

Lecture: Contemporary Economic History of Japan

No. 6

1- 4 Workers and Farmers

Winter Semester, 2004

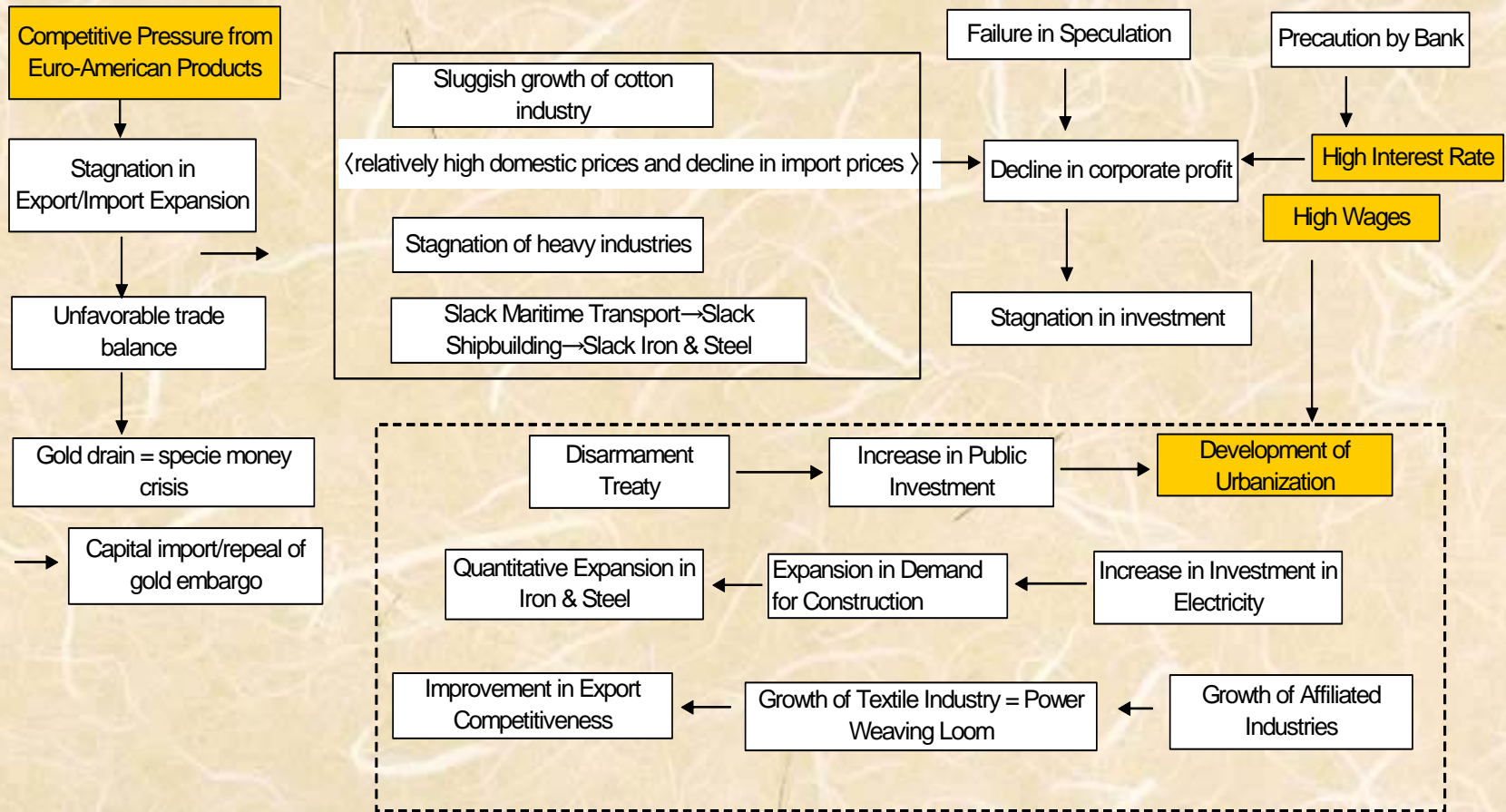
Haruhito Takeda

1—4 Workers and Farmers

- **Sep. 1916: Factory Acts enacted**
- **Jun. 1918: Interior Ministry's Relief Work Investigation Council reported: "Trade union can be left to its natural development."**
- **Aug. 1920: Social work Bureau installed in Interior Ministry, and Labour Department installed in Agriculture Ministry's Industry Bureau**
- **Apr. 1921: Employment Agency Law issued**
- **Apr. 1922: Land and House Lease Conciliation Act issued**
- **Mar. 1923: Factory Acts amended (graveyard shift banned, etc.)**
- **Jul. 1924: Tenancy Conciliation Act issued**
- **Aug. 1925: Interior Ministry announced Labor Union Bill**
