

Exploration of "Workers' Welfare"

—Its Ten Concepts—

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Many years have passed since the decline of the labor administration and the labor movement was pointed out. The transformation of the labor market and the consciousness of the working class, the increasing affluence of workers, the appearance of anti-labor governments and the laxity of labor administration and unions have been cited as some of the factors that have contributed to this decline.

This paper is based upon the following assumptions :

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

The term "Workers' Welfare" is used here in a broader sense and differs in meaning from the consumer cooperatives and other business activities as defined in a 1960 Sohyo pamphlet¹⁾ and by Hiromichi Nishimura²⁾.

The goal of the study is to establish a theoretical and practical framework of what is tentatively named "Workers' Welfare" that is usable beyond the boundaries of time and place. With such a framework, we could study where existing programs and services are located within the framework and what programs and services are missing and should be planned and implemented in the future. Two approaches are possible, and necessary. One is through the review of the various existing concepts of "Workers' Welfare." Today already there are about a dozen of these concepts in the world, which are similar in content, with some overlapping and differences. Through induction, some colligation and selection, a "Workers' Welfare" concept may be constructed. Another approach is through the measurement of needs of workers, although "needs" may be in layers.³⁾ This paper will utilize the former approach. Our tentative conclusion is as follows :

"Workers' Welfare" is a field of research and aggregation of policies and programs which examines and practices what the welfare of workers is and how it can be realized. It is needs-oriented, and those needs are to be in any processes of workers' subsistence or labor power reproduction cycle. The workers' welfare can be defined in its quality and quantity at a certain time and society, but varies with the change of time and place and, in this sense, cannot be shown as an absolute, fixed level. The needs and welfare can be for "minimum" and "above minimum", and never ending. The providers of policies and programs could be employers,

workers' organizations, governments and other groups and organizations, and the targets of them could be all workers, both the privileged and the unprivileged. Various disciplines, particularly labor-related studies and social policy/social welfare-related studies, would be relevant to this topic.

- 1) Sohyo, et al., *Labor Movement and Welfare Activities* (pamphlet) Jan. 1960.
- 2) Hiromichi Nishimura, *Workers' Welfare* (Tokyo: Yuhikaku, 1973).
- 3) e. g. Richard Thayer, "Problem Analysis: Alternative Measures of Needs Assessment."

1. Fringe Benefits Model

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

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

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

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

These may be called Employee Benefits, rather than Fringe Benefits, because the benefit costs today amount to nearly 37 percent of the total payroll and the term *fringe* is no longer appropriate. Supplementary Income Payments²⁾, Economic Security Packages³⁾, and other expressions have also appeared recently. Items listed under A. are benefits required by law, those under B. pensions and various insurances, those under C. and D. benefits for time not worked, and those under E. miscellaneous. Besides items listed here, *Employee Benefits in Medium and Large Firms* of U. S. Department of Labor, for example, lists: gifts, in-house infirmary, recreational facilities, parking and company automobile for a personal business, among others. As is clear from the right column of the table, however, health & welfare and retirement are the two major benefit categories.

What is included in fringe benefits is of course different depending on the employment, wage and social security systems, and historical conditions. Although the analysis of differences among countries is not the purpose here, the example of Japan will be cited. There the terms "Corporate Welfare" (*Kigyo Fukushi*) and "Welfare Facilities & Programs" (*Fukuri Kosei*) have been used instead of fringe benefits. Benefits for such things as time not worked and bonuses are excluded, while are included such miscellaneous legally not-required items as hospitals, checkups, cultural and sports clubs and circles, condolence gifts, sports days and employee trips, and uniforms.⁴⁾

Fringe benefits can be in the forms of cash or goods and services. They may be legally required, based on collective agreements between labor and management, or given totally voluntarily by employers.

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

The concepts of Workers' Welfare and Welfare Facilities, which appear in International Labour Organization (ILO) publications, are sometimes close to fringe benefits here.⁶⁾ These concepts will be discussed later. (pp. 8 & 11-12)

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

- 2) e. g. Lloyd G. Reynolds, *Labor Economics and Labor Relations* [6th Edition] (Englewood Cliffs, N. J. : Prentice-Hall, 1974), pp. 214-218.
- 3) e. g. Harold W. Davey, et al., *Contemporary Collective Bargaining* [4th Edition] (Englewood Cliffs, N. J. : Prentice-Hall, 1982), pp. 246-277.
- 4) The following is the classification by *Workers' Welfare Facilities and Programs Survey Report, 1983* (Tokyo : Ministry of Labor, 1985) :
 - A. Legally Required Payments
 - National Health Insurances
 - National Pension Plans (Social Security)
 - Labor Insurances : Employment Insurances and Workers' Compensation
 - Children Allowance
 - Payment for Employment for the Handicapped, and others
 - B. Voluntary Payments
 - Housing and Related Item Payment (e. g. Family Housings, Dormitory, House Ownership Assistance Programs—Loans, Savings, Interest Subsidy, etc.)
 - Health and Medical (e. g. Hospitals, Clinics, Doctor's Rooms, Geriatric Disease Checkups, Family Health Checkups, Counselling Programs, and Physical Trainings and Tests)
 - Employee Meals
 - Cultural, Sports, Amusement Facilities and Activities (e. g. Library, Clubs, Circles and Classes, Resort Hotels, Gyms, Sports Days, and Employee Trips)
 - Private Insurances (e. g. Life Insurance)
 - Supplemental Workers' Compensation
 - Condolence Gifts
 - Subsidies for Worker's Tax-Free Assets-Making Deposits
 - Others (Commuting Season Passes, Barber & Beauty Shops, Day Care Centers, Discount Stores, Contributions to Mutual Aid Societies, Stock Ownership, Home Help Programs, Birthday Parties)
 - C. Retirement Allowances and Others
 - Retirement Allowances (Severance Pay)
 - Small Enterprise Retirement Allowance Mutual Aid Projects
 - Private Pension
 - D. Education and Training
 - E. Other Items
 - Recruitment
 - Uniforms
 - Moving Expenses
 - House Organs
 - Commendations, and others
- 5) Robert Tilove, "Pensions, Health and Welfare Plans", in Lloyd Ulman, ed., *Challenges to Collective Bargaining* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J. : Prentice-Hall, 1967), p. 37.
- 6) e. g. "It is.....as meaning such services, facilities and amenities as [adequate canteens, rest and recreation facilities, sanitary and medical facilities, arrangements for travel to and from work and for the accommodation of workers employed at a distance from their homes, and such other services, amenities and facilities as contribute to improve the conditions under which workers are employed] which may be established in, or in the vicinity of, undertakings to enable the persons employed in them to perform their work in healthy, congenial surroundings and provided with amenities conducive to good health and high morale, that 'workers' welfare' is understood in the following pages....." [ILO, *Provision of Facilities for Promotion of Workers Welfare* (Report II, Asian Regional Conference in 1950), p. 3.]

2. Titmuss' Occupational Welfare Model

The model of Richard M. Titmuss is similar to the Fringe Benefits Model in content

yet different in approach. It places fringe benefits in social policy or social services.

