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New Challenges in Supporting a Work-Life Balance



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New Challenges in Supporting a Work-Life Balance

How can we achieve a good work-life balance? In issue 51 of *Social Science Japan* newsletter, six scholars show how firms are responding to Japanese government initiatives to promote gender equity and family-friendly workplace environments. Sato Hiroki points out the challenges and obstacles to achieving “30% in 2020,” the government's goal to boost the percentage of women in leadership posts in business and other fields. Takeishi Emiko examines what enhances women's commitment to work and argues that the difference will be made not only by employers' efforts to support work-life balance policies but also by their efforts to increase opportunities and responsibility for women. Matsubara Mitsuyo asks what impedes fathers from taking childcare leave. She suggests ways for companies to maintain productivity while encouraging more male employees to use childcare leave. Matsuura Tamie focuses on the challenges of balancing work and caregiving responsibilities, exploring the best ways for companies to support working caregivers. Takamura Shizuka looks at the interactions between work and personal life, focusing especially on dual career couples. She describes a circulation model, showing how job satisfaction leads to life satisfaction, which in turn contributes to enhancing one's work performance. Finally, Asai Yukiko examines the implementation of the *Law for Measures to Support the Development of the Next Generation* and its effectiveness in motivating companies to pursue parent-friendly policies.

In this issue's ISS Research Report, Cato Susumu, a newly appointed Associate Professor at the Institute of Social Science, introduces a collective decision process he calls the *reference-dependent majority rule* (RDMR). The newsletter also includes updates on lectures by the ISS Contemporary Japan Group and recent publications by former and current ISS staff. In Focus on ISS, Mitani Meiko and Ishikawa Maki introduce the special collections of the Institute of Social Science Library as the second installment of a series featuring the ISS library.

Managing Editor, Ikeda Yoko

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“30% in 2020”? The Prospects for a Six-fold Increase in Women Managers

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Against a backdrop of government encouragement, companies, especially large ones, have made increasing the number of women managers a priority. Nonetheless, executives and HR departments often know too little about how women are being prepared for managerial roles and promoted in their own companies. In some companies, “30% in 2020,” the target for the share of management posts held by women, is treated perfunctorily, a slogan without substance. Exclusive reliance on numerical targets can result in women being promoted just to meet those targets and that can undermine efforts to expand women’s participation. There are gaps in companies’ understanding of their current promotion practices and issues related to promotion. Therefore, this paper uses empirical data to show the necessity of training women to fill management posts.

I. The Importance of Basing Promotion Strategies on Each Company’s Situation

The source of this data is the 2013 edition of the

CSR Kigyō Sōran (Corporate Social Responsibility Company Directory), published by Toyo Keizai, which describes the progress of publicly listed companies, which are the majority of large corporations, in promoting more women to management posts. The *CSR Kigyō Sōran* defines managers as “people who oversee subordinates and people who, despite not supervising anyone, have the same rank as those who do.” This definition includes upper management but excludes top executives and is generally equivalent to what the government calls “leadership posts” in its “30% by 2020” objectives. The 2013 edition of *CSR Kigyō Sōran* includes data from 2011-2012 on 814 companies that reported the numbers of men and women in management. Manufacturers comprise a large share of the 814 firms: about 80% of companies with 300 or more employees and more than half of companies with 1,000 or more employees.

The first notable fact to emerge from the company data is the large variation in the number and percentages of women in management. The average number of women managers in the 814 firms is 31.6, but half of the firms have fewer than five women in management. Women’s share of management posts is 0% in nearly 20% of firms, 1%-3% in nearly 30% of firms, and less than 5% in nearly 80% of firms. Companies’ current efforts to promote women vary widely.

Second, the goal of “30% in 2020” is not to have women be 30% of the people promoted to manager in the year 2020, but for them to be 30% of all managers. Achieving this goal requires training and promoting *six times* the number of women who hold leadership posts today. If we tally up all of the managers in the 814 firms, they add up to approximately 588,000 people, of whom 562,000 are men, comprising 95.6% of the total. The remaining 4.4%, 26,000, are women. Meeting the 30% goal requires 176,000 women managers, an increase of 150,000. Assuming the total number of managers remains constant, that many men

would have to leave their management posts, which raises other issues.

Third, if companies follow their usual practice of promoting from within, and if a college graduate typically has to work fifteen years before being promoted to posts such as section manager, then reaching the 30% goal implies that the 2005 cohort of new hires should have been at least 30% female. Moreover, the promotion rate and retention rate of those women would need to equal that of their male counterparts. Data on hiring from 2005 indicate that women were roughly 30% of college graduates hired that year. However, women's length of employment at those firms was of much shorter duration than it was for men. With few women in the management pipeline, and fewer already promoted, the 30% goal appears out of reach.

A fourth issue is the number of women earning degrees in science or technical fields. Women are under-represented in both undergraduate and graduate science and engineering programs. Hiring many more women for management track positions is difficult when relatively few of them are earning the types of degrees, especially graduate degrees, that sectors such as manufacturing and IT require. The scarcity of female undergraduate and graduate students in science and engineering is not a problem that private firms can solve themselves. The gender imbalance in the pool of potential hires is another obstacle to companies' reaching the "30% in 2020" goal.

Given all of the above factors, what companies need to do is incorporate what we now know about how companies are recruiting and promoting women today into their personnel policies guiding employees through the career stages of establishment and advancement. Any numerical targets for promotion must be based on each company's actual situation and not unrealistic aspirations. For example, if a company has a promotion ladder that goes from staff member to assistant manager to section manager, no women section managers, and only 10% of its staff members are women, it should set a realistic goal of ensuring that the share of women among those newly promoted to section manager does not fall below 10% and then provide women employees with

the necessary training.

II. Work-life balance and expanding women's participation

As noted above, diversifying women's roles in the workplace requires making fundamental changes to how women are hired, acclimated, and trained, but it would be a mistake to think that the solution is to treat women the same way as men are now treated. This section of the paper examines the approaches to expanding women's participation that will produce the best results—improving work-life balance and equal opportunity policies.

Assuming that managers are promoted from within a company, to reach that rank an employee must not only work the requisite number of years without interruption, he or she must also acquire the skills necessary for the position. If a person must work fifteen years before becoming eligible for promotion to section manager, that waiting period coincides and conflicts with major life events—marriage, childbirth, and parenting. Companies need to create a work environment that makes it feasible for women to remain employed while starting and raising a family. Of course, staying on the job does not automatically result in women gaining the competences they need in order to be promoted. Women employees need opportunities to learn what it takes to be a section manager before the time window for promotion expires. In other words, expanding women's participation in the workforce requires not only work-life balance measures to keep women from leaving work; policies ensuring equal access to professional development are also essential.

Even if a company offers childcare leave and other measures that help working parents meet the demands of both work and family and makes it possible for mothers to keep their jobs, if women have limited access to training offered to management track employees, their career formation will be hindered, and women managers will remain rare. Conversely, if the same opportunities for professional development are given to both men and women, but work-life balance measures are insufficient, only the women who can work like men work under a single breadwinner, gen-

der-based division of labor will be around long enough to train. In sum, work-life balance and equal opportunity measures are like the two wheels of a bicycle—both need to move forward at the same time—and yet there is no shortage of companies trying to implement one without the other.

For work-life balance measures to lead to an increase the number of women in management, they must go far beyond what is legally required, such as childcare leave, and make it possible for women to remain employed full-time. If it is difficult for women to both work and raise a family without taking advantage of work-life balance provisions, their career advancement will be impeded. For example, when working mothers return to working full-time after taking childcare leave, they may be unable to immediately work overtime as their managers and co-workers expect them to. If working full-time means working a lot of overtime, many women will be forced to delay resuming full-time work and will either remain on leave, accept reduced hours, or quit.

Work-life balance policies that do nothing to limit the amount of overtime all employees are expected to work will be obstacles to expanding women's roles. Companies need to implement reforms that will make it possible for mothers to work full-time and raise their children. Policies that encourage fathers to be actively involved in their children's upbringing are also important.

Human resources departments are highly limited in what they can do to implement non-discriminatory policies. HR departments can play a large role in ensuring that the hiring, starting wages, and assignments of new employees are gender neutral. After that, however, professional development generally takes place through on-the-job training and individual mentoring, and many

managers are not gender-neutral when it comes to allocating responsibility or offering advice to the employees placed under their supervision.

Obviously, there are many instances where men and women are offered the same training and advice at the start of their careers. Nonetheless, it is not uncommon for a gender gap in the type of assignments given and so forth to develop over time. This gap is the result of different expectations managers have towards investing in the training of their male and female subordinates. Men are expected to work for many years and are therefore given more responsibility and career guidance. Women are seen as likely to quit after a few years and are offered only enough training and advice to handle their current duties. This reluctance to invest in women's professional development affects experienced employees as well as new hires.

Women's skill formation is not the only thing harmed by the gender gap in expectations and opportunities for new employees. Women also suffer a considerable loss of motivation and career ambition. Women who have little intention of going into management can be persuaded to do so if their bosses demonstrate faith in their abilities, and women who set out to rise through the ranks can have their morale sapped and lose their desire to continue working. As part of their efforts to increase women's participation, many companies offer awareness-raising courses to women. However, first priority should undoubtedly be given to raising the gender awareness of the managers who supervise women.

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What Companies Can Do to Improve the Morale of Women Employees

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1. Introduction

Recently, there has been a sharp rise in the recognition of the importance of policies that will expand women's participation in the workforce, including their entering the ranks of management in greater numbers. As for the employment environment women face, many steps were taken in the 1990s and 2000s to improve work-life balance. The policies enacted to keep women in the workforce can be credited with producing a certain level of improvement as fewer women are leaving work to look after their children. However, keeping women on the job is not sufficient; they must also have opportunities to demonstrate what they can accomplish. It is essential that women be given more responsibility within organizations because contending with greater challenges produces higher ambition and motivation. With the benefit of hindsight, we can see that policymakers should make removing obstacles to empower

women within organizations a higher priority than simply prolonging their years of employment.