- **Nov. 6, 1925: Engineering works for unemployment relief begun in large cities and Osaka Pref.**
- **Feb. 1926: Wakatsuki Cabinet submitted Labor Union Bill to parliament, which was shelved**
- **Apr. 1926: Labor Dispute Conciliation Act issued**
- **May 1926: Bylaw for subsidizing owner farmer foundation/preservation enacted**
- **Jul. 1929: Graveyard shift banned**
- **Oct. : State aid to unemployment relief enterprise begun**
- **Mar. 1931: Labor Union Law passed in Lower House, but shelved in House of Lords**

Economic Framework in The 1920s

Chart 1-2 Economic Framework in The 1920s



(Source) Haruhito Takeda *Business Cycle and Economic Policy*, 2002

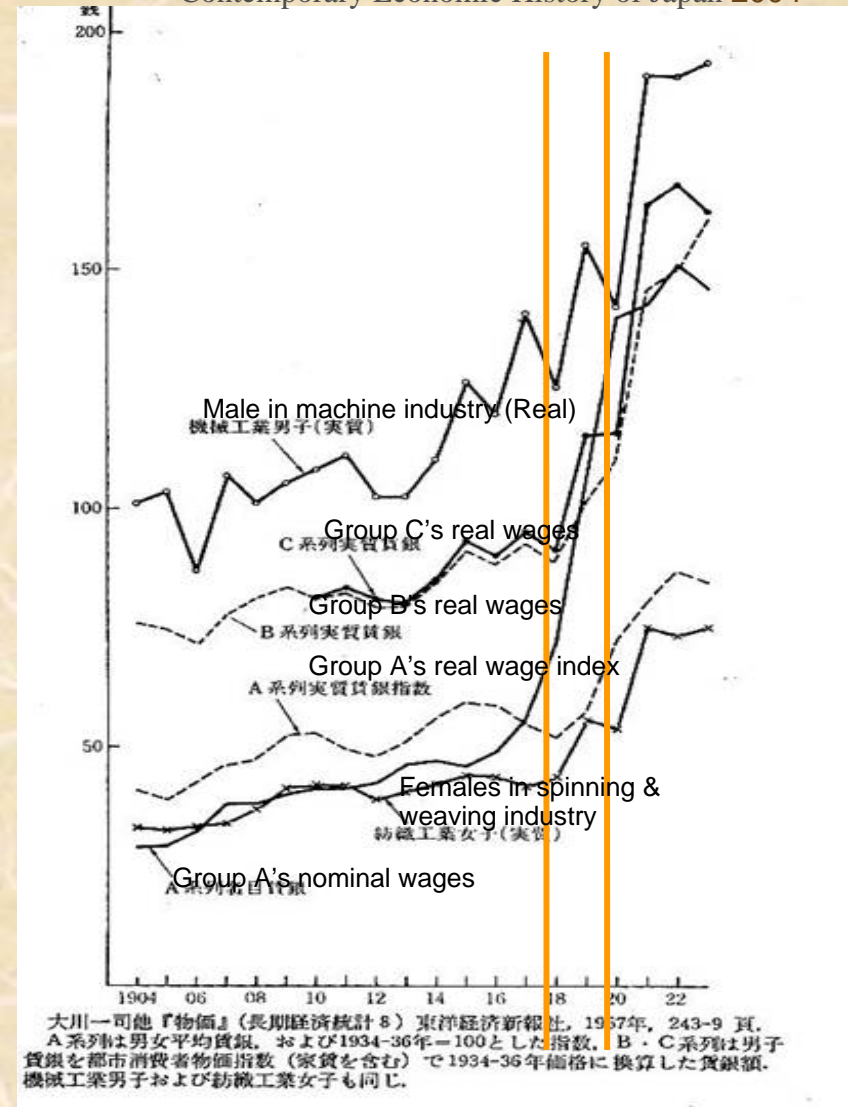
Trend of Real Wages

In the postwar-boom period, real wages were on rising trend on all indexes.