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

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

and

"benefits ranging from 'obvious forms of realizable goods to the most intangible forms of amenity' expressed in a form that is neither money nor convertible into money."¹⁾

Occupational Welfare is "provided by virtue of employment status, achievement and record, and may take the form of social security provisions in cash or in kind."²⁾ In these respects there is no difference from the fringe benefits in section 1.

For Titmuss, however, Occupational Welfare is, along with social and fiscal welfare, one of three major categories of social policy, or one of three systems of social services, whose aims are "to counter and compensate for the growth of dependency in modern society"³⁾ and to be redistributive. In other words, Titmuss' Occupational Welfare is a channel of social service delivery or an administrative method. Titmuss writes :

.....this division is not based on any fundamental difference in the functions of the three systems.....or their declared aims. It arises from an organizational division of method, which, in the main, is related to the division of labour in complex, individuated societies. So far as the ultimate aims of these systems are concerned,.....their similarities are more important than their dissimilarities. The definition, for most purpose, of what is a 'social service' should take its stand on aims ; not on the administrative methods and institutional devices employed to achieve them.⁴⁾

Thus, "such provisions [as above].....may be seen as alternatives to extensions in social welfare."⁵⁾ "They are in effect.....'social services', duplicating and overlapping social and fiscal welfare benefits."⁶⁾

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

.....As they [Occupational Welfare provisions] grow and multiply they come into conflict with the aims and unity of social policy ; for in effect (whatever their aims may be) their whole tendency.....is to divide loyalties, to nourish privilege, and to narrow the social conscience.....⁷⁾

.....they (these three systems of social service as separated and distinctive attempts) are simultaneously enlarging and consolidating the area of social inequality. That is the paradox : the new division of equality which is arising from these separate responses to social change.⁸⁾ Hitherto, our techniques of social diagnosis and our conceptual framework have been too narrow. We have compartmentalized social welfare.....The analytic model of social policy that has been fashioned on only the phenomena that are clearly visible, direct and immediately measurable is an inadequate one. It fails to tell us about the realities of redistribution which are being generated by the process of technological and social change and by the combined effects of social welfare, fiscal welfare and occupational welfare.⁹⁾

The discrimination inherent in Occupational Welfare to which Titmuss refers is

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

- 1) Richard M. Titmuss, 'The Role of Redistribution in Social Policy,' *Commitment to Welfare* [Second Edition] (London; George Allen & Unwin LTD, 1976) p. 193. [Lecture delivered to the staff of the Social Security Administration, department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, USA, in December 1964, and published in Social Security Bulletin, Washington, June 1965.]
- 2) Ibid., p. 192.
- 3) Idem, 'The Social Division of Welfare; Some Reflections on the Search for Equity,' *Essays on 'The Welfare State'* [Second Edition] (London; Unwin University Books, 1963) p. 55 [The Sixth Eleanor Rathbone Memorial Lecture, given at the University of Birmingham on December 1, 1955, and published by Liverpool University Press in 1956.]
- 4) Ibid., p. 42.
- 5) Idem, 'The Role of Redistribution,' p. 192.
- 6) Idem, 'The Social Division of Welfare,' p. 51.
- 7) Ibid., p. 52.
- 8) Ibid., p. 55.
- 9) Idem, 'The Role of Redistribution,' p. 197.
- 10) See *Contemporary Wage & Benefits* [*Gendai Chingin Fukushi*], November 15, 1984.

3. Japanese Workers' Welfare Model

The term "Workers' Welfare" carries a special meaning in Japan. It means autonomous 'business' activities by workers, the center of which are cooperative societies. Hiromichi Nishimura's *Workers' Welfare*¹⁾ begins explanation of this concept with the Rochdale Fare Pioneer Union in the middle of 19th century, and follow the sections of "Consumers Cooperatives", "Labor Credit Unions", "Workers Mutual Aid Cooperatives" (fire, life and traffic accident insurances), "Housing Cooperatives", and "Medical Cooperatives".

While this usage of the concept of Workers' Welfare is not old, cooperative societies have existed since before World War II. In the early 1960s, the pamphlet *Labor Movement & Welfare Activities* prepared in part by General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (Sohyo) first gave Workers' Welfare a definition of "the movement of autonomous 'businesses' which workers themselves run and manage with workers' organizations and funds beyond the boundary of corporations."²⁾ The aim of this work was to promote an understanding of workers' cooperative "businesses" as a whole and to give a direction to them as part of the labor movement. At the outset, the role of the funds of these cooperative societies as the commissariat of labor movement was emphasized, but the real significance of this autonomous 'business' movement is the defense of livelihood of workers from the double exploitation by monopolistic capital³⁾: Workers defend themselves against the various barriers encountered in life process or the so-called consumption

process with their own mutual help or cooperative solidarity⁴⁾, through good-quality substance goods, honest and conscientious medical services, travel agent services, the reliable supply of carefree land and houses for reasonable price, consumers loans, life, fire and accident insurances.....⁵⁾ This contrasts with labor unions, which are organizations established for collective bargaining and whose primary mission is to counter various difficulties in the production process or to maintain and improve their own wages and other labor conditions.⁶⁾

While some writers still adhere to this definition of cooperative societies, others have extended the term to include "workers' autonomous welfare activities carried out for various aspects of life, excluding wages and other labor conditions."⁷⁾ According to this broader definition, a variety of welfare benefits and activities by labor unions are added to "workers' cooperative welfare" above. Benefits and services labor unions voluntarily provide for their members as condolence gifts, disaster relief funds, parting gifts, discount sales, sick and wounded benefits, disability benefits and educational recreational activities are examples of these. They are in a sense equivalents to fringe benefits provided by employers for their employees. These benefits are paid from unions' general funds, or mutual aid and other special funds, and are sometimes given by individual company-wide unions and sometimes by their higher echelon, usually industrial federations.

Some welfare activities are provided not only for union members but are also available to the general public. Workers' Music and Play Councils in Japan, which are independent organizations from unions, provide music and plays of quality for workers at reduced prices. Day care centers, life consultation, advice & counseling centers and other facilities run by workers in communities can also be used by non-members.⁸⁾

- 1) Hiromichi Nishimura, *Workers' Welfare [Rodosha Fukushi Ron]* (Tokyo: Yuhikaku, 1973).
- 2) Sohyo, et al., *Labor Movement and Welfare Activities* (pamphlet) p. 2.
- 3) Nishimura, *Workers' Welfare*, pp. 94-95.
- 4) Ibid., pp. 4-5.
- 5) Yutaka Tsunoda, ed., *Workers' Welfare [Rodosha Fukushi]* (Tokyo: Shiseido, 1974) p. 5.
- 6) Nishimura, *Workers' Welfare*, p. 4.
- 7) Ibid., p. 94. Tsunoda, *Workers' Welfare*, deals with this cooperative part as the aspect of the social movement in contrast with the aspect of business. Itsuro Kirinoki, *Corporate Welfare, Workers' Welfare (Kigyo Fukushi, Rodosha Fukushi)*, (Tokyo: Japan Institute of Labour, 1983) also adopts the broader definition.
- 8) Ibid., pp. 12-16.

