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CHANGING PATTERN OF JAPANESE ATTITUDES TOWARD WORK:
A CONSEQUENCE OF RECENT HIGH ECONOMIC GROWTH

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FOREWORD

This article is the reproduction of a main paper in English entitled "Changing Pattern of Japanese Attitudes toward Work: A Consequence of Recent High Economic Growth" prepared and presented by Mr. Hiroshi Komai, research staff in Division of Manpower Research, to the Second Regional Seminar on the Sociology of Development organized by Research Center on Social and Economic Development in Asia, Institute of Economic Growth, Delhi, which was held in Delhi, India, from November 25 to December 20, 1968.

It is well recognized that development of population quality is most urgent in the face of labor shortage in present Japan. The author attempted to tackle it through the social aspect of population quality. I wish the attempt would be the first step toward further research in manpower development.

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Changing Pattern of Japanese Attitudes toward Work:

A Consequence of Recent High Economic Growth

Introduction

In this paper, I intend to discuss the changing pattern of Japanese attitudes toward work as a consequence of recent high economic growth.

Japanese economy has re-attained her pre-war highest level around 1955 recovering from the damage of the war. Since then, its development has been very remarkable. Though short fluctuations existed, much growth, of which for-runner was the Iwato boom around 1960, has continued as seen in Table 1. Such high growth, near 10% a year, is mainly due to the increase of the weight of the secondary industry as seen in Table 2, in which large equipment capital has invested. The ratio of equipment investment against gross national expenditure was 20% level before 1955, and jumped up more than 32% after then, and surprisingly exceeded 35% in 1961.¹⁾ This has been particularly conspicuous in durable consumer goods industry from which the effect has spread to basic industries and related industries. According to a government

1) Economic Planning Agency, Annual National Income Statistics.

Table 1. Annual Growth Rate of Gross National Product (Real) (%)

	1955	1958	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	Average
Japan	9.4	3.6	15.4	15.5	7.3	7.7	13.8	4.0	9.5
West Germany	12.0	3.3	8.8	5.4	4.1	3.5	6.6	4.5	6.2
U.S.	7.6	-1.1	2.5	1.9	6.5	4.0	5.3	5.9	3.4

Source: The Bank of Japan, Comparative Statistics.
OECD, National Accounts Statistics.

Table 2. Distribution of National Income by Industry (%)

	Primary		Secondary		Tertiary	
	1955	1965	1955	1965	1955	1965
Japan	23.1	11.8	28.3	35.8	48.6	52.4
West Germany	8.0	4.5	53.0	52.7	39.0	42.9
U.S.	4.7	3.8	39.6	37.0	55.7	59.2

Source: Op. cit., Comparative Statistics.

estimation of the scale of Japanese economy in 1985, GNP will be \$31,280 million and the national income per capita will be about \$ 2,000, and rural population will decrease to around 10%.²⁾ For reference, GNP and per capita income of U.S. in 1965 was \$ 55,470 million and \$ 2,873.

One of the most meaningful results of the high growth is that the over-supply of labor force has turned into labor shortage. Before the high growth, Japanese economy was characterised by the term of "dual industrial structure" in which surplus labor force was pooled in rural population and also in minor enterprises as disguised unemployment. In a boom, the state of underemployment was resolved, but usually over-population and underemployment had been the main aspect of Japanese economy. But recently, though labor force has added 16% from 1955 to 1965,³⁾ the ratio of unemployment, that is the ratio of wholly unemployed persons against total labor force, has shown the tendency to decrease. It was 1.8% in 1955, 1.1% in 1960, and dropped down in 1965 to 0.8%.⁴⁾

2) Saburo Okita, Vision of Japanese Economy: The Task toward the Affluent Society (in Japanese), Tokyo: Diamond Co., 1968, pp. 109 - 111.

3) Office of the Prime Minister, Bureau of Statistics, Labor Force Survey.

4) Ibid.

Even if we add underemployed persons, this figure is estimated to be only about 4%.

More than this, the high growth has brought about a marked labor shortage especially in skilled workers and young workers so far. According to a research by Ministry of Labor, the shortage ratio of skilled workers (the ratio of shortage number against whole skilled workers) reached as high as 18% in the middle of 1967.⁵⁾ The shortage of young workers are also noticeable. Traditionally young workers were welcomed as they supply so-called cheap labor. Recently, however, helped by rapid spread of higher education, demand for young workers becomes scarcely filled. For example, the demand for newly graduated is larger 3.4 times in junior high school than the supply, and 3.1 times in case of senior high school.⁶⁾ But the demand for aged workers is still on low level. The rate of employment secured persons against whole employment-seeking persons by age is only 5.4% for 50 years and more against 10.1% for 40 to 49 years and 13.7% for less than 30 years in 1967 by Public Employment Agency statistics.⁷⁾

5) Ministry of Labor, Labor Statistics and Research Bureau, Labor White Paper, 1968 edition (in Japanese), Tokyo, 1968, p. 5.