→ Foundation of consumption rise

Plus, demand brought forward from the war period

Consumer goods industry in expansion



Kazushi Ohkawa, others, 'Long-term Economic Statistics 8', *Commodity Prices*, 1967, Toyo Keizai Shinpo Sha, pp. 243-9

Group A: Average wages of both genders, and their indexes with ones in 1934-36 set as
Group B & C: Wage amounts of males that were converted to 1934-36 prices using urban consumer price indexes (including rent). The same conversion applies to **Males** in machine industry, and **Females** in spinning & weaving industry.

(Source) Haruhito Takeda
Labor-Capital Relation

Housekeeping Book of Mechanic

(Unit: Yen)

	1909	1916	1919
Household income	unknown	28.507	77.850
Household's Head Income		23.521	63.270
Other		4.986	9.227
Savings Withdrawal/Debt		unknown	5.353
Expenditure	29.312	27.878	69.760
Food & Drink	20.200	11.546	35.094
of which Rice	9.000	5.226	18.738
Housing Expense	2.500	4.897	7.189
Utility Costs (Fuelwood, Electric Lamp)	1.965	1.172	4.328
Clothing Allowance	0.417	2.090	6.769
Health Care Expenditure	0.500	2.278	3.518
Education Expense	1.200	0.919	2.172
Interest Expense	unknown	1.451	unknown
Other	2.530	3.525	8.482
Savings	0.0	3.070	2.208

Food & drink / (Spending — Savings)

Yr. 1916: 11546 / (27878 — 3070)
= 46.5%

Yr. 1919: 51.9%

Increase in income is not necessarily linked to better living.

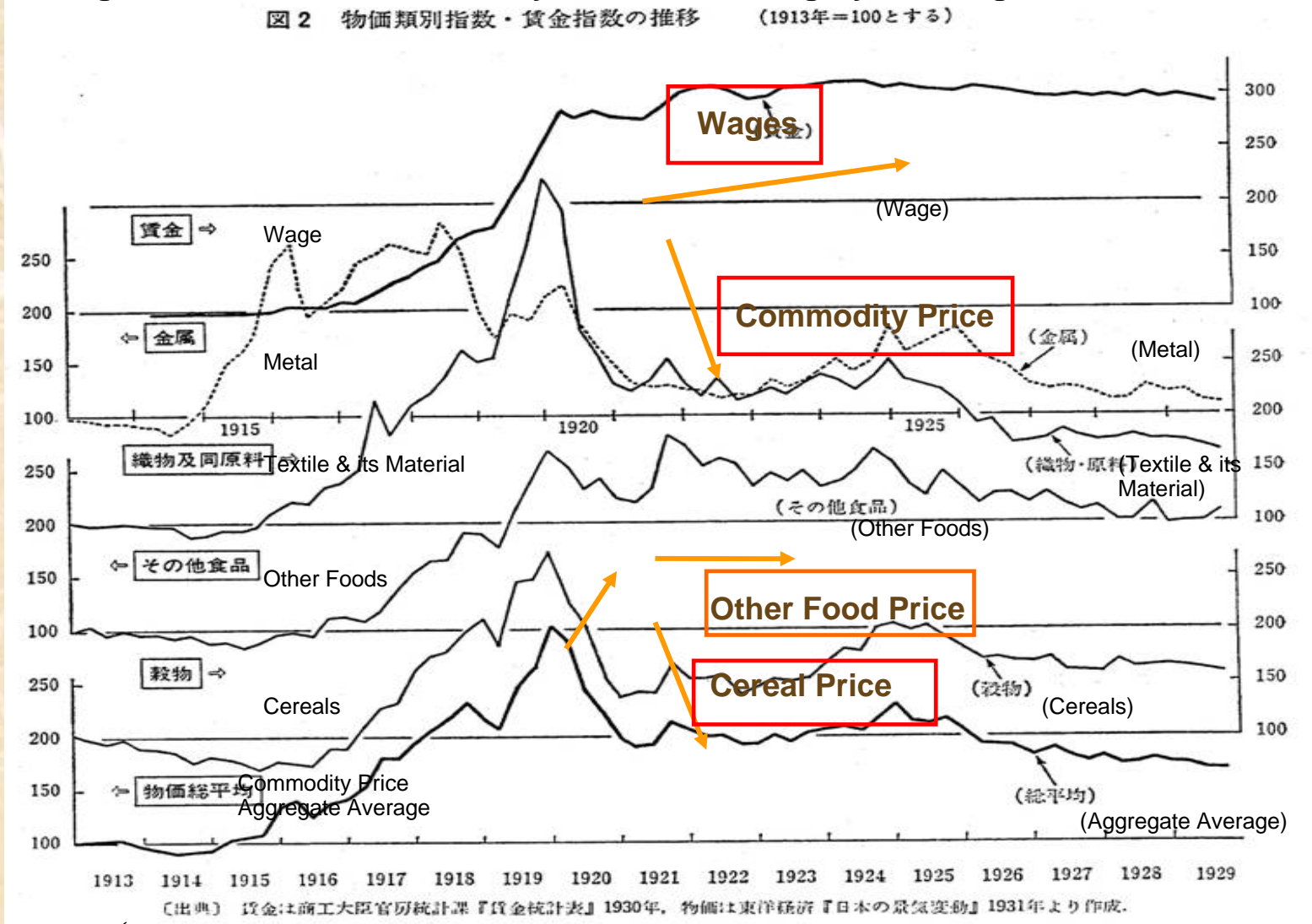
Clear rise in real wages was attributed to the price decline after the 1920 depression.