Yamaguchi (2008) discusses "statistical discrimination," a vicious circle linking women's high job separation rate with employers' expectations that women will quit and therefore should not be placed in promotion-track positions.¹ Hewlett and Sherbin (2011) write that women in Japan experience a "downsizing cycle" in which women are perceived as less ambitious, are then placed in jobs with fewer responsibilities, perceived as less committed, suffer low morale, fail to win promotion, receive negative evaluations, and thereby reinforce the negative bias they originally faced.

In this paper, I suppose that this downsizing cycle is contributing to the desultory pace of Japan's efforts to increase women's participation in the workforce. As prior research has also indicated, employers' tepid interest in encouraging women to occupy more responsible posts is related to women losing motivation to seek promotion. This vicious cycle must be broken in order for women to expand their economic role, but, as this paper argues, the cycle will persist unless companies set forth clear policies that enable women to demonstrate what they can accomplish.

2. Analysis Hypothesis and Data

The hypothesis being assessed here is "Women's work motivation is a function of employers' efforts to provide women with more opportunities to advance," with a focus on the relationship between women's morale and workplace factors. The data analyzed is taken from a 2012 report by the Japan Institute for Labour Policy and Training (JILPT) on its survey of male and female regular employees' attitudes towards careers and work-life balance.²

¹ Yamaguchi's "statistical discrimination theory" maintains that at least some bias against women can be attributed to their higher rate of attrition, which leads managers to feel that it is more risky to hire women or invest in their training, thus limiting women's chances to advance.

² The JILPT survey was distributed and collected by mail. Company surveys were sent to 12,000 firms with more than 100 employees. 1,970 valid responses were collected from this group. Employee surveys were sent to non-managerial white-collar workers, ages 24-54, at the

The survey included nine items pertaining to attitudes towards work, more specifically, how meaningful respondents believed their jobs to be. Respondents were asked how much they agreed with statements such as “I feel that my work has real value” and “I feel that my work is helping me to grow.” Answers were on a five-point scale: “I strongly agree,” “I agree somewhat,” “I neither agree nor disagree,” “I disagree somewhat,” and “I strongly disagree.” A single composite measure of “work fulfillment” was constructed from the nine survey items, and this composite measure has a high reliability coefficient α of .894. The composite measure was created by assigning values to each of the five possible responses ranging from 5 for “I strongly agree” to 1 for “I strongly disagree.” Accordingly, possible “work fulfillment scores” range from 9 to 45. The average work fulfillment score of all employees was 31.93. The average score among men was 32.31 and it was 31.54 among women. Statistically, the men’s score was significantly higher than the women’s ($t = 5.729, p < .01$). Work fulfillment scores are also correlated with ambition for promotion. This correlation indicates that increasing work fulfillment motivates women to seek higher positions, an important factor in encouraging women to reach their full potential in the workplace.

3. Company Policies and Work Fulfillment

What can companies do to increase the female work fulfillment score? If we compare the responses of companies with those of their employees to thirteen items concerning company policies aimed at expanding women’s roles at work, we find a correlation between those responses and the aforementioned work fulfillment score of female employees. Three items had a significant influence on female employees’ work fulfillment scores, and their significance was higher for employees of firms that had already enacted measures than for employees at firms without measures. The three items are “Measures for placing more women in management,” “Clarification of positive action plans,” and “Positive action on the creation and utilization of work-life balance measures that go beyond what is

required by law.” There was no statistically significant difference for the other ten items. The types of company policies that affect employees’ attitudes towards their work are apparently limited.

Another analysis to consider is how employees perceive the efforts their employers have made to be more inclusive towards women. Employees were asked how actively engaged their firms were in trying to increase the participation of women. As shown in Table 1, respondents who answered “Actively engaged” to any of the four items had statistically significantly higher work fulfillment scores. A multiple comparison of the means produced results for all four items that were significant at the 1% level. Comparing employees’ perceptions of their companies’ efforts with the companies’ self-evaluations reveals a gap between the two. Because women tend to have higher work fulfillment when working for companies that are “actively engaged” in giving women more opportunities, it is important for companies to ensure that their employees are aware of the companies’ efforts. Employees who answered “I strongly agree” to any of the four items concerning work-life balance measures had statistically significantly higher work fulfillment scores, as shown in Table 2, although the correlation was weaker than that between work fulfillment and items pertaining to the expansion of women’s roles in the workplace.³

Table 3 displays the results of a two-by-two comparison of how levels of women’s opportunity expansion and work-life balance measures relate to female employees’ work fulfillment scores. These scores were highest for employees of firms reporting high levels of company commitment to both opportunity expansion and work-life balance. The second highest work fulfillment scores belonged to employees of firms with high opportunity expansion and low work-life balance commitment. It is worth noting that the number of respondents in this group, 249, is dwarfed by the 2,226 respondents who reported working for firms with low opportunity expansion and high work-life balance commitment. This difference

surveyed companies. 10,128 valid employee surveys were collected.

³ The mean difference was evaluated with ANOVA and multiple comparisons. Some of the multiple comparison pairs are significantly different, including all of the pairings of affirmative and negative opinions.

Table 1: Relationship between female employees' work fulfillment scores and perceived company effort to expand female employees' roles

	Type of Policy Used to Expand the Role of Female Employees							
	Policies to increase () ()		Visualization of the status of female employees (promotions, assignment types)		Policies to eliminate discrimination from all aspects of HR management		() ()) and quickly deal with sexual harassment or bullying	
)) score	N)) score	N)) score	N)) score	N
)))								
Somewhat engaged								
Marginally engaged								
Disengaged								
((

Table 2: Relationship between female employees' work fulfillment and perceived company effort to support work-life balance

	It is acceptable at my company for women to continue working after marrying or having children		Taking child care leave is easy to do at my company		It is easy to switch to working fewer hours per day/week		My company encourages men to take child care leave	
	Average score	N	Average score	N	Average score	N	Average score	N
I strongly agree								
I somewhat agree								
I neither agree nor disagree								
I somewhat disagree								
I strongly disagree								

suggests that companies that are implementing work-life balance policies should, at the same time, expand women's participation in concrete ways that employees can perceive.

Given that work fulfillment is affected by how employees' offices or departments are run as well as by company-wide policies, the survey contains seven items on employees' relationships with their bosses (section chiefs or their equivalent). Table 4 shows the results. For each of the seven items, average work fulfillment scores fall in sync with declining boss evaluations (a multiple comparison of the means was significant at the 1% level for all items). Respondents who agreed most with either the statement that their bosses set high expectations and gave them challenging assignments or the statement that their bosses pushed them to

grow and show initiative had the highest job fulfillment scores, but relatively few respondents were in these two categories. It may well be that women's work fulfillment will be higher if their bosses set high expectations for them.

4. Expanding Women's Participation

This paper examines what employers can do to lift women's morale. Specifically, a variable representing work fulfillment was constructed and survey data was analyzed to uncover what organizations could do to boost their employees' work fulfillment. The results indicate that it is not enough for companies to enact policies that increase opportunities for women; they also need to convince women that those policies are more than window dressing.

Table 3: Employee evaluation of company effort level by type and female employees' work fulfillment scores

	N	Average score	Standard deviation
work-life balance			
H work-life balance			
work-life balance			
work-life balance			

Note: The responses of "Actively engaged" or "Somewhat engaged" to the item asking employees to describe their companies' "efforts to increase the morale of female workers" are counted as "high for women's opportunity expansion." The responses of "Marginally engaged," "Disengaged," and "Don't know" are combined in "low for women's opportunity expansion." "High for work-life balance" combines the responses "I strongly agree" and "I somewhat agree" to the item concerning company attitudes towards women working after marrying and childbirth. "Low for work-life balance" includes the responses "I strongly disagree," "I somewhat disagree," and "I neither agree nor disagree." Companies' self-evaluations are not included.

Table 4: Relationship between female employees' work fulfillment and employees' views of their managers

	Pays attention to the work I do and how I do it		Advises me on how to solve problems		Helps me to compensate for mistakes I make		Trusts me and assigns work based on that trust		Listens carefully to my opinions		Sets high expectations and assigns challenging work		Pushes me to grow and show initiative	
	Average score	N	Average score	N	Average score	N	Average score	N	Average score	N	Average score	N	Average score	N
I strongly agree														
I somewhat agree														
I neither agree nor disagree														
I somewhat disagree														
I strongly disagree														

Another important finding is that expanding women's opportunities to participate in a company's organization does more to increase women's morale than strengthening work-life balance policies. Of course, the two strategies are complementary and are most effective when used simultaneously. Using only one strategy would not suffice. The analysis also reveals the importance of worker-manager relationships; women's morale is higher when their managers have high expectations for them, assign challenging work, and encourage their growth. In conclusion, employers can raise women employees' morale by communicating policy changes affecting them and by having upper management commit to developing policies and a company culture that give women more opportunity and improve work-life balance.

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Factors in the Workplace That Enable Men to Take Childcare Leave

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1. Why Fathers Are Not Taking Childcare Leave

In 2012, the percentage of fathers in Japan who took childcare leave crept up to 1.89%, according to the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare's 2012 *Basic Survey of Gender Equality in Employment Management*. At the same time, awareness and use of the childcare leave option among women was expanding—83.6% used childcare leave. Getting more fathers to take childcare leave was placed high on the government's policy agenda, leading to the 2007 "Charter for Work-Life Balance." One of the objectives of the charter was to raising the percentage of fathers taking childcare leave to 13% by 2020. In 2009 the *Child Care and Family Leave Law* was amended to make it easier for fathers to take time off for parenting.

Despite these efforts, the number of men using childcare leave is not increasing. Moreover, the

small percentage of men who do take childcare leave tend to use that leave for shorter periods than women. Why then, are men unable to take childcare leave for short periods? One might assume that the answer to this question lies in gender differences in education level and income and the persistence of gender-based division of labor in which "men go to work, women run the home." However, a 2010 survey by the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare (MHLW) reported that approximately 50% of men chose "work climate or conditions" as their reason for not taking childcare leave. "Work climate or conditions" was selected by 35.9% of women who had not used childcare leave, but they comprise only small percentage of all women surveyed as the majority of women who remained continuously employed had taken leave. If workplace conditions are keeping men from using childcare leave, then the workplace is where we must search for a solution.

