

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF
SOCIAL WELFARE IN CANADA AND JAPAN

by

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B.A., Tsuda College, 1974

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department

of

Sociology

ACCEPTED
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

[REDACTED]

DEAN

DATE 10 May/76

We accept this thesis as conforming
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UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA
April, 1976

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ABSTRACT

It has long been argued that the processes of urbanization and industrialization have either brought about or resulted from modern social changes. Of particular importance here are changes in kinship systems, the most notable being the rise of the nuclear and the decline of the extended familial system. Given that industrialization and urbanization are also associated with a host of what have come to be called "social problems," the decline of the extended system has meant that these problems could no longer be dealt with in traditional ways. There are a number of things involved here.

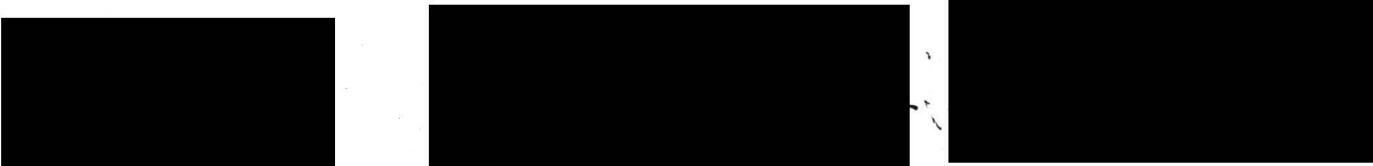
First, and most obvious, the lack of extended kinship ties meant that there was nothing to fall back on for those whose livelihood was based solely on wages; lack of marketable skills, sudden sickness or death could completely undermine the family's economic base. Secondly, in a nuclear family system the obligation to support aged parents tends to be no longer observed; consequently, the old-age problem requires special consideration. Thirdly,

modern labour systems, large mechanisms based on daily progressing technology, often cause accidents or new types of illness. Loss of communal ties and tension cause mental illness as well. While new kinds of illness increase, the costs of health care are getting expensive. Bad health is directly related to poverty. Fourthly, the associated increase in divorce and female employment demand the institutional care concerning children's welfare, because in a nuclear family, social problems which strike parents directly affect children also. These problems are beyond the capability of individuals to handle themselves. Hence, universal social welfare provisions are required.

In spite of the fact that Japan has advanced economically to a high level, there is a conspicuous lag in the founding of social welfare systems. Since the Meiji Restoration, in 1868, the Japanese national government has consistently followed a policy of promoting modernization in Japan, and the main emphasis has been on the economic sphere. Consequently, social welfare provisions have been neglected. This paper is a descriptive analysis of the way in which social problems were dealt with and of the recent changes towards the establishment of national-

level social welfare provisions in Japan.

In Japanese society, the two fundamental social features--a filial family structure and a paternalistic occupational system--have played important roles in dealing with social problems. These characteristics of Japanese society have been so deeply rooted, even after the Second World War, that they have caused the national-level social welfare system to lag behind those of other Western industrial nations. However, it seems that there is now a general trend in Japan towards social welfare orientation. An examination of the notion of the social welfare state is required for Japan in shaping her future social welfare system. On this ground, the focus will be on the basic notion of the social welfare state. The Canadian welfare system will be used for illustration. Then the Canadian and the newly started Japanese social welfare programmes will be compared. Through comparisons in the three cardinal social welfare areas--income security, health care, and child welfare--the intent is to describe the shortcomings of the present Japanese social welfare services, as a guide to the improvement and to the development of more comprehensive systems.



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INTRODUCTION

I. The Aims of This Study

The continuing industrial revolution of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has greatly contributed to social change in the societies involved. Owing to the introduction and application of new technology, the manufacturing methods have been advanced from premodern to modern. First, the size of industry came to be expanded, whereupon the application of rational and modern processes became necessary. Consequently, a change in the whole labour system was required. It was a transition from the previous labour system which was based on a family, or sometimes on a community to a system which demands a large labour force with various job specifications. This caused a disorganization of the integrated family system, which had functioned as a unit in which almost all activities had been carried out in the previous stage. Moreover, it has been also observed that behind the rapid advancement of the material side of human activities, the economic changes at the same time have brought too rapid a change upon society, making various problems such as poverty, sickness, suffering and social disorganization more serious.

Japan has followed a policy oriented towards the growth of industrial capacity since the Meiji Restoration of 1868. After over 200 years' sakoku (the policy of closed country), Japan was exposed to Western impact, and had to strive to maintain her sovereignty especially in the economic field. Seeking to be an independent sovereignty in a system of competitive international relations which was characterized by power-politics, the Japanese government abolished the feudal system, and declared the slogan of Fukoku-Kyohei (to enrich the nation and to strengthen the army). Under that policy, modern industry was introduced and supported by the government. During more than 100 years history of trials on the way to becoming a modern industrial nation, Japan has experienced unparalleled economic development. The growth was especially conspicuous after the Second World War. According to the census, percentage changes of Japan's G.N.P. from previous years are shown as follows (Economic Review, 1975:41):

Table I-1

The Percentage Changes of Japan's G.N.P.

1959/60-1970/71	4.8%
1972	4.6%
1973	12.0%
1974	26.0%

Such a history as Japan has experienced is also a unique case of modernization where a premodern feudal system has been revised, and has fused with modern technology transplanted from the Western countries.¹ It is often pointed out that this unique feature of Japanese society has functioned to deal with social problems which were a by-product of industrialization and urbanization -- like poverty, sickness, suffering and social disorganization. Briefly, in Japanese society, these social problems have been met mainly by a filial family system and a paternalistic company system. It was not until recent decades that this unique Japanese way of life came to be reconsidered or criticized within Japanese society. Since the 1960s, it came to be gradually recognized that these social problems were getting more complex and serious so as to militate against their solution by an individual or by a family, while human relationships in a family system or in a labour sector also were changing towards the so-called Western

type after the Second World War. This led people to demand greater responsibility on the part of government, or in other words, comprehensive channels to solve those problems.

As suggested above, national social welfare systems which have been sought in some Western industrial nations such as Britain, Sweden and others, were hardly taken account of in pre-war Japanese society. It can be said that the concern to create a social welfare state has just begun to manifest itself. Henceforth, two basic questions arise to be considered. The first question is why Japan developed such a unique process of economic and social change. This should also be related to the characteristics of Japan's modernization. Specifically, the focus will be on the reasons why social welfare provisions have hardly developed in Japan, in spite of the fact that Japan has adopted an orientation towards the Western type of industrialization. The second question arises very much from a pragmatic point of view. Standing at a turning point where a variety of alternatives are available, the central question is what kind of policies will emerge in Japan? While industrial development continues to be sought, will the social welfare provisions

develop in a comprehensive manner?

With regard to methodology, these two questions will be considered in comparison with the Canadian context. Canada is one of the Western democratic countries; it was founded and developed under the two main influences of the British and French immigrants, and has developed its social welfare systems under great influence from the British system, besides some influence from the United States. Especially after the 1930s depression, and through two World Wars, a national-level, universal social welfare scheme came to be taken into active consideration.

Since Japan has not developed a national-level social welfare system until recent years, there are few previous studies available. In regards to macro-level studies on social welfare, the stress has been made on comparisons among so-called welfare state nations in the West.²

II. Methodological Consideration

There is a statement which has been made by H.L.Wilensky and C.N.Lebeaux (1958:17):

Throughout, using American examples, we will concentrate on the universal effects of advanced industrialism: a large and mobile labour supply;

complex specialization, stratification, and large-scale organization: the concentration of people in metropolitan centres. These massive changes in American society are the major determinants of social welfare services.

For the present examination, we will employ the following as a major assumption and guide:

Industrialization tends to break up social structures, especially kinship systems, and this creates the need for alternative ways of providing the services, formerly provided by the family system, through the creation of a social welfare system.

This paper will be a descriptive analysis of the social welfare systems in Japan applying the assumption proposed by Wilensky and Lebeaux to Japan. First of all, the focus will be on a description of the Japan's modern history where the social welfare systems have hardly developed in spite of the fact that a modernization policy has been adopted by the national government. The recent social changes and a new trend towards the establishment of national-level social welfare provisions in Japan can be interpreted by the application of Wilensky and Lebeaux's assumption. However, the lag of Japanese social welfare systems behind those of the Western welfare states can be considered due to particular social structures in Japan. In Japanese society, the two fundamental characteristics;

a filial family system, and a paternalistic occupational structure, have played important roles in dealing with social problems created by industrialization and urbanization.

Japan seems to have recently admitted the urgency of taking an actual consideration of the notion of the social welfare state. The idea of the social welfare state has been fostered in the Western nations. In addition, because of the fact that the old Japanese family system and a paternalistic occupational structure were so pre-eminent that they were able to carry out most of the social welfare services even after the Second World War, the Western-originated notion of the welfare state has not yet taken root in Japan. Thus, the examination of the basic notion of the social welfare state is required for Japan in shaping her future social welfare systems. When that has been established, the focus will be turned to the basic notion of the social welfare state. The British case which is considered as the first of the so-called social welfare states, and the Canadian case which follows the British, will be used as illustrations.

Thirdly, more attention will be given to describing in outline the Canadian social welfare systems

as one example from the social welfare states, to show the actual ways the idea of social welfare state has been put into practice.

Finally, the Canadian and newly started Japanese social welfare systems will be compared. The three principal pillars of social welfare: income security, health care, and child welfare, will be used in the comparison. The purpose will be to point out the weakness and shortcomings of the Japanese social welfare system; for only when those are understood can the social welfare system in Japan be improved and made comprehensive.

As for the measurement, the questions are how industrialization will be scaled, and what social welfare should consist of. There has been a great deal of discussion on the definition of modernization. Under recent circumstances, as so-called third World nations in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, have come to seek their own route toward national identity, and in their own way to promote development, the development theory or concept of modernization which previously meant the Occidental type of development has been questioned.³ On the other hand, this issue was argued at the Hakone Conference held

in 1960 on modernization. At this conference, several levels of development measurements were proposed. They are Almond and Coleman's nine general scales in The Politics of Developing Areas, 1960, p.52, N.Takahashi's seven items, in Communication of October, 1960, and a serial scale consisting of political modernization, social modernization, economic modernization, and of intellectual modernization by R.Ward, R.Dore, W.Lockwood, and C.E.Black, in Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey, 1964.

As a reflection of the chaotic ideological circumstances, it is not easy to describe these two countries through clear measurements; nevertheless the fact is that both Canada and Japan are, in general, considered as industrialized nations. In this study, measurement scales will be chosen with the focus on industrialization according to the definition used by J.W.Hall. Hall has proposed a ten item scale on economic modernization (Hall, 1965):

1. increasing application of scientific technology, and of inanimate energy, to enlarge and diversify the production of goods and services per capita.
2. a growing specialization of labour and sub-division of productive process within and among firms, industries, occupations, and territories, and an increasing interdependence and mobility of individuals and groups within a network of widening impersonal market.

3. a concomitant improvement in human skills and economic efficiency, especially at the higher technical and managerial levels.
4. an accumulation of capital goods in more productive forms and in growing amounts per worker, financed by a complex of financial institutions that characteristically divorce the savings from the investment process in order to pool liquid resources for the growing stream of investment.
5. production, transport, marketing, and finance organized on an increasingly large scale, with concomitant tendencies to the concentration of decisions over economic life.
6. as the dynamic force behind the above processes, a society increasingly oriented to the pursuit of economic opportunity, infused (especially within the elite) by a spirit of innovation and growth, and increasingly rational in its choice of techniques and allocation of resources to achieve its economic goals.
7. as a result of these processes--and despite a characteristic increase in population--a rise in the level of material well-being, usually a widening of the range of personal choice, and sooner or later a reduction in the range of economic and social inequalities.
8. as incomes rise, a shift in the balance of employment and production from the extractive industries to manufacturing and the services, with a concomitant urbanization of the labour force.
9. the spread of wage labour as the chief form of gainful employment, and commonly the separation of ownership and management.

10. the replacement of natural hazards (eg., weather) as the main source of insecurity by technological change, the uncertainties of the market, and the bargaining disadvantages of the individual in relation to his employer and the state.

Hall's ten items can be briefly summarized in seven categories, such as increase of productivity, labour specialization, accumulation of capital goods, Gross National Product, Gross National Product per capita, shift of labour structure and personal consumption. The following four out of these seven will be considered for this study. They are growth of Gross National Product, growth of Gross National Product per capita, shift of labour structure, and Personal Consumption.