93 Housekeeping Book of Mechanic Source materials: For 1909, an interview survey by Agriculture & Commerce Ministry (universe unknown); For 1916, a survey on 20 mechanic households by Iwasaburo Takano; For 1919, a similar survey on 40 mechanic households in Tsukishima. Drawn from Yoshizo Tada, *History of Japanese Household Finance Study*, 1989

(Source) Haruhito Takeda *Imperialism and Democracy* p.124

Haruhito Takeda

Diagram 2 Transit of Commodity Price Index Category and Wage Index (1913=100)



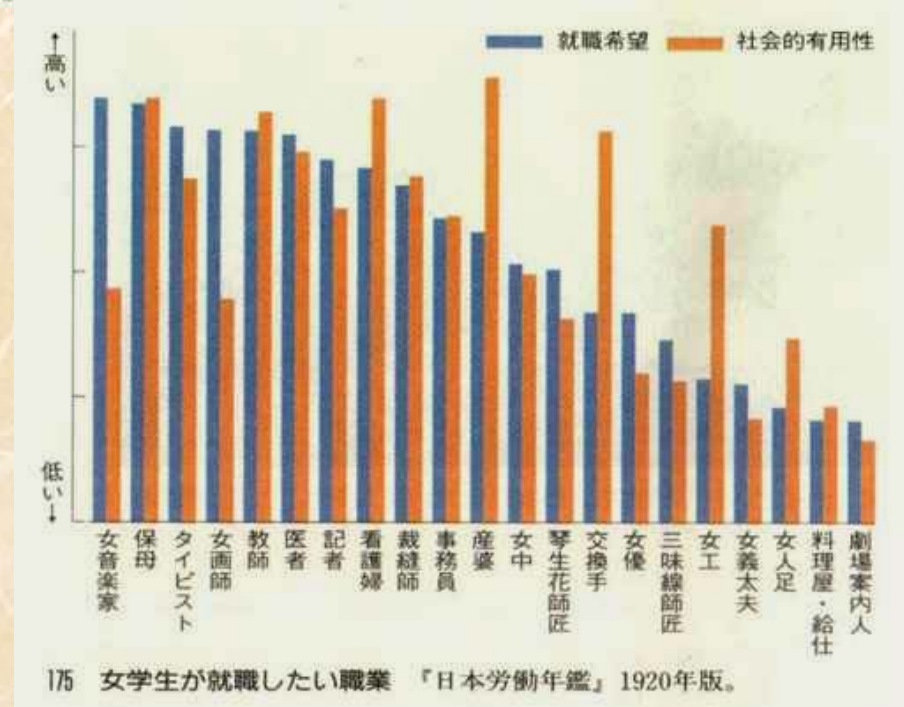
(Source) Wage from *Wage Statistics Tables 1930* by Statistics Department of Minister's Secretariat, Commerce & Industry Ministry, and Commodity Price from *Business Trend of Japan 1931*, Toyo Keizai

Emergence of Women in a workplace

Because of circumstances of copyright processing, we omit the picture; "Female Typist".