6) Ibid., "Data for Reference," p. 26.

7) Ibid., p. 25.

With the high economic growth and labor shortage, the absolute social status of Japanese has risen generally as well as the marked phenomenon of levelization of social status has proceeded. This will be analyzed in the next section. The following sections are devoted to discuss the effect of the change of social structure. We can say the effect is pointing to the direction of the enlargement of chances for activity selection. Formerly Japanese had particular commitment to the organization to which he belonged. But beginning of the breakdown of the attitude will be analyzed in Section 2. Does this breakdown of commitment to an organization also mean disinterest in work? The negative and positive answers will be analyzed, relating with the technological innovation, in Section 3. In the latest Section 4, we will see the rising evaluation for leisure activity as a conclusion.

1. Changes in Social Structure

The task of this section is, under the high economic growth and labor shortage condition, to analyze how the "dual industrial structure" is dissolving for the enlargement of chances for activity selection. For this purpose, I first check the changing pattern of employment status and then class structure.

The scale of Japanese enterprise is still quite small. In manufacturing industry, 54.2% of employed persons belongs to enterprises under 99 persons in 1966,⁸⁾ while 27.0% in U.S. (1958)⁹⁾ and 21.0% in West Germany (1964).¹⁰⁾ The decrease, however, of employed persons in smaller scale enterprises and the increase in larger ones is seen in Table 3 where under 4 persons loses 8% while over 100 gains 9% in 9 years.

Table 3. Distribution of Employed Persons by Scale of Enterprises (%)

	1-4 persons	5-9	10-29	30-49	50-99	100-290	300-	Total
1957	27.5	14.1	18.9	7.3	7.7	9.5	15.0	100.0
1966	19.6	12.3	19.3	9.0	11.0	12.5	16.3	100.0

Source: Office of the Prime Minister, Bureau of Statistics, Establishment Census of Japan.

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- 8) Office of the Prime Minister, Bureau of Statistics, 1966 Establishment Census of Japan, Tokyo, 1968.
- 9) Government of U.S., Bureau of Census, Statistical Abstract of the U.S., 1965.
- 10) Government of Federal Republic of Germany, Bureau of Statistics, Statistical Yearbook of the Federal Republic of Germany, 1965.

The same tendency is seen in Table 4 where employees gains 15% of increase while family workers loses 10% in 10 years.

Table 4. Distribution of Employed Persons by Employment Status (%)

	Employers	Employees	Family Workers	Not Reported	Total
1955	23.9	45.8	30.3	-	100.0
1960	22.2	53.7	24.1	-	100.0
1965	19.6	60.7	19.5	0.2	100.0

Source: Office of the Prime Minister, Bureau of Statistics, Population Census of Japan.

Hence we can safely say that the high growth and labor shortage has brought a stream from family workers to employees and from smaller enterprises to larger ones.

Class structure is also changing to the direction of rising and levelization of social status. As to the criteria of class, I use income, occupation, and class self-identification; let us examine them in turn.

High growth has caused general increase of income, decrease of stratum under minimum cost of living, and recent improvement of uneven distribution of income. Annual income

of 50% line from the bottom (the median) increased from \$ 542 in 1956 to 1,333 in 1965. This means 2.46 times (1.69 real) higher than 10 years before.¹¹⁾ The minimum cost of living per month is calculated as \$ 83 (at 1967 price). So if we fix the index of the 1956 ratio of under \$ 83 equivalent income as 100, that of households decreased to 37.5 and of population 35.4.¹²⁾ Table 5 shows that uneven distribution enlarged during 1956 - 1959 period, but reduced after then. This is because of the increased income in lower income strata by the shortage of labor force.

Table 5. Index of Household Income Differentials

	1956	1959	1962	1965
50% (Median) From the Bottom	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
20%	0.583	0.489	0.518	0.525
40%	0.846	0.817	0.833	0.842
60%	1.154	1.204	1.197	1.188
80%	1.641	1.745	1.758	1.708

Source: Economic Planning Agency, White Paper on National Living Conditions in 1967 (in Japanese), Tokyo, 1968, p.86, Tables 2 & 3.