The purpose of this article is to identify ways employers can increase men's use of childcare leave and in doing so, compare the situations faced by male and female employees. One issue is how posts requiring advanced skills or high levels of specialization are allocated to men and women. If specialization corresponds strongly with gender, or if men are much more likely to be "essential employees" whose work cannot be readily transferred to others, then explanations for why men are not taking childcare leave will not be hard to find.

The data analyzed here are from the "Survey of managers on male employees' involvement in parenting" (Takeishi and Matsubara 2011). The survey's targeted respondents were middle- and upper-level managers who, in the preceding three years, had supervised any employees, male or female, who had taken childcare leave for one month or more. The sample size was 1,049 people.¹

¹ This survey was done in collaboration with Professor Takeishi Emiko of Hosei University under the auspices of the Kodomo Mirai Foundation as part of the 2010 Business-related Services Survey Research Project. The survey was conducted using two methods: by mail via

2. Why Workplace Productivity Does Not Fall When Childcare Leave Is Used

Table 1 presents the results of a probit analysis of workplace factors that may explain why productivity does not fall in some cases when employees take childcare leave. The analysis takes the gender of employees who take leave and the nature of their work duties into account while evaluating the relationship between gender and jobs with considerable discretion or skill requirements.

Looking at workplaces where productivity either increased or remained the same despite employees taking childcare leave, the probit results show no relationship with the employees' gender or their

jobs' degree of difficulty. However, the coefficient for the variable "Workers usually leave work on time" was both positive and significant. This result suggests that workplaces that rarely require employees to work overtime will not experience a loss of productivity when workers take childcare leave, regardless of the difficulty of their jobs or their gender. In addition, the variable "Manager's awareness of company childcare leave regulations" is significant and positive in all cases except for "Women leave takers." Managers need to know how to create suitable personnel policies, communicate those policies to employees, and apply them fairly so that more men and women holding positions with high levels of discretion or expertise

Table 1: Estimation results for workplaces where productivity does not fall when employees take childcare leave. (Outcome variable= 1 for "increased [productivity]" or "unchanged" and 0 for "other responses.")

	1. Women Leave Takers			2. Men Leave Takers			3. Women In Charge of Complex/Important Work			4. Men in Charge of Complex/Important Work		
	Coeff.	Std. Error		Coeff.	Std. Error		Coeff.	Std. Error		Coeff.	Std. Error	
Work and Workplace Characteristics												
Workload manageability	.076	.032	***	-.011	.051		.034	.055		-.015	.091	
Collaboration/cooperation	-.007	.038		.058	.074		.000	.063		.258	.150	**
Work management/subordinate supervision	-.007	.022		.005	.047		.011	.039		-.203	.082	***
Number of supports for childcare leave takers	.016	.028		-.012	.046		.053	.051		-.012	.084	
Amount of regular employees' overtime (base = continual overtime)												
Days per week with overtime	.280	.113	***	.049	.202		.324	.194	**	.075	.347	
Workers usually leave work on time	.397	.165	***	.751	.345	**	.519	.327	*	2.881	1.825	*
Other	1.475	1.055	*	※1			1.102	1.783		※1		
Managers' awareness of company childcare leave regulations	.072	.083		.304	.145	**	.205	.154	*	0.401	0.256	*
Constant	-.310	.505		-.655	.813		-1.428	.907	*	0.647	1.576	
Sample size	763			270			254			103		
χ^2	759.0			252.1			229.8			86.6		

Notes:

1. In the estimation formulas for model 2, "Men leave takers" and model 4, "Men in charge of complex/important area," no values shown for the "Other" dummy under "Amount of regular employees' overtime" to indicate no one in the sample selected that response.
2. Control variables: Industry classification, job classification, non-working days, size of workplace, years of continuous employment for those taking childcare leave.
3. *** p<.01, ** p<.05, * p<.1

the companies' personnel departments and through a web survey company. Surveyed companies had more than 300 regular employees and were from across Japan. All industries were included (except public sector agencies) in the sample of roughly 4,000 firms, which were selected from data purchased from a corporate information database company. We also identified nearly 500 firms that reported male employees had taken childcare leave, including some firms with 300 or fewer regular employees. After eliminating duplicates we were left with 4,305 firms. We sent two copies of the survey written for managers to the human resources department of each firm.

The qualifications for survey respondents are as described in the body of this paper, but the distribution of the mail survey occurred in stages. We first mailed managers who had supervised male employees who had taken more than one month of childcare leave. Next, we mailed surveys to managers who had supervised promotion-track women in positions of responsibility who had taken childcare leave. Finally we sent surveys to managers who had overseen women doing regimented or routine work who had taken childcare leave.

The online survey was sent to people who had described themselves as managers when registering with a private employee monitoring company. In accordance with the monitoring company's size classification of firms, we selected private firms in various fields with 300 or more employees from across Japan. The result was 8,067 people—7828 men and 239 women. We conducted a screening survey to identify people who met our criteria. We received 629 valid responses from the mail survey and 420 from the web survey. The survey was conducted during 2010.

can take advantage of childcare leave.

In the case of employees in the category “Men in charge of complex/important work,” the coefficient for “cooperation/collaboration” is positive and significant. This variable shows the value of smooth communication and collaboration among workplace peers. Making it possible for people holding key positions to take time off requires maintaining a working climate of mutual support and open communication. In contrast, the variable “Work management/subordinate supervision” is negatively significant. It is difficult to draw any conclusions from this one statistical result, and further analysis is needed. If we take into consideration that the people taking leave are in charge of areas requiring considerable discretion or skills, their managers might have promoted them to those posts more for their leadership potential than their workplace management ability (Kotter 2012).²

3. Changing Workplaces to Increase Men's Use of Childcare Leave

The results above indicate the ways companies can maintain or increase productivity when employees take childcare leave: avoid chronic reliance on overtime and ensure that managers correctly understand the childcare leave system. A critical factor that will enable men responsible for core operations to take leave is the promotion of regular cooperation and coordination at work.

What then, do employers need to do to accomplish these changes? The first step is efficient organization management. Takeishi and Matsubara (2011) present a case study of how employers respond when men take childcare leave. Some employers were prompted by the issue to reevaluate their business operations systems. After carefully reviewing their business operations systems with an eye to improving efficiency in the medium to long term, these employers reassigned responsibility for various functions.

If tasks are allocated appropriately, business operations will continue to run smoothly after a leave taker returns to work. In this case study, employees took leave for about one month, well short of

the maximum allowed. Nevertheless, the important point is that managers are responding appropriately. Some women take childcare leave for extended time periods, and that has led managers to consider what arrangements would be most effective in keeping operations on track. Managers would be well advised to also make plans in the event that more men take leave for shorter stretches of time.

The second step is for employers to create a work climate where taking leave is not frowned upon. Fostering such a climate requires keeping regular employees from getting saddled with extra work when one of their colleagues takes leave. The organization must have an efficient management system in place to respond well to short-term workforce disruptions.

To sum up, the key to increasing men's use of childcare leave is for management to create organizations and systems that can respond adeptly when fathers need time off. If employers can make this adjustment, they likely will be able to apply the same strategies to women in key positions, employees taking leave to care for someone, and work-sharing or other ways of reducing work hours.

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² According to Kotter (2012), management and leadership are two different skills; management is needed to handle complexity while leadership is needed to deal with change. Leadership is the more important skill for people at the top of organizations.

Assessing the Current State of Caregiving by Full-time Employees

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1. The Purpose of This Article and the Nature of the Data Analyzed

Under Japan's public long-term care insurance program, a person's certification level determines what care services will be covered by insurance. The Certification level consists of support levels (1 and 2) and care levels (1-5). In Japan, the number of people age 65 years and older who were certified as support or care levels rose to 5.46 million in 2012, more than twice the 2.47 million level reached in 2000. 32.4% of all people age 75 years and older were certified as support or care levels in 2012 (*Status Report on Long-term Care Insurance*, MHLW 2000 and 2012). The population continues to age and in 2022 the baby boomer generation will cross the age 75 threshold. It is easy to foresee that the number of people receiving institutional and home care will continue to rise, as will the number of family members who provide the elderly with some level of support. Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare (MHLW)'s 2010 *Comprehensive Survey of Living Conditions* found that 40.1% of primary caregivers living with the person they care for are

also employed. It is highly likely that more and more people will be working and providing care at the same time.

This article focuses on employees who have actual experience providing care. After presenting an overview of how employees are balancing work and caregiving, we look more closely at how employees are involved in caregiving and also consider what steps employers can take to support them such as reducing the stress of caregiving. The data used in this article are taken from "Survey of the realities of caregiving and what needs to change," conducted by Life Care Partners Co., Ltd. in 2012.¹ The targeted respondents were the 22,499 employees of three firms, 7,419 of whom participated, resulting in a valid response rate of 33%. The survey was conducted online and each firm was asked to provide the web interface for its employees to answer questions and enter information. This article looks at the 1,027 individuals (13.8% of total respondents, all regular, full-time employees) who reported having been a caregiver within the previous three years. In this discussion, "caregiving" refers only to care provided to one's parents, parents-in-law, spouse, or other relative. Respondents defined "care" as they saw fit; "care" could refer to looking after someone in your own home, their home, an institution, or in a distant location. The demographics of the caregiver respondents are as follows: 812 are men (13.4% of all male respondents), and 215 are women (15.8% of all female respondents).

2. Working while Caregiving—Current Conditions and Concerns

To begin with, when asked about who they were caring for (in a survey item that permitted multiple responses) nearly all respondents indicated that they were caring either for their own mothers

¹ The survey was designed by Sato Hiroki, professor at the University of Tokyo, and the author. I would like to thank members of the Research Project Toward Realization of a Work-Life Balanced Society at the University of Tokyo for their helpful comments regarding data analysis. Any errors, of course, are mine alone.