174 タイピスト 1915年、和文タイプが開発され、女性の職業としてタイピストが定着するようになった。1920年代半ば、月給は通常の事務員よりも高額だった。



(Source) Haruhito Takeda
Imperialism and Democracy p.211-3

1-4-1 Elevation of Labor Movement

- Friendly Society's demand for "Recognition of Personality"

Workers, before seeking their right, made a "request that they be recognized as human beings."

- Labor market turned to "sellers' market" in the war period, and the development of offensive labor disputes
→ De facto acknowledgment of union (right to organization)

Because of circumstances of copyright processing, we omit the picture; "Yu-ai News".

3 「友愛新報」 友愛会の機関紙として、職工組合の結成方法や工場法の解説などを連載し、労働者の意識を高めた。写真は、1912年（大正元）11月3日の創刊号。

Because of circumstances of copyright processing, we omit the picture; "Fumiharu Suzuki".

2 鈴木文治 宮城県生まれ。東大在学中に本郷教会に入った。同郷の吉野作造らの影響もあって社会問題に関心を寄せるようになり、人格修養を目的に労働者の組織化を図った。友愛会の名称はイギリスのフレンドリーソサエティに由来する。

Disputes of Workers and Tenant Farmers

Number of Labor Disputes								Tenancy Disputes				
	No. of Entrants	No. of Cases		No. of Cases by Major Claim Postulated				No. of Entrants	No. of Cases		Ratio by Claim Postulated	
	A	B	A/B	Higher Wages	Against Lowering of Wages	Wage Payment	Against Dismissal	A	B	A/B	Related to Tenant Rent	Related to Tenant's Right
1914	7,904	50	158.1	25	11							
1916	8,413	108	77.9	71	4							
1918	66,457	417	159.4	340	17			3,465	256	13.5		
1920	36,371	282	129.0	151	64			125,750	408	308.2	25.0	
1922	41,503	250	166.0	71	67			110,920	1,578	70.3	30.9	
1924	54,526	333	163.7	134	30			151,061	1,532	98.6	66.6	1.6
1926	67,234	495	135.8	226	47		4	75,136	2,751	27.3	71.1	11.5
1928	46,252	397	116.5	109	58		30	58,656	1,866	31.4	47.3	24.7
1930	81,329	906	89.8	80	291	94	128	61,499	2,478	24.8	22.9	40.4
1932	54,783	893	61.3	196	140	111	191	121,031	3,414	35.5	31.0	44.5
1934	49,536	626	79.1	295	32	48	78	77,187	5,828	13.2	33.3	46.4

1-4-2 Development of Labor Movement

Environmental changes after WWI

- Labor market became unfavorable to workers due to the need of an employment adjustment such as dismissals in heavy industries of sluggish management, and corporate bankruptcies.

On the other hand,

- Formation of ILO and international environmental variations

→Elevation of sense of entitlement and difficulty in movement

The biggest Labor Movement -Mitsubishi Kawasaki Dispute-



川崎造船所 1886年(明治19年)兵庫造船所は川崎正藏に貸与され翌年川崎造船所が創立され、真は1891年(明治24年)頃

川崎正藏 (1837 - 1912) 鹿兒島の商家に生れ、藩庁の御用達となり、ついで海運業に従事し、造船業によつて大をなした。



ストの応援にゆく鈴木文治 1921年(大正10年)神戸の三菱・川崎造船所の争議に鈴木文治をはじめ松岡駒吉らが指導に赴いた



(Source) Japanese Modern History Study Group,
Modern centurial news in pictures

Haruhito Takeda

Result of Labor-Management Confrontation

- As a result thereof a new framework named “Factory Committee Institution” was formed centering around large corporations.
In essence it was a confabulation system, unlike labor-management cooperation of Germany.
- And, a disparity in its application grew conspicuous, i.e. a cooperative framework was beyond the management of medium and small size companies.