4. Japanese Occupational Welfare Model

Japanese Occupational Welfare is a superordinate concept for and the aggregation of the above-described Corporate Welfare (p. 3) and Workers' Welfare (pp.6-7) and part of social security. "Part of social security" here means the following programs and benefits for the welfare of workers which are part of the larger national social security system¹⁾:

1. Social and labor insurances (e. g. National Health Insurance, National Pension Plans, Employment Insurance and Workers' Compensation)

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

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

Occupational Welfare is organizational and comprehensive services and help systems by governments (social insurances/worker protection programs), corporations (corporate welfare) and workers' organizations (workers' welfare) to stabilize workers' living conditions and to secure their wealthier life, which employed workers are difficult or inefficient to obtain only through the improvement of.....wages and other labor conditions mainly based on labor contracts with individual corporation.²⁾

It has been assumed here that while "the improvement of wages and.....other labor conditions is a precondition for the enhancement of Occupational Welfare," this is not enough. He continues: "Workers would be 'happy' if diversified occupational welfare programs are additionally developed according to the necessity in 'life'."³⁾ The term "Workers" could include families and retirees, too.

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

as distinct from the other aspects of conditions of work, the various facilities, amenities or services provided or to be provided to workers and their families by the employers, by the State or other public bodies, or by workers' organizations themselves and designed to promote better working and living conditions, including better opportunities for the utilization of the worker's leisure time.⁴⁾

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

- 1) Itsuro Kirinoki, *Corporate Welfare, Workers' Welfare [Kigyo Fukushi, Rodo Fukushi]* (Tokyo: Japan Institute of Labour, 1983) p. 10.
- 2) Ibid., p. 1.

- 3) Ibid., p. 1.
 4) ILO, *Welfare Facilities for Workers in Industry in Asia* (The Meeting of Experts on Welfare Facilities for Industrial Workers in 1964) p. 1.

5. UN Industrial Social Welfare Model

In the international arena, the United Nations' concept of Industrial Social Welfare was formulated around 1970. The United Nations Interregional Seminar on Industrial Social Welfare in 1971 gave the following functional definition of Industrial Social Welfare, based on a report *Industrial Social Welfare* (New York : United Nations, 1971) prepared by the UN Secretariat in consultation with the ILO in a broader project, "Social aspects of industrialization", incorporated in the five-year work programme (1969-1973) of the Commission for Social Development :¹⁾

Industrial social welfare denotes the range of programmes, operations and activities carried out at any level or by any group, which promotes and preserves the welfare of the workers and their families and protects them from the hazards, insecurities and social costs of the work process and industrialization in general.²⁾

The resemblance to the Japanese Occupational Welfare Model is apparent. The UN Model encompasses not only services provided by employers but also services provided by trade unions and governments. It reads : "In the past, industrial social welfare has tended to become an 'umbrella' term to indicate the general services provided by employers for their workers."³⁾ Also "the welfare of workers" has been used as a situation to be realized or a goal to be achieved, that is, as a purposive concept rather than a substantive concept.⁴⁾

However, the UN Industrial Social Welfare Model has several major characteristics, which are different from the Japanese Occupational Welfare Model. First, the UN Industrial Social Welfare model is a model which is conscious of international comparison. This can be considered a corollary of the purposive nature of the "workers' welfare". Who provides what kind of programs and services varies greatly from country to country, depending on their culture and history. A certain service given by an employer in one country might be the responsibility of the state elsewhere. An inclusive definition as the one provided by the 1971 UN report makes possible a comparative analysis of both the welfare level and the kinds of programs and services enjoyed by workers in various countries. Chronological comparative analysis within a country, regardless of the difference of the division of work among the social welfare systems, is also possible.⁵⁾ This model also seems to have been influenced by the Titmuss' model.

Secondly, and perhaps most importantly, this model is substantially a developing country model or a social development model. This can be easily anticipated both from the composition of the United Nations membership and also from the fact that the definition itself was developed as part of a programme for social development. The report of the seminar repeatedly reads : "[T]he dynamic nature of that definition.....enable[s] the discussion of industrial social welfare to take place within the broad developmental

framework necessary when considering the major social and economic changes experienced by most developing countries."⁶⁾ "During periods of industrial growth like those which were bringing about major social and economic changes in the majority of developing countries, workers needed the benefits of industrial social welfare, not as increments to their level of living, but as partial compensation for the disservices, social costs and social insecurities which were the result of the rapidly changing industrial-urban community."⁷⁾ The relationship with industrialization has been emphasized.

The emphasis on the needs of workers is a third characteristic of this model. Besides commonly-mentioned feeding facilities, stores, co-operatives and concessions, housing, industrial towns and communal services transport, medical care, education and cultural activities and training, it focuses especially on the needs of special population groups, such as young workers, working women, migrant workers, disabled workers and older workers "who were joining the labour force in increasing numbers in many countries."⁸⁾

Fourthly, the UN Industrial Social Welfare Model has a view beyond immediate work places. The recipients can be not only workers but also workers' families and, on occasion, the population of the local community.⁹⁾ This breadth of scope is partly due to its conception as a developing country model. This model anticipates such potential problems that are common among developing nations as the "disruption of family and kinship systems in terms of the provision of services and goods by the massive relocation of workers, threat of environmental pollution," "the dysfunctions of technological development" to give suffering to "whole communities," and "traditional occupational disease."¹⁰⁾ It also considers "other pressures and strains outside the immediate work setting."¹¹⁾

Lastly, this UN model pays special attention to the preventive role of industrial social welfare and the widening of inequalities.....inequalities between large and small firms, modern and traditional industry, growing and stagnant sectors, and urban and rural areas.¹²⁾

- 1) Two other meetings were previously held on the related subject. One is the United Nations Interregional Seminar on Social Aspects of industrialization, held at Minsk in 1964, and the other is the International Conference of Ministers Responsible for Social Welfare, which met at New York in September 1968. See *Report of the Interregional Seminar on Social Aspects of Industrialization* (New York: United Nations, 1965) and *Proceedings of the International Conference of Ministers Responsible for Social Welfare* (New York: United Nations, 1969).
- 2) *Report of the United Nations Interregional Seminar on Industrial Social Welfare* (New York: United Nations, 1972) p. 4.
- 3) *Industrial Social Welfare* (New York: United Nations, 1971) p. 3.
- 4) For example, the terms "the welfare of workers" and "workers' welfare" in this usage are found on p. 6 and p. 10 respectively in *Industrial Social Welfare*.
- 5) *Industrial Social Welfare*, pp. 3 & 5 and *Report of the Interregional Seminar* (1972), p. 4.
- 6) *Report of the Interregional Seminar* (1972), p. 4.
- 7) *Ibid.*, p. 5. Also *Industrial Social Welfare* states its major purpose as the establishing of guiding principles for policy which would be of use especially for countries still at an early stage in industrialization. (p. 2).
- 8) See the Contents of *Industrial Social Welfare* and *Report of the Interregional Seminar* (1972) pp. 12-15.
- 9) e. g. See *Report of the Interregional Seminar* (1972), p. 5. The opening address of the

seminar by the chief of the Social Welfare Services Section of the Social Development Division reads that "Industrial social welfare had as its objective to raise the material and cultural levels of living of the workers, their families and the population of the local community; and to increase the productivity of the working people, as well as to prevent the negative consequences of rapid industrialization and urbanization". (*Report of the Inter-regional Seminar* (1972), p. 2). Also see *Industrial Social Welfare*, p. 4.