(49.3%), their own fathers (46.4%), or both (26.7%). The designated disability levels of nearly half of those receiving care were at the high end of the scale, care levels 3 to 5, which correspond to very poor physical health and/or dementia. 13.7% of respondents reported not knowing the care level assigned to their family members and 6.7% reported not have applied for MHLW certification.

The three most common sites for primary caregiving are “my own home” (33.2%), “the care recipient’s home” (30.9%), and “long-term care facilities” (18.6%). In other words, more than 60% of respondents provide care in private homes. Men are nearly twice as likely to indicate that their family members receive most of their care in a nursing home as women are (20.6% versus 11.2%). 28.1% of men and 13.0% of women reported that it took them more than two hours of travel, one way, to visit their family members.

Survey takers were given another multiple response question on who was paying for caregiving expenses. The two most common answers were “my parent” (70.4%) and “myself” (45.7%). Among men, 48.3% selected “myself” compared to 35.8% of women. The rather high percentage of male employees who report their parents are in institutions or that they have to travel two hours or more to visit them suggests that travel expenses might be adding to what caregivers may be paying to keep their parents in long-term care facilities.

The survey asked respondents about what types of care they were personally providing. Respondents chose one or more of the following answers: 1) physical care, 2) daily needs such as cleaning and cooking, 3) safety checks and nursing home visits, and 4) ensuring that necessary caregiving arrangements are made and discussed. The survey also asked if more than one person was providing the same type of care as the respondent. Few employees said they were the only person providing any given type of care. More than 10% of people who reported making caregiving arrangements for their parents indicated they

were the only person doing so. Sole providers of other types of care are even rarer. As for physical care, 45.0% of employees reported not providing such care themselves. Around 30% answered that someone else provided most of the physical care while they helped on occasion.² For all types of care, more women than men reported being the main provider or occasionally helping with those tasks.

Employees caring for someone in a private home were given a multiple response question about their use of care services. Home health visits (51.2%), adult day centers (44.4%), and respite care (27.5%) are the three most commonly used services. 46.1% reported using two or more types of services, greatly outnumbering the 18.4% who reported not using any. The survey gives a glimpse into what is involved in caregiving while working. We can see that most employees are not providing care on their own, instead using care services to make it possible for them to manage work and caregiving.

While most employees are receiving some type of care assistance through public and private organizations, they are less likely to benefit from company policies for supporting caregivers. The most commonly used benefit was short-term caregiving leave, but only one in four (24.9%) indicated they had taken such leave. When asked about a list of caregiver support policies, the most popular response was “never used (not sure if my company has such a policy).” 42.5% chose this answer for “extended caregiving leave” and 49.4% chose it for “long-term reduction in working hours.” Looking at these numbers, a picture begins to emerge of a large population of employees who know too little about the kinds of support their companies can provide to help them with their caregiving obligations.

We turn now to the question of the emotional and physical costs of providing care while working full-time. A very high number of respondents indicate experiencing physical and emotional burdens from caregiving. The survey asked respondents how much they agreed with the statements

² “Someone else” includes other family members, paid care service providers, and volunteers.

"Caregiving is emotionally demanding" and "Caregiving is physically demanding." 66.8% felt the statement on emotional demands was either "very accurate" or "somewhat accurate." 51.1% endorsed the accuracy of the statement on physical demands. The perceived burden of financial costs is somewhat lighter. In response to the statement, "Caregiving has increased expenses and put a strain on our household budget," 38.7% called it accurate. 48.6% agreed with the statement, "Working while caregiving is difficult and can weigh heavily on me." In short, nearly half of the employees are struggling with their dual obligations to work and family.

As for gender differences, whether its emotional stress, physical stress, or anxiety over how to manage work and caregiving, women are under acute strain and struggling more than men are. Men report somewhat higher levels of financial stress. These gender differences parallel the aforementioned findings that women are more likely to be providing care themselves while men are more likely to be paying a greater share of the financial costs of care services.

3. How to Provide More Support to Working Caregivers

Given what we now know about working caregivers' experiences, what can be done to help them to prepare for and meet the challenges of elder care? There is an interesting relationship between employees' prior expectations about their personal involvement in caregiving, their initial understanding of public long-term care insurance and care services, and how stressful they now find caregiving. People who indicated that, at the outset, they knew very little about their companies' caregiver support policies, insurance, or service providers, and who did not anticipate that they would be caregivers themselves, reported feeling more burdened by caregiving and more stressed about trying to work while providing care. Lack of awareness about any facet of caregiving in the earliest stage of care is strongly correlated with feeling more weighed down and apprehensive later, as shown in Figure 1.

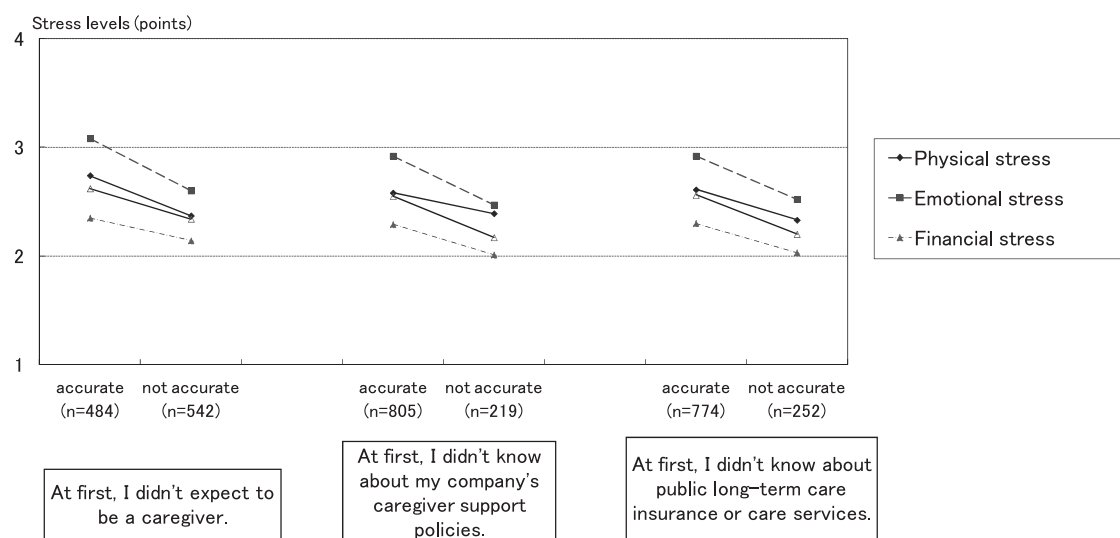
There is also a direct correlation between how involved a person is in providing physical care and his or her stress levels. Employees who do not provide any physical care themselves are less burdened and stressed than those who assist a primary caregiver, who in turn are less stressed than caregivers who are sole providers of such care. If we take certified care levels into account, sole caregivers of people who are at levels 3-5 are struggling significantly more than those looking after relatively healthier people at care levels 1 or 2. No such relationship was found between care levels and stress levels for respondents reporting no or limited involvement in providing physical care.

These results tell us that a) teaching employees ahead of time about caregiving and getting them to recognize that they, too, could become caregivers themselves and b) encouraging people not to shoulder the entire caregiving burden alone may lessen the difficulties that caregivers experience and lead to more sustainable ways of meeting work and family obligations.

If this strong relationship between being more informed and less overwhelmed exists, companies could make providing information on their own support policies, public long-term care insurance, and care services part of their work-life balance strategy. Similarly, companies could make an effort to convince employees of the importance of not facing caregiving challenges alone. An unexpected consequence of raising the limit on the length of caregiving leave—the signature piece of employers' caregiver support programs—may be that the flexibility it provides traps people into thinking they can or ought to be the sole providers of care for their family members.³ If companies want to make it easier for their employees to also be caregivers, instead of offering months of extended leave, they should take steps like offering flex-time and allowing off-site work. Increasing workplace flexibility and making it easier for employees to take family leave in one-day increments would in all likelihood produce better results.

³ Regular employees are entitled by law to take up to 93 days of leave for each relative they care for.

Figure 1: Knowledge of caregiving at the onset of care and subsequent stress levels



Legend box:

Physical stress

Emotional stress

Financial stress

Difficulty working while caregiving

y-axis: Stress levels (points)

x-axis: Very accurate, Not at all accurate

Box 1: At first, I didn't expect to be a caregiver.

Box 2: At first, I didn't know about my company's caregiver support policies

Box 3: At first, I didn't know about public long-term care insurance or care services.

Notes:

1. Data taken from the *Survey of the realities of caregiving and what needs to change*, conducted by Life Care Partners Co., Ltd. in 2012. Analysis performed by the author.
2. "Physical stress" corresponds to the survey item "Caregiving is physically demanding." "Emotional stress" corresponds to "Caregiving is emotionally demanding." "Financial stress" is short for "Caregiving has increased expenses and put a strain on our household budget." "Difficulty working while caregiving" corresponds to "Working while caregiving is difficult and can weigh heavily on me." The full set of possible responses to these items is "very accurate," "somewhat accurate," "somewhat inaccurate," and "not at all accurate." These answers were converted to a four-point scale ranging from 4 for "very accurate" to 1 for "not at all accurate."
3. Respondents who did not answer questions about the start of their caregiving were excluded from the sample.

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The Interactions between Work and Personal Life

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1. Introduction

We can expect to see the number of dual career couples to continue to grow in Japan. How will the interaction between work and personal life be affected as more husbands and wives remain committed to building careers? This paper examines this question and the important issue of how individuals, organizations, and society should best adapt to the coming changes. Schein (1978) presents two perspectives on the interaction between work and personal life that are applied here. First, we can look at interactions at the level of individuals, to which Schein applies the spillover concept (work affects private life and vice versa), or couples, who experience crossover interactions between their own and their spouses' careers and private lives.

Second, we can study the interaction between organizations and individuals. For example, when

an organization sets out to support individuals' balancing of work and personal life, what policies and measures would also help it to achieve its own goals? Finally, this paper develops a circulation model of the recursive interactions between organizations and individuals' work and private lives and considers the lessons offered by recent survey data. The data tell us that workplace satisfaction has a positive spillover effect in individuals' home life, thus increasing life satisfaction overall. Husbands and wives influence each other's life satisfaction, and life satisfaction raises career consciousness. It in turn leads to better work performance.