Disputes of Workers and Tenant Farmers

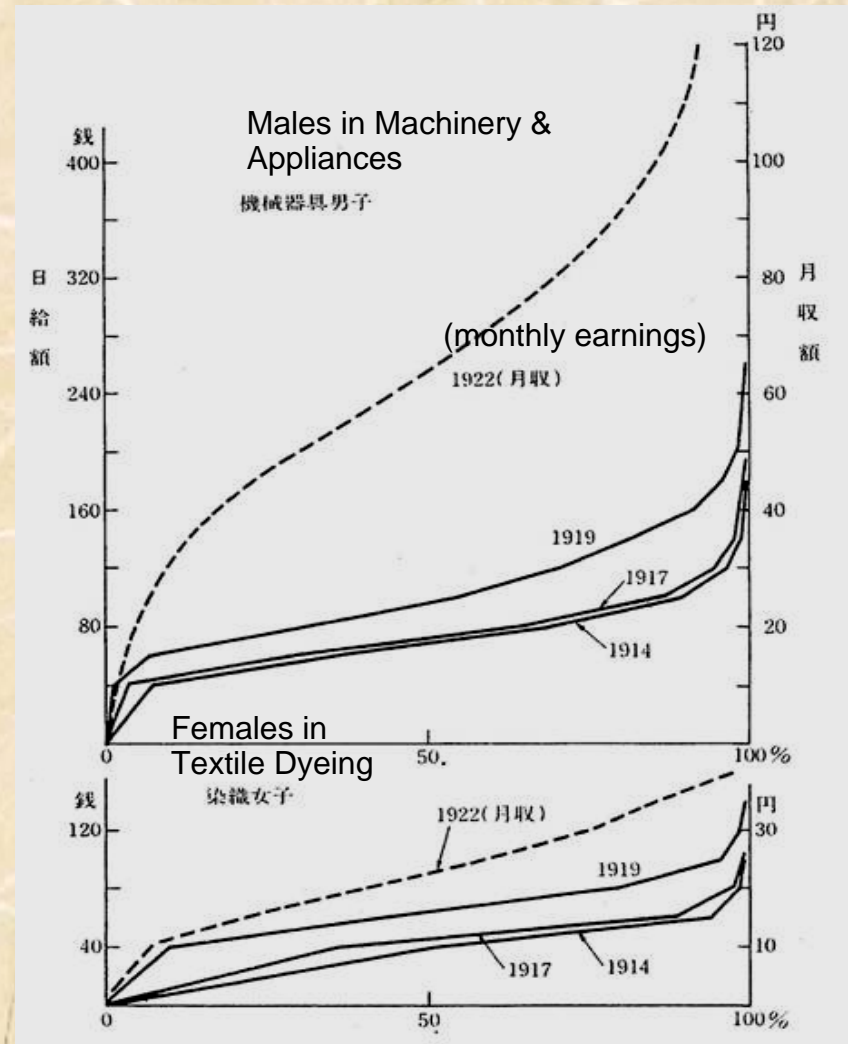
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1930	81,329	906	89.8	80	291	94	128	61,499	2,478	24.8	22.9	40.4
1932	54,783	893	61.3	196	140	111	191	121,031	3,414	35.5	31.0	44.5
1934	49,536	626	79.1	295	32	48	78	77,187	5,828	13.2	33.3	46.4

1-4-3 Formation of Dual Structure

- Confabulation system in large companies vs. a trend of movements turning up the heat and leaning to the left in medium and small size corporations.
Some indications: Labor disputes turning to smaller scale, and the breakup of Japan Federation of Labor Unions that led movements.
- “Carrot and stick” so as to attain a structural stability
→ Granting the universal suffrage to males,
and the Maintenance of the Public Order Act
An intervention to labor disputes, without recognizing basic rights of workers, took the shape of the institution of Labor Dispute Conciliation Act for the sake of virtual arbitration.

Formation of Wage Disparity

- During 1919-22 in the workers' layer with large companies, taking up an upper echelon of the dual structure, a wage disparity was formed within a certain scope, which imposed a strain on medium and small size companies in different status.