11) Economic Planning Agency, White Paper on National Living Conditions in 1967 (in Japanese), Tokyo, 1968, pp.78-79.

12) Ibid., pp.81 - 82.

During same period, occupational structure also shows considerable change. As seen in Table 6, nonmanuals, which includes professionals, managers, and the workers of clerical, sales, service, security service, increased from a little over 30% to near 40%, where, clerical and related workers, the substance of white-collor, increased 6%, in 10 years. In addition to this, the remarkable decrease of farmers, lumbermen and fishermen and the highest increase of production process workers, the substance of blue-collar, is also noted. The increase of nonmanuals indicates strengthening new middle class.

When we compose prestige class structure using ranking of occupations for major groups, the change in occupational structure is reflected in it. Table 7 shows distribution ratio with mechanical classification of ranking score, ¹³⁾ which was researched on the occasion of 1955 Social Stratification and Mobility Survey, into five categories. According to Table 7, which excludes farmers, lumbermen and fishermen because of the difficulty of getting a unified score, class II continues to diminish slightly, while class III, the middle stratum, increased in 1960 more than 1955 level after the

13) Kunio Odaka, ed., Occupation and Social Stratification (in Japanese), Tokyo: Mainichi Shinbun-Sha, 1958, p.43.

Table 6. Distribution of Employed Persons
by Occupation (Major Group) (%)

	1955	1960	1965
Professional and Technical Workers	4.9	5.0	5.2
Managers and Officials	2.1	2.2	2.7
Clerical and Related Workers	8.7	10.2	12.7
Sales Workers	10.7	10.8	12.0
Protective Service Workers	1.1	1.1	1.2
Service Workers	5.0	5.3	5.9
(Total of Nonmanuals)	(32.5)	(34.6)	(39.7)
Farmers, Lumbermen, and Fishermen	40.3	32.5	24.5
Workers in Mining and Quarrying Occupations	0.9	0.8	0.4
Workers in Transport and Communicating Occupations	2.2	3.4	4.3
Craftsmen, Production Process Workers, and Laborers	24.1	28.7	31.1
(Total of Manuals)	(67.5)	(65.4)	(60.3)
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Ibid., Population Census of Japan.

Table 7. Class Structure Based on
Ranking of Occupations
(Mechanical Classification) (%)

	II 87.5-62.5	III 62.5-37.5	IV 37.5-12.5	Total
1955	11.8	46.4	41.8	100.0
1960	10.7	45.8	43.5	100.0
1965	10.5	48.0	41.5	100.0

Source: Calculated from, *ibid.*, Population Census of Japan.

decrease in 1960. Class IV shows quite reverse movement against class III. In short, about prestige class structure, we can point out a tendency that middle strata is increasing while upper and lower strata are decreasing.

Class self-identification, accompanying with changes in income and occupation, is naturally also changing. Table 8 shows distribution of class self-identification. About first set of categories of capitalist-middle economic-worker, capitalist and middle economic shows steady increase, while worker decreased much in these 10 years. The change in ratio is about the same in Tokyo and Japan. As for the second set of categories of upper-middle prestige-lower, middle prestige in total Japan increased as high as 12% in 10 years absorbing

Table 8. Class Self-Identification

		Capitalist	Middle Economic	Worker	Others & Unknown	Total (Nos.)
Japan (Male)	1955	1	23	74	2	100(2,000)
	1965	3	30	62	5	100(2,158)
Tokyo (Male)	1955	2	23	74	1	100(500)
	1960	3	29	62	5	100(356)
	1965	5	30	59	6	100(666)

		Upper	Middle Prestige	Lower	Others & Unknown	Total (Nos.)
Japan (Male)	1955	-	42	56	2	100(2,000)
	1965	-	54	42	4	100(2,158)
Tokyo (Male)	1955	1	51	47	1	100(500)
	1960	-	56	42	2	100(356)
	1965	-	57	38	5	100(666)

Source: Data for 1955 and 1960 are taken from, Kunio Odaka, "The Middle Classes in Japan," Reinhard Bendix and Seymour M. Lipset, ed., Class, Status, and Power: Social Stratification in Comparative Perspective, 2nd edition, New York: The Free Press, 1966, p. 544, those for 1965 from the Stratification and Mobility Survey.

lower, while upper continues near zero. Tokyo shows similar tendency.