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

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

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

6. Protective Legislative Model

Although the UN's Industrial Social Welfare concept was developed in consultation with the ILO, the latter has long used with or without any distinctions the terms of Workers' Welfare, Welfare Facilities and Industrial Welfare¹⁾, rather than Industrial Social Welfare. As early as 1947, a resolution concerning Welfare Facilities for workers was, for example, adopted at the 30th Session of the International Labour Conference.²⁾ Worker's Welfare, in the sense that it is used by the ILO³⁾, is at the conceptual level roughly identical with Japanese Occupational Welfare and is at operational level often being replaced with the term "Welfare Facilities", which is roughly identical with some part of fringe benefits in its scope and programs.⁴⁾⁵⁾ The 1964 ILO Meeting of Experts on Welfare Facilities for Industrial Workers discussed welfare facilities provided by corporations under the term "Industrial Welfare".

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

In these countries.....properly organized and administered welfare facilities can play an important part in promoting better working conditions and living standards for industrial workers and constitute a useful and necessary complement to protective labour legislation."⁶⁾

A resolution adopted by the ILO Asian Regional Conference in Ceylon in 1950 concerning the Promotion of Facilities for Workers' Welfare⁷⁾ finds that in developing countries, (i) "public welfare services were not adequately developed", (ii) "there was a wide diversity in the amplitude and the quality of the welfare services and amenities provided for the benefit of workers in the various undertakings", and (iii) "such welfare services and amenities, where provided, were available only to a limited number of wage earners." Accordingly, "it should be the recognised object of public policy.....to promote facilities for workers' welfare" and "[t]he basic requirement in respect of workers' welfare facilities.....should be prescribed by legislation defining.....the minimum standards to be observed.....and.....the scope of application, which should include the largest

possible number of undertakings.....and of workers and should be widened progressively."⁸⁾

In this sense, ILO's model could be called a Protective Legislative Model. The points are (i) the guarantee of the minimum and (ii) the reliance on legislation.⁹⁾ While the emphasis of the Fringe Benefits Model is on the provision of the "above minimum", the emphasis here is on the guarantee of the "minimum"—the guarantee not only for special workers, employees under the larger and more enterprising and progressive employers, but for all workers. In order to ensure this minimum of welfare facilities, governments assume a central role and intervene by means of legislation. In the case of the ILO, the following can be thought of as the routes of intervention :

- (a) Legislation to oblige the employer to provide certain minimum welfare facilities at the workplace ; e. g. factories and mines legislation on sanitary and hygiene facilities, rest facilities, first aid, occupational health services, creches and feeding facilities.
- (b) The setting up of special machinery and arrangements for welfare amenities and services on a comprehensive scale collectively for industrial workers in general, or for workers employed in a particular industry ; e. g. welfare funds in industrial and mine undertakings.
- (c) Direct provision by governments on their own initiative of certain facilities for the recreation and welfare of workers and their families in the areas where they live ; e. g. labor welfare centers set up and operated by governments in areas of industrial concentration.¹⁰⁾

This ILO Protective Legislative Model could be turned into a more general Protective Model. Sometimes the concept of workers' welfare is more or less synonymous with the conditions of work as a whole. Particularly important in this case is the guarantee of their minimum—minimum standards of hygiene and safety, social insurance schemes, measures for the protection of women and young workers, minimum wages, limitation of hours of work, and paid vacations.¹¹⁾ The names of legislation could be Factories Act or Labor Standards Act.

In the early days of capitalism, particularly in the process of primitive accumulation of capital, workers had to live very poor lives and endure substandard labor conditions without labor unions. "For capital the life span of a given labor force or the health and life span of individual workers is of no consequence."¹²⁾ This situation was hard for the working class, of course, but because it also brought about a decline of productivity, attrition of labor force, and social unrest, it could not be neglected economically and socially even from the capitalists' and state's point of view. The state had to prepare protective legislation and its ideological expression was humanism or the protection of the weak. In this sense, this model may be closest in terms of the usage of the word "welfare" to that of other social welfare fields such as those which deal with the family, children, the handicapped, and the aged.

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

stage of capitalism leading to industrial revolution."¹³⁾

In an interview, Mr. Tai Iguchi, an official of Japanese Ministry of Labor, included labor standard administration in workers' welfare administration "in a broad sense",¹⁴⁾ and in fact in Japan workers' welfare administration falls under the jurisdiction of Labor Standards Bureau of the Ministry while the commonest usage of the term "workers' welfare" in Japanese public administration is different in meaning from this wage as found in the next section.

- 1) See the item *Welfare* in *ILO Catalogue of Publication in Print 82* and the item *Welfare, Industrial* in *Subject Guide to Publication of the ILO 1919-1964* (Geneva 1967). (No equivalent publication to the latter is available since 1967).
- 2) Regarding the history, see the Forward of *Welfare Facilities for Workers in Industry in Asia* (The Meeting of Experts on Welfare Facilities for Industrial Workers in 1964).
- 3) In addition to the report in 2), the following ILO publications use the term of workers' welfare in their title or body: *Conditions of Work and Workers' Welfare in Logging Camps* (Tripartite Technical Meeting on the Timber Industry, Geneva 1958), *Provision of Facilities for Promotion of Workers' Welfare* (Report II, Asian Regional Conference in 1950), *Canada's Concern for Workers' Welfare* (April June 1948), etc.
- 4) See the contents of the reports in 3) as examples. What the *Provision of Facilities for Promotion of Workers' Welfare* in 3) describes in its section Historical Survey (pp. 5-7) is nearly identical with the history of fringe benefits.
- 5) ILO uses both workers' welfare and welfare facilities interchangeably or the latter as what constitutes the content of the former. See the publications listed in 3).
- 6) *Welfare Facilities for Workers in Industry in Asia*, p. i.
- 7) ILO, *Official Bulletin*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 1, 1 April 1950, pp. 11-14.
- 8) *Welfare Facilities for Workers in Industry in Asia*, p. 55.
- 9) There is a theory behind that "Social welfare is not the responsibility of the State alone. Private industries and organizations should also pool their resources in a cooperative manner to provide for social welfare amenities." (*Welfare Facilities for Workers in Industry in Asia*, p. 56).
- 10) *Ibid.*, p. 2.
- 11) As an example, see *Conditions of Work and Workers' Welfare in Logging Camps*.
- 12) Osaka City University Institute of Economics. *Dictionary of Economics* (Tokyo: Iwanami Publishing Co., 1965) p. 295.
- 13) *Ibid.*
- 14) Chief of First Planning Section, Planning Division, Wage & Welfare Department, Labour Standard Bureau. October 1984.

7. Administrative Residual Model

Included in Japanese labor administration is a field called Workers' Welfare or Occupational Welfare, which is in part based on the Protective Legislative Model. Besides most typical labor standards programs such as minimum wages and occupational safety & health, the provision of welfare programs for less privileged workers also includes anti-discrimination programs (e. g. *Burakumin*, older, workers and the physically handicapped) and programs filling the fringe benefits gap between big corporations and smaller firms (e. g. Small Enterprise Retirement Allowance Mutual Aid Project, recreational and welfare facilities for workers in medium & small firms).