(Source) Haruhito Takeda "Labor-Capital Relation"

Haruhito Takeda

Original Formation of Seniority-Based Wage System

- Wage disparity seen in the preceding diagram shows an incoming element of seniority.

	Regular-Employ Wages							Ages	Earned Rate						
	-14	15 -	20 -	25 -	30 -	35 -	40 -		-14	15 -	20 -	25 -	30 -	35 -	40 -
Males		10	2	1				Under 50 Sen		2	2				
	2	62	16	12	11	9	3	50 Sen & Above	1	17	3	1			
	2	65	71	29	8	3	6	90 "	1	63	29	12	6	1	
		36	36	20	12	5	1	130 "		34	34	15	3	4	4
		16	27	7	1	4	2	170 "		28	30	18	7	8	3
		3	8	5	3	2	1	210 "		11	30	15	7	4	4
		8	11	4	1	1		250 "		11	15	7	8	2	1
		3	22	7				290 "		4	24	5	1	2	
	3	4	4	2	1	1	330 "		5	8	6	1	1		
		206	197	89	38	25	14	Total	2	175	175	79	33	22	12
Females		6	1	1		1		Under 50 Sen							
	3	16	17	7	4		2	50 Sen & Above	1	5	3	2			
		1	9	2		1	1	70 "		9	12	6	3	1	3
		3	2					90 "	1	4	7	1	2	1	
		2	3	4	1		1	110 "		3	5	4	1		1
	3	28	32	14	5	2	4	Total	2	21	17	13	6	2	4

Conditions before Conclusion of Employment Relationship' (Work Research Division of Osaka City Office, *Work Research Report, V*, Result of survey in July, 1920.

The Scene; People are registering as daily workers

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The Problem of Labor Union Law



日雇労働者の登録受付 東京市社会局で失業救済事業の準備として1929年（昭和4年）10月27日に市内6カ所で日雇労働者の登録受付をはじめた。到着順に一人づつ写真を撮り14600名の受付をおわつた。 ↓



214 労働組合法制定問題 労働運動の盛り上がりのおかげで、労働組合法の制定が必要と考えられるようになった。運動の穏健化を意図して、「早く巣を作つてやらねば働き蜂のをさまりやうがない」と考える人も少なくなかった。北沢楽天の風刺画。

- Still, the increase in unemployment became unavoidable, and social measures like an institution of Labour Union Law were demanded.

(Source: left) Japanese Modern History Study Group, *modern centurial news in pictures*

(Source: right) Haruhito Takeda, labor relation, *Japanese Imperialism History Vol.1*

Haruhito Takeda

1-4-4 Development of Tenant Farmers' Disputes

Background of the evolution of tenant farmers' disputes:

- Investment in land turning disadvantageous
→ Struggle over a limited pie

Against the background of significant income disparities

- Development of commercial farmlands and expanding employment opportunities in urban labor markets → Farmers' appraisal of own work

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Agricultural Output and Number of Households

- **Agricultural productivity became stagnant, particularly the yield point of rice per “tan” stopped increasing after WWI.**
- **Under such condition, in terms of ownership scale, farm households of a subsistence size, being the principal scale, increased.**
- **And as opportunities for side job were limited, all in all, a trend of full-time farming was observed. That is, farmers were driven to their ruin by inches due to little income expected from other work, cutting down own of their land little by little, and a stagnant productivity increase in what land left with.**

Farmer's poor history written by Teisuke SHIBUYA

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Because of circumstances of
copyright processing,
we omit the picture;
“Farmers in the Taisho Era”.

94 農民たち 大正時代、桜島での撮影。

Because of circumstances of
copyright processing,
we omit the picture;
“Farmers in the Fuseishi Trouble”.