Canada has experienced the growth of her GNP from 3.4 in 1961 to 17.3 in 1974. The growth of GNP per capita increased from -0.3 in 1961 to 12.6 in 1973 (figures mean a per cent change from the previous year) (Economic Review, 1975:110,115). Agricultural population decreased from 16.9% in 1931 to 10.6% in 1952; on the other hand, skilled and unskilled manufacturing population increased from 21.6% in 1931 to 30.3% in 1951 (Porter, 1973:567). The per cent change for the previous year in the Agriculture sector was -0.2 and that of the Manufacturing sector was 2.8 in

1971 (Economic Review, 1975:32).⁴

Japan's GNP and GNP per capita increased from 3.38%, 2.21% of the period during 1890-1916 to 9.59%, 8.48% of the period during 1953-1961, as the following table has shown (Ohkawa and Hayami, 1973:85):

Table I-2

Changes of GNP and GNP Per Capita in Japan

	GNP	GNP per capita
Pre War Period		
I 1890-1916	3.38%	2.21%
II 1916-1936	3.95%	2.64%
Post War Period		
I 1946-1953	10.72%	8.56%
II 1953-1960	9.59%	8.48%

The growth rate of GNP for the previous year came up to 5.7% in 1971, and to 11.5% in 1972 (White Papers of Japan, 1975:19). The average percentage of the population in extractive industries shifted from 64.6% (1878-82) to 17.7% (1938-42), and the shift in the manufacturing sector for the same period was from 10.6% to 40.3% (Takahashi, 1969:324).⁵ The Personal Consumption per capita increased from 2.19% (1887-97) to 6.87% (1953-69) (Ohkawa and Hayami,

1973:657).⁶ In the international context, Canada and Japan, as illustrated above, can be considered fairly highly-industrialized cases.⁷

The remainder of this paper consists of three chapters. Chapter One is concerned with Japan's modernization. In Japan's modern history, over the one hundred years since the Meiji Restoration (1868) and the abolition of the Sakoku exclusion policy, the focus will be on the unique process of her industrialization and the ways developed to handle social problems. In Chapter Two, the basic ideas of the welfare state in the West will be illustrated. The well known British system of social welfare and the Canadian system which has developed very much under the influence of the British system will be described. In Chapter Three, the outline of the development and the present situation of the social welfare systems in Canada will be illustrated, as one example of a welfare state. Chapter Four, by way of conclusion, will compare the three basic welfare programmes in these two nations--Japan and Canada.

FOOTNOTES: INTRODUCTION

1. See Abegglen, J. 1958
Halliday, J. 1975
2. Some studies have been done. For example, Jenkins, S. (ed.), 1969.
3. Goode & Hagedorn.
4. See Horowitz, I.L., (1972, 1966), Frank, A.G. (1972:321-397), Johnson, D.L., (1970:71-111).
Horowitz (1972, 1966) or Cockcroft, J.D., Frank, A.G. and Johnson, D.L.(1972) have described this chaotic situation of development theories. It is gradually revealed that development itself is not a symbol of all things good. Efforts to construct various development theories have been made from the standpoint of a reconstruction of the value of development itself. There are some arguments on industrialization and other factors. For example, W.J.Goode (1963) has pointed out that besides the fact that industrialization and urbanization tends to change kinships structure, family change may have made that transition to industrialization or urbanization easier as well. Hagedorn and others have stated that "changes in urbanization in a country may occur together with changes in the standard of living, level of technology, birth and death rates, crime rates, and so on."(1971:189). Myrdal, G., Worsley, P. and Hirshmann, A.O. have devoted attention to comparative international development, as an attempt to reconsider the value of development itself.
5. See Appendix 2 for the changes in GNP and Personal Income from 1947 to 1974. See also Appendix 5.
6. See Appendix 3.
7. See Appendix 4.
8. See Appendix 6.

CHAPTER 1

MODERNIZATION IN JAPAN

I Industrial Development in Japan's Modern History

The transformation of the Japanese economy into a modern system was begun as a reaction against the intrusion by the Western countries in the nineteenth century. In the previous stage of Japan's history, the economic system was based on the isolation policy--sakoku (it means literally a policy of closed country). The Tokugawa shogunate (1603-1867) attempted to establish and to maintain a strongly integrated social order. The closed nation policy--sakoku was one of the important means to accomplish the idea. The policy was only gradually brought into force. First, the Tokugawa idea was embodied in an execution of Christians, ban of import of Christian books, and ban on foreign voyages for Japanese. Soon after those bans, a small lagoon, Dejima was specified as the only place where foreign traders were permitted to exchange. Then in 1639 the National Isolation Policy was enforced. The basic idea under these policies was the fear of being dominated by the foreign power, besides the strong intention

to maintain the integrated feudal system. In order to sustain a firm feudal system, it was necessary to restrict information on any other political and social alternatives in foreign countries.¹

While Japan was under the isolation policy, the Western advanced countries came into the phase of world imperialism, which led those countries to seek foreign markets. One illustration is found in the British triangle trade route--consisting of Britain, India and China.² France, Russia, and the United States, and other advanced countries were seeking a way to obtain a new market in Asia. Since Japan was located in a vital position for their east-Asian trade routes, their zeal towards the Asian market brought Western sorties to Japan with the request for Japan to open the nation to trade.

Russia sent a visitor ship to Japan, which requested trade, in 1778, and sent an envoy, Lezanov, as the second visitor in 1804. The United States made visits to Japan in 1837, and in 1846. In 1846, France and Britain each sent delegates. After Japan's refusal of those requests, the United States sent Perry in 1853 as an envoy, with a presidential letter which strongly demanded

the opening of Japan. In 1854 Perry made the second visit to Uraga, which constituted a great threat because of Uraga's geographical closeness to the administrative centre, Edo. Russia also sent the envoy Puyatin, again. In this way, the pressure from the advanced countries towards Japan's opening country escalated to enforce Japan to make trade treaties with foreign countries. Once the first treaty, the Shimoda Treaty, was entered into with the United States in 1857, Japan found it necessary to exchange similar treaties with other countries. Henceforth, in 1858, American-Japanese, Franco-Japanese, Anglo-Japanese, Russo-Japanese and Dutch-Japanese Trade and Army treaties were settled.

After over 200 years' of sakoku, Japan was exposed to the competitive system of world politics.

The policy of sakoku was finally destroyed by the West. The Japanese had to come out of their confinement of ignorance and naiveté and the nation joined the international community. (Bamba, 1972:33).

This situation made the Meiji government--which had replaced the Tokugawa shogunate since the Meiji Restoration of 1868--realize that Japan ought to take a policy oriented towards the maintenance of an independent

nation.³ It was this strong recognition that convinced the Japanese new government to adopt rapid modernization policies, especially in economic-technological field. The zeal towards Westernization was embodied in various policies such as:

- 1869 Innovation of the government system: two ministries and six departments.
- 1871 Institution of prefectures systems.
- 1875 Founding of the Senate and Supreme Court.
- 1885 Establishment of Cabinet System.
- 1890 Promulgation of the Imperial Rescript on Education.

Japan's modern history until the end of the second World War is regarded as a history of continuous conflicts between two main trends--aspiration towards modernization and Japanese traditional way of thinking.⁴ However, one consistent policy has been taken, a policy aimed at fostering industrial development. In spite of the tension between the two pro-modernization and traditionalist spheres, in regard to economic concern, both sides have sought to establish and to develop industries to a modern level, as a means of surviving in the world of power-politics. Seeking the way to maintain sovereignty in a

system of competitive international relations, the Meiji government abolished the feudal system, then declared the slogan of Fukoku-Kyohei (to enrich the nation and to strengthen the army). As part of this policy, modern industry was introduced and supported by the government. In 1874, Okubo Toshimichi, one of the Cabinet ministers made a statement that was illustrative of the Meiji government policy (Lu, 1973:48-49):

Generally speaking, the strength or weakness of a country is dependent on the wealth or poverty of its people, and the people's wealth or poverty derives from the amount of available products. The diligence of the people is a major factor in determining the amount of products available, but in the final analysis, it can all be traced to the guidance and encouragement given by the government and its officials... It is the responsibility of those who are in the administrative positions in the government to guide and importune those who are weak in spirit to work diligently in the industries and to endure them. ... It is further recommended that the characteristics of our people and the degree of their intelligence may be taken into account in establishing legislation aimed at encouraging development of industries. ... If these goals can be attained, the people can reach a position of adequate wealth. If the people are adequately wealthy, it follows naturally that the country will become strong and wealthy... If so, it will not be difficult for us to compete effectively against major powers.

Along with that outline, "the modernization of Japanese manufacturing in the Meiji era took place as the machinery

was indigenized, made in Japan, and supplied at low cost" (Takahashi, 1969:142). The first typical example was found in the silk industry. In 1871, the government founded Tomioka Filiature as a model factory in which mechanized silk reeling was introduced. The factory was run using three-hundred new and powerful steel basins by more than two hundred women operatives utilizing French technological methods (Takahashi, 1969).

During more than 100 years' history of industrialization, Japan has experienced an unparalleled economic development. The economic growth was especially conspicuous after the Second World War. Since 1950, several programmes aiming at economic advancement, such as the Cultural Properties Protection Law of 1950, the Local Industries Development Plan of 1955, and the Economic Social Development Plan of 1967 and of 1970 (Yamamoto, 1973:137-152) have been carried out. Here again the census which has been quoted in the previous chapter illustrates Japan's recent economic development (Economic Review, 1975:41).

Table I-1

Percentage changes of Japan's GNP from
previous year

1959/60 - 1970/71	4.8%
1972	4.6%
1973	12.0%
1974	26.0%

II The Particular Japanese Social Structures under the Industrial Development

The rapid economic advancement in Japan owed much to the unique social structure. The uniqueness can be found in the fact that the old social systems have been preserved, and, moreover, they, in conjunction with the adaptation of modern, Western technology, have favoured economic prosperity. In this regard, two basic characteristics of Japanese social structure should be considered. They are a filial family structure and a paternalistic occupational structure. The latter may be regarded as an extension of the filial family system.

The old Japanese family system (Ie-Seido) was strongly supported by the Meiji government. The Meiji political leaders set an ideology which was characterized

as a large pyramid consisting of various units from families at the lowest level to the royal family, Mikado (Emperor) at the top. According to this idea, the Emperor and his family were compared to the head of the largest family, Japan, and all the authority and decision were charged by the Emperor. The firm, integrated family system, which was considered as the very basic unit of the large pyramid-ideology, was stressed and promoted through public education. The family system was the first, and inevitable step to found the integrated political system. This idea was reflected in the Imperial Rescript on Education which was declared in the name of the Meiji Emperor in 1890

(Lu, 1973:70-71):

Know ye,

Our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting, and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue: Our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire, and herein also lies the source Our education.

Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters: as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore advance public good and promote common

interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth...

(underlined by the present writer)

The Japanese family system can be characterized as an extended family system. A family estate was succeeded to by the eldest male child who was also charged with the obligation to support his old parents and other younger brothers and sisters. The positions of younger brothers or of sisters were usually those of subordinate, while the eldest brother dealt with all the family problems with his authority and responsibility. Under such an idea, the household consisted of the eldest male child and his wife, children, his old parents, his unmarried brothers and sisters. Furthermore, in rural areas, where agriculture was the dominant activity, married younger brothers usually lived on a part of the eldest brother's land, which produced leader-subordinate relationships among families. There was found a rigid hierarchy among the eldest brother's house-unit and other brothers' house-units. Besides the every day labour, ceremonial occasions were taken by the whole kinship system. In this way the old family system,

which covered all sides of an individual's life, functioned as a highly integrated mutual support system until it was abolished by the social reforms after the Second World War.

Japan's economy since the Meiji era had been dominated by a particular structure, which is called the Zaibatsu system.⁵ The Zaibatsu were more than monopolies in the Western sense, but were involved in an amalgamated complex wherein their economic function combined with ruling power and with military power. This basic characteristic was pointed out by J.Halliday by the use of Shibagaki's quotation (Halliday, 1975:180):

The zaibatsu were, ... "monopolies of capital as such," and this monopoly position in finance and credit was the key element in the state-zaibatsu tie-up.

Under the Zaibatsu system, Japan's economy had been concentrated to a very high extent. Main parts of the whole economy had been dominated by six zaibatsu--the Mitsubishi, the Mitsui, the Sumitomo, the Fuyo, the Dai-Ichi Kangyo, and Sanwa group. Moreover, besides the six giant combines, seven other main groups⁶ had dominated almost all the economy.

Another important attribute of the Zaibatsu is that it can be regarded as an extension of kinship-type

relation which is very similar to Clan. First of all, there could be observed a conspicuous tendency of "a life time commitment" (Abegglen, 1958:11) to one company. Once a person obtains a job in a factory or a company, he would usually spend all his working period in the same factory or the company. The positions of workers were analogous to those of family members. Companies were charged with the welfare of workers. While workers vowed loyalty to a company, the company had full responsibility to secure workers and their family's life during the full term of their working career. This Japanese way of working, in contrast to a mobile North American way, was characterized by J.C. Abegglen as follows (Abegglen, 1958:43-44):

It has been seen that once employed a worker expects to remain indefinitely in the employ of the firm. He has been selected with some care, and once selected he is a permanent member of the firm until the end of his working career. In this system, once the worker has been selected, the company practically foregoes the right to find the worker incompetent... However, should the firm find him useless it cannot dismiss him but may only move him from job to job within the general category of his employment status until he is placed in a harmless and perhaps not useful position... In any event, once admitted into employment, employees of Japanese firms will not be fired on grounds of lack of ability.