All of the indices used here make the fact clear that during the same period the high growth and labor shortage has proceeded, middle strata has increased while upper and lower ones more or less decreased.

The conclusion is, based on the data stated above, that the general rising of social status and levelization are seen. The following sections will concentrate how Japanese use their enhanced social status and by it enlarged chances for activity selection, taking up the attitudes toward work as the center of focus.

2. The Beginning Breakdown of So-called "Traditional" Industrial Relations

The first aspect of Japanese work attitudes concerns the problem of commitment to an organization. Before the high growth, Japan had so-called traditional industrial relations which was characterised generally by "employment for life", that was back up by seniority order in which wage and promotion was decided based on age and length of service. This institution, according to Dr. Odaka, had the character

of anti-industrial democracy,¹⁴⁾ because under the condition of underemployment, necessity forced the people to commit themselves to an organization and secure a job. In this section, I will discuss the beginning breakdown of "employment for life" institution firstly, and secondly "seniority order".

According to the results of morale surveys conducted at a steel tube company, the proportion of the workers who have an unfavorable or critical ("con") attitude to the company is increasing year by year as seen in Table 9.

Table 9. Distribution of Company Allegiance at NKK Steel Company (%)

	Pro-Company	Con-Company	Others	Total (Nos.)
1952	54	18	28	100(701)
1956	50	21	29	100(1,861)
1960	43	28	29	100(1,051)
1963	26	44	30	100(3,917)

Source: Kunio Odaka, Work and Leisure: As Viewed by Japanese Industrial Workers, a paper prepared for the Sixth World Congress of Sociology in Evian, 1966, p.25, Table 2.

14) Kunio Odaka, "Traditionalism, Democracy in Japanese Industry," Industrial Relations: A Journal of Economy and Society, Vol. 3 No. 1, 1963, p.95.

Quite similarly, in those companies who have more jobs of white-collar and/or nonmanual, "con" company attitude is found more than those with more manual job.¹⁵⁾ And in an electric company which conducted morale survey it was revealed that in its automated new power plants 35% to 48% of the workers had the "con" attitude to the company while only 20% of those had the same attitude in its power plants of the conventional type.¹⁶⁾ As we have seen, recently the increase of nonmanuals and also technological innovation have been remarkable. Hence, "con" attitude to the company will steadily increase in the future.

Under labor shortage, a condition which is favorable for the transformation of "employment for life" has emerged. The wage differentials by scale of enterprises has been rapidly decreasing. If we fix the index of the wage of more than 500 persons enterprises in manufacturing industry as 100, that of 30 to 99 persons ones was 55 in 1958, 67 in 1962, and increased to 70 in 1966.¹⁷⁾ The levelization of wage between enterprise is doubtlessly favorable for the abolition of "employment for life".

15) Kunio Odaka, Work and Leisure: As Viewed by Japanese Industrial Workers, a paper prepared for the Sixth World Congress of Sociology in Evian, 1966, p.2.

16) Ibid., p.22, Note 3.

17) Op. cit., Labor White Paper, 1967 edition, p.134.

How does the above mentioned transformation in attitudes, helped by the levelization of wages, appear on the behavioral dimension? If we look through the labor turnover ratio, in particular employment-quitting ratio, we find that it is gradually increasing; that is 21.6% in 1955, 22.6% in 1960, 27.8% in 1965, and 28.3% in 1967.¹⁸⁾ By scale of enterprises, in the more than 500 it increased from 14.0% to 21.6% from 1955 to 1965, but in 30 to 99 persons from 31.7% to 33.9% in the same period. Likewise, if we arrange annual increasing rate of employment-quitting ratio by scale of enterprises as well as kinds of job, the order is blue-collar in larger scale of enterprises, white-collar in larger, white-collar in smaller and blue-collar in smaller in turn from higher to lower.¹⁹⁾

This fact, together with the transformation in attitudes, indicates that the employment for life tradition is gradually wearing down.

As the employment for life tradition has begun decaying, so the seniority order naturally also begins to decline. As seen in Table 10, which shows a result of morale surveys conducted at different companies in different years, clearly

Table 10. Distribution of Supporters
of Seniority Order Wage System
against Total Workers (%)

NKK Steel Tube 1963	OKM Manufacturing 1966	JKO Manufacturing 1967
39	24	28

Source: Data are based on moral surveys conducted by the Dept. of Sociology, Univ. of Tokyo.

18) Ibid., each year edition.

19) Ibid., 1966 edition, p. 129

tells, beyond the difference of the researched, that the number of those who favor the seniority order is decreasing too. In these four years the ratio of supporters of seniority order wage system has decreased more than 10%.