2. Spillovers and Crossovers

We can accept as given that just as work conditions and career consciousness affect individuals' private lives, events at home and attitudes towards family affect how people work. This bidirectional causality between work and life is known as "spillover," the effects of which can be either positive or negative. Combining direction and type of effect produces a typology of four categories. The fact that spillover affects not only the individual but also the people around that person is well known; the interpersonal reverberations of spillover are called "crossover," and several reports on crossover interactions, chiefly between spouses sharing a home life, have been published.

3. Description of the Data Analyzed and How to Measure Spillover and Crossover

3.1 Data Overview

In 2010, the Cabinet Office conducted the "'Work' and 'Life' Interaction Survey" of married couples. To participate, both spouses were required to fill out a questionnaire. Surveys were mailed to 5,000 people (2,500 couples), and 3,973 valid responses were submitted. This paper analyzes the individual responses of the 1,170 pairs of working wives and their husbands (out of 1,958 couples who included answers by both spouses)¹. Individual

¹ Of the 1,170 female respondents included in this study, 296 were regular, full-time employees, and 648 were non-regular employees. 53 were self-employed, and 68 worked for a family business. 105 women reported either freelancing or having side jobs.

response forms were accessed with the permission of the Cabinet Office.

3.2. Measuring Spillover and Crossover Effects

This paper focuses on positive spillover. Two measures constructed from the survey responses cover positive spillover questions, one measure for spillover from work to life, the second for spillover from life to work. Each was created by combining scores for four survey items that had five-point response scales. The response values range from 1, for “never,” to 5, for “all the time,” and thus the range of the constructed measures is 4 to 20.

The first group of items assesses positive spillover from work to life. The items are:

- You return home from work feeling content, and that has a positive effect on your private life.
- After your work is finished, you can enjoy your private life.
- Things you learn at work also enrich your private life.
- Working gives you lot of energy, which enhances your private life.

The second item group concerns positive spillover from life to work. The items are:

- After having some private time, you enjoy work more.
- After enjoying some pleasant personal time, your good mood persists and has a positive effect on your work.
- Because you keep up with what you must do at home, you are better able to fulfill your work duties.
- Because you relax and recharge during your private time, work is more enjoyable.

Tallying up the positive spillover scores, we find that the average score for positive spillover from work to private life is 10.8 for men and 11.3 for women. The score for positive spillover from private life to work averages 11.5 for men and 11.7 for women. Women have higher spillover scores than men in both cases. In contrast, when negative spillover is assessed, men report more nega-

tive spillover from work to private life than women do.

Crossover, as noted earlier, is the reciprocal impact of one spouse’s experiences or attitudes on the other. In examining crossover effects, respondents were asked about their level of satisfaction with their lives. Their answers were scaled from 1 to 10 points. The correlation coefficient between the satisfaction levels of wives and husbands is 0.38 and is statistically significant at the 1% level.

4. Model Building and Testing

A model was constructed as follows. The starting point is employers’ efforts to help employees achieve work-life balance. The idea of creating a workplace that makes it easier for employees to find ways to reconcile the demands of work and life has grown more salient. It in turn generates positive emotional consequences and leads to a positive spillover from workplace to employees’ private life. This type of positive spillover increases “overall life satisfaction” and, at the same time, produces crossover effects between spouses. In addition, spillover effects stemming from life satisfaction raise “job satisfaction” and work performance to the benefit of their employers.

Covariance structure analysis was used to test this model against the data. The CFI was 0.92, and the RMSEA was 0.047. The results indicate that the model fits the data fairly well, as shown in Figure 1.

To conclude, as awareness of the potential benefits of positive reciprocal interactions between work and life continues to grow, it is critical that society as a whole continually reinforces the virtuous cycle between work and private life that work-life balance can create.

Reference

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Figure 1: The impact of spillover and crossover effects on the effectiveness of work-life balance measures (Path analysis using AMOS, n=1,170 pairs of working wives and their husbands). Values are standardized estimates.

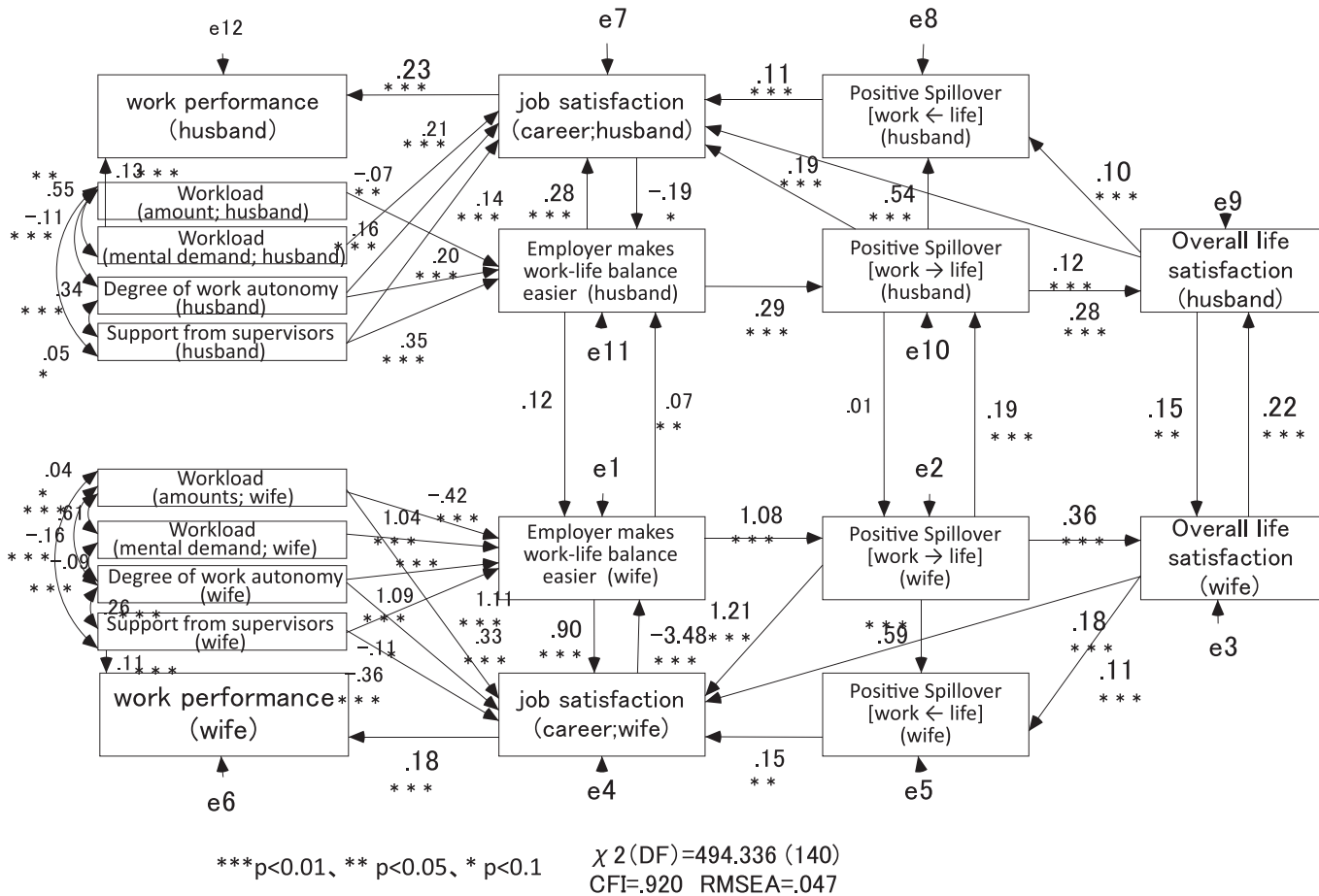


Figure 1 variables

1. Overall life satisfaction: “Looking at your life overall, how satisfied are you?” Responses are on a ten-point scale ranging from “Not at all satisfied” (1 point) to “Completely satisfied” (10 points).
2. Employer makes work-life balancing easier: “Is where you work a place that makes it easy for you to reconcile the demands of work and home (work-life balance) as you think best?” Responses are on a four-point scale ranging from “In no way is it easy to balance work and home life where I work” (1 point) to “It’s fairly easy to balance work and home life where I work” (4 points).
3. Work performance: Respondents were asked to rate their performance over the previous four weeks on a scale from 1 to 10.
4. Workload (amount): The sum of responses to three items—“I have to do an unusually large amount of work;” “I cannot finish my work during regular hours;” and “I have to work as hard as I can.” Responses are on a four-point scale that ranges from “I strongly disagree” (1 point) to “I strongly agree” (4 points). The total workload ranges from 3 to 12.
5. Workload (mental demands): The sum of responses to three items—“My work requires paying very close attention;” “My work requires much expertise or technical skill;” and “My work requires constantly focused.” Responses are on a four-point scale ranging from “I strongly disagree” (1 point) to “I strongly agree” (4 points). The total mental demand workload ranges from 3 to 12.
6. Degree of work autonomy: The sum of responses to three items—“I can work at my own pace;” “I can set my own priorities and decide how to handle them;” and “My personal input is reflected in company policies.” Responses are on a four-point scale ranging from “I strongly disagree” (1 point) to “I strongly agree” (4 points). The total scores range from 3 to 12.
7. Support from supervisors: Respondents were asked about their direct supervisors in three items—“I can speak to my boss easily;” “My boss supports me when a problem arises;” and “My boss listens when I discuss personal problems.” Responses are on a four-point scale ranging from “Not at all” (1 point) to “Very much so” (4 points). Supervisors support scores range from 3 to 12.
8. Job satisfaction (career): Five items cover career and personal development—“Personal development through work;” “Work content;” “Level of responsibility at work;” “How work has shaped your life thus far;” and “Your career progress to date.” Responses are on a five-point scale ranging from “Very dissatisfied” (1 point) to “Highly satisfied” (5 points). The highest job satisfaction score is 25.