The Japanese pre-war occupational structure can be understood on the extended line of the old Japanese family system. The hierarchical relationship which was a basic attribute of the pre-war Japanese family system, was applied to the economic sphere in a double structure. One hierarchy was dominant between a monolithic group--Zaibatsu --and its subsidiaries, or between a parent company and its branch offices or firms. Another hierarchical relationship was observed in the intra-structure of each company or firm itself in spite of its size. An immobile personnel based on the permanent employment developed a definite ranking system among workers in a company or a firm.

The unique situation which Japan experienced in her particular way to deal with social problems can be observed in relation to social welfare. In the pre-war Japanese society characterized by the old family system and the paternalistic occupational structure, social problems were dealt with at the level of these two sub-systems. During the rapid social changes which were brought by Japan's modernization over the one hundred years, Japan had faced social problems as other later modernized countries experienced. However, the Japanese way of

meeting social needs or dealing with social problems made quite a contrast with that of Western countries. The unique feature was found in the fact that all the social welfare provisions were affected by the occupational organizations, and sometimes to the old family system. First, besides the permanent and irrevocable membership of the labour sectors, hierarchical intra-company relationships functioned favourably to keep unemployment rates low. It often happened that a person who came to the retirement age was provided with another position in a related company or firm for several more years. Secondly, the occupational organization also played a main role in providing for not only business but also non-business activities such as "workers' personal finances, education of his children, religious activities, and the training of the worker's wife" (Abegglen, 1958:129). Large companies provided dormitories, including game rooms, dining rooms, laundries, and other facilities, and dormitories for holidays, supported the cost for public baths, supplied cheaper goods and services at company stores or barbershops, and ran company dental and medical centres. Moreover, athletic facilities, active clubs,

and company houses were provided by such companies. Even the allowances for commuting were supported (Abegglen, 1958:55-57).

As another illustration, here is an example for wages in detail which was researched by J.C. Abegglen.⁷ In the following list, it is shown that the old age problem, health problem and family support problem were taken in to consideration by various kinds of allowances (Abegglen, 1958:52):

Table 1-1

Example: monthly wages

Base pay	27.5% (based on age and education)
Work allowance	33.1% ⁸
Temporary allowance	24.8%
Age allowance	7.9% (salary paid based on age alone)
Family allowance	4.1%
Attendance allowance	2.9%
Miscellaneous ⁹ Deductions Overtime	

In this way, employment, health and family assistance, old age assistance, and part of education were dealt with by

each company. Until the end of the Second World War, this unique situation covering employee's whole activities has been retained.

At the beginning of the Meiji era when the Meiji political leaders realised that Japan urgently needed to develop the strength of a modern nation state, one of the traditional theories of Confucian scholars was adopted. That was a slogan which was originally advocated by Sakuma Shozan (1811-64) in seeking Wakon-Yosai (Eastern Ethics and Western Technology). It can be seen that the very idea of the slogan was embodied in a unique Japanese social structure characterized by the family system and the paternalistic occupational structure. J.C.Abegglen has observed that the Japanese paternalistic occupational structure is "the amalgam of a pre-industrial system of organization and Western technology" (Abegglen, 1958:141). Furthermore, Abegglen has described a main feature of Japanese occupational structure that it was "not a replication of the feudal loyalty, commitments, rewards, and methods of leadership, but a rephrasing of them in the setting of modern industry (1958:131)". This observation can be understood as one distinct example of what Sakuma

Shozan's idea, Wakon-Yosai reflects.

III The Emergence of Consciousness towards the Universal Social Welfare

Defeat in the Second World War was another epoch-making event just as the Meiji Restoration was for the social changes in Japanese society. As a result of the policies which were forced by the authority of the Occupation,¹⁰ old systems such as the Zaibatsu system and the old civil law came to be abolished, and Japan was again subjected to an effort towards modernization. The abolition of the old family law, along with the economic development, brought a Western-type of family system which is called "a nuclear family" system. The Zaibatsu system was also dissolved, because its enormous political, military, and financial influence was denounced by the Occupation as the driving force of Japan's militarism during the War. Modernization in educational institutions also has played a vital role to change Japanese society. The point which made those reforms distinct from the various reforms during the Meiji period was the fact that the traditional Confucian idea was denied. At this juncture, the influential concept of the Meiji era--Wakon Yosai--was rejected. Not only Western technology, but also the

Western way of thinking was, for the first time, taken into consideration. Hence, there came to develop, among people, a modern political, social consciousness that demands the right to protect their life against the government.

With regard to the main factors which fostered concern towards a comprehensive social welfare system, four drastic changes have been observed. They have been (Eguchi, 1966:17-18):

1. increase of the numbers of wage-earners during and post-Second World War,
2. the change of the particular characteristics ~~of~~ in the occupational organizations,
3. the change of the family system,
4. rising consciousness of community.

As for the first point, a rapid increase in the number of wage-earners developed, especially after 1955, whereupon Japan's industrial structure experienced a great change. The decade between 1950-1960 was called a period of a high degree of economic advancement and, to further this development, various economic changes were made with governmental support. Thus resulted not only industrial, but also social structural changes in both rural and urban areas. The introduction and application of modern

innovation in agriculture led to a reduction in the stability of the traditional Japanese rural structure which was based on a large extended family system. The new methods of agriculture also resulted in the creation of surplus agriculture labour, and led them to emigrate to the urban areas. These people flowing into urban areas became semi-skilled or non-skilled workers. During this decade, the number of wage-earners rose 8,350,000.¹¹

Owing to the increase of wage earners and to the modernization of industrial institutions, the paternalistic characteristics came to be forced to diminish in industrial organizations. Above all, the unique wage system, which was decided according to the length of an employee's working career, was destroyed. Social problems produced by the rapid social changes also came to be intensified to a degree beyond the coping capacity of the pre-war unique system which could be called a self-contained welfare system within each industrial organization. Besides these two phenomena, there came to develop a new public consciousness of social welfare as a necessary right.

Third, along with the abolition of the old family law, the extended family system came to be replaced by the

so-called nuclear family system. Consequently, the role of a universal social welfare system has come to be clarified. For example, the emerging nuclear family system tends not to be able to support the old parents. Here institutional welfare provisions are required to provide services which were previously carried out by family. Above all, the importance of the establishment of the old age security programme has been recognized.

Fourth, the recognition that the social problems had become too complex and serious to be dealt with by the capacity and the responsibility of each industrial institution, has forced people to demand from their own community or municipality a policy aimed at securing their rights. Along with the rising concern with pollution problems¹² in urban areas, and rising consciousness about environmental hygiene, this trend has developed into the creation of influential citizens' movements.¹³

Consequently, social welfare in both a conceptual and an institutional sense, came to be borrowed from those of the Western welfare-orientated countries. At the twenty-sixth assembly of the International Labour Organization in 1944, The Philadelphia Declaration has advocated

the establishment of social security guaranting^{ee} a basic income and comprehensive medical care. Japan adopted The International Human Rights Proclamation which was proposed at the General Assembly of the United Nations, in Paris in 1948. Article 25 of The International Human Rights Proclamation has advocated the basic idea of the social welfare as follows (The International Human Rights Proclamation, 1948:Article 25):

Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

The development of social welfare in Japan was taken into active consideration for the first time. This very situation has been stated by E.Eguchi in the following quotation (Eguchi, 1966:22):

In Japan, the social welfare was, for the first time, planned because of the post-war extreme poverty pervading among civil life, of a dominant mode of social anxiety which was brought by the poverty, and of the pressure from mushroomingly developing labour union organizations. It was planned after the model of the Western countries such as Britain.

(translated by the present writer)

As a result of the emerging consciousness

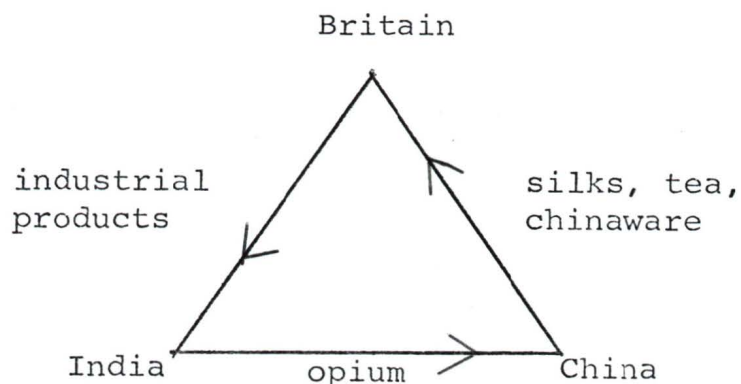
favouring the social welfare system in a national level, several social welfare statutes were established. The new Social Assistance Law was enacted in 1953. The Old Age Pension Law which proposed a comprehensive programme was enacted in 1959. The Children's Allowance, consisting of a tax exemption and of an allowance for the third and subsequent children of \$10.00 a month per eligible child, was adopted in 1972.

Under these circumstances, the notion of the state social welfare has come to be paid more and more attention in contemporary Japan. Henceforth, information on the social welfare provisions of the welfare state is required. The following two chapters are concerned with the basic notion of the social welfare in the so-called welfare states, and then with Canadian social welfare provisions, as an example embodying the basic idea of social welfare as developed in Western industrial societies.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER 1

1. See Banno Masataka, and Eto Shinkichi (1968), and Eto Shinkichi (1968).
2. The British trade with China started in the late 17th Century with the importation of silk and tea in exchange for silver. After the Battle of Plassey (Palasi) of 1757, Britain established its dominant position in India, and developed the triangle trade with India and China. Britain sold industrial products in India, brought China opium which was fostered in India through the British East India Company, imported silks, tea and chinaware from China through "Cohong" who were Chinese collective monopoly merchants. The importation of opium by China increased rapidly. During the year from 1820 to 1821, it numbered 4,244 chests of opium, and it increased up to 40,200 chests during the year from 1838-1839, which caused the Opium War (1839-1842). The Encyclopedia AMERICANA, 1975: 6 and 14. Collier's encyclopedia, 1968:12. Banno and Eto, 1968.

The Triangle Trade



3. See Appendix 1, regarding Japan's modern history.
4. In this regard, N.Bamba has pointed out that the case of Japan is not an exceptional case among other "late comers" to modernization. A strong aspiration towards Westernization could not eliminate tradition-orient-

ation from Japanese society. On the contrary, Japanese modern history clearly shows that the traditionalism sometimes had a vital power and influence for Japan's domestic and foreign policies. There has been observed conflicting two-powers--modernization-orientation and tradition-orientation. As one of the most conspicuous examples, a series of foreign policies of the 1920s, on which the conflict went to extremes in forcing Japan to commit herself in the route towards the Second World War has been illustrated.

5. Zaibatsu is a general term referring to industrial or financial combines. It can be considered as a modification of a cartel group. The great zaibatsu firms include Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo, and Yasuda. "In Japan, the major non-Western industrial nation, a high concentration of business activity developed somewhat differently. A small number of highly diversified and family-dominated combines, called zaibatsu, virtually controlled industry, trade, banking, and national economic policy. In any one industry there was likely to be more than one zaibatsu, but each competed with the other in only the most restrained fashion. An attempt was made at deconcentration after World War II; but the late 1950's and early 1960's old patterns of non-competitive behavior seemed to be reasserting themselves." (Encyclopedia AMERICANA, 1975:Vol.2 and 29:78).
6. They are referred to as Kozerns-- "mainly non-financial companies characterized by integrated operations, usually within a single industry or within several related industries." They were Nippon Steel, Toshiba-IHI, Hitachi, Toyota, Nissan, Matsushita, and Tokyu. (Halliday, 1975:273).
7. The data shown are rather old (1956), however, the basic structure of payment in Japanese labour sectors does not seem to have changed.
8. This is not clearly described, however, it may be one example showing the complicated Japanese pay system. See Abegglen, 1958:48-60.

