has no internal subordinate organizations (such as branches) that can act independently, according to its constitution.
2. "Unitary labor union" refers to a labor union that takes a form of individual membership and has internal subordinate organizations (such as branches), according to its constitution.

Figure 2. Conceptual career paths of union officers

(2019), approximately 20% of JTUC-Rengo's affiliates (industry-based organizations) select women officers based on a female quota. The rates of women officers are rising in industry-based organizations, albeit gradually, as a result.

However, looking at the circumstances in enterprise unions based on the aforementioned JTUC-Rengo Survey, the private-sector unions that set numbers or percentages of women among their officers in union bylaws and the like account for only 3.2%. Moreover, according to the same survey, the percentage of private-sector unions that "set numerical targets to promote women's participation" as a means of promoting women's participation in enterprise unions' executive bodies is 13.8%. In other words, at present, there are not so many enterprise unions working to select women officers by establishing so-called "female quotas" and setting numerical targets.

3. The significance of enterprise unions' selection of women officers

The selection of women officers is an action for promoting gender equality in the sense of ensuring women's participation in decision-making by labor unions. The presence of more women officers in enterprise unions has great significance for companies (namely, their internal labor-management relations) as well as for industry-based organizations and national centers, which are positioned above enterprise unions.

The aforementioned JTUC-Rengo Survey used a free format to ask about any changes brought by the selection of women officers. Respondents reported not only effects on union activities that resulted from the selection of women officers but also progress in activities to improve workplace environment—namely, "advancements were made in issues concerning harassment countermeasures, support for work-life balance, and gender equality" and "more initiatives were implemented to develop comfortable working environments

for child-rearing women"—and that "women can now directly express their views to the company in labor-management councils."

Additionally, in Japan's labor unions, where enterprise unions are the central element, the selection of women officers in enterprise unions also leads to more women officers in industry-based organizations who are selected from the officers of enterprise unions. However, the officers of industry-based organizations and national centers are often comprised of chairpersons and presidents who are at the top of member organizations. Accordingly, simply increasing the number of women officers in enterprise unions will not be sufficient to ensure that women make up a certain percentage within the decision-making settings of labor unions as a whole. As I mentioned earlier, the percentages of women who are selected as *sanyaku*, including chairpersons, in enterprise unions are extremely small, and therefore the selection of women officers based on "female quotas" is taking place in national centers and some industry-based organizations.

III. Union officers in enterprise unions as seen from the survey

In the following, I will look at the attributes of union officers as well as activities and experiences as union officers based on the Union Leader Survey.

1. Attributes of union officers

Looking first at the managerial positions of unions, both men and women have high shares in the executive committees of enterprise unions (headquarters) and business establishments/branches. However, in the case of women, the total of "*sanyaku* of enterprise unions (headquarters)" (2.4%) and "*sanyaku* of business establishments/branches" (6.0%) does not reach 10%. Meanwhile, the same percentage for men approaches 30% at 26.2%. The percentage of "full-time" officers is 16.0% for women and 19.3% for men, with men having a slightly higher percentage. Thus "non-full-time" officers make up the majority for both men and women.

There is a wide distribution for both men and women in terms of the number of years of experience at the branch executive committee member level and higher. However, a difference of about one year is seen in terms of the average number of years, with the average for women standing at 3.6 years and the average for men at 4.7 years. Furthermore, the average number of total years of experience as an officer, including as a workplace committee member and youth/woman committee member, is 5.7 years for women and 7.2 years for men. Looking at composition of academic background, the percentage of university graduate level or higher is 47.6% for women and 42.2% for men, with women surpassing men by 5.4 percentage points.

2. Background for becoming a union officer

No significant differences are seen between men and women in terms of the events leading up to their becoming union officers. Of such events, the one given most was "at the suggestion of a union officer," which was provided by 77.6% of women and 70.6% of men. Additionally, "at the suggestion of my superior" was provided by 9.2% of women and 10.8% of men, accounting for roughly 10% of all respondents. The fact that more women than men responded "at the suggestion of a union officer" supports the point that enterprise unions have been putting more effort into selecting women officers in recent years.

Looking at reasons for accepting the position of union officer (multiple responses accepted), the most common response is "because my contacts with people and information will grow and my perspective will broaden" for both women (60.4%) and men (64.9%). Following are "because I have no reason to refuse," which was provided by 32.4% of women and 32.5% of men. These results are largely shared by men and women. However, there is just one item for which a difference is seen in terms of percentage, and that is "because it will be useful in acquiring abilities that are difficult to acquire in the workplace, such as bargaining skills, negotiating skills, and management abilities." While 29.6% of men provided this response, a lower

percentage of women (19.2%) did so, resulting in a gap of 10.4 percentage points. In other words, men officers are more likely than women officers to consider the time serving as a union officer to be an opportunity for career formation in their own company.

3. The job of a union officer

Each union officer is put in charge of union work when he or she is selected as an officer. Looking at the items of union work that respondents indicated they had handled up to the time of the survey (multiple responses accepted), the most common work item among women officers is "gender equality" with 49.2%. This is followed by "public relations and education" (40.4%), "wages and working conditions" (31.6%), "young workers" (31.2%), "social contribution" (28.8%), "organizational measures" (27.6%), and "health and safety" (26.8%). Comparing these items with men, men surpass women by between 11 and 15 percentage points in "wages and working conditions," "health and safety," and "organizational measures," which occupy the top spots for men (Table 1). In particular, the percentage of men *sanyaku* who have experiences handling "wages and working conditions" in an enterprise union (headquarters) exceeds 80%, which is conspicuously high compared to the other items. "Wages and working conditions" is positioned as a work item in which experience must be gained before entering *sanyaku*. On the other hand, the percentage of men officers who handled "gender equality," which is the most common item among women, does not exceed 13.0%. Thus, a gender division emerges in terms of the union work items that are handled by men and women officers.

