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Social investment policy and education in Japan

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1. Introduction: The status of social investment policy research in Japan

I would like to begin with an overview of the status of social investment policy research in Japan, which is based on the policy interests relevant to the restoration of the welfare state that became popular in the 1990s, particularly in Europe. That is, these policy interests related to ways in which the welfare state could respond to “new social risks,” including unstable careers and child-care/elderly-care responsibilities associated with the expansion of non-regular employment and the growth of two-income families. This new model superseded the “traditional social risks,” such as unemployment, aging, illness, and so forth, which was based on the family model of the regularly employed male breadwinner, which had been assumed in the 20th-century welfare state. “Social investment policy” was one of the viable policy approaches that emerged to maintain the responsibilities of the welfare state in response to these new social risks without significantly increasing social welfare spending. Although there is no single

definition, social investment policy is commonly understood as the entirety of policies that recognize welfare not as mere “spending” but as an “investment” to deliver “returns” (profits). Its aim is to make welfare and economic growth compatible with each other by enhancing social services to support people’s participation in the labor market, mainly through the investment in “human capital” to raise individuals’ potential.

Many social policy scholars in Japan are welfare state researchers with a keen interest in researching social investment policy. It is undeniable, however, that social investment policy research in Japan has mostly been focused on debate within European countries, such as the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, France, and Sweden, as well as examining trends in these countries (Noda, 2016). Furthermore, there is a paucity of research that attempts to understand social investment in relation to education policy within the scope of social investment policy research. While studies on the public funding of educational

expenses do exist (e.g., Ooka, 2014), they do not broadly examine the relationship with social investment policy. It should be pointed out, however, that there is an emerging trend of studies principally examining the research topic of what Japan should do, particularly in the context of policy trends in European countries (and South Korea). One such study is the edited work of Mari Miura (2018), which emphasizes not only the perspective of “assisting individuals” but also the viewpoint of creating “social connections” (as suggested by the publication’s subtitle). Studies into trends in European countries also question whether the return of investment should be restricted to economic returns and whether “social returns” should also be examined. Similar to the existing social investment policy research, however, these studies do not situate education as the central theme of investment policy. What follows below is an attempt to offer an analytical framework to evaluate education policy within the social policy discourse from the perspective of social investment.

2. Education policy within social policy discourse

The Japan Association for Social Policy Studies holds spring and fall biannual conferences for which common themes are set. Although there has been conferences in the past that included education-related themes — the 108th conference in Spring 2004 with the theme of *The Youth: Prolonged Transition Period and Social Policy* and the 112th conference in Spring 2011 with the theme of *Changing Education and Career Development* — the first conference to adopt education as the main subject was the 139th conference in Fall 2019 with the theme of *Social Investment Strategy and Education*. This lack of focus on education is perhaps

reflected by the fact that it has not been explicitly situated as a research topic in social policy studies in Japan (in fact, hardly any text books and introductory books on social policy in Japan have a separate chapter on education). I served as the chair for the section on this common theme and attempted, given such a background, to set a common framework for policy discourse and situate education within that framework even though we could also address education within the context of welfare state research. Below, I would like to discuss this issue using quotations from the “chair’s introductory note” I used at the conference.

My introductory note borrowed passages from *Kyoiku seisaku wo kimeru evidence wa nanika: Byodo/kouritsu/yoron* [Which evidence determines education policy? Equality, efficiency, and public opinion] (Yano, 2016).

Yano Masakazu, who had long studied the economic effects of education from a social engineering perspective, points to the importance of “considering reform and policy separately” against the tendency to discuss education “reform”, preferring it over education “policy.” In contrast to the “ambiguity” of education policy, he argues that “social policy, as an academic discipline, offers core theoretical frameworks” (Yano., 2016, p. 9). Here is an excerpt of this discussion:

Although social policy is a discipline within economics, it fundamentally differs from the theories of market economy. In contrast to the focus on the issues concerning “demand” and the allocation of “resources” in market economy theories, the keys to social policy are the “social needs” rather than the “demand.” Social needs are supported by a value judgement asserting that

existing undesirable conditions need to be improved. Social policy is the “rationing” of “resources” based on these legitimate social needs. From the perspective of social policy frameworks, the keystone of policy research derives from the examination of the standards by which we choose the “rationing (including efficient allocation and just distribution)” programs to invest “resources (people, goods, money)” according to the goals of education. (Yano, 2016, pp. 9-10)

From this perspective, Yano proposes the following framework for the debate, distinguishing reform from policy (Yano, 2016, p. 10). First, reform is a method to modify laws and rules and specify the design, principles, and plans of action. This can be called “institutional theory.” Next, policy is an act of changing the “allocation and distribution of resources” that manifest in the allotted budget. This can be called “resource theory.” Furthermore, the principle of education encompasses both institutional theory and resource theory. The construction of such a principle can be called “spiritual discourse.”

Upon creating these frameworks, Yano points out that “in Japan’s (education) policy, spiritual discourse that values principles is prevailing too much” and criticizes the tendency of “the reform to move along in the direction of spiritual discourse > institutional theory > resource theory” as “being grossly lopsided.” In response, he draws our attention to the importance of “a process in which we verify the relationship between spiritual discourse and resource theory, then design a system to achieve effective functioning of resource allocation” (Yano, 2016, p. 10).

Thus, Yano first establishes how policy

research requires an approach that verifies the relationship between spiritual discourse and resource theory. Based on the latter, he then suggests the following three points as the requirements to conceptualize education policy (Yano, 2016, pp. 11-12).

The first requirement is the “vision” of the policy that connects education and society. A vision of education and society is constructed by considering the “direct impacts of education (output)” and their relation to the “effects on society (outcome).” For instance, if we could verify that the output of education contributes to the equalization of income — an economic outcome — we can potentially use the idea of redressing social inequalities as an important vision of education.

The second requirement, even though this is a standard practice in policy research, is the accumulation of “evidence” (proof that reveals the veracity) and policy studies based on the latter.

The third is the debate on the “finance” (funding source) of the resources invested in education to materialize the policy.

Upon suggesting these three requirements, Yano argues that the evidence verifying the relationship between spiritual discourse and resource theory is particularly important from the policy research point of view (Yano, 2016, p. 13). He points out that universal principles such as equality and efficiency should be used as verification criteria, noting that the relationship between visions, evidence, and finance would become less visible if policy research were more in line with these diminishing principles (Yano, 2016, p. 14).

He then argues that the research into global education policy boils down to three primary areas of focus: 1. the efficiency of the internal system of education in which the outcome is measured by achievement; 2.

the external efficiency in which the outcome is measured by the employment/unemployment of graduates; and 3. the equality of educational opportunity.

Now, I would like to put together my initial assessment of the significance of education policy within social policy research in accordance with Yano's analytical framework outlined above. The thesis of social policy research is the demonstration of policy discourse whose purpose is to meet social needs. Policy discourse as resource theory must, fundamentally, demonstrate evidence from the viewpoint of the efficiency and equality of resource distribution. We can then develop an institutional theory that seeks to meet social needs based on such evidence. Therefore, education policy research in the context of social policy research should be undertaken by focusing on resource theory whose purpose is to meet the social needs of education. Studies on social investment policy in welfare state research should also initially be aimed at resource theory that mainly focuses on the verification of the efficiency and equality of educational investment.