9. For example, a "regional" allowance is paid in order to adjust for differences in living costs in the different locations. (Abegglen, 1958:51).
10. The allied occupation by the United States (August, 1945-April, 1952). "The U.S. exercised the most pervasive influence on Japanese policies, economy and society, and all phases of cultural and social life were affected by it." As the most successful of the occupation inspired reforms were the promulgation of a new constitution in 1947, and the land reform in 1945. (Lu, 1974:181).
11. See Appendix 3.
12. Regarding pollution problems, Ui Jun has reported that "certain key sectors of the economy built their post-war position not only on lower costs than their competitors, but also on their decision not to spend capital on anti-pollution and safety devices." (Ui, Theory of Kogai, in Halliday, 1975:280). For example, according to Ui's report, in the steel industry about thirty per cent of the total cost of the furnace has been saved by the neglect of safety devices. This has caused "a large number of people to be killed directly by industrial poisoning, and thousands of others maimed and crippled, many of them from birth." (Halliday, 1975:281). In 1963, one of the biggest explosion accident happened in the Miike coal mill, and also an accident on the National Railway killed a great number of people at a moment. (Eguchi, 1966: 22). The growing anti-pollution movements made the government to take some policies such as the adoption of the first National Comprehensive Development Programme (Zenso) which aimed to outline a plan for decentralizing industry and population, in 1965, then a revision of the 1965's programme as the New National Comprehensive Development Programme (Shinzenso) in 1969, and another revision in 1972.
13. See Community-Contemporary Spirit, 1973, March, regarding citizens' movements. As a successful example, the community movement in Maruyama area is well known. This movement was started in 1963 in the

Maruyama area, as an action against the municipal government's housing policies. By 1970, it had become a very influential movement with a great involvement by almost all of Maruyama residents. Eventually, the municipal government admitted the more participation by the residents, which opened a new democratic epoch for municipal politics.

CHAPTER 2

THE BASIC CONCEPTS OF THE WELFARE STATE

I. The Emergence of a Social Welfare State

The industrial revolution, originating in Britain in the nineteenth century, and traveling to other countries since then, has greatly changed the social structure. Owing mainly to the revolutionary advance of modern technology and transportation, large scale modern industrial institutions came to be founded and enlarged, while rural life-style took on urban characteristics.

Such rapid and drastic social change had not been experienced previously. Adjustment to their changes caused numerous social problems.¹ First of all, communal ties, or what may be called strong psychological relationship in neighbourhoods, were lost or weakened.² The form of labour required by advancing technology came to be specialized and functionally specific, compared to the more well rounded labour skills required in pre-modern industrial stages. The worker began to lose his individuality in the new system of enormous mass-production.³ In addition, rampant commercialism, which had arisen from a mass-consumer

economy, led to some very serious psychological problems.⁴

These newly emerged social problems, accompanied by economic and social change, were the main theme of the Chicago school and the mass society theories.⁵ First, the theory of mass society summarized three significant characteristics of social pathological facets of modern industrial societies, as follows (Suzuki, 1957:22):

1. the maladjustment phenomenon to change of the Value-Belief-System,⁶ and moreover, the problem of split personality produced by this maladjustment.
2. Impersonalized human relationships brought from qualitative change within groups, including organizations and institutions; in other words, brought from a universal trend towards bureaucratization.
3. Arrival of the mass-consumer society, where each member is forced to be an "equal and uniformed unit".

(translated by the present writer.)

Where the pace of social change exceeds the capacity of adjustment, social maladjustment in both financial and psychological senses, causes various kinds of social problems. Among these are poverty, sickness, crime, suicide, and broken homes. First of all, because of the incapacity of catching up with the new technology, unemployment becomes a serious problem. Also, more

sickness and accidents tend to happen in a more complicated labour system. Unemployment leads people to poverty, poorer living conditions. On the other hand, poverty and poor health hinder people from getting higher education or more skills. At the same time, such problems cause broken homes, crime, and psychological problems which have been discussed by Durkheim (1951) or De Grazia (1948).⁷ The social problems, according to Wilensky and Lebeaux (1965:Chart D), unemployment, old age, leisure time, city planning, family breakup, delinquency, crime, mental illness, accidents, physical illness and the like are brought into urban-industrial society. Moreover, these social problems are strongly linked to each other, and are functioning as a kind of vicious circle.⁸

The statement quoted above shows that a traditional community, which, by R.M.MacIver's definition, could be called a relatively self-sufficient integrated group,⁹ is breaking down. At the same time, newly emerging groups, as more modern organizations, are characterized by impersonal and uniform factors. Because of the different nature of traditional and emerging groups, mutual aid systems among the members seldom form

spontaneously within these groups after receiving the impact of modernization. While, after the loss of communal ties and strong kinship, new relationships are scarcely established to deal with social problems, though those problems are becoming more complex and serious. There comes the stage when social problems become so great that individuals in both urban and rural settings, seemed no longer able to cope with them psychologically. Hence, modern industrial societies began requiring welfare programmes.

Regarding the very phenomenon that changing social structures come to demand from the social welfare institutions, some theories have been made.

T.Parsons has defined a society as a social system characterized by a relative self-sufficiency. According to Parsons' theory, a society has been defined as an autonomous system consisting of four partial structures. They have been:

1. subgroups of various types, which are interconnected by relational norms.
2. roles of various types, with the larger system and within the subgroups, where each role system is connected with others through relational norm.

3. regulative norms governing subgroups and roles.
4. cultural values.

Besides a particular need for each different groups, Parsons has pointed out that there could be found four functional problems which have been universally experienced by all groups. Those have been:

1. pattern maintenance and tension management.
2. adaptation.
3. goal attainment.
4. integration.

To be brief, every unit of society, through the mechanism of "socialization," tries to maintain the certain pattern of each system, and solve emotional disturbances and distractions which occur in each unit of society. On the other hand, any social system as one sort of existing organism must adjust itself to its social and non-social environments. The economy especially is given a crucial role in society. Furthermore, every form of society seeks to attain some particular goals, which leads to the fourth function, integration within the members of the unit. In this way, society has been considered as a social synthesis of the four sub-structures and the four mechanisms.

Parsons has stressed autonomous capacity as a main universal characteristic of any social system.

He has stated

a society is relatively the most self-sufficient type of social system. (1966:2).

The core of a society, as a system, is the patterned normative order through which the life of a population is collectively organized. (1966:10).

Society's self-sufficiency is crucial because the autonomous attribute is a prerequisite of its continued existence.

to keep to "exist as an independent or distinctive entity," every system does to some extent solve problems, with a social norm or value makes some contribution toward meeting the "needs" of the system. (Johnson, 1961:52).

A society's self-sufficiency... involves its institutionalizing a sufficient range of cultural components to meet its societal exigencies tolerably well. (Parsons, 1966:17).

Here it may be understood that institutionalization comes to be required in modern industrial society as a solution to social problems caused by rapid economic and social change. The rapid economic and social change has widened life-dimension. The extended economy has required not only more residential mobility (geographical), but also

occupational mobility (classes). This highly mobile social structure makes it impossible for people to live with and take care of their aged parents.¹⁰

On the other hand, there have been manifested some statements explaining the historical process of the development of the social welfare concepts. In K.Polanyi's The Great Transformation it has been illustrated that the "social catastrophe" produced by the Industrial Revolution has come to require a "complete transformation" of society. The negative perspectives of industrial revolution-- "competition and conflict"--have resulted in the "social catastrophe". Polanyi has stated (1944:216):

The self-regulation of markets was gravely hampered. Eventually, unadjusted price and cost structures prolonged depressions, unadjusted equipment, retarded the liquidation of unprofitable investments, unadjusted price and income levels caused social tension.

H.L.Wilensky and C.N.Lebeaux have also made an assumption regarding the impact of industrialization on society. First, industrialization and urbanization, specifically the increasing degree of mobility and labour specialization, brought a drastic change in the kinship system.¹¹ Secondly, industrialization has produced specialization or stratification of labour sectors, growth

in the scale of organizations, atoms and automation as a by-product of the use of the new technology, widening of size and distribution of income, social mobility and labour protest, and the like, which has brought "a polarization of social classes and intensified conflict".

(1965:90-114). Where the strong solidarity existing previously in the kinships system or a labour unit came to be lessened, various problems such as support of old aged parents, divorce and broken homes, and juvenile delinquency tended to be more serious. Hence, the institutional services, in the place of kinship, came to be demanded to deal with these increasing social problems.

Wilensky and Lebeaux have summarized as follows (1958:84):

Coercive recruitment and painful transformation of peasant immigrants into urban-industrial workers; the insecurities of the factory system, the uncushioned impact of the dilution and obsolescence of skills; the dehumanization of work (whether through back-breaking labor or machine-paced, repetitive routine); class polarization; community disintegration--these decline as economic growth continues. A new welfare bureaucratic society emerges--more stable than its early forms suggest, richer and more varied than men had dreamed when they observed the harsh initial development.

In this circumstance, where industrialization and urbanization tend to break up social structures, and

to produce more complicated and serious social problems like "unemployment, old age problem, leisure time, city planning (Wilensky and Lebeaux, 1965:Chart D)," the social welfare services have come to develop. The newly requiring social welfare services range from "social insurance, health and medical services, family adjustment services, correctional services and the like (Wilensky and Lebeaux, 1965)."

With regard to the basic factors of the twentieth century welfare history, five factors have been pointed out. These have been (Briggs, 1961:252):

1. the basic transformation in the attitude towards poverty.
2. the detailed investigation of the "social contingencies".¹²
3. the close association between unemployment and welfare policy.
4. the development within market capitalism itself of "welfare" philosophies and practices.
5. The influence of working-class pressures on the content and tone of "welfare" legislation.

A welfare state, as G.Myrdal (1960) has stated, is still under development in the Western democratic nations. Today, in the process of establishing welfare states, the main

characteristics of a welfare state are regarded as the attempts to secure an individual's minimum income, to reduce the extent of social hazards, and an effort to practice equality in the two attempts above. A. Briggs has illustrated the concept of a welfare state based on those three principles as follows (1961:228):

A "welfare state" is a state in which organized power is deliberately used (through politics and administration) in an effort to modify the play of market forces in at least three directions-- first, by guaranteeing individuals and families a minimum income irrespective of the market value of their work or their property; second, by narrowing the extent of insecurity by enabling individuals and families to meet certain "social contingencies" (for example, sickness, old age and unemployment) which lead otherwise to individual and family crises; and third, by ensuring that all citizens without distinction of status or class are offered the best standards available in relation to a certain agreed range of social services.

II. The Conceptual Development of Social Welfare: The British case and the Canadian case

Britain is considered as the nation which attempted to establish comprehensive national social welfare systems for the first time. The Beveridge Report, presented in 1942, was the first significant attempt to deal realistically with widespread social problems, since the Poor Law of 1834. It was conceived under the shadow of

the Second World War which threatened further unemployment and disorganization. The main idea of the Report was stated in the following paragraph (Beveridge, 1942:6-7):

Social security must be achieved by co-operation between the State and the individual. The State should offer security for service and contribution. The State in organizing security should not stifle incentive, opportunity, responsibility in establishing a national minimum, it should leave room and encouragement for voluntary action by each individual to provide more than that minimum for himself and his family.

Sir William Beveridge strongly recommended a broader social security system, with total commitment by the nation. His system depended on active participation by the people and sufficient governmental aid and support. Unlike the old British system which did not go beyond the stage of offering charity to the poor, the new proposal suggested a consideration of the individual's abilities and potential. Local and national governments were expected to be responsible for the individual's civil life. The Report proposed the organization of minimum income standards and social insurance programmes. Individuals were categorized into six classes in the Report:

- (I) Employees,
- (II) Others gainfully occupied,
- (III) Housewives,

- (IV) Others of working age,
- (V) Before working age,
- (VI) Retired working age.

The involvement of national government was strongly stressed. Five basic programmes covering all the social problems were suggested. They were:

1. Social insurance
2. Public assistance
3. Children's allowances (now, family allowances)
4. Free health and rehabilitation services
5. Maintenance of full employment.

The Report stated as follows (Beveridge, 1942:120):

The term "social security" is used here to denote the securing of an income to take the place of earnings when they are interrupted by unemployment, sickness or accident, to provide for retirement through age, to provide against loss of support by the death of another person and to meet exceptional expenditures, such as those connected with birth, death and marriage. Primarily, social security means security of income should be associated with treatment designed to bring the interruption of earnings to an end as soon as possible.

The Beveridge Report can be evaluated as "the foundation of modern social welfare legislation of Great Britain and a model for other countries" (Friedlander and Apte, 1974:44), because it covers the civil life of the whole population, and also because of equal importance of the collaborate

system involving the three parties - individual, employers, and the State. The Beveridge Report was supported by Parliamentary legislation and national grants-in-aid. Encouragement and support by the government has made it a leading system in the field of social services.

Canada, also facing the fear of a "post-armament depression" (Cassidy, 1943:4), proposed a social welfare scheme. By the end of the Second World War, it was apparent that war had brought greater poverty and insecurity, though the war itself was in part reaction against these very problems. There was considerable anxiety about the social problems which were likely to emerge after the war. The reflection of this social milieu can be found in the statement by Cyril James, Principal of McGill University. Speaking in 1942, he said (Cassidy, 1943:4-5):

We are compelled therefore to look to the fact that there will inevitably be a post-war depression either immediately after the war or after a brief period of prosperity.