Workers' Welfare is also, however, based upon an Administrative Residual Model.

Asked the definition of Workers' Welfare, Mr. Taro Muraki, a section chief of Welfare Division, Wage & Welfare Department, Bureau of Labor Standards, Ministry of Labor, replied, "We are not scholars. The administration (government) does not necessarily begin [their policies and programs] with a definition."¹⁾ The time when the workers' welfare administration was implemented would provide a cue in determining their implicit definition. The Welfare Division of the Wage & Welfare Department, which is the main division in charge of workers' welfare administration was established in the Ministry of Labour in 1972. Another division carrying the name of welfare, the Occupational Welfare Statistics Division of the Statistics & Information Department, was set up in the same ministry the following year. Both were created during the peak of the Japanese High Economic Growth Era.²⁾ In those days, the word 'welfare' was frequently repeated across all fields of society and usually meant 'above the minimum' level rather than 'at the minimum' level, and 'one step ahead' or 'towards better life and conditions' rather than 'an absolute level'.

The term "welfare" has long carried this definition and the welfare in workers' welfare or occupational welfare of the Japanese labor administration seems to be in this sense as suggested by the Workers' Welfare Programs section of an annual publication by the Ministry of Labour :

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

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

The Ministry of Labor has positively run various programs up to now concerning workers' life problems in and out of workplaces from the standpoint to enrich overall workers' welfare, and has picked up widely and propelled new programs in response to the development of economy and society.³⁾

Most typical programs which fall into this category are the campaigns for shorter working hours including the five day work week, Worker's Assets-making Project to make long-term life planning possible and stabilize workers' life, and later compulsory retirement ages to cope with the older labor force population.⁴⁾

Either a "Residual Model" or "Temporary Depository Model" would be the best names for this administrative model. Mr. Muraki believes that "Workers' welfare is the administration which remains after subtracting presently well-established administrative fields such as labor relations, employment security, labor insurance, vocational training, labor standards and occupational safety and health from the whole labor administration."⁵⁾ Any new programs which do not belong to these existing well-established administrative

fields would be labeled workers' welfare or occupational welfare administration until they are separated and established as independent administrative fields. This is a residual model, but one with a future perspective.

It may be clear now that workers' welfare administration is concerned with more than the enforcement (with punishment) of basic workplace standards such as the maintenance of minimum wages and maximum working hours. But where the public administration should intervene is not clear. Probably, it should be the point where the government feels, from its own value judgement, that the situation should not be left in the hands of market principles. Mr. Muraki goes on to say that "it is impossible to implement some policies and programs which we simply want. What we can do, and do, is to read the direction in which the society is heading and facilitate the trend at maximum."⁶⁾

- 1) Author's interview on March 26, 1985.
- 2) Ministry of Labor, *Guide to Labor Problems [Rodo Mondai no Shiori]*, (Tokyo: Ministry of Labor, 1985) p. 392. Wage Department of Labor Standards Bureau was expanded to Wage & Welfare Department, and Welfare Mutual Aids Division of Labor Administration Bureau, which was born in 1959, was moved under this new department. Economic Statistics Division was reorganized into Occupational Welfare Statistics Division, and disorganized in 1984. In 1984, Women's Welfare Division was born in Women's Bureau.
- 3) *Guide to Labor Problems*, pp. 165-166.
- 4) Labor Standards Bureau, Ministry of Labor, "Concerning the Conduct of Labor Standards Administration, 1985." (a circular notice)
- 5) & 6) See 1).

8. Quality of Working Life Model

Quality of Working Life is a developed country model.

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

[T]he quality of working life.....refer[s] to the positive "value" level of a given job as it affects the worker.....[I]mprovements in work organization and job content in particular should receive special consideration for enhancing the 'value' level of the individual's working life..... [T]he quality of working life.....highlights in particular the "workers' need for meaningful and satisfying work and for participation in decisions that affect their work situation....."¹⁾

The term of the Quality of Working Life was first used in English-speaking countries, particularly in North American countries. In Japan it has become popular since the late 1970s both in academic and business worlds. Concurrent with the evolution of the Quality of Working Life, parallel concepts with different names developed in several industrial countries. "Humanization of Work" in many countries, "Working Environment and Democratization of the Workplace" (*företagsdemokrati* in Swedish) in Scandinavia and *Hatarakigai* in Japan are some of them.²⁾

There are a few common contributors to the emergence of these concepts; the achievement of high living conditions and the increase of alienation were preconditions and the stagnation of economy was a catalyst. Today, wages, hours and labor conditions

have reached rather high levels in developed countries, and people have turned their interest to the improvement of work itself. Work must utilize workers' knowledge and judgement, provide room for decision making and self-edification, be challenging enough to cultivate their ability, offer mutual assistance and social recognition in shops, have significance in a larger industrial and social context, and open the way for future promotions. In an affluent society, life is stabilized and education level heightened, and workers expect not only economic, physical fruit but also social, psychological fruit at work.³⁾ In such a society the principles of job designing must correspond to the value system of workers, and not to those of the Taylor system.⁴⁾ In this respect, Maslow's 'theory' and 'X-Y theory' by D. McGregor are called to mind.

Economic stagnation lends an impetus to this trend. The quantitative improvement of labor conditions faces a limitation, sometimes 'a trade with inflation'. The pursuit of the qualitative aspects then becomes necessary.⁵⁾

A characteristic in this model is the denial of the dichotomy between labor at a production site and individual social activities as citizens after leaving the work place—labor is toil, a necessary evil, and a sacrifice endured to ensure a livelihood; the real life exists outside work. Work is not only the means to life and the sacrifice to earn one's bread, but also an important part of human activities.⁶⁾ The principles of family and citizen life must be extended to working places, too. The principle of democracy in civil life, for example, must be realized at work places as industrial democracy.⁷⁾ This way of thinking may allow for an examination from 'life', not from 'production,' or for a more wholistic examination of the lives of workers which would replace the presently predominant mode of viewing workers as merely a factor in the production process.

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

[T]he quality of working life simply means the sum total of "values", material and non-material, attained by a worker through his life as a wage or salary earner.....In this broad sense, the quality of working life may encompass all those aspects of work-related life—including, inter alia, wages and hours, work environment, benefits and services, career prospects and human relations, which could possibly be relevant to worker satisfaction and motivation⁸⁾

With this broad definition, the Quality of Working Life model overlaps significantly with some of other models previously cited in this paper. Herbert C. Merton states that "quality of working life is a relatively new term for a bundle of old issues that have long been of interest to philosophers, theologians, social scientists, workers and employers. It is a broad term that can embrace every conceivable aspect of work ethic and work conditions—objective measure of working conditions, workers' expressions of satisfaction and dissatisfaction, managerial concerns about efficiency of output, and broader considerations of social cohesion and stability."⁹⁾

What problems then are concretely to be discussed under the rubric of the Quality of Working Life in this broad definition? Another ILO publication suggested an answer: "What becomes a critical problem in a particular country at a given time is determined through the activated needs of workers and the prevailing conditions relevant to their need satisfaction."¹⁰⁾ In this study of three Japanese industries major topical areas included wages and wage systems, retirement allowance and retirement system, working hours and holidays, employee benefits and services, safety and health, employment of handicapped worker, employee education and training, reorganization of work, humanization of work, small group activities, and worker participation in management, among others.¹¹⁾ As a result, the ILO paper of 1984 adopted the following as a core definition, regarding it as a common measure that reflects the essential meaning of the concept:

[T]he quality of working life may be considered as *a set of new labour problems and their countermeasures which have gained recognition as important determinants of worker satisfaction and productivity in many societies during the period of their sustained economic growth.*¹²⁾ [The italics were regular letters with an underline in the original.]