Effects of the *Next Generation Law*, a Government Initiative to Promote Balance of Work and Childcare.

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In order for the next generation to be born healthy and raised in a nurturing environment, potential parents need work environments that support a work-life balance. In light of this fact, in July 2003, the Diet enacted the *Law for Measures to Support the Development of the Next Generation*. This law, herein referred to as the *Next Generation Law*, set forth voluntary guidelines that large firms, those having more than 300 employees, were expected to implement by April 1, 2005. The first step for these firms was to submit their plans for establishing policies and working conditions that would make it easier for employees to balance work and family life. These plans were to be submitted to prefectural governments' labor bureaus. The law was later amended to require participating firms to make employees aware of planned changes by April 2009. Starting in April 2011, firms with 101-300 employees were also expected to develop action plans, submit them to prefectural officials, and publicize them.

The law required companies to pursue three goals

in devising their action plans: "create policies that support employees with children, at work and at home," "review and revise work practices for all employees, with or without children, to create or enhance a good work climate (e.g., reduce overtime)," and "consider ways to create mutually beneficial ties with their local communities by providing stable employment to young people or finding other ways to develop a local economy in which the next generation can achieve financial independence."

The specific steps included in action plans vary from firm to firm, but the government set forth uniform objectives for all. One criterion for being designated as a parent-friendly "Next Generation" company by the minister of the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare (MHLW) is to have at least 70% of female employees and one or more male employees take time off from work using childcare leave days while action plans were in effect (two to five years). The "Next Generation" designation by MHLW includes the right to publicize that status, on products or in advertisements, with a logo featuring a swaddled baby named "Kurumin." Official recognition of a company's efforts to help its employees achieve a work-life balance can enhance its public image and social standing.

For plans of action submitted before April 2009, the requirements for recognition as a parent-friendly firm were: (1) the action plan covers a period from two to five years; (2) the action plan is fully implemented; (3) at least one male employee takes child care leave during the action plan period; (4) at least 70% of female employees use childcare leave; (5) parents remain eligible for childcare leave, limited overtime, reduced regular work hours, flex time and other parent-friendly measures from the time their children turn three years old until they enter elementary school; (6) the company enacts measures to reduce overtime, increase paid vacation days, or otherwise change working conditions; and (7) the

company commits no serious violations of laws and ordinances.

As of September 2009, the MHLW reported that 20,772 firms had submitted next generation action plans. The number of firms that turned in plans increased greatly thereafter, reaching 69,337 in June 2012.¹ At that time, however, the ministry had designated only 1,276 firms as parent friendly, a 1.8% rate of approval.² This paper uses survey data from private firms, collected through mailed questionnaires, to reveal how firms were responding to the challenges of helping their employees achieve a better work-life balance and revising work practices under the *Next Generation Law*. The surveys reveal the effects of action plan formation and efforts to receive government recognition.³

The data analyzed were collected in the 2010 "Survey of Companies' Next Generation Parent Support Policies." The survey was commissioned by the Kodomo Mirai Foundation and designed and conducted by Sato Hiroki and Asai Yukiko. 4,000 private firms with more than 300 employees were selected from across Japan using company data from Tokyo Shoko Research.⁴ Approximately 200 of these firms had received "Next Generation" recognition from MHLW. Questionnaires were also sent to approximately 300 other recognized firms, bringing the total number of firms to 4,305. The number of companies responded to the survey was 459, a response rate of 10.7%. For details on the questionnaire format and the respondent companies, see Kodomo Mirai Foundation (2011) and Asai and Sato (2014).

Among respondent firms, 25.5% reported submitting action plans and being designated as parent friendly firms by MHLW. 49.9% reported they had submitted plans, but had yet to receive official recognition.⁵ These two groups are referred to as "designated" and "non-designated" firms,

respectively.

The questionnaire asked about the effects of the creation and enactment of parent-friendly action plans. One question asked if various levels of employees had been made more aware of the challenges of working while raising children. 27.5% of companies said that was true of their top executives. 38.7% reported greater awareness among managers and 40.2% answered that rank-and-file employees better understood work-life balance issues. Another question asked if there had been a decline in the number of women who quit work after marrying or having children, and 33.8% said that was the case. 38.7% of firms reported that more women were taking childcare leave. All in all, a sizable share of firms indicated that noticeable changes were underway and that various improvements to work-life balance stemmed from the implementation of action plans.

Figure 1 shows the changes reported by firms that had been designated at least once. The most striking effect of being designated as a parent-friendly firm is a better public image. 70.9% of designated firms agreed with the statement, "The social image of the company has improved." 21.4% reported becoming able to recruit exceptional employees. Looking more closely at how designated firms publicized their Next Generation action plans, 45.3% presented plans on their websites. 47.9% had announcements on the MHLW website for work-life balance (www.ryouritsu.jp), 12% included their designation in their corporate social responsibility reports, 1.7% placed advertisements in newspapers and other mass media, and 4.3% placed announcements in publications produced by local governments. We can conclude from these responses that the process of creating action plans and earnestly carrying out those plans enhances firms' social appeal and public image in a variety of ways.

¹ Designated companies are counted only once, regardless of the number of times they were designated. Quarterly reports and other information on Next Generation programs can be found at the MHLW website: www.mhlw.go.jp/general/seido/koyou/jisedai/sekougyoukyou.html.

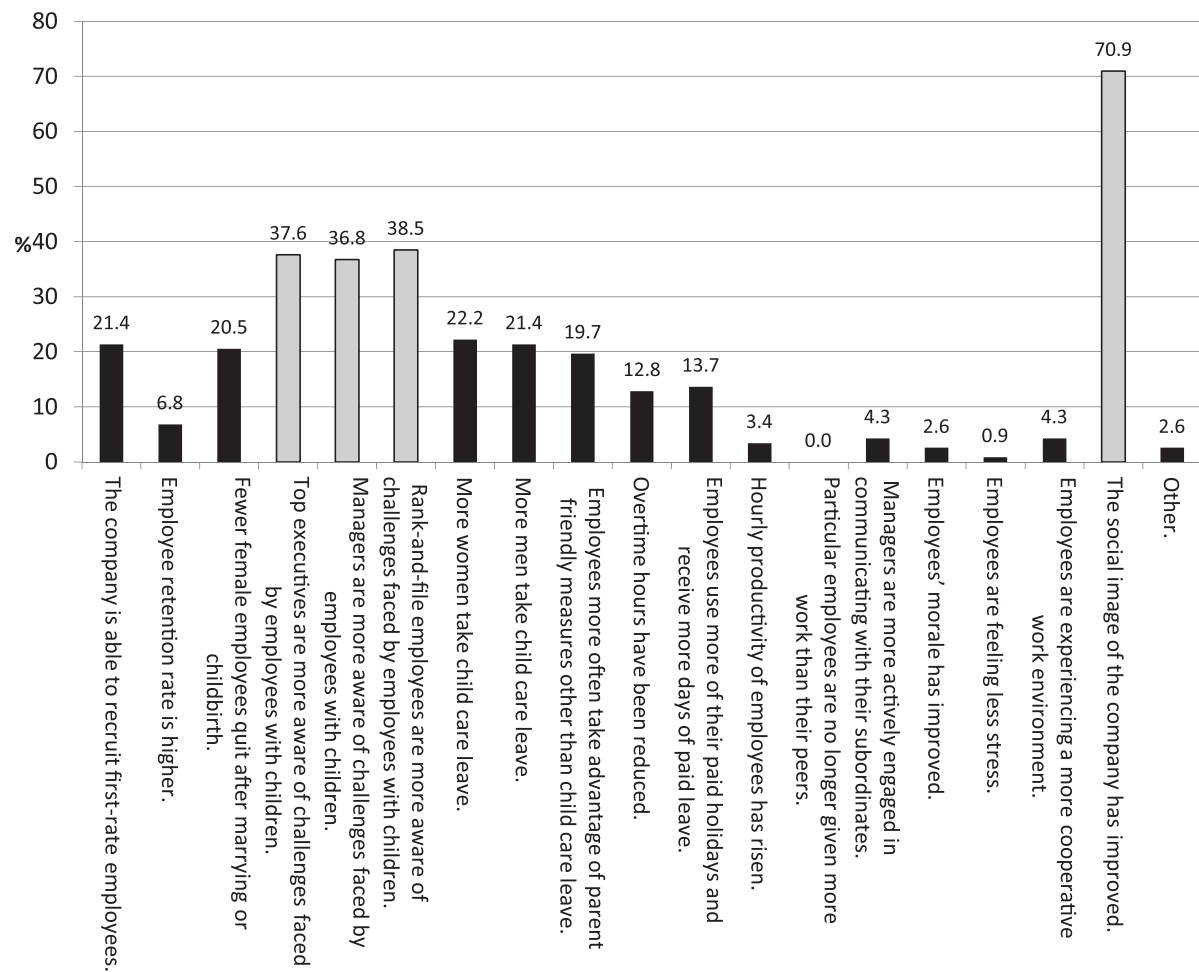
² Approximately 80% of designated companies have more than 300 employees.

³ For more details on the effects of the *Next Generation Law*, see MHLW (2013).

⁴ The number of employees includes only regular employees and excludes part-time and fixed-term contract workers.

⁵ Because the survey response rate was higher for large firms, and large firms are more likely to seek MHLW designation (JILPT 2007), the percentages of designated and non-designated firms reported here are higher than actual levels of participation.

Figure 1: Effects of achieving official recognition as a parent-friendly firm (n=117 firms)



When asked if their companies had made a real effort to execute at least some part of their action plans, 95.7% of designated companies answered affirmatively compared to only 80.3% of non-designated companies. As for what issues were being tackled by companies, 65.8% of designated companies selected, "Informing employees about the work friendly programs available to them and what is included in our company's Next Generation action plan." Among non-designated companies, only 34.5% selected this response.