For both men and women, the number of work items handled thus far in their careers as union officers goes up with more years of experience at the branch executive committee member level and higher, and for almost all work items, the percentage of respondents with four or more years of experience increases in comparison with those with less than four years of experience. However, the percentage of men who handled "gender equality" is low at 18.8% even when they have experience of four or more years.

4. Hours spent on union activities

The Union Leader Survey asks about the hours spent on union activities during a normal week and a week when such hours are the longest. The number of hours spent on union activities varies greatly depending on the union of membership and is affected by differences in the organizational makeup of the male-female samples. The average number of hours spent on union activities during a normal week for non-full-time officers who engage in union activities while also doing their jobs is 12.0 hours for women and 10.6 hours for men.[9] If weekly work hours are considered to amount to 40 hours, this means that the total of work hours and hours spent on union activities surpasses 50 hours per week. The average number of hours spent on union activities during the week with the most such hours is 25.3 hours for women and 21.5 hours for men. It can be

Table 1. Work items experienced in career thus far (%, multiple responses accepted, top ten work items experienced by women officers)

	Wages and working conditions	Organizational measures	Health and safety	Mutual aid	Young workers	Gender equality	Public relations and education	Political matters	Social contribution	General affairs and financial affairs	Number of responses
Women officers total	31.6	27.6	26.8	22.8	31.2	49.2	40.4	18.4	28.8	14.0	250
Men officers total	46.2	38.8	41.9	34.3	39.4	13.0	37.0	28.0	28.4	18.1	2,237

Source: Labour Research Council, "4th Next-generation Union Leader Survey," 2014.

seen from this how burdensome union activities are in terms of hours.

The length of these hours spent on union activities also appears in concerns and dissatisfactions that respondents feel in their union activities (multiple responses accepted). For non-full-time officers, the majority of both sexes indicated "own time and home life are sacrificed to take care of union work" (51.7% for women and 54.6% for men). This is the leading concern and dissatisfaction. Additionally, "unable to do union work because hands are full of job" and "busyness of union work interferes with job" both account for 20% of women and 30% of men. Thus, considerable numbers of non-full-time officers mention the problem of balancing their jobs and union activities.

Furthermore, I would like to look at women officers' statements concerning their union activities taken from an interview research on the perceptions and actual circumstances of next-generation union leaders[10] (hereinafter "the Interview Survey"), which was conducted by the Labour Research Council as a follow-up survey of the Union Leader Survey (Labour Research Council 2019), in order to get a detailed picture of the hours that women officers spend on union activities.

- My workload increases and duties come to me because of the "female quota." I must go to outside meetings, such as those of the industry-based organization and national center's local organization, as part of women's activities. (Branch deputy chairperson, non-full-time)
- I take a paid holiday to do union activities about once a month. In fact, I ran short of paid holidays when I had to handle activities for the national center's local organization. I want to continue with the union and have never thought about quitting. But I don't know what will happen when I'm faced with marriage or childbirth. (Branch executive committee member, non-full-time)
- I can do this now because I'm single. But I think it would be quite difficult if I had a child. I don't intend to continue being an officer. Many of the women who are serving as officers have children who have already grown up. (Branch deputy chairperson, non-full-time)
- I have not only meetings of my branch and regional headquarters (intermediate organization between the enterprise union headquarters and branch), but also activities on weekends. And I become particularly busy during elections. In a month, I have an executive committee meeting for my local headquarters, a branch chairperson/chief secretary meeting, about three branch meetings and about three conferences of the councils organized at the area level. Sometimes I even have two union meetings a day. (Concurrently acting as branch executive committee member and regional headquarters executive committee member, non-full-time)

The problem of hours spent on union activities is one shared by both sexes. However, looking at the statements that women officers made with respect to these hours, it is apparent that a situation particular to women officers—namely the taking of concurrent positions based on a "female quota"—is emerging as a result of demands to select women in various situations. With respect to this "female quota," women are being asked to serve not only as labor union officers in organizations above the enterprise unions to which they belong—that is to say, industry-based organizations and national centers—but also as worker representatives, such as members of councils that deliberate labor policies. And being fewer in number than men officers, they must also attend more committees. Moreover, it is suggested that in Japan, where women are the central figures in terms of family responsibilities, women who have married or given birth find it difficult to handle the work of being a union officer, which unavoidably entails doing activities after work hours and weekends.

IV. The experience and career of a union officer

Comparing the experiences and activities of union officers in terms of sex reveals some differences in the assigned work they experienced in their service; however, there are also many areas that are common to both men and women. Furthermore, the percentage of respondents indicating that they "have a sense" of being trained (i.e., the total of respondents indicating that they have a "deep sense" and "some sense" of

being trained) is roughly the same for both sexes, standing at 76.4% for women and 74.7% for men. Thus, many union officers, both men and women, are engaged in union activities with a real sense of being trained as union officers.

Here, I would like to look at the careers of union officers and examine the relationship between experiences as a union officer and attitudes toward the career of a union officer.