3. Trends in education policy as social investment in Japan

Having reviewed these theoretical analytical frameworks, we can now outline the ways in which the “logic connecting education and investment” is being presented in actual education policy.

For instance, a recent policy document, *New Economic Policy Package* (cabinet decision, December 8, 2017), identified “human resources development revolution” (“investment in human resources and people” and “productivity revolution”) as important keywords, which quickly triggered the introduction of free preschool education,

free higher education, and de facto free private high school. This approach is also strongly supported in the *Basic Policy on Economic and Fiscal Management and Reform 2018* (cabinet decision, June 15, 2018) through the idea of the “realization and expansion of human resources development revolution.”

In addition, as far as the Education Rebuilding Implementation Council (an expert committee on education policy organized by the Prime Minister; the council is instrumental in deciding the direction of education reform and proposes reform policy each year on a single theme) is concerned, the Council proposed the following policy under the theme of *Models of educational investment and funding source for education for the realization of education-based nation building* (July 8, 2015):

1. The necessity for educational investment for Japan's growth
 - Education reform to support the rejuvenation of Japan and economic revitalization
 - Reducing the burden of educational costs and overcoming the declining child population
 - Realizing an equal and equitable society
 - Educational investment to contribute to future economic growth and reduced expenditure on social welfare and social safety
2. Educational investment needed for tomorrow
 - (1) Realizing a society where all children are given equal opportunities to challenge
 - (2) Fostering the “genuine ability to learn” across all educational stages
 - (3) Using the “genuine ability to learn” as the basis to develop capacity and capabilities that enable students to succeed in the real world

- (4) Schools to become the center of communities
- 3. Strategies to secure funding sources for education
 - (1) Use of private sector funding
 - (2) Updating the tax system and educational investment
- 4. Strategies to gain acceptance of the public

It is essential to create an understanding that “education is an upfront investment in the future”

Amidst these developments, university administrators were forced to respond quickly to the “New System for Assisting Higher Education Learning” which started in 2018 and ran through to 2019. This system originated in the withdrawal of a reservation to the 2012 International Bill of Human Rights’ provision for progressive introduction of free higher education under the Democratic Party of Japan government (at that time, out of the 160 signatories, Japan and Madagascar were the only countries that had reservations to this provision) and transformed into the “System for Reducing the Burden of Educational Costs” around 2017 under the Liberal Democratic Party government. In the 2020 fiscal year, this system will formally commence as a student support system providing tuition fee reduction and grant type of scholarships by restricting the eligibility to those students from households exempted from the inhabitant’s tax and other similar households, similar to the existing system. The system sets forth the following:

The purpose is to assist individuals in low-income households who have a genuine need for assistance to study at universities and the like, that practice the high-quality education necessary to

develop creative individuals, equipped with a rich sense of humanity, who can be self-reliant and succeed in society and to develop an environment conducive to giving birth confidently and raising children by reducing the economic burden associated with education, thereby contributing the measures addressing the progression of the rapid decrease in child population in Japan.

(Article 1 (Aim), *Act on the Support of Study in Universities and the Like*)

It should be noted that the Act demanded the following “institutional requirements” (students at the universities that do not meet the requirements are not eligible for the system) to which each university had to make a university-wide response:

- A. More than 10 percent of the standard number of course credit hours to be assigned to faculty members with practical experience;
- B. Appointment of multiple external trustees;
- C. Proper management and publication of grades; and
- D. Disclosure of financial and management information in compliance with laws.

Although the failure to meet these institutional requirements would not revoke the approval for a university, most universities were forced to address these requirements because of an administrative concern that the failure to meet them would result in fewer students.

If we assess this system from the perspective of the “logic connecting education and investment,” its aim is readily apparent, that is, contributing to the measures against the declining child population through educational investment in the form of a reduction in the burden of educational costs.

However, it is important to underscore the fact that various “conditions” were imposed on both students and universities. The mid- and long-term effectiveness of such “conditional investment” in achieving the policy goal (addressing the declining population trend) will need to be examined in the context of policy discourse. Furthermore, we need to properly engage in policy discourse to examine whether the system is appropriate from the perspective of the equality of investment and, more specifically, in terms of its ability to redress gaps in education.

In light of the above, even though this was a rather rough outline, we can detect the “intention” of this system to link education and investment. However, the “logic” connecting these two aspects is obscure. University administrators need to fully recognize that we have a highly problematic situation in which “the reform moves along in the direction of spiritual discourse > institutional theory > resource theory”, as criticized by Yano and previously discussed above.

In addition, since the policy can directly impact individuals associated with universities, these trends in education policy also urge policy researchers, who themselves are directly involved in this matter, to construct “counter logics.” Social policy researchers should also share the policy research process in which we advance the “resource theory (verification of efficiency and equality) > spiritual discourse (principles/visions, public opinion, social consciousness) > institutional theory (reform discourse)” proposed by Yano.

4. Conclusion: Directions of research on social investment policy and education

Quite a few of the education policies currently set forth by the Japanese

government using the logic of investment demand a direct response from individuals associated with universities. Policy researchers should counter this through policy discourse focused on “resource theory” rather than “spiritual discourse” (the debate on education reform is often carried out in this dimension; in many cases, institutional reforms that do not reflect existing conditions are enforced) and stimulate public opinion concerning the “social necessity” of such policies (a key concept which social policy aims to fulfill).

In this regard, the new system for assisting higher education learning, which will commence in the 2020 fiscal year, will be an ideal subject of research. We should examine the system’s efficiency (and equality) from mid- and long-term perspectives (using 10 years as a unit) and share results among policy researchers around the world so as to continually be engaged in the debate.

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Japan Association for Social Policy Studies (JASPS) 139th Conference

19-20 October, 2019, at Hosei University, Tokyo, Japan

DAY 1 (19 October 2019)

CONFERENCE PLENARY SESSION

Education with Social Investment Strategies

In recent years, an emphasis on investment in human resource development often becomes a certain issue of the area of policy process in Japan. The common understanding that our society is in the middle of the fourth industrial revolution is behind those changes. We can find the phrase ‘investigation for the future’, ‘investigation for the tomorrow, and other similar ones in many administrative documents.

However, when people talk about ‘investment’ in those contexts, it mostly focuses on the development of human resource who will contribute to productivity improvement, not so much on poverty reduction in society, social-economic growth, or reliable society, which are so-called “social reward”.

In the plenary session of the 139th conference, we will discuss the function of education in Japanese society from a perspective of social investing strategy. It will be about how these should be for contributing to the “social reward” described above and the realization of a reliable society. Historical reviewing of the transition of education will be an important part of it, too.