The attitudes also varies by kinds of job. In a manufacturing company, only 5% of the section who has more number in nonmanual jobs favors the seniority order against 15% of one with more manual jobs.²⁰⁾

In addition to the transformation of the attitudes of the workers, there is a condition on managerial side which favors the change of the seniority order. Management side has noticed that the order overstaffs its organization and introduces efficiency sufferage. Then how is the actual breakdown of this tradition? I approach this subject using data concerning the tendency of wage differentials by age and introduction ratio of merit system of wage based on function and ability of workers.

The shortage of labor force, especially keen in young cheap one, has caused much rising of wage for young workers. As to the index of wage differentials by age, fixing that of 40 to 49 years as 100, that of 20 to 24 years changed from

20) Based on the moral survey conducted at JKO Manufacturing Industry (clock and motor) in 1967 by Dept. of Sociology, University of Tokyo.

233.3 in 1958, 190.5 in 1964, to 188.8 in male workers.²¹⁾

This figure indicates the wearing process of the seniority order wage system.

On the contrary, the introduction of merit wage system based on function and ability is remarkably proceeding. According to a research conducted by Ministry of Industry, in more than 500 persons enterprises, those which introduced the wage system based on function has increased from 12.5% in 1963 to 14.4% in 1965; and as for the wage system based on ability has increased also from 17.9% to 23.3% during the same period. Though smaller scale enterprises are much late to this tendency, the speed of spread of the merit wage system seems very rapid.²²⁾

In discussing the beginning breakdown of "employment for life" and "seniority order" traditions, we have seen that Japanese workers have begun to show the contrary attitudes to the commitment to an organization. Does this disinterest in work-place also mean disinterest in work itself?

21) Op. cit., Labor White Paper, 1968 edition, "Data for Reference," p. 107.

22) Ibid., 1967 edition, pp. 113 - 114.

3. Polarizing Attitudes toward Work under Technological Innovation

In the previous section, it was noticed that technological innovation has a tendency to reduce the commitment to an organization. In this also applicable to Japanese attitudes toward work? Before plunging into the problem, it is necessary to discuss briefly the spread of technological innovation in Japan.

We have already observed that the main drive of the recent high economic growth has been in equipment investment. Table 11 shows the character of it. In the boom around 1960, scale

Table 11. Distribution of Equipment Investment by Character (%)

	Simple Expansion	Labor Substitute	Scale Expansion	Total
Latter 1959 - Latter 1961	35.0	18.7	46.3	100.0
Latter 1965 - First 1967	8.6	46.9	44.5	100.0

Source: Economic Planning Agency, Economic White Paper, 1968 edition (in Japanese), Tokyo, 1968, p.21, Table 11.

expansion investment was most large and in turn simple expansion and labor substitute investment, but recently the order has been reversed; labor substitute investment becomes the

most and in turn scale expansion and simple expansion. This fact clearly shows that the equipment investment has shifted from mere expansion to technological innovation aiming at labor substitute. As the result, labor productivity has arisen markedly. If we fix the index of it in 1956 as 100, it was 152 in 1960 and 268 in 1965.²³⁾ Because technological innovation means automatization and computerization, we can know the actual state by the statistics of industrial meters.²⁴⁾ In 1967, the share of industrial meters production price was as follows; process industrial apparatus 77%, other industrial meters 17%, data treatment apparatus 6%. This shows that now production stress is laid upon process automation. The real number of produced industrial meters in 1963 was about 80,000 sets for automatic control units and 106,000 for without ones.

Turning to computerization in Japan,²⁵⁾ the number of sets in operation (excluding process controller and analogue

23) Economic Planning Agency, Economic White Paper, 1968 edition (in Japanese), Tokyo, 1968, p.304, Table 70.

24) Following are adapted from, Denpa Shinbun-Sha, ed., Annual of Electronics Industry, 1968 edition (in Japanese), Tokyo, 1968, p.361, Tables 6 & 7.

25) Japan Computer Usage Development Institute, ed., Computer White Paper, 1968 edition (in Japanese), Tokyo, 1968, pp. 110 - 111.

type) is 3,040 which is the third in the world, in September 1967. For comparison, it was 32,500 in U.S. and 3,300 in West Germany in the same year. They are extremely concentrated in larger scale enterprises.