1. Attitudes toward the career of a union officer

First, looking at respondents' attitudes toward continuing as a union officer, for women officers, answers vary with a percentage of just under 40% (38.8%) saying "not sure" (this was the most common response) and percentages of about 20% respectively for "want to continue" (21.6%), "do not want to continue" (22.0%; this is the total of "don't want to continue if possible" and "do not want to continue at all"), and "will continue if no one else is available" (17.2%). For men, "want to continue" was indicated by 25.4%, a percentage that is slightly higher than that for women, and thus no conspicuous difference is seen between the sexes. However, if the examination is limited to executive committee members of enterprise unions (headquarters) (77 women and 369 men) with consideration for differences in the duty makeup of men and women, the percentages of "want to continue" show a difference of 10.3 percentage points, with the percentage for women being 26.0% and that for men being 36.3%.

Then, what kinds of career do union officers envision within a labor union? When the survey asked respondents about the positions "they desire or are willing to take on", the percentages of women responding "enterprise union (headquarters) executive committee member level" and "branch executive committee member level" both stood at 30.8%, while the combined percentages for "branch *sanyaku* level" (8.0%) and "enterprise union (headquarters) *sanyaku* level" (7.2%) did not go beyond around 15%. Additionally, the percentage responding "a level before executive committee member" is not low at 18.0%, either. As for men, like women, more men mentioned the executive committee member level rather than the *sanyaku* level for both enterprise unions (headquarters) and business establishments/branches. However, the percentages of 16.2% for "branch *sanyaku* level" and 18.1% for "enterprise union (headquarters) *sanyaku* level" are both higher than the corresponding percentages for women.

For the positions that respondents desire or are willing to take on, the percentage indicating the same position as their current position was high for both sexes. Looking at the percentages of respondents who show a desire or willingness to take on a higher office than their present position (based on the envisioned careers of union officers shown in Figure 2 [unitary labor unions]), the percentage for women is 24.4% while that for men is 35.0%; thus, the percentage for men stands 10.6 percentage points above that for women. Furthermore, looking only at executive committee members of enterprise unions (headquarters), the percentage of respondents envisioning a position above their current one—that is, a career of the *sanyaku* level or higher in an enterprise union (headquarters) (including officer at the industry-based-organization or JTUC-Rengo level)—shows an even larger difference between the sexes, with women standing at 13.0% and men at 33.6% (Table 2).

2. Influences that union officers' experiences have on attitudes toward career

Several characteristics can be seen from the results of the analysis of union officers' experiences and attitudes by degree of intention to continue that focused on women officers, including those in public unions, using the Union Leader Survey. For example, women officers who want to continue being a union officer have experienced handling a broader range of assigned work and have a stronger sense of being trained as a union officer than those who do not want to continue (Goto 2016).

In this paper, I will conduct my analysis with attention to female respondents' different career advancement intentions as union officers—that is, whether or not women officers envision taking a position above their current position within their careers as union officers—while bearing in mind not only women officers'

Table 2. Positions that respondents show a desire or willingness to take on (%)

	Level attained up to becoming an executive committee member	Branch executive committee member level	Branch *sanyaku* level	Enterprise union (headquarters) executive committee member level	Enterprise union (headquarters) *sanyaku* level	Industry-based organization or JTUC-Rengo officer level	No response	Number of responses	Total of positions higher than current position
Women officers total	18.0	30.8	8.0	30.8	7.2	2.0	3.2	250	24.4
Enterprise union (headquarters) executive committee member	9.1	11.7	2.6	59.7	10.4	2.6	3.9	77	13.0
Men officers total	13.6	29.1	16.2	16.5	18.1	5.1	1.2	2,237	35.0
Enterprise union (headquarters) executive committee member	8.7	12.2	3.8	40.4	28.2	5.4	1.4	369	33.6

Source: Labour Research Council, "4th Next-generation Union Leader Survey," 2014.

continuation in their capacity but also an increase of women officers who become associated with decision-making in labor unions as a whole.

Here, I will look at the relationship with attitudes toward career as a union officer from five standpoints: (1) number of years of experience as an officer (less than four, four or more), (2) existence/non-existence of experience handling duties associated with wages and working conditions, (3) existence/non-existence of experience handling duties associated with gender equality, (4) existence/non-existence of concerns or dissatisfactions concerning balance with family life ("own time and home life are sacrificed"), and (5) existence/non-existence of real sense of being trained as a union officer. Considering the data quantity for women officers, I conducted a cross-tabulation of whether or not respondents envisioned taking a position higher than their present position for each of (1) to (5) and conducted a chi-squared test (χ^2) of independence.

I also conducted a similar analysis on the respondents' intention to continue. However, except for "sense of being trained as a union officer," I was unable to obtain statistically significant results for women officers.

According to Table 3, in the case of women, the percentage of respondents indicating a desire or willingness to take on a higher office than their present position is significantly higher for the groups that have experience of four or more years, have experience handling wages and working conditions, have no difficulty balancing duties with family life, and have a real sense of being trained ($p<0.01$). As was mentioned above, the percentage of having experience handling wages and working conditions is conspicuously high among men *sanyaku* of enterprise unions (headquarters). And, it can be observed that experience handling wages and working conditions leads to the envisioning of career advancement as a union officer for women as well. As for whether or not experience handling gender equality does the same, no significant difference was observed from test results.

On the other hand, in the case of men, the percentage is significantly higher for the groups that have experience of four or more years, have experience handling wages and working conditions, have experience handling gender equality, and have a real sense of being trained ($p<0.01$). However, no significant difference is seen for "difficulty balancing duties with family life," and thus it is shown that, for men, concerns about balancing duties with home life do not influence attitude toward career as a union officer.