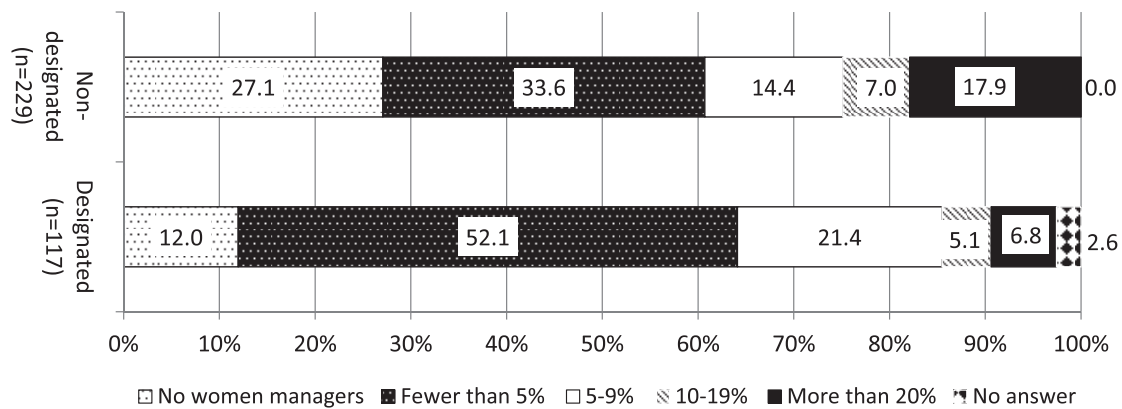
As for how employees were being informed and other action plan items were being carried out in designated firms, 27.4% reported that "information was being conveyed by top-level managers through messages and other means of communication." 55.6% selected "periodic progress checks;" 46.2% had "selected point persons or teams in human resources or administration departments; and 45.3% reported "working to persuade managers." We can see how firms' going beyond drafting action plans and using several methods to bring those plans to fruition is

linked to their winning a "Next Generation" designation.

The questionnaire included eight items on personnel management policies. Companies were being asked what policies they put emphasis on. Among designated firms, 37.9% chose "to develop employees' capabilities," 48.7% answered "to push employees to think about their future career paths," 55.6% selected "to create a work environment where women employees can demonstrate their full potential," and 57.3% chose "to help employees have both a career and a family. 10–20% fewer non-designated firms selected the answers above after indicating that parent friendly policies were important. This difference indicates that creating a work environment that encourages employees to perform at their highest possible level is essential in order to execute an action plan and become a Next Generation company.

Figure 2 compares the percentages of middle and upper managers who are women in non-designat-

Figure 2: Percentage of middle and upper managers who are women (n=346 firms)



ed and designated companies. The latter are less likely to have no women in middle and upper management—12.0% of designated versus 27.1% of non-designated firms have only men in such positions. Similarly, 14.4% of non-designated firms report that women comprise 5 to 9% of middle and upper managers compared to 21.4% of designated firms. Achieving a Next Generation company designation not only improves the work environment so that employees can make full use of their talents, it can also produce positive spillover effects that foster a corporate culture in which women can fully participate.

The survey results suggest that the *Next Generation Law* has produced the effects its drafters envisioned. The law has motivated companies to generate and apply parent-friendly policies, thus creating employment environments that help employees with young children achieve a work-life balance.

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Economic Governance and Reference Points: A Normative Perspective

CATO Susumu



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A reasonable collective decision process is necessary for social order and the governance of economic organizations. In this essay, I briefly argue how “references” work in collective decision processes. In particular, I focus on the role of a reference alternative, which serves as a benchmark point in the processes. The benchmark is Arrow’s general impossibility theorem, which states a serious obstacle to collective decision making (Arrow 1963). One of the causes of this negative result is that the use of reference points is excluded in Arrow’s approach. If we are allowed to use reference points, it is possible to construct reasonable collective decision processes.

1. Arrow’s Impossibility Theorem and References

Arrow’s theorem is concerned with the construction of social preferences (Arrow, 1963). Assuming that there are at least three alternatives, x , y , and z , he considers how to aggregate individual preferences on alternatives. Formally, an *aggregation method* (or *constitution*) is a function that

maps a list of individual preferences to a unique social preference. Here, any preference is assumed to be rational in the sense that it is transitive and complete. Thus, not only individual judgments but also social judgments are required to be rational.

Arrow’s theorem clarifies a difficulty of the aggregation method. According to the theorem, there exists no aggregation method that satisfies the following conditions (Arrow, 1963, Chapter 8):

1. *Unrestricted Domain* (UD): The domain of the method contains all lists of individual preferences that are rational.
2. *Pareto Principle* (PP): If everyone prefers an alternative x to another alternative y , then x is socially better than y .
3. *Non-Dictatorship* (ND): There exists no dictator who has a decisive influence.
4. *Independence of Irrelevant Alternatives* (IIA): Each pair of alternatives must be ranked only based on information of the individual rankings over the pair.

Each of Arrow’s conditions can be regarded as a desirable property that is necessary for a reasonable collective decision process. The diversity of individual preferences can be allowed by UD. PP simply states that consensus among individuals must be respected. ND excludes a trivial decision process. IIA is an axiom of “informational efficiency.” It requires that the aggregation method efficiently use individual information of preferences (by extending Blau (1971), Cato (2014) identifies the informational structure of IIA).

A possible interpretation of Arrow’s theorem is that constructing collective preferences without any use of references is impossible. It is not allowed under IIA to consider some references

other than the two alternatives in question. As such, the use of information on references is excluded in his approach. When we are allowed to use references by dropping or weakening IIA, various aggregation methods become available.

Recent developments in welfare economics shows that well-behaved normative criteria can be constructed by employing reference prices and bundles under economic environments. Given a reference price vector, the *money metric* associated with a consumption bundle is the minimal amount of money that can attain the bundle. Calculating the money metric for each individual, we can take the summation of them, which is a well-behaved normative criterion. Note that reference prices are necessary when we calculate money metrics. Thus, the money-metric approach violates IIA, which excludes any references. The money-metric approach works only under economic environments. In the following section, we describe how a reference point works under the abstract Arrowian setting.

2. Collective Decision making with a Reference Point

Now, we take an alternative r as a reference point. Practically, it is likely that the reference alternative is a status quo. Let $N(x,y)$ be the number of individuals who prefer x to y .

Consider the following collective decision process: x is socially at least good as y if $N(x,r) - N(r,x)$ is greater than or equal to $N(y,r) - N(r,y)$. We call the process the *reference-dependent majority rule* (RDMR). It is easy to see that RDMR is a well-behaved collective decision process. First, the social rankings generated by RDMR are transitive and complete. Thus, social rationality is satisfied. Second, UD is also satisfied. Third, RDMR has the spirit of the majority voting method, and thus, there exists no dictator and no oligarchy.

Although IIA and PP are not satisfied, weaker versions of them are achieved. The social ranking between x and y depends only on x , y and the reference alternative r . Then, the individual rankings

over three alternatives are sufficient for constructing the social ranking between two alternatives. Hence, IIA is violated but information of individual preferences is efficiently used. To see that RDMR violates PP, let us consider a preference profile such that x is preferred to y and y is preferred to r for every individual (and so x is preferred to r by transitivity). Everyone prefers x to y but x is socially indifferent with y under this profile. Thus, PP is not satisfied. However, its weaker version is satisfied: if all individuals prefer x to y , then x is socially at least as good as y .

It is clear that individuals are equally treated under RDMR and thus it satisfies *anonymity*. Moreover, since all individuals other than the reference alternative are symmetrically treated, a kind of neutrality is satisfied. To sum up, RDMR satisfies various desirable properties. These observations on RDMR suggest that once we are allowed to use reference points, a wide range of decision processes becomes available.

Here, I provide a comment on the relationship with the Borda rule. It is well known that the rule satisfies WD, PP, and ND. Exhaustive information on individual preferences is necessary for constructing the Borda ranking. The advantage of the Borda rule over RDMR is that it completely respects consensus. Its disadvantage is informational inefficiency. Then, there exists a trade-off between the Paretian requirement and informational efficiency.

3. Conclusion

Reference points are fundamentally important for economic governance in two ways. First, the optimal design of institutional arrangements and economic organizations are affected by some reference points because individual behavior depends on them.¹ Second, reference points allow us to construct reasonable collective decision processes. In this essay, I provided some remarks on the latter point. In particular, I propose RDMR, which is a decision process with a reference point, and discuss its basic properties.

¹ Akerlof (1982) emphasizes the importance of a reference group in a modern firm because the situation of a group affects ideas of employees in the firm. Cato (2013) discusses how reciprocal concerns with some references affect the optimal design of labor contracts.

Acknowledgements

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Kenji E. Kushida

(Research Associate in Japanese Studies at the Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center, Stanford University)

Leading without Followers-The Puzzle of Japan's "Galapagos" ICT Industry and the Political Economy of Commoditization

January 17, 2014

In the mid-2000s, casual visitors to Japan would often marvel at the sophisticated Japanese mobile handsets and wonder, "When are we going to get that?" The answer, sadly, was "never." Japan's mobile communications market was advanced, but isolated. Unlike the automobile or machine tools industries, its advanced domestic industry did not lead to global prominence. Japan's ICT industry was, in fact, a "leader without followers" by becoming a leader along technological trajectories expected by major players, only to be disrupted when the world's technology trajectories abruptly shifted toward a new direction—time and time again.

By analyzing Japan's ICT industry in an international comparative perspective, I find that Japan's ICT industry structure was critically different from other countries and regions. Network carriers emerged as industry leaders in Japan, versus communications equipment manufacturers elsewhere. Global competition was shaped by interaction between these different sets of domestic and regional winners. I then go a step further, showing how the politics of telecommunications liberalization around the world shaped the diverging industry structures at critical junctures. The result of the variety of political settlements around the world led to the global dynamics of competition we see unfolding—including the rapid rise of disruptors from the US computer and IT services industry, such as Apple and Google, that are rapidly commoditizing all other actors originating in the telecommunications industry.