Such introduction of technological innovation naturally brings changes upon labor content. With the change in labor content, the workers attitudes toward their work itself naturally alters, too. So, for the discussion it is convenient to classify works under technological innovation into major categories. They are A) measuring and inspection work, B) mechanized office work and C) monotonous repetitive work.²⁶⁾

By A) measuring and inspection work, I mean such works as watching meters in process automation like in electronics, chemicals, and steel rolling and works as transmission in radar or industrial TV, and works of checking in inspection process in the conveyer system, and so on. This work necessitates rather high intelligence and responsibility for decision-making. As a result the workers have to be young and rather high educated ones. By B) mechanized office work, I mean such works like key punching for punch card system computer

26) For the classification I owe much to the following work: Ministry of Labor, Report on a Research of Monotonous Repetitive Work (in Japanese), mimec., Tokyo, 1968.

and teletype. Though it requires rather high grade of intelligence and judgement, it is, substantially, a monotonous repetitive work. In present Japan, those workers are exclusively composed of unmarried girls of senior high school graduates. By C) monotonous repetitive work, I mean such works in belt conveyer system, which is adopted by many manufacturing industries, as fitting, packing, grinding, and inspection process.

Work A) and B) has appeared as the result of automatization and computerlization, while work C) has existed long. Now general tendency seems, by severe labor shortage, to replace work C) by A) and B).

Then how does this innovation process change people's work attitudes? We might recall Charles Chaplin's famous movie "Modern Times" as the representative of work C). Whether such alienation in work still survives under innovated work is the central problem needing discussion here.

Now let us check the attitudes toward work of workers under innovation using research conducted by Ministry of Industry. As seen in Table 12, there is a marked cleavage between above classified groups for the questions concerning the love or hatred of their work. Work A) group is more inclined to present job satisfaction, optimism for ability

Table 12. Attitudes toward Work of Workers under Technological Innovation, Percentages Fallen in the Lists Against Total Responses (%)

	Measuring & Inspection Work (A)	Mechanized Office Work (B)	Monotonous Repetitive Work (C)
(About Sentiment to the Work)			
Dissatisfied with the Job or Undecided	54	68	85
Impossible of Ability Usage	45	87	76
Want to Change the Job	15	38	39
Not Suited for the Job	68	83	85
(About Work Environment)			
Feel Lonesome	48	82	61
Have Felt Like a Gear-Wheel	53	73	67

Source: Ministry of Industry, Report on a Research of Monotonous Repetitive Work (in Japanese), mimec., Tokyo, 1968.

usage, aversion to job change, and job suiting than work B) and C) group. More than this, to the questions concerning their work environment, work B) and C) groups feel more isolation and gear-wheel likeness in their organization.

In short, in traditional work like C), it is clear that they are alienated from their work, but in innovated work, too, there is feeling like alienation in work B), as well as the diminishing feeling like alienation in work A). For this reason, I can say that technological innovation brings polarizing attitudes toward work.

To answer the question why such polarization occurs is not a simple matter. But we can estimate that such work like A) will accompany a kind of pleasure or satisfaction in operating huge machinery and equipment and in being able to see through the whole process, in addition to the harmonious communication and strengthened team work brought about by the diminishing of persons in the workshop. This leads the worker to emancipation, in a degree, from the gear-wheel feeling or loss of interest in work. On the contrary such work like B) and C) is characterised by partialization of work and dependence wholly upon machinery and equipment by simplification and standardization of work.²⁷⁾

27) Above argument was stimulated by: Kunio Odaka, Management in Japan (in Japanese), Tokyo: Chuo Koron-Sha, 1965. pp. 87 - 92.

There is another source of tension under technological innovation. I want to call it "adaptability problem of old skills". With the proceeding innovation, much tension occupies the hearts of aged workers who have old-fashioned skills and enjoyed respect formerly through it but now cannot apply themselves to new equipment and machinery because of short schooling and inevitable old age as against the young high educated workers without skills.²⁸⁾

This process also seems to happen in white-collar jobs by computerization. In larger enterprises which experienced about five years computer usage, nearly 20% of them have rearranged their organization resulting in the reduction of middle management.²⁹⁾ This also, I suppose, insecureizes white-collar workers by devaluating their former skills.

So far, we have been analyzing the change in attitudes to work brought about by the technological innovation which has been the main drive of Japanese high economic growth. It has been found that, in addition to the decrease of organization commitment, there has appeared also decreasing interest for

28) Cf., Ibid., p.84 and also, Kunio Odaka, "Civilization of Machine and Labor Problem," University of Tokyo, ed., Man and Machine (in Japanese), Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1967, pp. 279 - 280.