Instead of Quality of Working Life, in France and other French-speaking countries, most usual expression is "improvement of working conditions", and in socialist countries the established term is "workers' protection."¹³⁾

- 1) Yves Delamotte and Shinichi Takezawa, *Quality of Working Life in International Perspective* (Geneva: ILO, 1984) p. 3.
- 2) Ibid., p. 2.
- 3) Shigeto Tsuru and Shigeru Sabashi, *Quality Life* (Tokyo: Kobundo, 1983) p. 183.
- 4) Ibid., p. 181.
- 5) Ibid., p. 170.
- 6) cf. K. Marx's prediction that in a communist society, labor becomes the primary desire in the life of men.
- 7) *Quality Life*, p. 183.
- 8) *QWL in International Perspective*, p. 2.
- 9) Herbert C. Merton: "A look at factors affecting the quality of working life", *Monthly Labor Review*, Vol. 100, No. 10, Oct. 1977, p. 64.
- 10) Shinichi Takezawa ed., *Improvements in the Quality of Working Life in Three Japanese Industries* (Geneva: ILO, 1983) p. 8.
- 11) Ibid., p. 10.
- 12) *QWL in International Perspective*, p. 3.
- 13) Delamotte and Takezawa, *Quality of Working Life*, p. 2.

9. American Social Work Model

The American Social Work Model is unique in that it has been established around a social work concept instead of one of social welfare used by other models. Regardless of which of the three processes of the whole labor force reproduction process (exchange, production, and consumption processes) a problem belongs to, American social work intervenes as far as the intervention is deemed necessary and possible based upon the profession's value¹⁾ and ability.

In the United States, the term "workers' welfare" is seldom heard and is an unfamiliar field even for the labor administration. However, the involvement of American

social work with the working class can be traced back to the activities in poverty and unemployment at the dawn of the social work profession itself, the cooperation in the promotion of welfare capitalism in the 1920's and Bertha Reynolds' practice with the National Maritime Union during World War II. With these as precursors, a new stream emerged in the 1960s and 1970s, the research and practice of Social Work in the World of Work by Columbia University and Hunter College (Hyman Weiner, Shiela Akabas, Paul Kurzman, etc.). Independent of these were the pioneering efforts of Industrial Social Work by the University of Utah (Otto Jones, etc.) and others mainly in the field of employee counselling and those of the University of Michigan (Luis Ferman) in the field of manpower policies and programs.²⁾

The essence of the interest of the American Social Work Model was provided by an interview with Hyman Weiner, the founder of Social Work in the World of Work. In addition to the fact that working people are the overwhelming majority among the total population and the central core of the society literally, Weiner points out that:³⁾

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

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

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

One of the points reached by this model was the 1985 NASW⁶⁾ Conference on Occupational Social Work held in Boston May 29 through June 1. The advertisement

calling for papers for the conference enumerates the following categories:⁷⁾

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

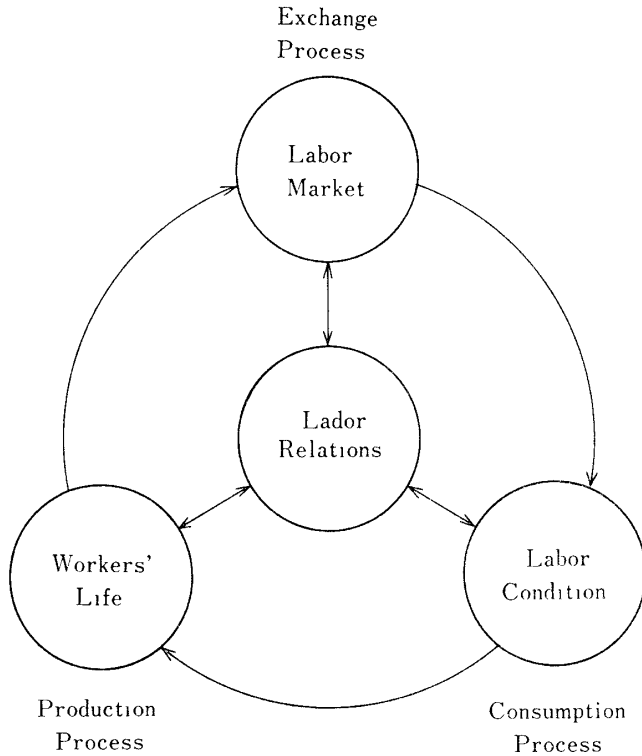
At this moment, the interest and practices in Employee Assistance Programs (EAP), many of which have their origin in alcoholic and drug programs, overwhelm those in other fields, but this is a reflection of the developmental stage and the present social worker employment situation, and not of the definition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

- 1) One of the central arguments in American occupational social work is the ethical issue of whether or not it is allowable for social workers to work for profit-oriented private corporations.
- 2) Tatsuru Akimoto, "'Occupational Social Work' in the United States [Amerika ni okeru 'Rodo Sosharu Waku']" *Social Welfare [Shakai Fukushi Gaku]* No. 20, 1979. pp. 111-115. Tatsuru Akimoto, "An Exploration into the Concept of 'Social Work in the World of Work' in the United States," (Unpublished, 1976) p. 30.
- 3) Akimoto, "Occupational Social Work," pp. 107-108. Akimoto, "An Exploration into the Concept," pp. 31-32, 35.
- 4) See Akimoto, "Occupational Social Work," "An Exploration into the Concept," and Tatsuru Akimoto, *Detroit: Social Unionism in a Natural Development [Detoroito: Sosharu Yunionizumu no Hitsuzen]* (Tokyo: Nihon Hyoron-sha, 1981).
- 5) Akimoto, "Occupational Social Work," pp. 105-107. Akimoto, "An Exploration into the Concept," pp. 8-11.
- 6) National Association of Social Workers.
- 7) A handbill.

10. "Workers' Life" Model

This last model is one of labor economics. While American labor economics, which was formed in the 1930s by R. A. Lester and others, mainly limits its study to the labor market, wages and labor relations,¹⁾ the main stream of Japanese labor economics insists on the analysis of the whole process of labor-power reproduction W-G-W'-W, that is, not

Figure 1:
Labor-Power Reproduction Cycle



only "labor market", which is the exchange process of a labor force, but also "labor conditions", which is the consumption process of a labor force, and "workers' life", which is the production process of a labor force, as well as "labor relations".²⁾ The figure at the left shows the fields and approaches of traditional Japanese labor economics.