Table 3. Officer experience and career advancement (percentages of respondents indicating desire or willingness to take on a position above current position)

Total		Women (n=250)		Men (n=2,237)	
		24.4%	(Test) p-value	35.0%	(Test) p-value
(1) Number of years of experience	4 or more	36.7%	**	39.5%	**
	Less than 4	17.5%	p<0.001	31.3%	p<0.001
(2) Experienced work (wages and working conditions)	Yes	35.4%	**	39.8%	**
	No	18.4%	p=0.004	30.6%	p<0.001
(3) Experienced work (gender equality)	Yes	29.3%		47.2%	**
	No	18.4%	p=0.051	33.1%	p<0.001
(4) Difficulty balancing duties and home life	No	32.1%	**	36.7%	
	Yes	15.8%	p=0.003	33.9%	p=0.176
(5) Have sense of being trained	Yes	28.8%	**	37.0%	**
	No	10.3%	p=0.004	29.6%	p=0.002

Source: Labour Research Council, "4th Next-generation Union Leader Survey," 2014..

V. Issues concerning the selection and training of women officers

As is seen above, like men, women officers have a strong real sense of being trained. However, they are less proactive about their careers as union officers. This may be attributable to factors such as the differences in women's experience of union activities in comparison with men as a result of the gender division of assigned work or other reasons, or the time burdens of union activities. Then, what measures are needed in enterprise unions' selection and training of women officers?

1. Union careers for women officers

Looking at the results of the Union Leader Survey, it is apparent that the difference between years of continuous employment and years of experience as a branch executive committee member or higher—that is, the time between becoming a union member and being selected as an officer—is smaller for women officers having the university degrees or above, who account for nearly half of all women officers, than men having the same academic backgrounds. In other words, as the selection of women officers is pressed forward, women officers are being selected more quickly than men officers. Accordingly, shorter is not only their involvement in union activities before their selection as union officers but also their time of employment in their companies. I believe this kind of "quick selection" is making it difficult for women officers to position being a "union officer" as a part of their careers.

Additionally, under the current circumstances whereby women officers are fixed into the work of "gender equality" and have few opportunities to handle "wages and working conditions," which is the work that many men in the *sanyaku* ranks experience, it is hard for women officers to envision a union career in which they will also enter the *sanyaku* ranks.

From the results of the analysis, it can be observed that the length of years of experience being a union officer and the experience of handling a broad range of work lead to a mindset that envisions a future higher position as a union officer, even among women officers. Even if "quick selection" in comparison with men officers is unavoidable for the selection of women officers, consideration must be given to ensure that women officers can position their time as a union officer within their careers at the time of selection. Moreover, work must be assigned consciously without any gender biases to ensure that women officers can get a long-term view of their careers as union officers.

2. Method of selecting and training women officers

The Union Leader Survey put forth two ways of approaching the selection and training of women officers. They were "(a) Priority should be given to increasing the number of women officers by, for example, setting a female quota," and "(b) Priority should be given to training human resources that are appropriate as union officers, without distinguishing between men and women." Respondents were asked to indicate which view they agreed with. In the case of women officers, only 19.2% indicated "agreement" (the total of respondents indicating "agree" and "agree more than disagree") with the approach of (a), while the majority (56.4%) indicated "agreement" with the approach of (b). Put another way, not many women officers see selection through so-called "female quotas," such as quota systems, in a positive light.

On the other hand, progress is being made, albeit gradual, in the selection of women officers in national centers and some industry-based organizations as a result of "female quotas," and selection through "female quotas" is seen as an effective method. However, the perceptions held by enterprise unions' women officers suggest that selecting officers through "female quotas" alone is inadequate, and it can be surmised that women officers do not get a solid sense of quotas' effects or significance. The matter of to what extent acceptance is raised among not only union leadership but also women officers and women officer candidates is an important one when making selections based on a "female quota."

3. Time spent on union activities as a topic for consideration

The burden of time spent doing union activities is another important issue in the selection and training of union officers, particularly in the case of non-full-time officers. The "three simultaneous demands of work, home life, and union activities" have long been identified as an issue in the selection of women officers, and the same has become true of men as well in recent years.

In the Interview Survey targeting labor unions, several enterprise unions expressed the view that "it is difficult for child-rearing women to become officers." In fact, it remains true even today that many women union officers are in age groups that are before marriage/childbirth or after child-rearing. Due to the limited nature of the samples used in this analysis, I will refrain from making any statements based on gender-specific data. However, I wish to add that respondents of the group indicating a desire or willingness to take on a higher office than their present position spend more time doing union activities than those of other groups.

As a general rule, union activities in Japan take place outside of work hours. However, union activities can take place during work hours when provisions and regulations for them exist in a collective agreement or when they are established within a labor-management agreement. In fact, according to the RENGO-RIALS (2016), 80% of the enterprise unions (headquarters) and business establishment/branches targeted in a survey responded that union activities could take place during work hours. Wages for time spent not working due to union activities are naturally covered by the enterprise union. Nonetheless, reexamining the time spent on union activities is an urgent issue that should be also addressed from the standpoint of selecting and training women officers.

This paper has been revised from the original one (Goto 2020), which was submitted to the 2019 Conference on Labor Policy Study, in line with the gist of *Japan Labor Issues*.

Notes

1. Estimated unionization rate (labor union organization rate) is calculated using the number of labor union members of unit labor unions and headquarters at the top of unitary labor unions. However, because data on the number of women union members of those unions are not available, I calculated the percentage of women based on the number of women union members in the number of labor union members of unit labor unions and subordinate organizations of unitary labor unions. See the notes of Figure 2 for explanations of "unit labor unions" and "unitary labor unions."
2. The survey by Fujimura (1995) etc. mainly targeted chief secretaries and involved unionized human resources of organizations. The percentage of women occupying the *sanyaku* ranks in responding unions was only about 1% (Fujimura 1995: 100).
3. The Labour Research Council was established in 1948 with a fund formed by contributions given by labor unions. It is a research body that is mainly entrusted with surveys conducted by national centers, industry-based organizations, enterprise unions, and other labor unions.
4. The first to third surveys were conducted with their focus on branch (organization at the business establishment level) executive committee members and higher. However, the fourth survey included workplace committee members, youth committee members, and women committee members. In addition, the published analyses of the survey use sampling data that mainly correspond to the organizational membership of participating organizations. However, in this paper, I targeted the total number of survey respondents to secure a fixed number of women officers' samples and then focused on the officers and *sanyaku* ranks of enterprise union headquarters/branches.