29) Op. cit., Computer White Paper, pp. 139 - 141.

work as well as increasing one. Workers can work and live pleasurable in the latter case, but in the former case, the problem is serious. Now it is necessary to turn our attention to a broader issue.

4. The Widening Scope of Life

As analyzed in Section 1, the high economic growth and labor shortage has brought general rising and levelization of social status. In this section, I want to discuss change in attitudes toward leisure activity as a consequence of this process, following the previous sections which concerned work activity.

Until before the war, according to Dr. Odaka, the prevailing code of values regarded leisure activity as "immoral" or "corruptive", in addition to its actual inhibition by lack of time and money in the ordinary working masses.³⁰⁾

But a high evaluation of leisure has become very common with improved social status. The distribution of answers of ordinary citizens to the question whether, to make one's life worth living, it is better to work hard or to enjoy one's

30) Op. cit., Work and Leisure, p.9.

living markedly inclined to the latter alternative (Table 13).

Table 13. Attitudes toward Work-Leisure Dichotomy as the Purpose of Life (%)

	More Inclined to Work	Un-decided	More Inclined to Enjoy Life	D.K. N.A.	Total
Japan 1965	26.1	7.0	65.7	1.2	100.0(2,158)
Tokyo 1965	26.4	11.6	60.7	1.4	100.0(666)
Bangkok 1967	67.6	x	30.2	2.2	100.0(494)

x: not existed in the lists of questionnaire.

Source: Data for Japan and Tokyo are from the Stratification and Mobility Survey. Those for Bangkok are from our Modernization Survey, the result of which will be published as "Modernization of Thailand: A Sociological Study, East Asian Cultural Studies, Vol. 8, Nos. 1 - 4, Tokyo: The Center for East Asian Cultural Studies, 1969 (forthcoming).

More than 60% leisure orientation of Japanese makes a sharp contrast with Siamese who prefers work as high as near 70%.

In connexion with the change of attitudes to leisure activity, it must be pointed out that a substantial condition, namely the increase of income and leisure time, favors it.

I have already mentioned the increase of income. About time, Table 14 tells us that, though here blue-collars are not included, except for white-collars who were rather few in number and enjoyed a privileged status before the war,

Table 14. Change of Working Hours by Occupation (Week Day)

	1941	1960	1965
	hours, minutes		
Farmers	10:30 - 11:30	7:52	8:12
Owners of Minor Enterprises	8:40 - 9:50	7:57	8:52
Clerical & Technical Workers	7:00 - 7:15	8:12	7:41
Service Workers		8:25	8:13

Source: Data for 1960 and 1965 are from, Japan Broadcasting Corporation, Broadcasting Public Opinion Research Center, TV and the Living Time (in Japanese), Tokyo, 1967, p. 103; for 1941 are adapted from, Japan Broadcasting Corporation, Broadcasting Culture Research Institute, The Living Time of the Japanese (in Japanese), Tokyo, 1963, pp. 179 - 182.

general working hours have markedly diminished and evened after the war. Present actual leisure hours are seen in Table 15 where only perfect free hours are calculated. From these tables, we can see that generally Japanese have around 4 hours of leisure, regardless of their age and sex, and 8 to 9 hours of work a day. On week-days, their main leisure activity is comprised of, in case of 20 years level of male, TV watching, which reached as high as 2 hours and 20 minutes. But on Sunday, the number of hours spent on hobbies like sports

and hiking is increasing.³¹⁾

Table 15. Leisure Hours by Age (Week Day)

		1960	1965
Male	20 years level	4:20	4:20
	40 years level	4:10	4:20
Female	20 years level	3:50	3:30
	40 years level	3:50	3:30

Source: Op. cit., TV and the Living Time, p.112.

The above data suggest that, in spite of the increasing inclination towards enjoying one's life as against hard work and increasing "con" company attitudes, Japanese spend more than twice as much time working than in leisure. Does this mean that Japanese are spending unfortunate, split up lives? The answer is no. When we ask them whether their work is important for their company or not, near 2/3 always approve it as important as seen in Table 16. This means that "con" work attitudes are not very strong. Then what relation exists between attitudes to work and to leisure?

31) Japan Broadcasting Corporation, Broadcasting Public Opinion Research Center, TV and the Living Time (in Japanese), Tokyo, 1967, pp. 92 - 94.