L.Marsh has argued that the depression of the nineteen thirties' produced a background for unemployment. It then led to all the hazards of life, which required the first and the greatest need of a modern industrial social

security programme. It was beyond the capabilities of many individuals to meet emerging social needs such as sickness, disability, widowhood, and loss of residence.

Canadian legislators, influenced by the Beveridge Report, stressed a solution by means of collective channels, "along with state control and participation" (Marsh, 1975:12). The dominant principle was conspicuously condensed in the following sentences (Marsh, 1975:9-10):

- (a) In modern economic life there are certain hazards and contingencies, which have to be met, some of them completely unpredictable, some of them uncertain as to time but in other ways reasonably to be anticipated. They may be met in hit-and-miss fashion by individual families or they may be met by forms of collective provision... these problems or needs are always present at some place in the community or among the population.
- (b) For a large proportion of the population, incomes are not sufficient to take care of these contingencies through their own resources... As one of the Rowell-Sirois reports has summed up the matter, "It is impossible to establish a wage which will allow every worker and his family to meet the heavy disabilities of serious illness, prolonged unemployment, accident and premature death. There are budget-shattering contingencies that strike most unevenly".

From this came the interpretation of social insurance, as "a much larger scale of the principle of pooling". The

individual whose economic stability is disrupted by unexpected contingencies is to be assisted by the combined resources of the community, including that of himself, until such time as he is able to do without social assistance. The Canadian social welfare provisions, their development and the present situation, will be further discussed in the following chapter.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER 2

1. W.J.Hayes and I.V.Shannon (1935:17): "Social disorganization is an abrupt break in the existing social arrangements or a serious alteration in the routine of group life causing maladjustment."
2. Elliott and Merrill (1941:581): "An ever-increasing number of persons living in the great cities have become completely deracinated, cut off from all stable primary ties. They have lost not only their physical home, but often their spiritual home as well. Social disorganization breeds in these unattached masses of the urban proletariat. They furnish willing nuclei for robbery, brigandage, and revolution."
J.L.Gillin (1939-410-1): "In the city we have a greater degree of disorganization in the sense in which we use term;" "... in simple and well-organized ties of country life..."
3. J.L.Gillin (1939:409): "(In the city) it is only the rebel, unable and unwilling to adjust himself to machine and organization, who retains personal independence... The farmer, conscious that he lives by his own thinking... responds to his environment with a feeling of independence--a normal response. The city worker has no keen perception of his dependence upon nature."
4. In a mass-consumer society, a great number of advertisements stimulate and produce among people the desire to purchase not only from necessity but also from the persuaded desire to consume new goods. This phenomenon has been described by I.L.Horowitz as "overdevelopment". Horowitz has summarized the characteristics of overdevelopment (1972:Xvi):

First, overdevelopment occurs when maximum levels of production are not achieved even though the plant capacity for full production is available. Second, overdevelopment results when the disparity between wealth and poverty grows, despite a constant in-

crease in the gross national product and in the overall accumulation of wealth. Third, overdevelopment occurs when conventional human skills available are outdistanced by technological advancements. Fourth, overdevelopment is therefore an excess ratio of industrial capacity to social utility, while underdevelopment refers to an excess number of social demands in relation to the available production and consumer outlets.

J.K.Galbraith has commented: "There is room, ...for the broad assumption - given the large and ever - growing variety of goods awaiting the consumer's attention - that wants have a sustained urgency. In any case, it can safely be concluded that more goods will satisfy more wants than fewer goods. And the assumption that goods are an important and even urgent things to provide stalks unchallenged behind, for have not goods always been important for relieving the privation of mankind?"(1969:136-7). "In summary, the industrial system has built into itself very comprehensively the need to regulate aggregate demand. Its advanced technology and high use of capital require planning. From this planned use of resources comes an ample production that allows a high level of savings. The techno-structure has strong inducements to keep these savings at a high level. These savings, if not offset, can lead to a serious and cumulative reduction in aggregate demand. The same advanced technology and high capital use, which forces the industrial firm to plan, makes it vulnerable to a fall in aggregate demand. The techno-structure is similarly vulnerable. So, effective regulation of such demand is imperative." (1967:222). T.Roszak (1969) and D.Bell (1973) have also argued this point.

5. See MacIver (1924), MacIver and Page (1949), Park, Burgess, and McKenzie (1925), Wirth (1938), Mills (1956), and Kornhauser (1959).

6. In other words, it can be defined as a chaotic situation of patterns of behaviour where the familiar daily life patterns have been broken, and new patterns have to be founded. Regarding this point, a theory of cultural lag has contributed information. Wilensky and Lebeaux (1965:342) discussed Ogburn's theory: "Culture has two parts: (1) material culture (machines, tools, artifacts) and (2) non-material or adaptive culture (ideas, knowledge, values, institutions). Social maladjustments stems from the fact that changes in material culture precede changes in non-material culture -- material culture changes at an exponential (ever-accelerating) rate while non-material culture lags behind. The mores and folkways and institutions fail to adapt to the ever-increasing pile of new inventions. Cultural lag, the argument holds, is due to many factors, but it is especially due to vested interests -- the interests of those who stand to lose their preferred position by use of the new inventions."
7. Regarding psychological problems, M. Seeman has characterized the concept of alienation by five facets (1959:783-791):
 1. powerlessness - the expectancy or probability held by the individual that his own behaviour cannot determine the occurrence of the outcomes, or reinforcements, he seeks.
 2. meaningless - a low expectancy that satisfactory predictions about future outcome of behaviour can be made.
 3. normlessness - (the situation in which there is a) high expectancy that socially unapproved behaviour are required to achieve given goals.
 4. isolation - the alienated in the isolation sense are those who, like the intellectual, assign low reward value to goals or beliefs that are typically highly valued in the given society.

5. self-estrangement - alienation as the degree of dependence of the given behaviour upon anticipated future rewards, (and it also) refers essentially to the inability of the individual to find self-rewarding - or in Dewy's phrase, self-consummatory - activities that engage him.
8. For example, though the poor recognize that the lack of education and lack of skills force them to remain in poverty and unemployment, they still cannot reach education because, for them, education is nothing but a luxury they cannot afford (D.A.Croll: 1971, D.Forcese and S.Richer: 1975, and R.M.Pike: 1970). Regarding this point, Forcese and Richer have stated (1975:133): "The educational system is not equally efficient in educating or developing the talents of persons of all social classes. That is, from existing conditions of inequality as manifest in economic strata, disadvantages are passed on across generations of Canadians with children heirs to their father's social status." As for another example of this vicious cycle, C.L.Boydell, C.H.Grindstaff, and P.C.Whitehead (1971) have pointed out that because of poor housing, poor sanitation, poor nutrition, and a host of anxieties or pressures that came from being poor, the poor lose health which leads them to unemployment.
9. MacIver and Page (1949:8-11, 291-296): "Wherever the members of any group, small or large, live together in such a way that they share not this or that particular interest, but basic conditions of a common life, we call that group a community. The mark of a community is that one's life may be lived wholly within it. The basic criterion of community, then, is that all of one's social relationships may be found within it."
10. T.Parsons has argued (1942:615-616): "Hence, when the children of a couple have become independent through marriage and occupational status the parental couple is left without attachment to any continuous kinship group." "That the financial difficulties of older people are in a very large proportion of cases real is not to be doubted. This, however, is at least to a very large extent a consequence rather than a

determinant of the structural situation. Except where it is fully taken care of by pension schemes, the income of older people is apt to be seriously reduced, but, even more important, the younger conjugal family usually does not feel an obligation to contribute to support of aged parents. Where as a matter of course both generations shared a common household, this problem did not exist."

11. Wilensky and Lebeaux have stated (1965:79-80): "With extended kin sliced away, with deep lifelong friendships outside the family thwarted by great mobility, a heavy load is put upon the small nuclear family. Confusion in the role of women, the strain between youth and parents - these add to the load. At the same time that the strain on family life increases, the economic and kinship pressures to stay married become weaker. The increased divorce rate and the shift in popular attitude from severe disapproval to mild disapproval of divorce are reflections of the basic changes in the kinship system, changes that come with rapid industrialization."
12. As for the "social contingencies," Briggs (1961:254) has pointed out unemployment as the most influential contingency. W.L.M.King (1942:114) admitted, as components of the social contingencies, unemployment, accident, the death of the breadwinner, ill health and old age.

CHAPTER 3

THE OUTLINE OF THE CANADIAN SOCIAL WELFARE SYSTEMS : AS AN EXAMPLE OF THAT OF THE WELFARE STATES

I The Basic Idea of Canadian Social Welfare Systems

The social welfare systems in Canada are principally a product of post-World War II. Prior to this time, there were only old age pension and provincial workmen's compensation ~~in force~~. The social welfare systems were stimulated by the impact of depression during and after the Second World War. The fear of the post-war depression led people to demand stronger protection against its effects upon them. Through the depression, there came a great awareness of the need to protect the individual's basic human rights. H.M.Cassidy has stated that the very effect of war on the initiation and development of a social welfare systems, was its only positive consequence: the welfare systems were, "only one aspect of a great social revolution". He has said (Cassidy, 1943:5-6):

It has been said frequently that the present war is only one aspect of a great social revolution that affects all countries. ...it is abundantly clear that military victory in itself is not going to bring domestic paradise to Canada or to any other of democratic countries. Unless they can provide for their citizens a large measure

of social security they will face at least, resumption in more acute form of the social struggles of the 1930's, with the ever-present possibility that these conflicts will lead to violence. Mass unemployment, privation, and frustration are conditions that are not compatible with peaceful change and the solution of the domestic troubles of Canada and her allies by the democratic process.

As is stated above, all countries involved in the war needed to establish a particular social situation where every citizen's life was controlled by the central political authority. Besides the fact that a war, in general, requires a great deal of sacrifice of most citizens, it seldom brings better social conditions to them. This led people to demand compensation for, and protection against the unemployment,¹ privation, and frustration, they experienced during the war and post-war disarmament. Another point can be made concerning the effect of the war on social welfare systems. National or collective social welfare forms were forced into effect as emergency war-legislation. A tradition of "collective" channels, to deal with various social problems, came to be widely accepted. The second point mentioned above, has been dealt with by G. Myrdal also. Myrdal has pointed out that the gradually developed tradition of national-level administration, encouraged by the Second

World War, has characterized the trend towards the welfare state in democratic-oriented countries. It has not been comprehensive nor deliberate, unlike the idea of collectivism in the U.S.S.R. and countries within its orbit. The molding milieu which fostered national-level administrations also promoted the basic idea of social welfare. Myrdal has said (Myrdal, 1960:45):

... it was the very growth of the amount of state intervention - most of the time entered upon ad hoc and often thought to be temporary in nature - which from time to time pressed upon the growing state the necessity for co-ordination, i.e. planning as I have defined the term. To the measures of state intervention we must now add those taken, not only by the provincial and municipal authorities which are within the formal structure of the state, but also by all the other organizations outside this structure. The development towards an increasing volume of interference in the markets by these organizations has raised the need for new state intervention and thus, not only directly, but also indirectly, immensely increased the total volume of interference in the markets and, consequently, the need for coordination.

In those circumstances, social welfare provisions were made necessary, which, in effect, formed the basis of the reconstruction of Canada. This trend was reflected in the declaration on October 9, 1942, by Mr. W.L.M. King (King, 1942:114):

The era of freedom will be achieved only as social security and human welfare become the main concern of men and nations... It is necessary that social security and human welfare should be expressed in definite terms... Of the kind of objectives I have in mind I would merely mention the following as a national minimum: useful employment for all who are willing to work, standards of nutrition and housing adequate to ensure the health of the whole population: social insurance against privations resulting from unemployment, accident, the death of the breadwinner, ill health and old age.

In King's comment, the basic areas of social welfare - income security, and health were clearly advocated.

II Outline of Development of Social Welfare in Canada

Canadian social welfare provisions, as American provisions are, can be conspicuously distinguished from those of other Western countries, in that they are administered by multiple governments--federal, provincial and municipal (Armitage, 1975:7,54). G.Myrdal has pointed out that the social welfare systems had not been established in comprehensive, well-arranged plans in any country.

The development of the Canadian social welfare systems are no exception. Conflicts, and overlaps have been found in the Canadian multiple-governed welfare systems. By the mid-1960s, the separate development of various social

welfare programmes, was replaced by a system in which social welfare was conveyed to provincial agencies (Armitage, 1975: 68).