As the premise of discussion, there are roughly two aspects of education from the early modern era onward, and our discussion about will be carried on with considering the relationship between them. The first aspect is nurturing a person who can make a physically and socially healthy living, and the second aspect is the growing nature of adequate labor for the industrial society. As the first aspect, we can see the epitome of welfare state and democracy as the base of plan and realization of physical and mental growth of the country, in which the education provided from at least 9 years to more than 12 years in the earlier part of life. Meanwhile, it is rather in the second aspect that we can find most of the social gaps caused by the gap of academic capability and qualification, for example, in the occupational choice after education in school.

We have ever had opportunities of discussion as the theme of plenary sessions in the context of the relationship between labor, education and social policy. It was, at one case, about mismatching in a transitional phrase from school to labor, about the function of occupational training at multiple scenes (companies, schools and vocational training facilities) and about the situation in which employment and training are ongoing in parallel. This is an assumption of reframing education as a system, as a part of social policy.

A Historical Review of Modern Education and State-Society Relations in Japan: From the Viewpoint of the Social Functions of Education

Naoto MORI (University of Tsukuba)

This paper focuses on the social functions of education to outline the historical evolution of the education system in Japan from the establishment of the public school system in the late nineteenth century to its present trends as it developed in association with a social policy aimed at alleviating poverty and social exclusion. The idea of social investment proliferated in Europe with the politics of welfare state reorganization from the 1990s. These changes broadly concerned education, such as early childhood education and care, childrearing support, vocational training, and employment support, especially for women and young unemployed or unstable workers. Simultaneously, Japan's education reforms progressed toward a diverse and flexible school education. One proposal at the beginning of this century even considered the diversification of educational service providers, which might significantly alter the conventional public education system's assumptions. To understand the significance of the social investment strategy in Japan's historical context, this paper provides a historical description of the changing relationship of education to the state and society, emphasizing the presentation of issues rather than an examination of detailed facts.

Empirical Studies for Quantitative Educational Policy Evaluation

Hiroko ARAKI (Keio University)

In almost every country in the world, governments are involved in the provision or financing of education in some way. As public resources are allocated for this purpose, a transparent and objective discussion about the effectivity of such investments becomes mandatory. A large number of studies has been performed in the field of Economics in Western countries during the last half-century, which attempts to precisely identify and quantify the causal effect of public resources on educational outcomes.

In Japan, collection, preparation and access to the necessary data are rather limited, and as a result, empirical research on this matter has fallen behind. However, the panorama has changed drastically in recent years due mainly to several factors, including: better availability of data on academic ability tests, the broader implementation of empirical evaluation of public policies at the local government level, and the initiatives of researchers in the fields of Economics, Sociology and Psychology.

In this report, I attempt to present the basic methods and concepts employed in the quantitative educational policy evaluation and to summarize what empirical studies have (and have not) been able to show so far. I also discuss the proper implementation and interpretation of empirical studies for educational policy selection and design.

Career Education as Social Investment Strategy?: “Career Education Theory for Rights” as Clue

Mitsuhiro OGAWA (Ehime University)

Focusing on the “career education” which has been promoted as one of the important educational policies since the 2000s in Japan, this paper critically examines the aspect as an activation that this educational philosophy has — to encourage each person's “social and

occupational independence” through the development of “basic and general skills”. And then, based on the concept of “career education theory for rights”, the necessity of an educational theory was proposed, which aims to form a society as a safety net on which people can “dependent” as well as “independent” through individual skills development. In order to put this theory into practice, we applied the concept of social activation, which emphasizes social solidarity rather than economic benefit, and developed practical discussions related to the curriculum and class management of elementary and secondary education. From the above discussion, it was suggested that it is needed to build a social and human model on which more people can “independent” = “dependent” as a theoretical basis of education and that there are limitations and possibilities of the role that education can play as a social investment strategy.

The function of education/school: to create social network

Miki TSUTSUI (Hosei University)

In social investment strategies, the function of education/school is considered that teachers and professionals outside school are to develop individual students through teaching something ‘useful’ in life. However education/school also has another function: education/school is able to embed itself in the local community and the local labour market, to create a social network and then to smooth paths during and after schooling, that is, to make the local community more comfortable to work and live in. The former conventional grasp of the function is called the “human capital approach.” I see the latter as an alternative one and name it “community embedment approach.”

Since human beings are both temporal and spatial entities, it may be difficult to guarantee life opportunities only with the “human capital approach,” which focuses on the temporal dimension of human beings. Isn’t it necessary to have a “community embedment approach,” which emphasizes the spatial dimension of human beings? In this presentation, I would like to think about the aforesaid by taking a school-NGO collaboration in which both approaches are tried in parallel as a case study.

BOOK REVIEW SESSIONS

Labor 1

- Kae Ishii, Why were Telephone Operators overwhelmingly Women?: Comparative Gender History of Technology in Germany
Reviewer: Yoko Tanaka (University of Tsukuba)
- Tsuyoshi Takano, Industrial Homework and Self-employed Home Telework in Postwar Japan
Reviewer: Yumiko Tanaka (Shimonoseki City University)
- Norio Hisamoto, Analysis of Regular Employees in Japan
Reviewer: Koichi Matsuo (Aoyama Gakuin University)

Labor 2

- Ken-ichi Kuroda, Personnel Management and Industrial Relations after the World War II in Japan
Reviewer: Toshinobu Hashiba (Meijo University)
- Masami Nomura, Karoshi, Death from Overwork, in “Excellent” Companies — Why?
Reviewer: Rei Seiyama (Ibaraki University)
- Kazuro Saguchi, Employment System in Japan: Theory, Institutions, and History
Reviewer: Jongwon Woo (Saitama University)

Labor 3

- Takeshi Nishimura, Professional Labor Markets: An Empirical Analysis of Skill Formation, Wages, and Labor Mobility
Reviewer: Osamu Umezaki (Hosei University)
- Shuhei Naka, The Self-employed at a Crossroads: Expansion and Future of Professionals
Reviewer: Itaru Nishimura (Japan Institute for Labour Policy and Training)
- Tomoji Onozuka, Economic History: A clue to know today and live the future
Reviewer: Makoto Akagi (Matsuyama University)

Social Security

- Takaaki Odama, Health Care Reform in Japan and France: Cost Control or Revenue Raising?
Reviewer: Yumika Shirase (Hitotsubashi University)
- Takafumi Murata, A Study of the Process in the establishment of the Public Assistance Law in Japan
Reviewer: Rie Iwanaga (Japan Women's University)
- Tomoko Shibuya, Young Carers: Reality of Children and Young People Who Take on Caring Responsibilities
Reviewer: Nobuo Shiga (Prefectural University of Hiroshima)

DAY 2 (20 October 2019)**SPECIAL THEME SESSIONS****Special Theme Session 1: Varieties of Domestic Care Regimes: Restructured Inequalities Through Public Policy**

Domestic services have been increasingly demanded due to rising female workforce participation and population ageing both in Europe and Japan. The structures of the domestic services sector (who pays and who provides) are, however, different among countries according to the different policy institutions. This international session will provide an opportunity to explore the factors which shape the different configurations of care and domestic services and to compare the consequences in terms of social inequalities.