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

.....[T]he analysis of the whole

process of wage labor reproduction cannot be concluded without examination of the reproduction of labor-power.....[T]his place of life exists outside direct control by capital and is the strategic point which can be the base for workers' self-regulating activities. Minimum wage, unemployment insurance, health insurance and all other social security schemes themselves cannot be explained, either, without consideration on this life process.³⁾

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

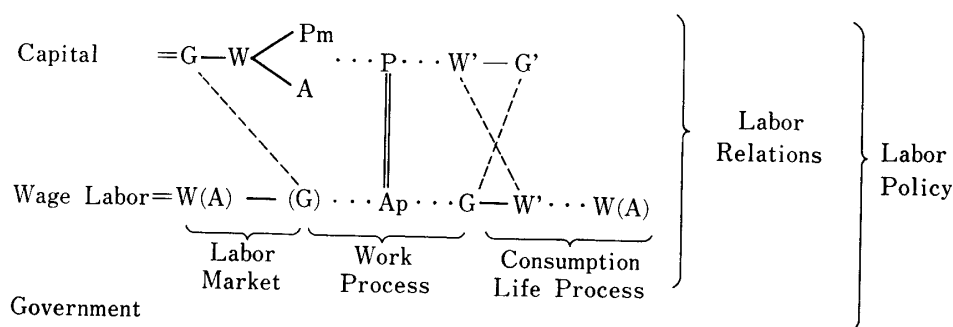
What has been studied until today in Japan can be divided into four main areas. The first, studies on the living costs or housekeeping expenses, which are in the lineage of poverty studies done by Charles Booth, Sidney Webb and S. B. Rowntree in England, was carried out during a certain period after World War II. Research on living hours or spare time are represented by *People's Living Hours Survey* [*Kokumin Seikatsu Jikan Chosa*] by Japan Broadcasting Corporation (NHK) as well as by long-lasting discussions on "how to make good use" of spare time. Housing studies deal with such issues as housing famines, demand-supply relations, and public and corporate housing. The final group focuses on social security.⁴⁾ Studies on educational expenses have been recently added.

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

from the perspective of the exchange process (labor market) or the consumption process (labor conditions).

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

- 1) American labor economics may only refer to “the use of labor” as an object of labor economics, without any further concrete analysis of either the consumption patterns of the labor force or their work process. (e.g. Lloyd G. Reynolds, *Labor Economics and Labor Relations*)
- 2) Mikio Sumiya includes labor policy=social policy by governments as the fifth fields and summarizes the whole scheme of labor economics as follows :



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

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

- 3) *Theory of Labor Economics*, p. 29.
- 4) See Labor Problems Literature Study Research Team, *Labor Problems in Japan : Literature Study* [*Bunken Kenkyu : Nihon no Rodo Mondai*] (Tokyo : Sogo Rodo Kenkyusho, 1971) pp. 163-211, Kazuo Okochi & Mitsutoshi Azuma, ed., *Labor Cyclopaedia* [*Rodo Jiten*] (Tokyo : Shorin Shoin Shinsha, 1975) Ch. VI, and others.

In addition to these ten models, there are other concepts related to workers’ welfare such as labor welfare, industrial welfare and corporate welfare, which were all referred to above, as well as industrial social work in India and some of European countries. However, from these ten, a new workers’ welfare concept, which is usable as an analytical

Table 2: Ten Concepts

| Model | Discipline | Process in Labor Power Reproduction | Developed or Developing Countries | Meaning of "Workers' Welfare" | Minimum or Above Minimum |
|----------------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|--------------------------|
| 1. Fringe Benefits | Labor Economics Industrial Relations (Social Welfare) | Consumption (Work) | (Developed) | Programs | Above Minimum |
| 2. Titmuss' Occupational Welfare | Social Policy/ Social Welfare | Production (Life) | | Programs | |
| 3. Japanese Workers' Welfare | Social Policy/ Social Welfare | Production | | Business Activities | |
| 4. Japanese Occupational Welfare | Social Policy/ Social Welfare | Production Consumption | | Programs (Situation) | Above Minimum |
| 5. UN Industrial Social Welfare | | Consumption Production | Developing | Programs ; Situation | |
| 6. Protective Legislative | Labor Law ; Social Policy/ Social Welfare | Consumption Production | Developing | Programs; Conditions of work as a whole | Minimum |
| 7. Administrative Residual | | Production | | Situation; " A Step Ahead " | Above Minimum |
| 8. Quality of Work Life | Industrial Relations | Consumption | Developed | Programs ; All Aspects of Work-related Life | |
| 9. American Social Work | Social Work | Exchange Consumption Production | (Developed) | Programs | |
| 10. Workers' Life | Labor Economics | Production | | (Theoretical & Analytical) | |

of Workers' Welfare

| Sponsors | Target Population | Some Other Key Words & Phrases |
|---|--|--|
| Employers | Employees in certain enterprises | Benefits & services besides basic wages ; Collective wages ; Legally required or voluntarily provided ; Progressive practice (humanitarian, higher morale & productivity, anti-union) →Standard practice→Security of life [Employee Benefits, Economic Security Packages, Corporate Welfare, Welfare Facilities (& Programs)] |
| Employers | Employees in certain enterprises | Similar to fringe benefits in content, different in approach ; One of three systems of social services ; Redistributive ; To counter & compensate for the growth of dependency in modern society ; Alternatives to extensions in social welfare ; Discriminatory, reverse-redistributive effect ; Enlarging social inequality ; |
| Workers' Organizations | Union Members & Workers in general | Cooperative societies ; Business activities by workers ; Part of labor movement ; Commissariat of labor movement ; Defence of workers' consumption life from exploitation by monopolistic capital ; "Fringe benefits" by unions ; |
| Employers, Workers' Organizations & Governments | Employees in certain enterprises, Union members & Workers in general | A superconcept of Model 1+2+(6+7) ; Classified by program providers ; Organizational and comprehensive services and help systems by governments, corporations & workers' organizations ; Programs according to the necessity on 'life' ; |
| | Workers & Local Community Population | International comparison ; Functional definition ; Industrialization, social development ; Partial compensation for the disservices, social costs & social insecurities ; Needs of workers, esp. of special population groups ; Pressures and strains outside the immediate work setting ; Preventive role ; Widening inequality between large & small firms, modern & traditional industries, etc. ; |
| Governments | All Workers, esp. Workers in less privileged enterprises | ILO ; Primitive accumulation of capital ; Reliance on legislation ; Complement to protective labor legislations ; Factories and labor standards acts ; Humanism ; The most equivalent and closest to "welfare" in other fields in usage of the word ; Needs of workers ; |
| Governments | Workers in general | Towards better life or conditions ; Common to "welfare" in other fields in usage of word ; High economic growth era ; Residual with future perspective ; Administration's value judgement ; Labor administration minus already well-established administrative fields ; [Temporary Depository Model] ; |
| Employers & Unions | Privileged Employees | Affluent society ; High living condition & educational level → Interest in work itself ; Alienation ; Stagnation of economy ; Workers' need for meaningful & satisfying work & for participation in decisions (x economic physical fruit) ; Denial of dichotomy between work and citizen lives ; "What becomes a critical problem in a particular country at a given time is determined through the activated needs of workers and the prevailing conditions relevant to their need satisfaction ; |
| Employers, Unions, Governments & Professionals | Mainly Privileged Workers, but Workers in general | Social work activities and social welfare services within unions & companies (EAPs, etc.), manpower policies & programs, etc. ; Profession's value judgement and ability ; [Industrial Social Work, Social Work in the World of Work, Occupational Social Work] ; |
| | Workers' Class | 1/3 or 1/4 of labor economics study in its importance ; Living costs/housekeeping expenses, non-working hours, housing, social security, educational expenses, etc. ; |

and practical framework and beyond national boundaries, may be constructed, through induction, colligation and selection.