In a strict sense, the social welfare programmes in Canada were considered practical only after the 1930s. Besides the rapid changes caused by the transition from rural to urban industrial society, the depression of the 1930s brought widespread unemployment, against which protection was required. "The first and the greatest need in a security programme designed for the modern industrial economy" (Marsh, 1975:7).

In the remainder of this section, the focus will be on an outline of the development of the Canadian social welfare systems, in six periods - pre-1930, 1930-1940, 1940-1950, 1950-1960, 1960-1970, and 1970-1974.²

pre-1930

- Limited municipal responsibility for the poor and indigent - responsibility assumed only for the sick, elderly, young, and women with dependent children: only after all the family financial resources have been exhausted: and only where local residence was clearly established.

- Custodial institutions for criminals, with some provision for the segregation of young offenders into reformatories. The Juvenile Delinquents Act, 1908.
- The Toronto Children's Aid Society, 1897. The Red Cross, 1896. The Victorian Order of Nurses, 1897, were major "voluntary" welfare organizations, by 1920. The Toronto Family Service Agency, 1914, the Canadian National Institute for the Blind, 1918, and the Canadian Council on Social Development, 1920, were also founded.
- An early form of Workmen's Compensation legislation, 1886.
- A mothers' allowance programme was introduced in Manitoba, 1916, then was transferred progressively to the provincial and federal governments.
- The first significant legislation by the federal government in the field of Veterans' aid was not introduced until 1920. Returned Soldiers Insurance, 1920, provided for veterans to obtain private retirement annuities to a value of \$5,000. The Soldiers Settlement Act, 1927, and War Veterans Allowances,

1930, offered assistance to veterans, their widows, and orphans.

- The Old Age Assistance Act, 1927, was the first federal-provincial shared-cost programme. Forty per cent of the cost was supported by the federal government.

1930-1940

The period of depression, and drought, which destroyed farms on the prairies. This caused a great number of people to rely on municipal relief, which led municipalities to bankruptcy or near bankruptcy. Consequently, the provinces increased their responsibilities.

- 1930-1935, legislation allowing federal funds to be used to provide relief was enacted.
- The Employment and Social Insurance Act was passed, 1935.
- The federal government appointed the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations (the Rowell-Sirois Commission) in 1937. The Commission investigated and reported on the development of the financial and economic basis in Canada since Confederation. The report was praised as, "a landmark in Canadian social

history" (Marsh, 1975:Introduction).

1940-1950

The period during which the foundations of the modern structure of Canadian social welfare institutions were created.

- The Report by the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relationships, 1940. "The Commission proposed a federal unemployment programme and a system of equalizing grants to poorer provinces, but that the general responsibility for welfare should remain provincial".
- The Committee on Health Insurance (Heagerty Committee) was appointed in 1942, proposing a full range of medical benefits: physician, dental, pharmaceutical, hospital, nursing, etc., with financing from provincial and federal governments.
- The House of Commons Advisory Committee Post-War Reconstruction Report, (the Marsh Report, 1943). Based on the British report on "Social Insurance and Allied Services" of 1942 (the Beveridge Report), the Marsh Report proposed a comprehensive set of income security programmes designed to protect national

minimums.

- The Dominion-Provincial Conference on Reconstruction, Proposals of the Government of Canada, (the Green Book Proposals) in 1945. The federal government started to formally establish the general conditions of high employment and income policies. The result was the establishment of general objectives for the Canadian social welfare policy, and ratification of some specific legislation, including:

- (a) The Unemployment Insurance Act, 1940.
- (b) The establishment of the National Employment Service (the forerunner of the Department of Manpower), 1941.
- (c) Legislation (1944) and introduction (1945) of the Universal Family Allowance Programme.
- (d) The National Housing Act, 1944. The establishment of the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 1946.
- (e) Provisions of health insurance in some provinces. For example, Hospital Insurance Acts in Saskatchewan, 1947, and in British Columbia, 1949. There were no federal health insurance acts, yet.

1950-1960

The period of incremental extension in Canadian social welfare legislation.

- A substantial revision in income security provisions for the elderly and incapacitated. The Old Age Assistance Act, 1951. The Blind Persons Act, 1951. An extension of those federal cost-shared programmes to the permanently disabled through the Disabled Persons Act, 1955.
- The passing of the Unemployment Assistance Act by the federal government with agreement to furnish fifty per cent of the costs for provincial social assistance payments, in 1955.
- The passing of the federal Hospital Insurance Act, whereby costs of provincial hospital insurance programmes were shared by the federal government.

1960-1970

The period in which more substantial actions were taken. By the end of the decade, all the objectives of the 1940s except for that of Housing were legislated. New action on poverty problems was begun. "Finally, the issue of responsibility for social welfare was re-opened during the series of federal-provincial conferences that followed Quebec's quiet revolution."

- The Royal Commission on Health Services (the Hall Commission) was appointed, 1961. The medical care insurance programme in Saskatchewan, effective from 1962, was the first universal governmental programme of this kind in North America. The federal Medical Service Act came into effect, in 1968.
- The Royal Commission on Taxation (the Carter Commission) was appointed in 1962. The Commission's proposals came to foster a government White Paper, "Proposals for Tax Reform," 1969, (the Benson Proposals). Some of the proposals were introduced in 1971, and came into effect in 1972, as revised income tax.
- Substantial revision in provisions for the elderly and incapacitated. The Canada Pension Plan, and the Old Age Security-Guaranteed Income Supplement programme were introduced in 1966.
- The extension of the Canada Assistance Plan with financing by the federal and provincial governments shared.
- The "War on Poverty," began in the United States in 1964, came to influence Canadian social welfare

programmes. The need for a current study on poverty in Canada was admitted. Consequently, the Special Senate Committee on Poverty (the Croll Committee) was appointed in 1968.

- The federal proposals on income security and social services, 1969.

1970-1974

- Provincial jurisdiction over social welfare has been increasing due to constitutional review. The Ministers of Welfare established the terms of reference of task force in 1973, based on the federal Working Paper on Social Security in Canada.
- Income security and the extent of work opportunities were studied. The coverage of unemployment insurance was extended in 1971. The publishing of a set of federal proposals: Income Security for Canadians. Opportunities for Youth, 1971, and the Local Initiative Programmes, 1972, were produced as new forms of work opportunity programmes. The Working Paper on Social Security in Canada was published in 1973.
- "Finally, at the provincial level, a substantial re-design of personal and community social services is

being undertaken." Influenced by the British Seebohm Report, 1968, Quebec set a provincial act in 1971 and British Columbia followed in 1974, in order to create new patterns of integration and community responsiveness.

III Poverty in Canada

It has been stated by the Special Senate Committee on Canada, appointed in 1968 with D.A.Croll as chairman, that economic development had not simply brought people improved living standards. On the contrary, the Commission went on, poverty still prevailed in Canadian society. The Report has said (Croll and Others, 1971:Foreword):

(It is) fallacious to believe that economic growth could, in time, "solve" poverty. The evidence produced before the Committee showed that in the 1950s and 1960s (when Canada enjoyed great economic expansion), in absolute terms poverty in Canada increased at the same time and at a similar rate.

For the first step to grasp the poverty situation, the Committee suggested six items as indices of poverty. Three were generally concrete and three more abstract, in contemporary sense of poverty.³ They have been (Croll, 1971:2):

1. income
2. assets

3. basic services
4. self-respect
5. opportunities for education, and social mobility
6. participation in many forms of decision-making.

In 1968, when the Special Senate Committee was appointed, the fifth Annual Review of the Economic Council of Canada stated that one-fifth of all Canadians lived in poverty (Armitage, 1975:219). In 1970, I.Adams claimed there to be more than 6,000,000 Canadians among the poor: this represents approximately one-third of the total population of Canada (Adams, 1970:142). Furthermore, in the report by Adams and others, statistics showed that the average family in the poorest fifth received only thirty per cent of the national average income, while the most affluent fifth of families in Canada received twice the national average income (Adams, Cameron, Hill and Penz, 1971:18).⁴

The poor are categorized by D.A.Croll in four types (1971:24-34):

- (a) the working poor
- (b) the welfare poor
- (c) the rural poor

(d) minorities

The first type, the working poor, are usually outside of the fold of organized labour unions and thus suffer from low-wage or poor working and living conditions, contrary to a widely pervaded myth that the poor are too lazy to work. The majority of the second type are those who have no alternative means of support. A survey in 1970 has shown the components of welfare recipients as follows (Croll, 1971:31):

Table 3-1
The Components of Welfare Recipients

Category	Per Cent	Number
Aged (not all over 65 years)	9	59,580
Permanently disabled or ill	41	271,420
Female heads of families	26	171,120
Temporarily disabled	8	52,960
Some working poor	3	19,860
Unemployed	13	86,060
Total	100	662,000

The third type, the rural poor, numbered approximately 100,000 farm families in 1969. Their poverty was a result

of difficulties in shifting to new locations or to new occupations. In addition, 572,000 Indians and Métis were included in the count as rural non-farm poor. The fourth type, minorities, consists of Indians, Eskimos, Negroes, Chinese, Japanese, Doukhobors, and Hutterites. Their numbers and major locations were shown as follows (Davis and Krauter, 1971:1):

Table 3-2

The Distribution of the Non-White Minorities

<u>Numbers and location of the non-white minorities</u>	
Indians and Métis	230,000 registered Indians 60,000 Métis
Eskimos	15,000 8,000 in Northwest Territories 3,000 in Quebec 1,000 in Labrador
Negroes	32,000 in Halifax, Montreal, Windsor, and Vancouver
Chinese	58,000 in the West
Japanese	29,000 in the West

As has been outlined in the studies described above, the poverty problem now appears to be serious in Canada. On account of "spotty and uneven development through the country," Cassidy has stated, "perhaps a third of the

Canadian people were undernourished because of the inadequate income; there was a great deal of preventable death and illness; bad housing was common in city and country; and there was far too much crime and delinquency. These evil social conditions derive only in part from defects of the social services" (Cassidy, 1943:182-183). Henceforth, studies on poverty forced the reconsideration of welfare provisions and encouraged creation of more comprehensive programmes.

IV The Present Situation of Canadian Social Welfare Provisions

Canadian social welfare provisions have developed differently in each province or municipality, then have experienced the impact of federal programmes. After the mid-1960s, the decentralized multiple power system, gave way to a trend towards federal to provincial government flow of influence (Armitage, 1975:68). The present systems are known as the income security programme. The basic idea is to embody equal and just conditions for all citizens (Armitage, 1975:111):

Income security has been, and remains, a central feature of the social welfare institution. From a value perspective, income security is directly related to the important ideals of equality and

social justice. From a definitional perspective, social welfare is defined in terms of a redistributive transfer of income or of services.

In 1973, the Working Paper on Social Security in Canada was proposed. Its aim was to suggest some guiding principles.

The paper recommended (1973:17):

First, the social security system must assure to people who cannot work, the aged, the blind and the disabled, a compassionate and equitable guaranteed income.

Second, the social security system as it applies to people who can work must contain incentives to work and a greater emphasis on the need to get people who are on social aid back to work.

Third, a fair and just relationship must be maintained between the income of people who are working at, or near, the minimum wage, the guaranteed incomes assured to people who cannot work, and the allowances paid to those who can work but are unemployed.

The second and the third points of the Working Paper are concerned with a discussion on the balance between the guarantee of citizen's income security at any contingency, and motivation to continue working. Thus, the poverty line set as a minimum living standard came about.⁵

Table 3-3
Poverty Line

Family Size	--Senate Committee Poverty Line--	
	1969	1974
1.	\$2,140	\$2,780
2.	\$3,570	\$4,620
3.	\$4,290	\$5,570
4.	\$5,000	\$6,470
5.	\$5,710	\$7,400
6.	\$6,430	\$8,340
7.	\$7,140	\$9,240
10.	\$9,290	\$12,030

Source: Special Senate Committee on Poverty,
"Poverty in Canada," Ottawa, 1973, p.8.
1974 figures adjusted using Consumer Price
Index for April 1974 and April 1969.
(in A.Armitage, p.118)

Based on the standard calculated from the Poverty Line, six billion dollars are spent for welfare every year (Croll, 1971:Foreword). With increased attention on the necessity of social welfare provisions, the federal government has come to allot the larger proportion of welfare expenditure. The transition in the last ten years, welfare expenditure was calculated as follows:

Table 3-4

Expenditure for Social Welfare in Canada (Federal)

Fiscal year ended March	Health and Welfare		Educational		Total Expenditure per year
	-----	-----	in millions of dollars		
1965	1,824	25.27%	28	0.39%	7,218
1966	1,786	23.09%	29	0.37%	7,735
1967	1,994	22.66%	90	1.02%	8,798
1968	2,154	21.82%	114	1.15%	9,871
1969	2,378	22.09%	287	2.67%	10,767
1970	2,734	22.92%	315	2.64%	11,931
1971	3,191	24.21%	463	3.51%	13,182
1972	3,633	24.48%	561	3.78%	14,841
1973	3,789	23.50%	588	3.65%	16,121
1974	5,674	28.31%	617	3.08%	20,040

Percentage figures mean the ratios to the total expenditures per year.