1. Shaping Inequalities: Public Policies Supporting Domestic Employment in France and Sweden**Nathalie MOREL (Sciences Po, CEE & LIEPP, France)**

Several countries in Europe have introduced policies aimed at developing the domestic services sector, widely considered as an important source of jobs for the unskilled, by subsidizing consumers' demand for household services. Arguments in favor of these policies relate to employment creation and to the need to respond more cheaply to new social needs such as child- and eldercare. But a stated objective is also to support the productivity of the more skilled individuals by allowing them to outsource domestic tasks in order to devote more time to labour market activities with a higher added value. The paper aims to analyze the policy rationale and discourse behind such an employment strategy, and its consequences, shedding light on how these policies effectively contribute to(re)shaping the social division of labor and to the polarization of the labor market, as well as to inequalities in access to social services. The paper will focus on two critical case-studies, France and Sweden, which have gone furthest in supporting the domestic services sector. The paper will begin by analysing and contrasting the policy rationale, objectives pursued and discourse behind the policies that have been put in place in both countries. It will then assess the labour market effects of these policies, their distributive profile as well as their impact on care systems, before assessing some of the new forms of inequalities that such policies give rise to more broadly.

2. Do Community-based Integrated Care Systems Promote Social Disintegration?: Eldercare Policy Restructuring Domestic Services in Japan**Mie MORIKAWA (Tsuda University)**

Morel (2019) suggests that European government policies that promote the use of domestic services are intended to expand employment opportunities for unskilled workers. Needs for domestic services in eldercare are also increasing in Japan. In contrast to Europe, neither fiscal welfare nor public policies directly supporting the increase of domestic

services sector were adopted by Japanese government. Since 2010, however, community-based integrated care has been a key point of Japanese social welfare policy, which promotes the “daily living support through community-based mutual support.” This paper identifies the ways in which domestic services policies in long-term care have evolved since the introduction of the public insurance system in the year 2000. It details how “community-based mutual support” responses to domestic caregiving needs have been justified by the Japanese government within the structure of community-based integrated care system policies. The author examined the extent to which domestic support services, through “community-based mutual support”, have been established nationwide, as well as the current status of local level initiatives. These outcomes are then used to analyze how the restructuring of domestic services in Japan will affect the elderly and their families, based on their respective socioeconomic classes. This paper suggests that social disintegration could increase in Japan as a result of “integrated care” policies.

Special Theme Session 2: **Non-Regular Public Workers and Public Counseling Services**

While Japanese society has fallen into poverty since the collapse of the bubble boom, the isolation of those needing public support has deepened with the spread of neoliberalism. As a result, the national government enacted numerous laws in the 2000s mandating that regional and municipal governments establish new services, notably to improve support for the elderly, the disabled, and the poor; and to provide consultation services to deal with the problems of domestic violence, child abuse, suicide, and homelessness. At the same time, however, extensive cutbacks in the civil servant workforce mean that the persons providing these support services are overwhelmingly “working poor” non-regular workers.

The number of Non-Regular Public Workers was estimated at 640,000 in a 2016 survey by the Ministry of Internal Affairs. They account for one-third of regional and municipal civil servants, and three-quarters of them are women. In other words, the public services provided by local governments are provided primarily by female non-regular public employees. They are derisively labeled by critics of neoliberal policies as the “government-made working poor.”

In this panel, we take up the case of so-called women’s counselors (fujin sodanin), who provide women’s-oriented services such as counseling for domestic violence. Since three-fourths of non-regular civil servants are women, this case study enables us to simultaneously examine the process of advancing “non-regular-ization” in public sector workplaces alongside the problem of continued gender inequality. In addition, we consider whether high-quality public services are sustainable given the problem of non-regularization of consultation support work.

1. Consultation Services of Woman and Non-Regular Public Workers

Tamie KAINO (Emeritus Professor of Ochanomizu University)

I examine the problems of “women’s counselors” (fujin sodanin), all of whom are indeed women, and 70% of whom are non-regular employees. They provide counseling services aimed primarily at women, such as support for domestic violence victims. Rather than simply regarding them as typical “workers”, we focus on the impact of the growth of

the non-regular public sector workforce on women-oriented services.

Women's counselor positions were initially established under provisions of the Anti-Prostitution Law, but the counselors provide a wide range of women's protection services, notably the problems of sexual exploitation, domestic violence, sexual violence, and poverty. The number of counselors has grown steadily, and they have faced increasingly complex social problems, creating a need to establish regional networks to improve professional support. Unfortunately, women's support services are marginalized within local government bureaucracies. Most of the counselors are poorly paid and face the constant fear of having their jobs terminated through non-renewal of contract (yatoidome).

Under these conditions, the status of women's counseling services is hardly secure. Moreover, the social status of such services is low. As a result, people facing gender-related difficulties may find themselves unable to access adequate public services, leaving them enveloped in an increasingly discriminatory social environment.

2. Why Are So Many of Non-Regular Public Workers Women?

Mieko TAKENOBU (Emeritus Professor of Wako University)

Counseling services comprise an important pillar of the public services provided by Japan's local governments, but many are conducted by low-paid and insecure non-regular civil servants. Moreover, three-fourths of these persons are women. The origins of this situation date back to a 1964 official notice from the Welfare Ministry advising local governments that child and family support counseling services could be provided by non-regular employees, and to central government policies that have reduced funding for care services for citizens.

Japan's pattern of gender discrimination combined with Japanese-style middle class consciousness has underlay this policymaking pattern. Care work has been regarded as women's work, and women were expected to be supported by their husbands so that they had no need to be economically independent. Labor market practices generally excluded women by emphasizing the importance of regular (seiki) full-time male employees obligated to accept mandatory transfers in the "membership-type" employment system. Women providing public services were socially situated as servants, so little pressure was felt to provide them with proper labor protections.

Beginning with the understanding that embedded gender discrimination has led to the poor employment conditions of public counselors, I explore how the government policy has invited the problem of poverty among women.

3. The Employment Conditions of Non-Regular Workers Providing Public Counseling Services

Yoji KAMBAYASHI (The Japan Research Institute for Local Government)

Since around 2000, numerous laws have been passed requiring Japan's local governments to provide important social services to citizens. These include, for example, the 2001 Domestic Violence Prevention Law, 2005 Revised Child Welfare Law, the 2006 Law to Protect Elders from Violence, the 2006 Basic Suicide Prevention Law, and the 2015 Law to

Promote Economic Independence for the Poverty-stricken. In addition, counseling support service jobs require important qualifications and expertise. It takes, for example, five to ten years to become a child counselor fully qualified to deal with child abuse problems.

Nevertheless, the majority of the staff who conduct consultation support services are employed as low-paid and insecure non-regular employees, and their annual income is only around 2 million yen, well below the official poverty line, marking them as members of the working poor. For example, 80% of the women's counselors in domestic violence counseling are non-regular, and most of the veteran counselors who have worked in municipal governments for more than 10 years are also non-regular.

In this report, I will present the following questions.

- (1) Why have so many consultations and support staff been “non-regularized”?
- (2) Are public services really sustainable? In particular, do they reach people who really need public services?
- (3) What directions should effective reform take?