Table 16. Worker's Evaluation of
Their Work in Five
Companies (%)

	Important	Average	Not Important	Total
MTY Dept. Store (1961)	56	36	7	100
TDR Electric (1961-62)	79	17	3	100
NKK Steel Tube (1963)	68	27	5	100
SDR Electric (1965)	70	25	5	100
OKM Manufacturing (1966)	61	35	4	100

Source: Op. cit., Work and Leisure, p.25, Table 3.

Dr. Odaka wants to clarify the relationship between work and leisure by dividing attitudes into five categories.³²⁾

These are: A) the work-oriented-unilateral type; B) the leisure-oriented-unilateral type; C) the indentity type; D) the split type; E) the integrated type. In A) work is the basic principle of living; in B) leisure makes life worth living; in C) both work and leisure are incorporated and have some sort of joint significance for living; in D) life becomes dualistic and divided into two unrelated fields; and in E) work and leisure are intergrated into a new condition of unity and continuous co-ordination. The distribution of attitudes of Tokyo citizens for these five categories in 1967 is as follows;³³⁾ A) 8%; B) 6%; C) 6%; D) 22%; E) 51%. The over a half of the integrated type means that, quite contrary to the unfortunate life splitting into work and leisure, Japanese endeavour to unify work and leisure and as a result to make their lives worth living.

We cannot ignore the emergence of the mass consumption society in Japan. As mentioned before, the increase of equipment investment centers in the durable consumer goods industry. It is quite clear that private consumption

32) Op. cit., Work and Leisure, pp. 17 - 19.

33) Op. cit., Man and Machine, p. 290.

expenditure enlarged only a half of equipment investment during the period of high growth. However, durable consumer goods have spread very remarkably since 1960, and the ratio of spread of these for households in the beginning of 1968 reached as high as follows: TV set 97%; electric washer 84%; refrigerator 63%.³⁴⁾ They have spread from high income households to low income ones, and from urban to rural areas. Now household expenditure is oriented towards high class durable consumer goods like a car, color-TV set, piano, and stereo electric gramophone as well as leisure activity in spite of some delays in housing and nutrition fields. This suggests that Japan is drawing near to the "affluent society" somewhat as a result of the high growth.

The fact that a substantial part of durable consumer goods is composed of household electric appliances, together with the fact that TV watching is the main form of spending off-job time, leads us to infer that there is growing importance of home life in major leisure activities, and this is in fact the case.

Workers in five companies were asked to specify which of the following items they felt contributing most to make their life worthwhile: "work at the company", "leisure spent in

34) Op. cit., White Paper on National Living Conditions in 1967, pp. 134 - 135.

hobbies and amusements", "making and keeping a happy home", etc. The result, in Table 17, shows that the happy home item was preferred in more cases than leisure or company's work (which is the least preferred), except in the case of the department store, where most of the interviewees were young unmarried girls. Thus Japanese evaluate home life as the central focus of attention in leisure life.

Table 17. Worker's Preference among Company's Work, Leisure, and Happy Home (%)

	Company's Work	Leisure	Happy Home	Others & Unknown	Total
MTY Dept. Store (1961)	6	47	36	11	100
TDR Electric (1961-62)	7	32	56	6	100
NKK Steel Tube (1963)	11	25	51	13	100
SDR Electric (1965)	8	30	55	6	100
OKM Manufacturing (1966)	14	28	38	21	100

Source: Op. cit., Work and Leisure, p. 27, Table 6.

In short, Japanese scope for life is much widened and widening compared to pre-war days, when they thought that work alone made their life worth living. Now leisure activities are evaluated also as a way of life, and in leisure there is a growing importance of home life.

Concluding Remarks

As concluding remarks, I want to draw some lessons from the high growth experienced in Japan recently. The importance of labor shortage brought about by high growth cannot be neglected. The shortage provoked the general rising and levelization of social status which seems to decide the degree of freedom in attitudes toward work. As seen above, Japanese have used their enhanced freedom for the denial of commitment to a particular organization. But generally they are not denying the meaning of work in spite of the fact that technological innovation has brought in some cases alienation of workers from their work. Important for Japanese is the fact of widening scope of life in the form of the evaluation of leisure activity in which home life is highly regarded.

One problem of high economic growth that requires a solution is that of how to utilise or organize the increased

evaluation of leisure. Since the Meiji Restoration, Japanese have too much ignored the significance of private life. This surely helped the course of Japan's rapid adaptation to modern industry, but we should not forget the fact that this adaptation was built on a sacrifice of the private life of the working masses. Is this course of industrialization the one through which every society has to pass?