The total Canadian income security consists of:

(a) cash programmes; (b) goods or service programmes; and (c) employment related measures. In addition to those, it also includes: (d) enforced dependency measures; (e) "fiscal" welfare measures; and (f) "occupational" welfare measures, made accessible to the employer (Armitage, 1975:114-115). The components for each of the items are as follows:

- (a) Old Age Security, Old Age Security-Guaranteed Income Supplement, Family and Youth Allowances, Canada Pension Plan (with Provincial Assistance Plans), Assistance for Indians and Eskimos.
- (b) Hospital Insurance, Medicare, National Housing Act--low income housing provisions, Vocational Training Programmes, Legal Aid, Education.
- (c) Full Employment Policies, Regional Economic Expansion Programmes, Local Initiatives Programmes, Opportunities for Youth, Minimum Wage Legislation.
- (d) Wives and Children's Maintenance Acts, Unmarried Mothers Acts.
- (e) Personal Exemptions, Child Care Expense Exemption, Medical and Charitable Expense Exemptions.
- (f) Sports and Recreational Facilities, Housing, Pension and Insurance Plans, Transport, Cars, Expense Accounts, Tenured Employment Statuses (amounting to a guaranteed income).

Among the above, the first group is the most influential of the provisions. A brief review of the first group should be regarded. All the programmes except for Workmen's Compensation and Social Assistance, are run by the federal government. Workmen's Compensation is under the jurisdiction of provincial governments. On the other hand, Social Assistance is supervised by both provincial and federal levels. Family Allowances (1945-) and Old Age Security (1952-) are comprehensive in coverage, as a form of demogrants of the income security technique. The Old Age Security-Guaranteed Income Supplement (1964-), which was introduced as an income supplement, depends on the application and completion of an income declaration. The Canada Pension Plan is administered by the Department of National Health and Welfare. In Quebec, the Quebec Pension Plan is run by both the federal and Quebec provincial governments. In the two plans, the benefits level is based on the contributions level, or number of years in which contributions were paid. Unemployment Insurance (1940-) is administered by a semi-independent body which reports to the Minister of Labour of the federal government. The fund is based on contributions from wage and salary earners, employers, and the

federal treasury. In this programme, there is a limitation of the social insurance approach to income security.

"Beyond a certain point, the programme becomes controversial and begins to stigmatize its beneficiaries."

(Armitage, 1975:132). The earliest form of income security programme, Workmen's Compensation, is administered by semi-independent commissions, as is Unemployment Insurance. The coverage range varies widely from province to province. Social Assistance is the responsibility of provincial governments, consequently benefit level varies widely over provinces. This programme is criticized as "the contemporary inheritor of the Poor Law, Relief, Dole, tradition of income security" (Armitage, 1975:133) because of the severe stigma and negative attitudes which forced recipients to have alienated attitudes and life styles. The Income Security for Canadians report (1970) has commented on this point (1970:28):

...social assistance will probably remain the least acceptable type of income security payment. Because of this, income security policy should try to minimize the extent to which social assistance is used. Through the development of the guaranteed income, and social insurance programmes, reliance on social assistance will be gradually reduced.

There are also various proposals presently under consideration which attempt to establish more comprehensive social welfare schemes. The major suggestions were the Report of the Special Senate Committee on Poverty, 1971, the Real Poverty Report, 1971, by I.Adams, P.Cameron, B.Hill, and W.C.Penz, the Castonquay-Nepveu Report, 1971, by the Commission of Inquiry on Health and Social Welfare in Quebec, the Working Paper on Social Security in Canada, 1973, and Social Security for Canada, 1973, by the Canadian Council on Social Development. The five proposals share common features in various points.⁶ First, they try to introduce a new, additional level of income security programmes which would provide comprehensive subsidies to the working poor, and would also provide an income guaranteed to the unemployable. Second, while most existing programmes would be retained, the Old Age Security-Guaranteed Income Supplement and Social Assistance would be replaced by the new income guarantee programmes, so that the stigma could be reduced. Third, work incentives and opportunities are considered. Fourth, occupational and fiscal welfare are not under discussion. Fifth, the minimum wage is considered as a passing reference, it is

not given special attention. Sixth, housing is also treated merely as a passing reference, though the problem is widely admitted as serious and difficult to solve. Seventh, they pointed out the lack of comprehensive delivery system integration. A multiplicity of separate branches for individual programmes, and inter-departmental or inter-governmental competitiveness prevent people from receiving an improved living standard. Eighth, constitutional discussion is stressed. Through federal-provincial disputes, changes in income security policy will be deliberated and decided. Finally, there is uncertainty as to income goals. Except for the Real Poverty Report, a specific goal is not declared clearly, though it focusses on the concern of income security.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER 3

1. See Appendix 8, regarding unemployment rate from 1954 to 1974.
2. Chronicle events are quoted from Armitage (1975:213-220).
3. The new concept of poverty was discussed by W.G.Runciman (1966) or P.Townsend (1970). Runciman or Townsend mentioned that poverty should be assessed in a contemporary sense, by use of concept of "relative deprivation". The classic measurement of poverty, income, cannot function in interpreting the fact that social stratification has existed and accelerated both in a poor country and in a rich country. A person in an advanced country can obtain a more modernized living standard or can have more annual income as the result of industrialization or any other economic development. Such an increased standard or income may be assessed as higher with a comparison of those of a person in a developing country, however, he may still feel as the poor when he compares himself with another member of the society. Townsend pointed out that (1970:45): "poverty is not just a lack of resources required to live a normal life, it is lack of resources in fact used, and felt to be highly used, by the rich".
4. See Appendix 7.
5. There are no single authorized set of poverty line. See Chapter 4, Table 4-1 and Note 2.
6. The following points are from Armitage (1975:137-144).

CHAPTER 4

COMPARISONS IN THE CANADIAN CASE AND THE JAPANESE CASE

As it has been mentioned in Chapter One, due to the break up of the old filial family system and to emerging consciousness to demand a given right, Japanese social welfare provisions were started recently, and are still developing. The backwardness of Japanese social welfare provisions is now a topic of discussion. According to the survey by the I.L.O. in 1964, it is clearly shown that the Japanese standard lags behind by twenty-four years British, West Germany, or Swedish standards (Koyama and Saguchi, 1975:239).

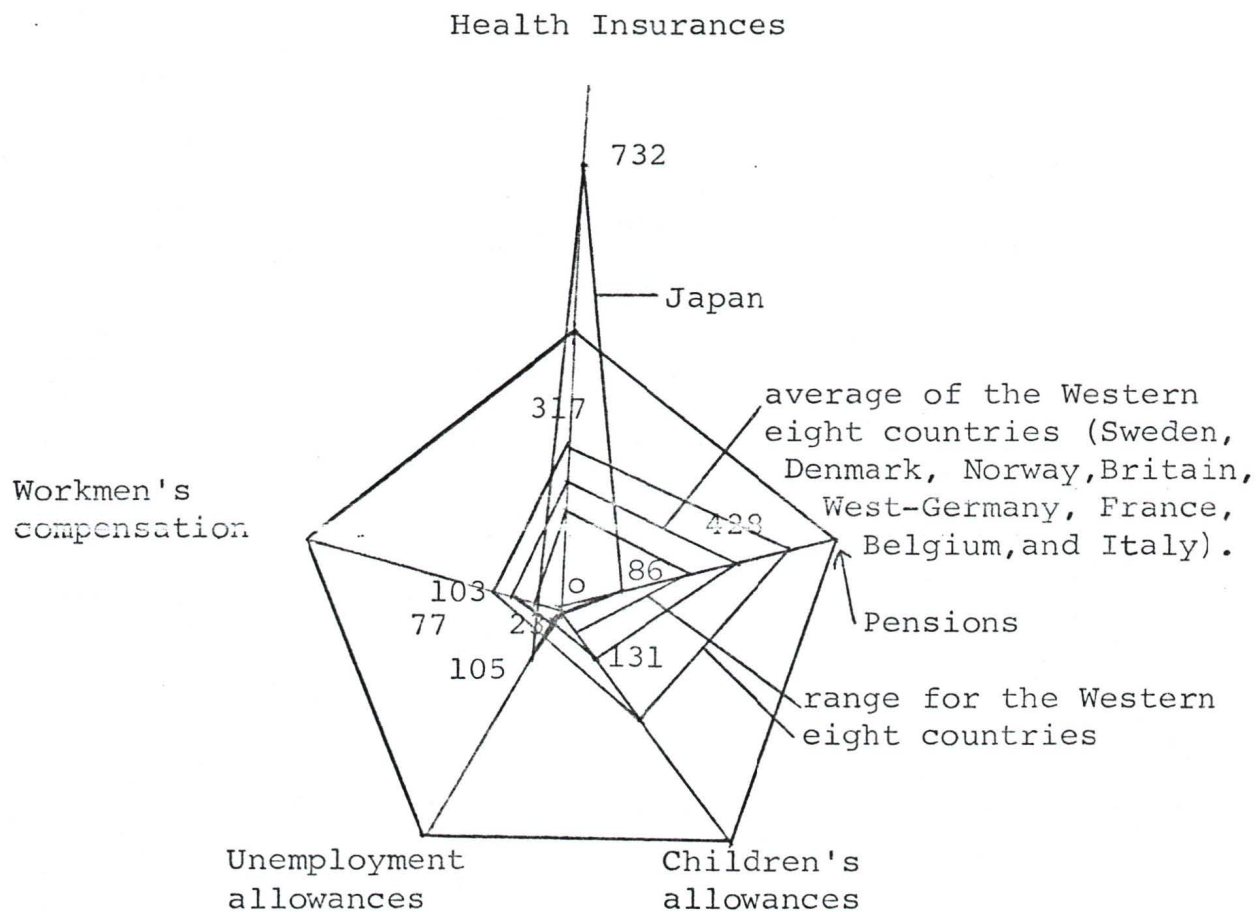
As a way of conclusion of this paper, three cardinal areas of social welfare systems; income security, health, and child welfare will be focused on in Canada and Japan. Through the comparison of these specific areas, the attempt to portray the actual weakness of the Japanese social welfare system will be made.

In the international context, Japanese social welfare structure is quite distinct from those of Western welfare states. As the following chart shows, the average

expenditures for each welfare area of eight major welfare states (Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Britain, West Germany, France, Belgium and Italy) is allotted with emphasis on pensions and health insurance. While the rates of expenditures on pensions and health insurance were 428 and 317, the rates on other three areas, children's allowances, workmen's compensation, and unemployment allowances were 131, 103, and 23. On the other hand, in Japan great stress is put on health care while other areas are lagging behind. The rates of expenditures on each area were: health insurance, 732; unemployment allowance, 105; pensions, 86; and workmen's compensation, 77. The area of child welfare has been long neglected, and was just started in recent years (Koyama and Saguchi, 1975:64).

Chart 4-1

Comparison of Components of the Social Security, 1966.



Source: I.L.O., The Cost of Social Security, 1972.

Numbers are relative figures.

I Income Security

Industrialization requires new technology and labour specialization. This process produces a great amount of unskilled workers when they cannot adjust themselves to a rapid change of technology. Where industry and transportation are advancing with a high speed, accidents or death are also increasing. People in a modern industrial society expose themselves to several kinds of danger which may destroy their lives at a moment. Marsh¹ has called these dangers "contingencies" consisting of "the heavy disabilities of serious illness, prolonged unemployment, accident, and premature death." (1975:10). These contingencies strike individual or family at any time, and furthermore, they are beyond the capacity of many individuals or families to deal with. Hence, it can be considered that the basic income above all should be secured by the national level provisions as the most basic social welfare service.

CANADA

Income security is considered the most important field of the social welfare system in Canada. The Canadian social security system, in fact, includes the following five categories:

1. Tax system
2. Direct financial assistance
 - Social Assistance
 - Old Age Assistance
3. Social Insurance programmes
 - Unemployment
 - Canada Pension Plan
4. Manpower and Employment programmes
5. Other services

Regarding the tax system, there are three widely known poverty lines suggested as the minimum standard of income which should be secured. They are the poverty lines by Statistics Canada of 1961, that of the Canadian Council on Social Development of 1973, and that of the Special Senate Committee on Poverty of 1969. The most recent suggestion among the three has been figured as follows (Ross, 1975:10):²

Table 4-1

The Poverty Line, Jan.1, 1975, by the
Canadian Council on Social Development

<u>Family Size</u>	<u>Poverty Line</u>
1	\$ 3,012
2	5,020
3	6,024
4	7,028
5	8,032
6	9,036
.	
.	
10	13,052

Source: Family income is reported for 1973 in Statistics Canada, Income Distributions by Size in Canada, 1973.