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David Chiavacci

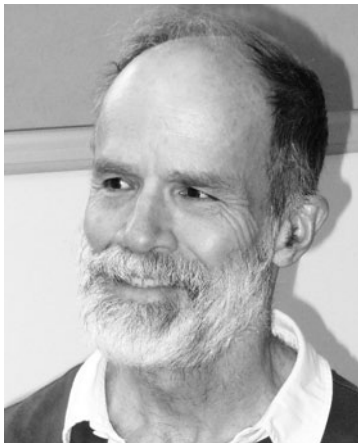
(Mercator Professor in Social Science of Japan, the University of Zurich)

Gateways to Japan—Patterns of Socio-Economic Integration and Exclusion of New Immigrants

February 13, 2014

The share of foreign residents in current Japan is with less than two percent still low in international comparison. Still, since the late 1980s, Japan has had a significant and continuous inflow of new immigrants. Today, Japan is an immigration country with an increasing ethnic diversity. And in view of its long-term demographic development, the introduction of an active immigration policy is a recurrent topic in policy circles and public discussions since the late 1990s.

This talk analyses the patterns and experiences of socio-economic integration and exclusion of these new immigrants in Japanese society. It focuses on a comparative analysis of Chinese immigrants and *nikkeijin* (return migrants of Japanese origin from South America) as the two largest groups among the new immigrants. By applying established theoretical models of inclusion and exclusion in a national context as well as recent approaches on transnational links as another mean of socio-economic integration, it finds large differences in the case of the two ethnic minorities. On the one hand, the Chinese minority is marked by an internal diversity including successful ethnic entrepreneurs as well as marginalized trainees. While for the successful Chinese entrepreneurs a transnational path of socio-economic integration is accessible, Chinese trainees are embedded into Japan's foreign trainee system as a kind of total (transnational) institution. On the other hand, the *nikkeijin* are segregated into indirect short-term employment and not fully incorporated into social security systems. Although they achieve a decent income, they face a high risk of poverty in old age. Moreover, in view of the low school achievements of their children, the *nikkeijin* are on the path to become a precarious underclass. The talk will conclude with a discussion of the factors leading to these diverse patterns among new immigrants and comparing their experiences with Korean immigrants of the colonial era and their descendants in Japan.



J. Mark Ramseyer

*(Mitsubishi Professor of Japanese Legal Studies, Harvard Law School;
Visiting Professor, the University of Tokyo Faculty of Law)*

Social Capital and the Formal Legal System—Evidence from Prefecture-Level Data in Japan

March 20, 2014

Verifiable proxies for social capital potentially provide an empirically tractable way to identify environments where social norms both constrain behavior and substitute for judicial enforcement. Using regression and factor analysis with Japanese prefecture-level data, I test several facets of this proposition. First, people in prefectures with high levels of social capital more readily comply with a range of low-level legal mandates. Second, reflecting the fact that social norms need not point toward government-approved ends, taxpayers in high social-capital prefectures (particularly in the agricultural sector) are more -- not less -- likely to evade taxes. Third, conditional on levels of economic welfare: (a) firms in prefectures with low levels of social capital are more likely to default on their contracts; (b) residents in low social-capital prefectures are probably (the results are ambiguous) more likely to litigate; (c) distressed debtors in low social-capital prefectures are more likely to file in court for bankruptcy protection; and (d) creditors of distressed debtors in low social-capital prefectures are more likely to apply in court for enforcement orders.

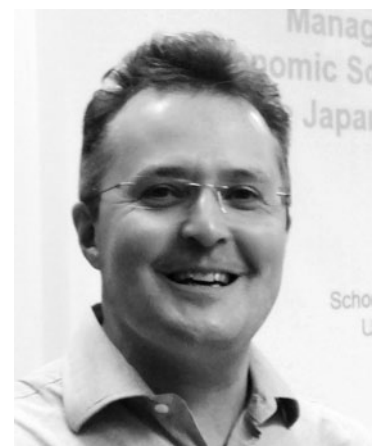
Harald Conrad

*(Sasakawa Lecturer in Japan's Economy and Management, University
of Sheffield)*

Managing (Un)Certainties—Economic Sociology Perspectives on the Japanese Antique Art Trade

April 17, 2014

Market actors are commonly faced with solving three distinct coordination problems as sources of uncertainty. How should they value the objects of their trade, how can they shield themselves from the competition, and with whom and how do they cooperate? This paper investigates how Japanese antique art dealers confront these issues. While offering a rich description and analysis of a rather secretive Japanese market, the paper advances also our theoretical understanding of market behaviour in general. First, contrary to neoclassical economic theory and approaches in cultural economics, where the idea of value has largely been abandoned, the findings highlight the importance of distinguishing between notions of value and price in understanding markets. Second, while prior research in economic sociology highlights mechanisms such as product differentiation, first-mover advantages, reciprocal agreements, corruption, cartels, or monopolies to alleviate uncertainties created by competition, this paper shows how complex price making mechanisms in dealers' auctions can have a similar function.



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Allison Alexy

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Constructing Mutuality—Family Law Process and Divorce in Contemporary Japan

May 8, 2014

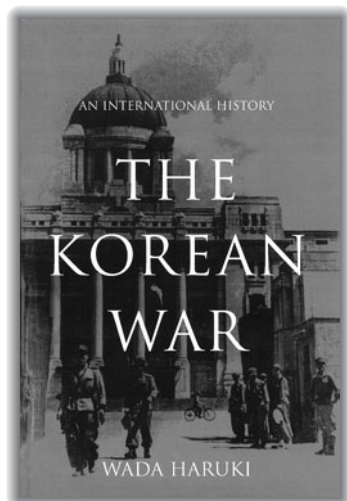
On the face of it, the legal process of getting divorced in contemporary Japan looks both simple and disconnected from the legal system. Since the war, the vast majority of divorces have occurred with one simple form. To get divorced, both spouses sign this form, stamp it with their legal name stamps (*inkan*), and submit it to a government office. With this form, spouses are acknowledging both that they want to be divorced and that they have already agreed to the terms of the divorce. As revealed by my ethnographic research, such relative bureaucratic ease stands in sharp contrast to the debates, negotiations, and conflicts that occur as people work to accomplish a divorce. Because legal precedents require that both spouses agree to divorce, many protracted negotiations occur as a spouse who wants to divorce attempts to convince the other to agree to it, often by promising material property, making no financial demands, or offering other bribes. Although many of these negotiations occur in divorces that are eventually legally registered as “mutual,” that eventual mutuality masks substantial private conflict and negotiation that are themselves intimately, and constantly, shaped by legal categories and ideologies. In this presentation, I argue that the standard process of getting a divorce, and the legal structures that underlie it, reflect ideological constructions of families as coherent social units even at the moment they are dividing. In practical terms, this means that the Family Law Court is unlikely to attempt to resolve, or aid in the resolution of, extant problems within in any given family.

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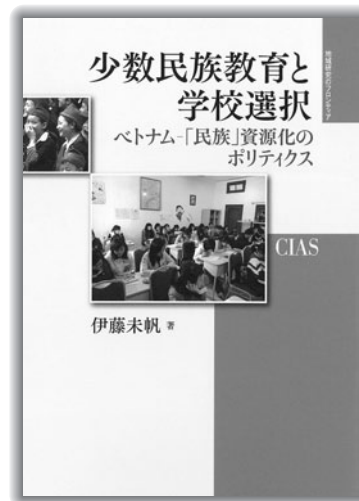


伊藤未帆 (著)

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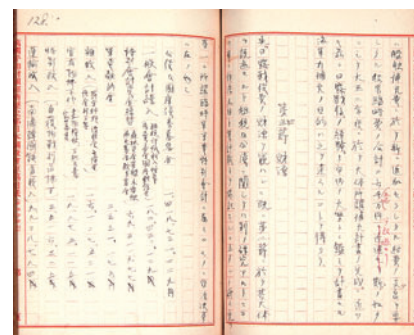
MITANI Meiko and ISHIKAWA Maki

In the previous issue of SSJ Newsletter, the Institute of Social Science Library introduced collections of documents related to Japan's labor history. In this issue we present three collections of materials related to Asian nations.

Sakatani Archives

The ISS Library has acquired publications, letters, and other documents from the personal library of Baron (later Viscount) Sakatani Yoshiro (1863-1941), Minister of Finance from 1906-08. We have dedicated an area of the library to the Sakatani Archives and have placed selected primary documents in the following six sub-collections:

1. Reports on wartime government and government finances during the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars.
2. Reports relating to World War I.
3. Reports on China.
4. Materials relating to the Ministry of Finance's management of public funds.
5. Financial accounting records on Japan's economy.
6. Correspondence regarding research commissioned by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.



The Reports on China (3), including reports on Manchuria and Mongolia, are in Japanese and English. The Carnegie Endowment sub-collection (6) includes correspondence regarding the studies it commissioned of Manchuria and Mongolia.

Items from the Sakatani Archives that do not fall within the above six categories are shelved in the ISS Library's general collection. These items consist of books on the history of public and private financial affairs in Japan, various biographies, as well as numerous documents and reports on fiscal and monetary policy issued by the Deposit Department of the Ministry of Finance from the Meiji period to the early Showa period.

Hosokawa Collection

The ISS Library has acquired the personal library of Hosokawa Karoku (1888-1962), a former member of the House of Councilors, from his family. Hosokawa was a central figure in the 1942 "Yokohama Incident," considered the most significant case of free speech suppression during World War II. The government began its harsh crackdown after Hosokawa's article, '世界史の動向と日本' (Trends in world history and Japan), was published in the August and September 1942 issues of the journal 改造 (Kaizō). The collection includes court documents related to Hosokawa's criminal trial associated with the "Yokohama Incident," but in principle, these court documents are not available to the public.

Asian Studies Collection

This collection, also known as the "Collection of Books and Materials on Research on the Modernization of Legal and Social Structures in Asia," was made possible by a Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research from the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture. Focusing on recent shifts in laws and legal customs in Asia, the ISS Library purchased law compilations (including landmark cases) for India and Southeast Asia, reference works on traditional Indonesian law (adat rights), and research materials on law, politics, economics, and society in Asian and African states.

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