Special Theme Session 3: **Fukuda Tokuzo and Social Policy Studies**

It is well known that Fukuda Tokuzo was a founder of economics and a pioneer of social policy studies in Japan. The *Fukuda Tokuzo Works Collection* (21 volumes) is being published, enabling us to recognize the greatness of Fukuda by examining these works. In our session, we aim to explore the social policy theories and thoughts on Fukuda and to derive useful messages for contemporary society through understanding his academic insights.

In 2020, the Japanese Associations for Social Policy Studies will celebrate its 70th anniversary following its founding in 1950. It seems to be worthwhile referring to Fukuda as a prewar academic giant. In this vein, there are many lessons to be learned from his collected works.

1. Fukuda Tokuzo and Industrial Relations in Japan

Kingo TAMAI (Aichi Gakuin University)

Fukuda Tokuzo was very active in the transition period of global industrial relations. In those days, Japan remained behind Europe and continued to be greatly influenced by other countries in establishing its industrial relations system. Fukuda emphasized that it was necessary to undergo class conflict and to introduce appropriate social policies in order to formulate a sound system of industrial relations in Japan.

It seems that Fukuda evaluated the German model of industrial relations but gradually inclined to the British model. In presenting Fukuda's work, I would like to bring his thoughts on industrial relations into the consideration of his thinking about the welfare state.

2. Foundation of ILO, Japan's Reaction and Fukuda Tokuzo**Tamotsu NISHIZAWA (Teikyo University)**

The foundation of ILO in 100 years ago at the Peace Conference in Paris, and Japan's labour policy, Fukuda's activities around 1919 and the early 1920s, will be examined. The Peace Treaty includes 'Book 13 Labour', i.e., Permanent organization of ILO and 9 General Principles, which was called the 'Magna Carta for the workers', and introduced by Fukuda Tokuzo into Japan.

The International Labour Legislation Commission and its Japanese members like Oka Minoru, ILO impacts to late-comer Japan, Labour representation problems, Article 17 of the Police Regulations, Labour Union Bills, and Social bureau of the Home Ministry will be investigated, while Fukuda's activities and works relating these issues be examined so as to shed new light on Fukuda's ideas for social policy.

Special Theme Session 4: Transformation of Social Policy Paradigm in Korea: Implications for Japan

Japan and Korea face similar social problems, such as a sluggish economy, Social polarisation, decreasing birthrate, and an aging population in a fierce globally competitive society. Accordingly, the social policies of both countries are undergoing major changes. Japan advocates Abenomics under the Abe administration and has begun a sixth year of developing a new economic growth strategy. In contrast, Korea has created a slogan "Innovative Inclusive State" to realize "Korean citizens to be a protagonist, and become a just country" in order to transform the paradigm of social policy. This change has been emphasized from the beginning of the Moon Jae-in administration in 2017. The two countries have similar problems, but their solutions are different.

Therefore, in this session, we will report and discuss the issues Korea is facing now and what policy strategies have been formulated to address them. By examining the direction of social policy development in Korea, the impact it has had on the national economy, and the remaining issues, it is hoped that it will be helpful in exploring future policy reform directions in Japan.

1. Civic Movements and the Detour to Welfare State Building in South Korea**Yeong-Soon KIM (Seoul National University of Science & Technology)**

In this study, I will focus on the role of civic groups. In Post-democratization Korea, leading civic groups interested in redistribution and equality were able to push policymakers to conduct various welfare reforms by 'proxy representation'. They have not only created policy alternatives to advance public interest through expertise, but also mobilized public opinion through unconventional methods. In addition to this, they have put pressure on the government to adopt progressive social policies, while overcoming their organizational weaknesses through coalitions. Civic organizations using 'soft power resources' have achieved remarkable results in a diverse range of policy areas. They played a vital role in

major welfare reforms, such as the enactment of the National Basic Livelihood Security Act (NBLSA), the integration of health insurance programs, separating the acts of drug prescribing and dispensing, expanding childcare services, and introducing free school meals. Of these reforms, the enactment of the NBLSA most clearly exemplifies the role of civic movements in Korean welfare politics. Therefore, this study examines the role of civic movements in Korean welfare politics by briefly reviewing the enacting process of this law.

2. Innovation and welfare states: theory and practice

Young Jun CHOI (Yonsei University)

Policy-makers have been paying full attention to innovation, which has been a buzzing word in the modern knowledge-based economy. In the rapidly ageing society, innovation and entrepreneurship are expected to deliver economic and productivity growth. Although innovation and welfare research is seemingly unrelated, they in fact closely connected through their contribution to economic growth, which has been at the center of the discourse on both innovation and welfare. Against this background, this paper examines how these seemingly unrelated strands of research may interact with one another. A popular belief states that welfare spending can constitute a significant obstacle to the long term economic growth of a country, which may undermine its innovative potential. However, this belief is not based on clear empirical evidence. In this article, first, this study extensively reviews the literature and explores how the welfare state could influence innovation and entrepreneurship. Then, the research provides empirical evidence how the welfare state boosts innovative activities. In the end, it argues that the welfare state is not simply subordinate to innovation and productivity growth, but the universal welfare state with a high level of decommodification could consolidate the foundation of innovation for enhancing individuals' creativity, capacity, and risk-taking attitudes.

Special Theme Session 5: Evolution and Transformation of Citizenship in the EU: In the Trend of Lightening Citizenship, Integrating Immigrants and Refugees, and Changing Significance of the concept of "Agency"

The EU has been trying to expand its member states in the context of globalization since the 1990s. Under these circumstances, the EU has pursued to establish the concept of EU citizenship and policies to realize it. However, in the member countries, various evolutions and transformations of citizenship were seen as follows: a movement of lightening citizenship, a search for citizenship linked to a community focused on vulnerability such as women, children and ethnic minorities, and the support based on conditioned citizenship which could belittle welfare recipients' agencies. At the same time, along with the influx of a large number of immigrants and refugees in recent years, there has been a wave of debate over denizenship (to grant foreigners various rights based on their residence).

This session will clarify the multi-layered structure of citizenship in the EU and the structure of various policy developments based on it. And we will look at the future welfare regime in the EU and member countries.

1. The Transformation of European Citizenship and “Lived Citizenship”**Toshiro KAMEYAMA (Chukyo University)**

Social citizenship was the dominant means of inclusion in the welfare state policy. However, in the “third way” policy of the 1990s, the decline of social citizenship was considered inevitable. Instead, on one hand, the EU as a “cosmopolitan nation” was expected to be a new place of inclusion and, on the other hand, the role of the local community increased. In the 2000s, it became difficult for the EU to become a constitutional state, and in the 2010s, even the collapse became realistic. The social citizenship of the nation-state faces the option of becoming “lighter” in response to the immigration, or adopting exclusionism to protect it. As an alternative, there is a claim to construct “lived citizenship” in practice from local communities. While this is expected to increase solidarity and empowerment on one hand, it may also promote social control and surveillance on the other.