   It should be noted that, depending on the participating unions, characteristics are seen in the organizational makeups of unions and ways of training union officers, even in private-sector unions. However, given the difficulty of analyzing women officers by participating union, resulting from differences in the number of samples and gender makeup, I did not conduct analyses on individual participating unions in this paper.
5. See the notes of Figure 2 for explanations of "unit labor unions" and "unitary labor unions."
6. This survey mainly focuses on unions targeted by JTUC-Rengo's working conditions surveys. Responding private-sector unions number 858.
7. The term "enterprise union (headquarters)" used in this paper refers to unit labor unions and headquarters at the top of unitary labor unions.
8. JTUC-Rengo aims for a women's participation rate based on the constitution of the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC), of which JTUC-Rengo is a member. For Congress delegates, the ITUC establishes that "In the event that there are two or more Deputy General Secretaries, at least one shall be women." And for the percentage of women in the Executive Bureau, it establishes a

target of "starting at 30%, for minimum women's membership" (Division of Gender Equality of JTUC-Rengo 2013:12).

9. Concerning the average amounts of time spent on union activities for men and women of each participating union, in many unions, the averages for men and women are almost the same or the average of men is higher than that of women.

10. In this survey, the Labour Research Council conducted organizational interviews mainly with the *sanyaku* ranks of branch-level organizations of enterprise unions and individual interviews with young officers (generally in their forties or younger), in most cases executive committee members, of the same organizations. Twenty organizations participated in the organizational interviews and 61 people participated in the individual interviews.

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GOTO Kayo

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I. Main Labor Economic Indicators

1. Economy

The Japanese economy is still in a severe situation due to the Novel Coronavirus, but it is showing movements of picking up. Concerning short-term prospects, the economy is expected to show movements of picking up, supported by the effects of the policies and improvement in overseas economies while taking measures to prevent the spread of infectious diseases. However, full attention should be given to the further increase in downside risks due to the spread of the infectious diseases in Japan and abroad. Also attention should be given to the effects of fluctuations in the financial and capital markets. (*Monthly Economic Report*,[1] January 2021).

2. Employment and unemployment

The number of employees in December decreased by 590 thousand over the previous year. The unemployment rate, seasonally adjusted, was 2.9%.[2] Active job openings-to-applicants ratio in December, seasonally adjusted, was 1.06.[3] (Figure 1)

3. Wages and working hours

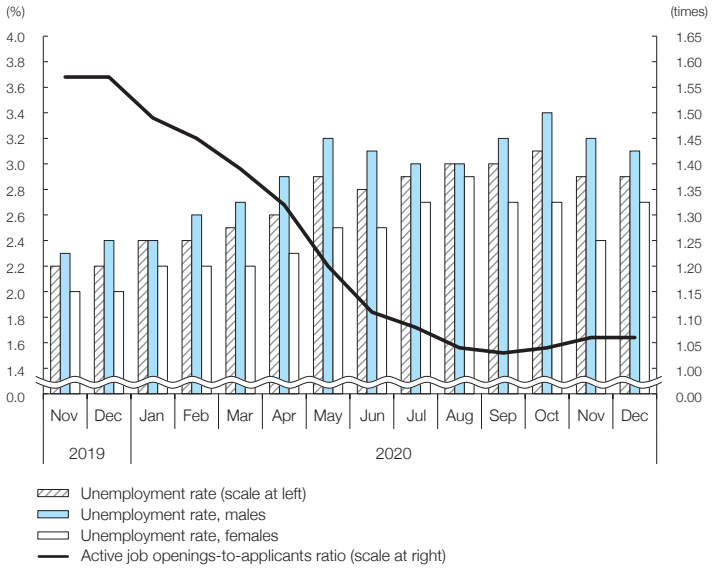
In December, total cash earnings decreased by 3.0% year-on-year and real wages (total cash earnings) decreased by 1.7%. Total hours worked decreased by 2.5% year-on-year, while scheduled hours worked decreased by 2.1%.[4] (Figure 2)

4. Consumer price index

In December, the consumer price index for all items declined by 1.2% year-on-year, the consumer price index for all items less fresh food declined by 1.0%, and the consumer price index for all items less fresh food and energy declined by 0.4%.[5]

5. Workers' household economy

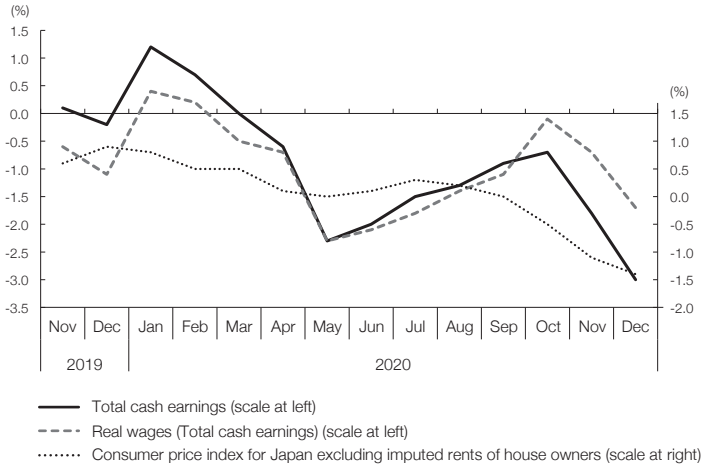
In December, consumption expenditures by workers' households decreased by 3.4% year-on-year nominally and decreased by 2.0% in real terms.[6]



Source: Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications (MIC), *Labour Force Survey*; Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare (MHLW), *Employment Referrals for General Workers*.