28 伏石争議 香川県の伏石村の争議では、農民たちが小作条件の改善と小作料3割減とを求めて立ち上がった。地主側は、立毛(収穫以前の稲)差し押さえて対抗したが、農民たちは共同で脱穀を強行した(写真の絵葉書)。激烈な闘争の末、1925年から3年間、小作料を1割7分5厘減らすことで決着した。

Landowner's Budget and Tenant Farmer's Budget

Yen & Year	Landowner		Owner Farmer		Tenant Farmer	
	1912	1920	1912	1920	1912	1920
Earnings	4,981	5,556	938	1,654	705	1,416
Farm Rent	3,348	4,118				
Income from Farming	420	660	850	1,510	630	1,307
Other Income	1,213	778	88	144	75	109
Spending for Farming	233	500	117	330	316	755
Farming Operating Cost	42	191	71	241	56	213
Farm Rent					253	522
Wages Paid	191	309	34	67		
Interest Paid			12	22	7	20
Balance "Net Income"	4,748	5,056	821	1,324	389	661
Household Spending	3,264	4,378	712	1,390	358	656
Food & Drink	808	1,046	391	680	256	427
Housing Expense	300	238	44	64	27	44
Fuelwood, Electric Lamp	87	112	27	48		
Clothing Allowance	312	297	54	161	24	54
Education Expense	256	430	24	30		
Other	1,501	2,155	172	407	51	131
Total Spending	3,497	4,882	829	1,720	674	1,411
Balance in Total	1,484	678	109	-66	31	5

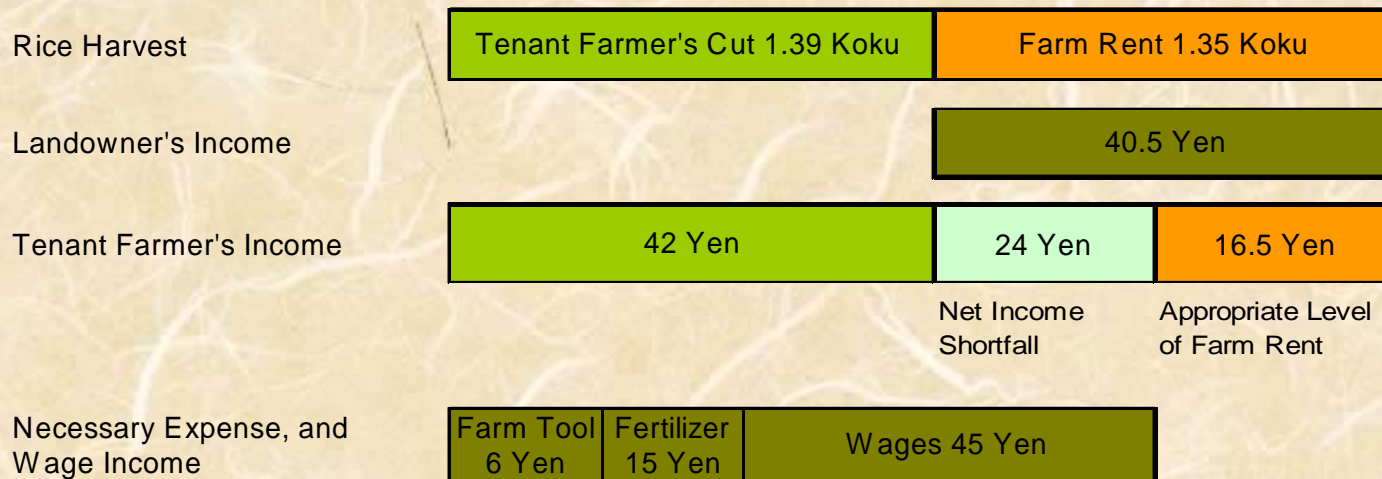
Housekeeping Book of Farming Household Source material is a survey of 14 villages across

the country by Mankichi Saito. Drawn up from Yoshizo Tada, *History of Japanese Household Finance Study*, 1989

Haruhito Takeda

● All echelons were nowhere close to relishing wealth of life, just like workpeople.

Tenant Farmer's Net Income



(Koku = 5.12 U.S. bushels)

(Source) Haruhito Takeda, *Imperialism and Democracy*, p.255

Yield Rate of Plowland Farming Rent and Securities Yield

	Yield Rate of Lease Net Profit		Yield Rate				
	Rice Field	Field	Time Deposit	Government Bond	Corporate Bond	Equity	
1909	6.27	5.86	5.48				
1913	6.54	6.15	6.09			6.75	
1919	7.92	7.10	5.59			7.50	
1925	5.67	5.32	6.37	6.03	8.17	7.80	
1931	3.69	3.89	4.64	5.40	6.49	6.82	

Adverse impact of investment in land proceeded amid the stagnant agricultural productivity and intensifying labor movements.