2. The Transforming Nature of Citizenship in the U.K.: What Has happened to people’s “AGENCY”?**Hiroya HIRANO (Mejiro University)**

In the U.K., since the Conservatives came to power in 2010, the welfare reform has been carried out, so that the character of its social policy has considerably changed. Universal Credit (UC) was newly introduced as a centrepiece of the reform, but its problematic contents invited various criticisms. Nevertheless, UC has caused steady changes on people’s lives. These changes have been also promoted by a variety of arts of governance exercised by the government whose main aim is “Behavioural Change”. This indicates citizenship in the U.K. has obviously been transformed. In this presentation, by focusing on people’s “agency”, I will examine the transforming nature of citizenship in the U.K. and its implication on social policy debate.

Special Theme Session 6: Multilateral Analysis of Issues regarding the Discretionary Labor System

The discussion surrounding the discretionary labor system tends to focus either on the legitimacy of expanding the range it is applied or on the validity of labor statistics the government has provided. However, it is necessary to conduct a more diverse analysis including the actual application of the system and the effects it has on workers.

Based on such understanding, in this session, the issues of this system are analyzed from multiple points of view such as the process in which the law is applied to actual workforces (labor management), the consciousness of the workers who are applied (labor process), and the situation regarding the overall labor market in Japan. The first paper discusses the application process through a case study of several disputes. The second paper analyzes the consciousness of workers under the system while the third paper focuses on how the discretionary labor system with no discretion given to workers has emerged.

1. The Application Process of the Discretionary Labor System: Gray Area on discretion and jobs**Haruki KONNO (POSSE)**

The vagueness inherent in the discretionary labor system creates a vast gray area between the legal and illegal. Jobs that the law can be applied, the range of discretion a worker should be able to exercise, and working conditions, including salary and working hours all fall in this gray area. Furthermore, it is difficult to prove whether the implementation of the system to a particular group of workers is valid or not, as the law is supposed to apply to all aspects of workers carrying out tasks.

At the same time, many critics point out the adverse effects the system has on workers, including long working hours and karoshi among workers under the policy. Even though the application and validity of the system

GENERAL SESSIONS**General Session C: Europe****1. The Social Expenditure Trend in European Welfare States after the Sovereign Debt Crisis****Yoshinori ITO (Saitama Prefectural University)**

During the sovereign debt crisis, many European states implemented substantial social expenditure cutbacks to reduce the rapidly expanding fiscal deficit. The situation has subsided, and the deficit of each state currently remains mostly within the EU standards. However, several social expenditures have not yet recovered to their pre-crisis levels, and situations differ according to states or the types of expenditure. For example, social expenditures in northern European states have increased on a broad scale, while in southern and eastern states, pension and medical expenditures have increased; yet, the growth of family or child support related expenditures is rather slow. Has the social expenditure trend changed between pre- and post-sovereign debt crisis? Alternatively, do the social expenditure trend in European states show convergence or divergence? This research aims to investigate the future direction of European welfare states by analyzing social expenditure trend, considering its relationship with different welfare states, the old and new social risks, EU policies, and other relevant factors.

2. Dental treatment under the National Health Insurance scheme in Britain from 1911-46**Hirotsugu UMEGAKI (Nanzan University)**

Interest in dental treatment, including the idea that dental disease can cause general disease, has increased in recent years. In the past, there was a considerable gap between those who could and could not receive dental treatment under the National Health Insurance (NHI) scheme. An insured person selected and joined a so-called ‘approved society’, which was a private organization that administered the NHI scheme, and received

dental treatment through the society. Approved societies with sufficient disposable surplus in their NHI funds could provide their members with dental treatment on demand, and vice versa. In this situation, people complained that untreated dental disease negatively affected their work and life. This study aims to clarify the reality of dental treatment under the NHI scheme, including problems caused by this scheme, actual treatment at that time, and so on.

3. The Universal Personalized Care in England: An Analysis Based on the NHS Long Term Plan in 2019

Yumika SHIRASE (Hitotsubashi University)

The 'NHS Long Term Plan' was published in January 2019 in England, which showed the future vision over the next decade. One of the central issues in this plan was to move to a new service model in which patients get more options, better support, and properly integrated care at the right time in the optimal care setting. Based on the plan, the NHS developed the comprehensive model, namely, 'Universal Personalized Care'. The new model is composed of the following six components: (1) shared decision-making, (2) personalized care and support planning, (3) enabling choice, including legal rights to choose, (4) social prescribing and community-based support, (5) supported self-management, (6) personal health budgets and integrated personal budgets. This presentation discusses features of the new model in the context of the current social environment and health and social care resources in England, and examines its feasibility and challenges.

General Session D: Inclusion

1. A visualization of support needs: An analysis of the questionnaire survey on the difficulty of livelihood

Nobuyuki IZUMIDA (National Institute of Population and Social Security Research)
Yumika SHIRASE (Hitotsubashi University)

The Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare is advancing policies towards realizing an inclusive community. While they employ attractive slogans for it, there are few studies that demonstrate the concrete difficulties of livelihood for community-dwelling people. Hence, we aim to visualize support needs through an analysis of the questionnaire survey.

We used the individual data from the 'Questionnaire Survey on Troubles and Bothering in Livelihood for Community-Dwelling People' carried out by the Social Welfare Council of Q city. The survey was conducted for a population of 2000 community-dwelling people aged 25 and above. A random sample was selected from the resident registration based on the age structure. A total of 728 people responded, and the response rate was 36.4%. Though around 70% of the respondents were satisfied with their daily lives, about 40% experienced troubles and were unsatisfied.

The presentation will explore the support needs of community-dwelling people through the analysis of the association between 'troubles and bothering' and sex, age, marital

status, working status, and so on.

2. Social Rights, Social Citizenship, Social Community

Satoshi TAKAHASHI (Iwate Prefectural University)

It has been said that basic rights in a modern society are predicated on citizenship, but the relationship between these two is not entirely clear.

There seem to be relationships between basic rights and types of citizenship, such as civil/political/ social citizenship. Examinations of these relationships often make reference to civil society and political communities, but social communities are seldom considered. Yet these communities must be investigated with an eye toward uncovering the essence of citizenship in attributes of societal membership.

This report analyzes the association of such membership attributes with the substance of rights and discusses the actualization of social rights. In particular, the aspects of social rights that are potentially related to membership attributes are explored. This report also describes (1) the differentiation of social rights from social citizenship in a functionally differentiated society and (2) the relevant roles of communities, with consideration given to the autonomy of institutional domains, and discusses an approach to connect these two points to policy creation.

Understanding these two points is important in the domain of social rights, which is characterized by collectivity and exhibits strong path dependency. In addition, the allocation of status is used as a tool and the proper levels of things largely depend on their accumulation. In particular, the transformation of the second point into institutional theory is an important practical implication of this report.