Note: Active job openings-to-applicants ratio indicates the number of job openings per job applicant at public employment security. It shows the tightness of labor supply and demand.

Figure 1. Unemployment rate and active job openings-to-applicants ratio (seasonally adjusted)



Source: MHLW, *Monthly Labour Survey*; MIC, *Consumer Price Index*.

Figure 2. Total cash earnings / real wages annual percent change

For details for the above, see JILPT *Main Labor Economic Indicators* at https://www.jil.go.jp/english/estatis/eshuyo/index.html

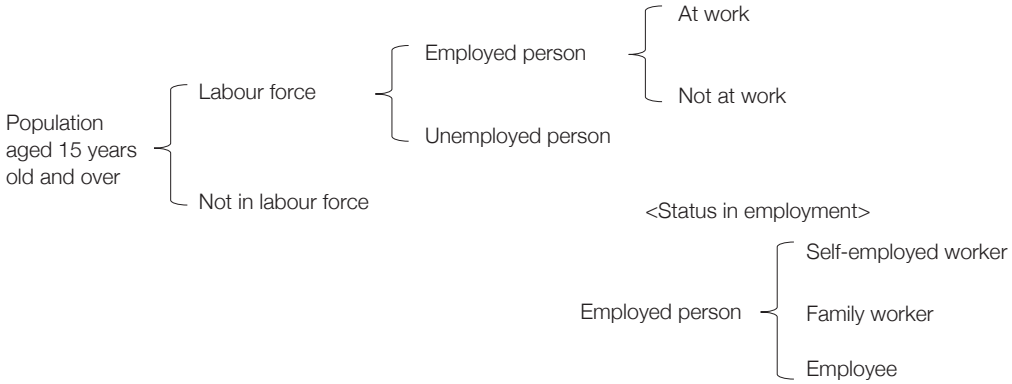
1. Cabinet Office, *Monthly Economic Report* analyzes trends in the Japanese and world economies and indicates the assessment by the Japanese government. Published once a month. https://www5.cao.go.jp/keizai3/getsurei-e/index-e.html
2. https://www.stat.go.jp/english/data/roudou/results/month/index.html
3. https://www.mhlw.go.jp/english/database/db-l/general_workers.html
4. For establishments with 5 or more employees. https://www.mhlw.go.jp/english/database/db-l/monthly-labour.html
5. https://www.stat.go.jp/english/data/cpi/index.html
6. MIC, *Family Income and Expenditure Survey*. https://www.stat.go.jp/english/data/kakei/index.html

II. Impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic on employment and unemployment

There are growing concerns that COVID-19's spread will have a significant impact on employment by retarding economic activity in Japan. The following outlines the recent trends shown in statistical indicators relating to employment. See JILPT website *Novel Coronavirus* (*COVID-19*) for the latest information (https://www.jil.go.jp/english/special/covid-19/index.html).

1. Employment and unemployment

(1) Definitions of *Labour Force Survey*



Source: Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications (MIC), *Labour Force Survey*, Concepts and Definitions.
https://www.stat.go.jp/english/data/roudou/pdf/definite.pdf