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

Column 2 notes which of the three processes of the labor power reproduction cycle—exchange, consumption or production—is the primary object of the model. Refer to Figure 1 in Model 10 on p. 20. Models are classified into two groups, those models which focus on the consumption process (i.e. work process and production process of products) [e.g. 1 & 8] and models which focus on the production process (i.e. life process and consumption process of products) [e.g. 2, 7 & 10]. There are, however, models which cover both [e.g. 4, 5 & 6] and a model, like American Social Work Model, which does not question either process. In fact, it is difficult to assign most models exclusively to either consumption or production category, as can be seen in Fringe Benefits which has already gained the meaning of the guarantee of life beyond that of labor conditions.

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

Column 4 & 5 specify the meaning of "workers' welfare" for each model. In some models "workers' welfare" means the welfare of workers itself or a situation of welfare [5 & 7] to be realized, while in some other models it means programs which realize the welfare of workers [e.g. 1 & 2]. Workers' welfare in the former sense can be either a kind of purposive concept, or a substantive concept at certain times or in certain societies. In other words, it can be used as a concept showing either "a step ahead", or "an absolute level." In most models, however, workers' welfare seems to connote unconsciously the meanings of both the welfare of workers to be achieved and the welfare

programs which realize it. "Workers' welfare" can mean the guarantee of a minimum, setting aside the discussion on its concrete content, and can mean the provision of "above minimum." Protective Legislative Model typifies the former and Administrative Residual Model the latter. These various uses of "welfare" is commonly found in other welfare fields such as those concerned with poverty, the aged and medical services.

"Sponsors" in the sixth column indicate who provides these programs or makes efforts to realize the welfare of workers. "Target Population" in the seventh column, on the other hand, refers to the objects or receivers of those programs and efforts. "Sponsors" can be either employers [e.g. 1 & 2], workers' organizations [e.g. 3] or governments [e.g. 6 & 7]. Unique are Japanese Occupational Welfare Model and American Social Work Model whose sponsors can be any of these three. In the latter, voluntary organizations can also be sponsors and the social work profession plays an important role. "Target Population" is employees in certain enterprises [e.g. 1, 2 & 8], union members [e.g. 3], workers in general [e.g. 7] or their combinations [e.g. 4 & 9]. "Employees in certain enterprises" can mean either employees in privileged enterprises [e.g. 1, 2 & 8] or in unprivileged enterprises [e.g. 6]. Local community population in the UN Model derives from its nature as a social development model. For example, industrialization causes labor migration from farm areas to cities, and often brings about drastic changes in local communities.

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

Table 3: A General Model of Workers' Welfare

| | |
|--|---|
| Discipline : | Interdisciplinary |
| Process in Labori- Power Reproduction : | Exchange Consumption Production |
| Developed or Developing Countries : | Both Developed & Developing |
| Meaning of "Workers' Welfare" : | Situation & Programs |
| Minimum or Above Minimum : | Minimum & Above Minimum |
| Sponsors : | Employers Workers' Organizations Governments & Others |
| Target Population : | All Workers |
| Some Other Key Words & Phrases : | International comparison Functional definition ^b . Needs of workers Preventive role Enlarging social inequality Denial of dichotomy between work & citizen lives, etc. |

inequality."

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

The study of workers' welfare should be interdisciplinary. It is not a science or a discipline, but a field of study and practice, whose content and methods should be scientific. The reality, which existed before the discipline was born, is multifaceted. Cleavages among disciplines are artificial and expedient, and should not limit the study of this broad, far reaching field. The examination of workers' welfare should not have to rely exclusively upon a single discipline. More valuable findings would result if workers' welfare was explored by several major labor-related disciplines such as labor economics, industrial relations and labor law, as well as by social policy/social welfare-related disciplines.²⁾ An interdisciplinary approach requires that the fruits of those disciplines be integrated and that the problems be attacked jointly. For example, research dealing with a workers' welfare issue such as fringe benefits might be undertaken by scholars in both labor and social welfare disciplines; yet because of the insularity of the academic world and their various audiences, the results of these studies which might have applicability to the work of colleagues in other fields, might not be known outside their own narrow speciality. This is a situation which must be resolved.

The concept of workers' welfare described here puts all three processes of the labor power reproduction cycle within its range. Regardless of the process, all issues and problems, as far as they concern the welfare of workers, are covered. The Workers' Welfare Indices developed by Japanese Ministry of Labor in 1972 are instructive on this point. They include "Employment Environment" (e. g. employment opportunities), "Work Environment" (e. g. occupational safety & health and working hours), "Earnings & Assets" and "Private Life" (e. g. housings and leisure hours).³⁾ To put it more accurately, workers' welfare is an approach or analysis from the point of view of workers or workers' life. It denies an approach or analysis simply from the point of view of labor power as a commodity or its reproduction cycle, whether of exchange, consumption or production process. This "workers' life" is not the life process in the sense of the production process of labor power, but the whole process of life of workers. It is a refusal to dichotomize workers and citizens, but instead is a reconfirmation of the simple fact that "workers are workers even outside working life and places", and not "citizens in working places."

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

country, as well as by time. The definition must therefore be a functional definition which is applicable over time and place. An orientation towards the needs of a given country, time and situation⁴⁾ is inevitable in order to secure this flexibility.

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

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

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

Our tentative conclusion is as written on pp. 1—2.

- 1) e. g. Lawrence S. Root, *Fringe Benefits* (Beverly Hills/London/New Delhi : Sage Publication, 1982) On the contrary, the relationship of fringe benefits with social policy/social welfare has been increasingly discussed in industrial relations/labor economics textbooks. e. g. Harold W. Davey, et al., *Contemporary Collective Bargaining* [Forth Edition] (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey : Prentice Hall, 1982) p. 252.
- 2) The workers' welfare concept should be constructed around a social welfare concept rather than social work concept. The reason is not discussed here in detail, except that (1) social welfare can be a science but social work cannot and (2) social work cannot help having nationality or differing by country. The model which we are seeking is expected to be based on science and extend beyond national boundaries. [c. f. Tatsuru Akimoto, "An Exploration Into the Concept of 'Social Work in the World of Work' in the United States", (unpublished, 1976) pp. 41-43].
- 3) See Japanese Ministry of Labor, *Labor White Paper (Analysis of Labor Economy)* in 1971, 1975, 1984, etc. [attached]
- 4) Regarding various meanings of "needs", see Richard Thayer, "Problem Analysis : Alternative Measures of Needs Assessment : Measuring Need in the Social Services".

Workers' Welfare Combined Index

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

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