3. Acceptance of 'Cafeteria For Children' in the local community

Yuki HAMANO (Hitotsubashi University)

The purpose of this paper is to find out the actual conditions and the reasons for the formation of the activity of "Cafeteria For Children". Focusing on the organizers of the activity, this paper shows why they can run the "Cafeteria For Children" in the local community. Then, what is the activity of "Cafeteria For Children"? Many kinds of voluntary groups, including NPOs and the enterprise, participate in the activity and they provide not only children but also their parents with food for free or at a low price. In May 2016, there were 319 groups throughout Japan. Then 2 years later, Asahi newspaper identified 2,286 groups. In this study the research targets are 18 groups which the reporter could reach to in X city designated by cabinet order. And this research analyzes these data from participation observation and from semi-structured interview to the organizers. Accordingly, I argue two points. First, various organizers take part in the activity and it has hybrid characters not limited to the welfare-oriented. Second, organizers' resources in daily life specify the character of each group.

General Session E: **Company Organization****1. A Critical Review of U.S.-based Strategic Human Resource Management****Jiro TAKEDA (Graduate Student, Doshisha University)**

Strategic human resource management (SHRM), which is basically management- and finance-oriented, developed in the U.S. in the 1980s. Thereafter, its theories were introduced in many countries including the U.K. and Japan. While SHRM has several approaches, its core concept is that there must be some link between human resource management and corporate performance (the HRM-P link). That is, if human resources are obtained and utilised strategically, they must become the source of competitive advantage and help organisations or firms improve their performance. However, some British and Japanese scholars criticise SHRM for its theoretical defects:

- (1) There is a critical shortcoming regarding how to demonstrate the HRM-P link. Most research is simply quantitative and does not address the mechanisms between HRM and corporate performance. That is, researchers conduct ‘measurement without theory’.
- (2) Because of its finance-oriented characteristics, SHRM has abandoned significant knowledge of human factors. Therefore, its discussions lack humanity and have discarded the knowledge accumulated by its predecessor, personnel management, especially that regarding behavioural science. Moreover, it may not be an overstatement that its finance-oriented characteristics should be reconsidered in light of the growing importance of CSR (Corporate Social Responsibility).

In this report, I will confirm how these criticisms are valid and discuss them in detail by scrutinising the SHRM literature. Additionally, from a practical viewpoint, I will attempt to suggest future HRM research directions.

2. A study on the power relationship between assailants and victims in sexual harassment**Yoshiko HAYASHI (Graduate Student, Ochanomizu University)**

The purpose of this report is to clarify the actual situation of sexual harassment and to contribute to the examination of effective measures which correspond to the actual situation. From October to November 2018, I interviewed five victims and five organizations which support victims, including the labor unions. All five victims suffered violence, some of them including rape. Two of the victims were victims of their bosses. Two have suffered violence from their colleagues. The other one was attacked by two men, her boss and a colleague. It is commonly understood that sexual harassment is derived from the dual power relationship of status hierarchy and sexism, but the former does not always mean a clear hierarchy such as “superior-subordinate”. As can be seen from the cases of damage from colleagues with almost the same positions as victims, the actual situation is diverse and complex. Deeper perspective on the power structure such as whether the work environment in which the victims were placed allow discrimination and violence is necessary and important.

General Session F: Framework of Social Security

1. How to Provide Adequate Social Security for Foreigners: A Look at Germany's Basic Approach**Katsuaki MATSUMOTO (Kumamoto Gakuen University)**

In response to the current severe shortage of labour, Japan has introduced measures to attract more foreign workers into the country, including necessary amendments to existing statutes. However, to create a more welcoming environment, it is also pivotal to consider how social security can be provided to these newcomers because this would allow them to settle into their new lives as seamlessly as possible.

The Japanese social security system was built and developed for purely domestic purposes; thus, it is not fully compatible to Japan's increasingly multicultural society, which includes foreign workers and residents.

Germany, whose social security system is similar to that of Japan, has been receiving foreign residents for years. It has had plenty of experience dealing with social security issues that have arisen from its immigration policies, which have been established through political and academic debate.

Hence, to address Japan's dilemma, this report explores the thinking behind Germany's approach to the application and payments of social security for its foreign residents.

2. Housing and welfare for older age**Kiwako ENDO (Rissho University)**

This presentation focuses on impact of housing issues on people's life at older age. Asset-based welfare have been well discussed concept of poverty in the US and UK and it understands poverty eradication based upon the redistribution of productive assets in an economy rather than income. With this point of view Japanese welfare system creates inequality on asset building for low-income households due to unstable employment and unaffordable housing costs. And as social welfare system promotes community based care, asset building should be considered as one of the main factors for people's choices on long term care.

3. A Study on Legal Status of Dependents in Health Insurance**Ashiya KURODA (National Institute of Population and Social Security Research)**

The legal status, range, and requirements of dependents in the health insurance system are closely related to other essential aspects of the system such as insurance benefits and premium charges. Regarding this issue, the newly amended Health Insurance Act with effect from April 2020 delineates the residence place of the dependent to be inside of Japan. The purpose of such modification is to tackle with issue that dependents living outside are nevertheless entitled to receive the benefits, as having emerged with the progress of globalization. No study has been implemented to examine the legal status of dependents in the health insurance system after the modification.

Therefore, the proposed research aims to analyze and clarify the legal status, range, requirements, etc. of the dependents in health insurance, with consideration of other systems such as the National Health Insurance and the pension system etc.

General Session G: **History of Social Policy**

1. Japan's National Pension System: An Analysis of the Participation and Contributed Sums by Urban Areas in the 1960s

Haruto MISAWA (Graduate Student, Hosei University)

This presentation aims to analyze the participation and contributed sums to the National Pension System in urban areas in the 1960s, in order to elucidate the disparity between the assumed and actual situations prior to the introduction of this system. Launched in 1961, Japan's National Pension System applied to all individuals in Japan who were unable to enroll in the Employees' Pension Insurance Scheme, even as it was initially designed as a pension system that caters to farmers and the self-employed. However, as the group of people who were not enrolled in the Employees' Pension Insurance Scheme also included a variety of individuals such as the unemployed and those without long-term employment, a pension system that was initially designed for people with regular income such as the self-employed and farmers struggled to cover the needs of the entire nation. Based on historical documents published by the administrative agencies at the time, this study analyzed the national pension businesses in the prefectures of Tokyo, Aichi, Osaka, Fukuoka, and Hiroshima after the establishment of the National Pension System, and found that urban features such as population mobility as well as regional disparities in consumption and income have posed significant challenges for the National Pension System which was created to cover all Japanese citizens.

2. The ILO Centenary: The Beginning of Global Social Policy

Yasuhiro KAMIMURA (Nagoya University)

Principles which are taken for granted today, such as the eight-hours day and the minimum age of employment, were adopted at an international conference a hundred years ago. That is the first annual meeting of the International Labor Conference held in Washington, which invited delegates from 39 countries. Contemporary issues such as work-life balance and work style reform also originated in this conference, in a sense, remaining unsolved in Japan where long working hours is still predominant. This paper will report the excitement of 1919 just after the First World War and the Russian Revolution, while examining the significance of global social policy which is essential for balancing capitalism and democracy. For that purpose, I will trace the observation by Teijiro Uyeda (1879-1940, Professor of the Tokyo Commercial College, Member of Japan Association for Social Policy Studies), who attended the conference as an advisor to the government delegates of Japan. For, he was one of the people who best recognized the historical importance of the International Labor Organization for Japan and the World. As for controversial issues such

as the role of labor unions and the policy for female workers, I will reconstruct the history from various viewpoints, quoting from notes of other participants and newspapers.