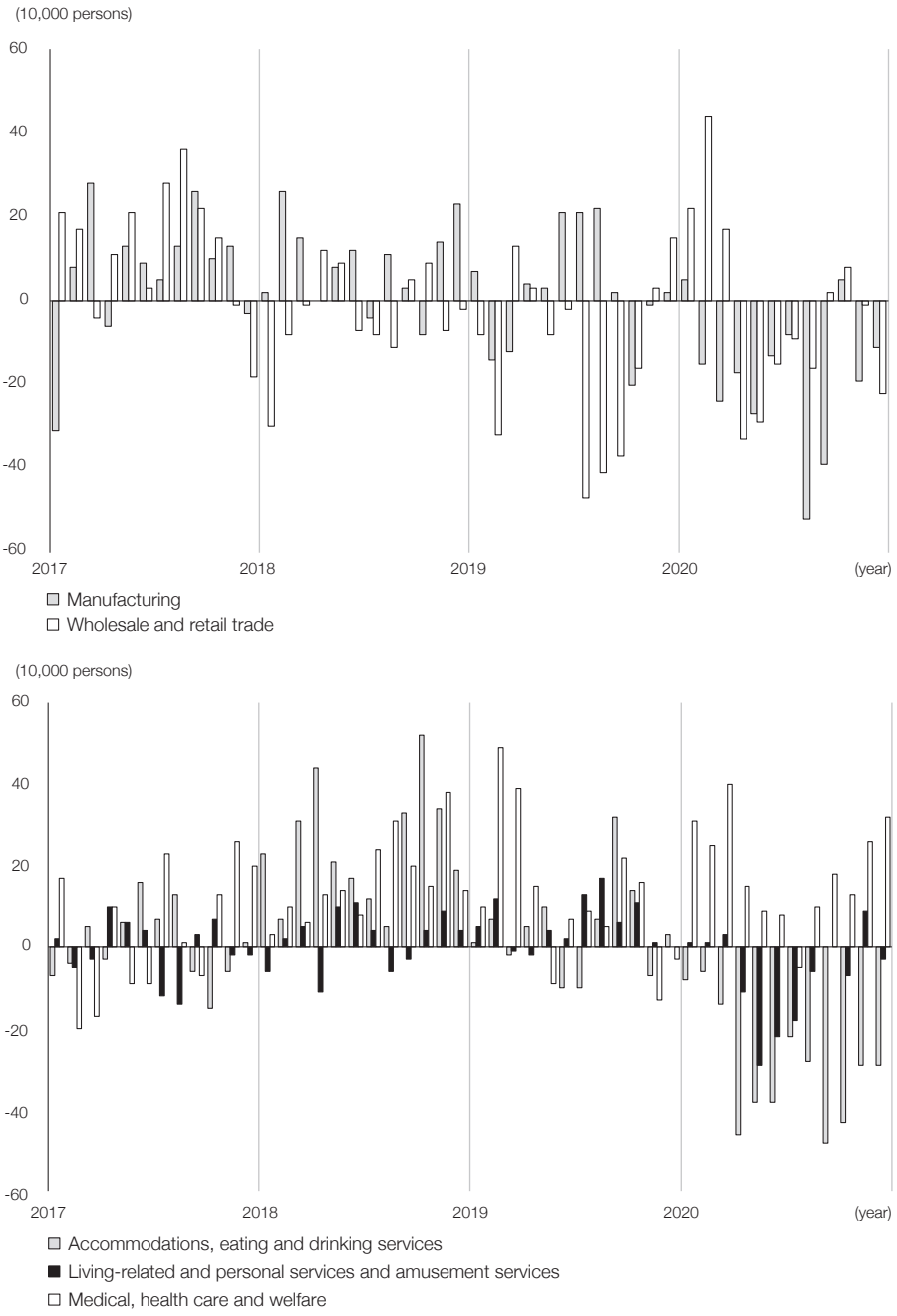
(2) Labor force

Table 1. Labor force

(10,000 persons)

		Labor force			
		Total	Employed person		Unemployed person
				Not at work	
2017		6,720	6,530	151	190
2018		6,830	6,664	169	166
2019		6,886	6,724	176	162
2020		6,868	6,676	256	191
2020	January	6,846	6,687	194	159
	February	6,850	6,691	196	159
	March	6,876	6,700	249	176
	April	6,817	6,628	597	189
	May	6,854	6,656	423	198
	June	6,865	6,670	236	195
	July	6,852	6,655	220	197
	August	6,882	6,676	216	206
	September	6,899	6,689	197	210
	October	6,910	6,694	170	215
	November	6,902	6,707	176	195
	December	6,860	6,666	202	194

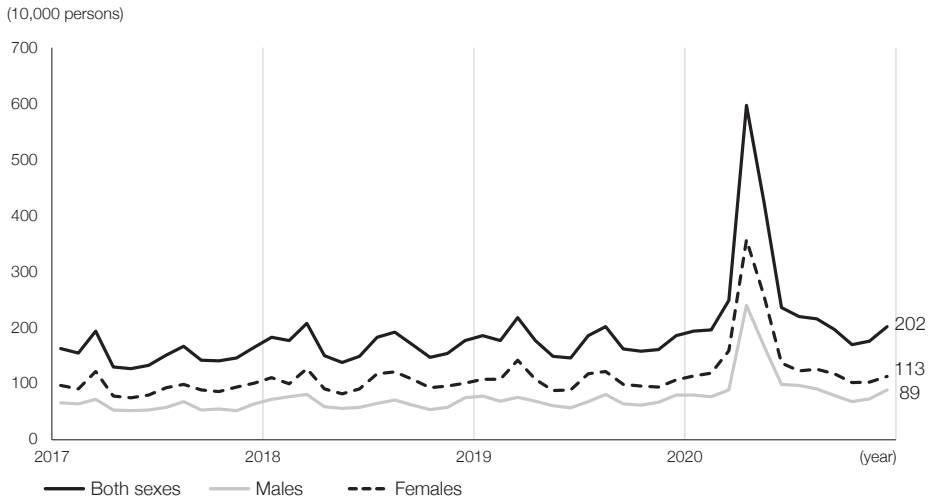
Source: Compiled by JILPT based on Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications (MIC), *Labour Force Survey* (Basic Tabulation)(unadjusted values).



Source: Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications (MIC), *Labour Force Survey* (Basic Tabulation).[7]

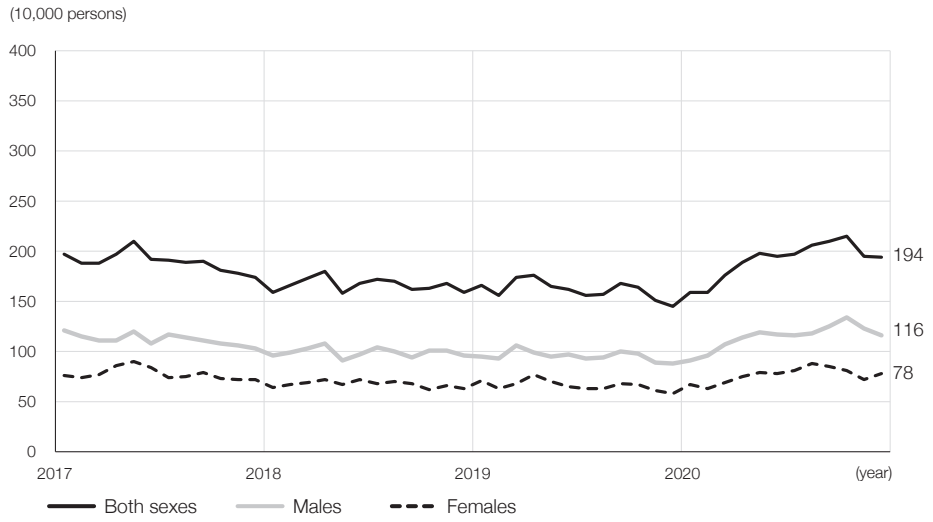
Figure 3. Number of employed persons by main industry (unadjusted values, year-on-year change) (January 2017 to December 2020)

7. For up-to-date information and further details, see https://www.jil.go.jp/kokunai/statistics/covid-19/c01.html#c01-7 (in Japanese).



Source: MIC, *Labour Force Survey* (Basic Tabulation).[8]

Figure 4. Number of employed persons not at work (unadjusted values, by sex) (January 2017 to December 2020)



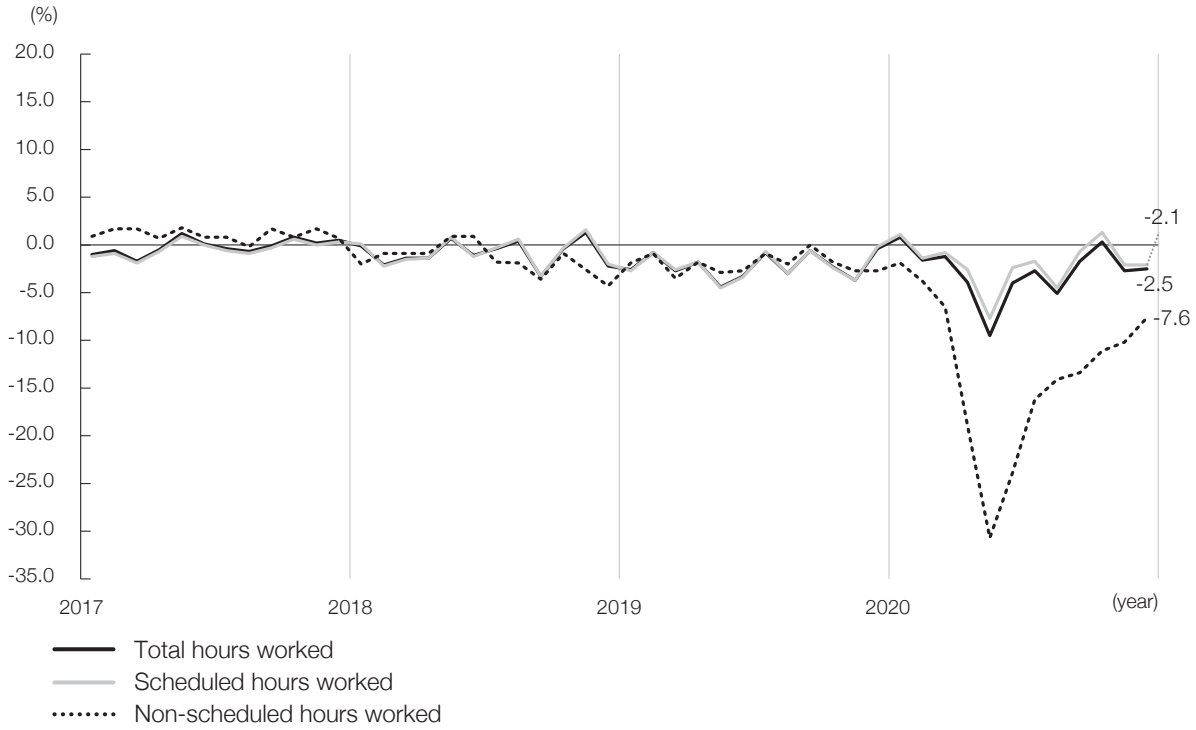
Source: MIC, *Labour Force Survey* (Basic Tabulation).[9]

Figure 5. Number of unemployed persons (unadjusted values, by sex) (January 2017 to December 2020)

8. For up-to-date information and further details, see https://www.jil.go.jp/kokunai/statistics/covid-19/c23.html (in Japanese).

9. For up-to-date information and further details, see https://www.jil.go.jp/kokunai/statistics/covid-19/c03.html#c03-1 (in Japanese).

2. Working hours



Source: Compiled by JILPT based on MHLW, "Monthly Labour Survey."[10]
Notes: 1. Beginning in June 2019, values are based on a complete survey of "business establishments with 500 or more employees."
2. "Business establishments with 500 or more employees" for the Tokyo metropolitan area are re-aggregated beginning in 2012.

Figure 6. Total hours worked, scheduled hours worked, and non-scheduled hours worked (year-on-year change, total of full-time employees and part-time workers) (January 2017 to December 2020)

For the up-to-date information, see JILPT *Main Labor Economic Indicators* at https://www.jil.go.jp/english/estatis/eshuyo/index.html

10. MHLW, *Monthly Labour Survey.* https://www.mhlw.go.jp/english/database/db-l/monthly-labour.html. For up-to-date information and further details, see https://www.jil.go.jp/kokunai/statistics/covid-19/c11.html#c11-1 (in Japanese).

What's on the Next Issue

Japan Labor Issues

Volume 5, Number 31,

June 2021

tentative

●Trends

[Column]

▷ How Women Bear the Brunt of COVID-19's Damages on Work (Continued II)

●Judgments and Orders

▷ The Worker Status of a Theater Troupe Member: The Air Studio Case Tokyo High Court (Sept. 3, 2020)

●Japan's Employment System and Public Policy 2017-2022

▷ Labor-management Relations in Japan

Part II: Trends and Current State of Collective Labor Relations

●Statistical Indicators

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