General Session H: Diversity

1. The Effects of the Act on Promotion of Women's Participation and Advancement in the Workplace: An empirical analysis using matched firm-employees datasets

Tomo NISHIMURA (Kwansei Gakuin University)

In this study, we analyze the effect of the Act on Promotion of Women's Participation and Advancement in the Workplace (Hereinafter referred to as the "New Act") which went into effect three years ago. While the Equal Employment Opportunity Law has been put into practice without changing overwork of male regular workers, which has ironically maintained the division of roles between sexes, the New Act has been conducted in parallel with the reform of working practices. Is the New Act expected to decrease the gender gap on labor market? We analyze the effects of the New Act using firm-employees datasets obtained through the surveys conducted in 2015 and 2018 in Kansai area. Our estimation results show (1) a certain sized female employees is needed to increase female managers, (2) New Act seems to be effective to a certain extent (The firms which respond to the New Act have a higher percentage number of women in managerial positions compared with their counterparts) and (3) fair evaluation and expectation from bosses can encourage women's ambition for promotion.

2. An increasing number of patients with "adjustment disorder" in Japan: consideration from membership-type employment

Tomohiko IKEDA (Graduate Student, University of Tsukuba)

Maintaining and improving mental health of workers is an important issue in Japan. According to the survey conducted on approximately 750,000 local government employees, the number of long-term sick leave (per 100,000 of the population) due to "mental and behavioral disorders" has increased approximately 1.4 times in 10 years (2017). Comparing the total number of patients with mental illness in Japan between 2008 and 2017, the rate of increase in adjustment disorder is prominent, with 2.5 times for adjustment disorder, 1.3 times for mood disorder and 1.0 times for schizophrenia. Adjustment disorder is a disease concept introduced in 1980, which is "the development of emotional or behavioral symptoms in response to an identifiable stressor". Typical cases are "dizziness and other physical symptoms have appeared by reprimand from the boss" or "mental symptoms such as anxiety have appeared due to the job outside one's area of expertise". In this report, we make a consideration about the increasing number of patients with adjustment disorders in Japan, from the viewpoint of the Japanese recent issues on working environment shaking the foundation of Japan's "membership-type employment system", such as an increasing number of non-regular employees and burden on regular employees.

3. Individual Bargaining and its Limitations: Negotiation for Dual-career Couples over *Tenkin*.**Noriko FUJITA (Part-time Lecturer, Osaka University of Economics)**

Japanese labor-management relations are at the crossroads. Due to the transformation of the macro-level labor relations, as well as the diversification of individual workers' needs in their workplaces, individual bargaining has drawn more and more attention. Such practices are obvious in a qualitative study of *tenkin*, which I conducted to HR managers at 7 Japanese firms and 22 married career-seekers (5 men and 17 women) over years between 2014 and 2017. Micro-level analyses have revealed that behind the scenes, there is one common condition. It is that relationship between the managers and workers is transformed from the one hierarchical and gendered to fair and gender-equal through the negotiating processes. Yet on the other hand, macro-level analyses have also laid bare limitations that such individual negotiation may be a double-edged sword for workers and may also help them maintain the division of labor in *tenkin*, if not necessarily gendered. Therefore, this study implies that the individual bargaining may rarely serve as a panacea for issues that contemporary dual-career couples face through *tenkin*.

General Session I: Social Policy in East Asia

1. How the burden on student loan borrowers is reduced in the Income-Contingent Loan (ICL) scheme?: Focusing on South Korea's Cases**Hyewon PARK (Graduate Student, University of Tokyo)**

As the increasing number of student loan defaulters has been drawing attention in East Asian countries, expectations are growing in recent years for the Income-Contingent Loan (ICL) scheme, in which monthly amount of repayment can be changed considering the borrower's financial situation. Previous studies, however, have often focused only on the feasibility and effectiveness of the ICL scheme and there are a few studies on what factors reduce the burden on borrowers and how such factors affect them.

In light of this, this paper deals with cases in South Korea, where the ICL scheme was introduced in 2009 for the first time in East Asia, and analyzes findings from statistical data and interviews of 12 ICL borrowers, thus showing how ICL borrowers regard student loans as "rational investments" rather than "debts", and revealing that both the internal mechanism of ICL such as its flexible repayment process and the external conditions, i.e., the government's positioning the national student loan as one of the social services for supporting young people, contribute to ease the burden on borrowers.

2. A Political Study on Labor reform of South Korean Labor after 1997: What lessons for Japan?**Jiwon PAK (Graduate Student, Hitotsubashi University)**

On its process of formation, South Korea's labor policy was established by ① state-led resource management and long-term economic development plan, ② men, regular worker based permanent employment system caused by bureaucracy system implemented in

Japanese colonial era. These can be regarded as similar systems to Japan. However, since 1997 when President Kim Young-sam requested a bailout to the International Monetary Fund, Korea's labor policy changed rapidly, such as workfare policies, including drastic retrenchment of the amount and coverage of social insurance, deregulation of dismissal to increase labor flexibility. Although deregulation policies for labor market were implemented in Japan at the same time, due to public opposition, the reform did not reach to the fundamental change, such as deregulation of dismissal for regular jobs. In the case of Korea, the labor market has experienced unprecedentedly strong reform due to ① social pressure from the International Monetary Fund, ② differences in the number of veto players from the implementation of imperial presidency, ③ bureaucrats' preference for the American employment system. However, South Korea has suffered from serious problems such as the rapid increase of unemployment rate for young people and the stiffening of job changes. Such problems need to be considered as possible cases when Japan try to strengthen its workfare policies.

3. Actual conditions of wages in the public sector of China: Focusing on data from A university

Yuan MENG (Graduate Student, Saitama University)

In this report, we analyze the actual conditions of wages in the Chinese public sector (hereinafter PS) and clarify their characteristics. In the past, with regard to wages in China PS, most studies have described the system. On the other hand, in this report, based on the wage data of 2001-17 in University A, the actual condition of wages is approached. The main points are as follows.

(1) PS wages basically depend on the country. However, there is no guarantee that there is no discretion in the area and organization. We explore the relationship between the two. (2) In PS, wages are adjusted in line with rising prices and corporate wage levels. We try to clarify the actual situation. (3) PS wages make up a complex wage system with various benefits in addition to basic pay. We approach the actual situation. (4) PS wages are basically determined by job group (teacher, staff, blue color). We identify differences between job duties and job groups. (5) The wages of PS are determined by the work, the number of years of service, and the performance in a system. We will clarify how it is decided in practice. (6) It is generally said that job pay is dominant in China, but we investigate how wages rise in China. (7) In PS, we clarify how wage disparities are formed between job groups, between tiers within job groups, and between individuals within tiers. The above highlights the characteristics of wages in Chinese PS.