Those incomes listed above are regarded as minimum, then theoretically speaking, the tax system is specified to guarantee at least this minimum level of income. However, the present tax system is unfavourable to low-income families.

Table 4-2

Tax Proportion, 1961
(Task Force Social Security for Canada
1973:Table II)

Family Income	Total taxes, all levels (Federal, Provincial)
Under \$2,000	60.0%
\$2,000-2,999	32.9%
\$3,000-3,999	32.2%
\$4,000-4,999	30.5%
\$5,000-6,999	32.8%
\$7,000-9,999	34.2%
\$10,000 and over	38.4%

As it is clearly shown in Table 4-2, the present tax system is most favourable to middle-income families. The real tax paid by a family with income under \$2,000 corresponds to sixty per cent of all their income, which amounts to approximately twice as much as that paid by a family within income between \$4,000 and \$4,999. This present bias is a reflection of the fact, as it has been often pointed out, that the social welfare provisions are functionary with the most availability for the middle class. Accessibility to social welfare benefits for the poor needs to be taken into consideration. The Canadian Council on Social Development

has emphasized this shortcoming in social welfare in the following statement (Task Force Social Security for Canada, 1973:99):

Most service programs appear to be designed by middle-class planners who quite naturally assume that the poor have the same value, habits and resources they do themselves. In fact, one is almost led to believe, after examining some of the service programs, that anti-poverty programs are designed of, by and for the non-poor. For example: manpower training programs assume that trainees already have a fairly high level of formal education; housing policies assume that potential buyers have savings and steady employment; legal aid programs assume that people fully understand their rights and are willing to stand up for them; and health programs assume that individuals have no child-care or transportation problems.

As for direct financial assistance, the Canada Assistance Plan is concerned with widely ranged social assistance. Another programme, financial assistance to the aged, is provided by the Old Age Security Pension. The Old Age Security Pension was started in 1966 with a \$40.00 monthly allowance for those over age 70, as a universal programme, and was revised in 1970 by which those aged over 65 came to be eligible to receive the pension. In 1973, a \$100.00 monthly pension was proposed. In addition to the Old Age Security Pension, a Guaranteed Income Supplement was enforced in 1967, with a means test.

Twenty-seven per cent of the aged people over 65 received the supplement in 1972.

Social insurances are provided in three specific insurances: unemployment insurance, the Canada Pension Plan, and Workmen's Compensation. As for unemployment insurance, in 1971, a maximum benefit of \$53.00 a week was supplied with such restrictions as only being available to people who had contributed to unemployment insurance for at least thirty weeks in the preceeding two-year period. The federal government allotted \$900 million to unemployment insurance out of the total of \$2 billion for social welfare expenditures (Task Force Social Security for Canada, 1973: 39-44). The Canada Pension Plan is financially based on contributions from employee and employer. One is a payroll tax and another is an earnings tax. Initially, for each tax, 1.8 per cent of an employee's earnings between \$600.00 a year and a ceiling of \$5,000.00, is levied. For the self-employed, a 3.6 per cent of earnings tax is levied (Bryden, 1974:209). The real ratio of tax paid out of gross annual incomes are as follows (Bryden, 1974:209-210):

Table 4-3

Canada Pension Plan Earnings Tax
(before 1974)

Gross Annual Income	Net % Paid in Tax
\$2,000	1.25
\$3,000	1.28
\$5,000	1.34
\$7,000	0.91
\$10,000	0.60
\$15,000	0.33
\$20,000	0.23

The programme functions favouring middle-income or high-income families as illustrated by the data in Table 4-3. In 1971, \$60.00 a month, as the maximum, was supplied for retirement (Task Force Social Security for Canada, 1973: 44-47). Workmen's compensation in Canada, unlike British or American histories, was started with a fairly clear idea as a given right in 1914 in Ontario. The first form of workmen's compensation in Ontario secured the right of the injured person to be provided with full medical care, and recently expanded the range of compensation to the substantial rehabilitation services, and benefits to compensate for loss of wages at rates which recognize dependents and

are based on previous earning records. At present 75 per cent of average earnings is provided, and the public share of the cost was \$141,604,000 in the year between 1965 and 1966 (Jenkins, 1969:119). The range of real benefits is wide, depending upon each province.

Concerning manpower and employment programmes, there are six specific policies stressed:

1. job placement
2. adult training based on the Adult Occupation Training Act of 1967.
3. assistance for migration
4. regional economic exemption
5. specification of minimum wages (in each province)
6. increase of work opportunities.

Furthermore, as the last category of income security, education, health, housing, law and legal aid, child day care, and home worker services are taken into consideration.

JAPAN

Japanese income security provisions consist of tax, pensions, unemployment and manpower policies, workmen's compensation, and public assistance. As for the

tax system, the negative income tax system is under consideration.

The present pension systems are very complicated. Mainly it is covered by eight pensions.

1. the National Pension since 1959 国民年金
2. the Public Welfare Insurance since 1944 厚生年金保險
3. the Seamen's Pension and Insurance since 1940 船員保險
4. the Pension for workers in agriculture, forestry and fishery since 1959 農林漁業団体職員共済組合
5. the Pension for teachers and faculties of private schools since 1954 私立学校教職員共済組合
6. the Pension for the public officials since 1949 国家公務員共済組合
7. the Pension for workers of semi-public organizations since 1956 公共企業職員等共済組合
8. the Pension for public officials - local and municipal 地方公務員共済組合

In addition, there are five smaller pension schemes in existence. The fifth and the seventh pensions became separate from the Public Welfare Insurance in recent years. Among these eight major and five additional pensions, the National Pension and the Public Welfare Insurance provide 90 per cent of all the pensions. Japanese pension systems are still based on a means test. Each of these various

pensions have a different old age pension scheme, which results in different levels of benefits. Due to pressing circumstances that the age distribution is in a rapid transition towards being highly weighted in the old age categories, it is necessary to improve this fragmentation of pensions. In 1969, as a benefit 60 per cent of the average wages was proposed to be implemented. At present, after twenty years' service, pensions offer 40 per cent of the average wage of the last three years, plus 1.5 per cent per year over the twenty-year period, to a maximum of 70 per cent of salary at retirement (Woodsworth, 1975:21). The Old Age Pension, as a part of the National Pension covers the aged over seventy who are not categorized in any other pension. The incomes of the eligible person's spouse or financial supporters are taken into account when deciding the level of pension benefits to be given.

These Japanese pension systems have two shortcomings. First, owing to its complex fragmentation, there are some people uncovered by any pension. Secondly, the costs borne by national aid are ranged widely. For instance, the national share cost of the Public Welfare Insurance is 20 per cent, while that of the Pension for public officials

is 29 per cent (Koyama and Saguchi, 1975:120).

With respect to unemployment and manpower policies, the Employment Insurance (雇用保険) was started in 1974, consisting of unemployment allowances, enlargement of employment opportunities, adult occupation training, and workmen's welfare. The unemployment allowances provide 60 per cent of the day-wage, and for seasonal workers, a special allowance which corresponds to fifty days wages. The ratio of the national cost share for contributions is five to eight. The consideration of unemployment was started with the Occupation Introduction Act of 1921, which provided for the sending back of the unemployed to rural areas. The national government undertook special construction projects in 1932, which absorbed 7,000-8,000 unemployed. In 1936, the Retirement Pension Plan was passed as a substitute of unemployment insurance. The economic development in the late 1940s allowed for the passing of the Occupation-Stabilization Act, Unemployment Insurance Act (both in 1947) and the Urgent Unemployment Policy Act in 1949. However, all these acts functioned to make unemployed labourers relocate into the smaller companies or firms with poorer working conditions. It was criticism against these

policies that stimulated the passing of the Employment Insurance in 1974.

Workmen's compensation is universal but based on an individual's contribution. Besides medical cost coverage, compensation for work days lost for medicare or rehabilitation is provided for at the level of 60 per cent of the day's wage. The workmen's compensation is graded in fourteen categories, and each category's benefits are less than adequate. The compensation contains some benefits for widow and dependents.

Public assistance was started in 1937 for the purpose of compensation for the military. In 1941, the national government granted the importance of health care and proposed assistance for health care. However, these considerations never went further than having the characteristics of doles rather than given rights. In the New Guidance for Public Assistance published in 1945 as one of the reforms of the Occupation, for the first time, social assistance as a given right to individuals was admitted. The New Guidance for Public Assistance advocated equal assistance, securing minimum standard of civil life, and some additional aids. One of the most serious problems

is stigma. There has been a strong stigma attached to social assistance because social assistance has not for long been respected as a right. The Asahi Case which was brought as a suit against the Nation in 1957, made an attempt to change this misunderstanding and mistreatment of social assistance. The real efficiency of social assistance was 12.4 per 1,000 people in 1973. Along with the shortcomings of stigma, there is also the need to improve the availability of social assistance.

Normally, in a well-designed social security system, one would find a helpful array of services available (in addition to those personal services performed by social workers) to supplement and complement the income security programs. (Task Force Social Security for Canada, 1973:96).

This statement proposed by the Canadian Council on Social Development should be taken into serious consideration in order to improve Japanese provisions.

II Health

Health care is a "civic right" of everyone and there is a strong correlation between health and poverty.⁴ Sudden accidents or illness, death of a breadwinner, and prolonged illness which costs expensively force people to get poor and to stay in poverty. In a modern industrial

society, people support their lives mostly as a wage earner, so that the loss caused by ill health or death is a serious disaster to maintaining their basic income or to carry on a reasonable life.⁵

CANADA

The Canadian health care service is considered as one of the best health services in the world. Among Australia, Denmark, Sweden, the United Kingdom and the United States, Canadian services are covering almost one hundred per cent medical and hospital insurance. The detail has been shown in Table 4-4 (Lalonde, 1974:27):

Table 4-4

Comparison on Health Services

<u>Country</u>	<u>% Covered by Medical and Hospital Insurance</u>
Australia	79% Hospital 75% Medical
Canada	Almost 100%
Denmark	96.7%
Sweden	Almost 100%
United Kingdom	Almost 100%
United States	85% Hospital 100% Medical

The Canadian health care services are mainly

carried out by the provincial services. The percentage of the federal, provincial, municipal, and provincial-municipal governments' expenditure on the health services are shown as follows (Minister of National Health and Welfare, 1970:410):

Table 4-5

Estimated Total Expenditure General and Public Health Services, Canada, %.

	1955	1960	1965	1968
Federal	43	42	41	57
Provincial	32	39	46	34
Municipal	25	19	13	9
Total	100	100	100	100
Provincial-Municipal	57	58	59	43

Moreover, during the period from 1965 to 1968, the annual percentage increases on health services and sanitation of each federal, provincial, municipal and provincial-municipal governments are calculated: Federal 16.8%, Provincial 18.3%, Municipal 8.9%, and Provincial-Municipal 16.3%. In 1968, federal, provincial, and municipal governments allotted \$214.30 per capita, and provincial-municipal governments allotted \$106.55 per capita (Minister of National

Health and Welfare, 1970:406-407). These data above have manifested the great importance of the provincial role in health care. The federal role was previously limited "to guarantee medicine and the protection of the food supply, to product safety, to insuring accessibility to personal health care through substantial financial assistance to provincial health insurance plans, and to financing research". (Lalonde, 1974:65).

However, the stress has come to be placed on the federal responsibility these years. In 1971, the Canadian national health expenditure (federal level) was 7.1% of G.N.P., 9.0% of personal income, and \$306.11 per capita annual expenditure (Lalonde, 1974:27). The federal contribution increased to 2,300 millions of dollars in 1973 (Lalonde, 1974:65). The Minister of National Health and Welfare declared, in 1974, five main strategies and seventy-two specific proposals based on the federal responsibility. The five strategies were a Health Promotion Strategy, a Regulatory Strategy, a Research Strategy, a Health Care Efficiency Strategy, and a Goal-Setting Strategy.

The average life span was calculated to be age

69.4 for males and age 76.5 for females, in 1971. The infant mortality rate was 17.5 per cent. As for the health care efficiency, 15.7 doctors and 102.3 beds were available for 10,000 people (Lalonde, 1974:19).

JAPAN

Health care was started in ^arelatively early period in Japan. For the purpose of war, the Health Centre Act (保健所法) was first enforced in 1937. In 1938, the National Health Insurance Act (国民健康保険法), and in 1940 the National Physical Strength Act (国民体力法) were enforced. The Guideline for Population Policy of 1941 (人口政策確立要綱) paid attention to protection for pregnant women (Ichibangase, 1974:75).

The present health care has been run by "public-private parallels management" (Woodsworth, 1975). The cost for health care services is covered mainly by private societies per company. In addition to that, the government is offering services for people who are not covered by those societies' insurances. The present medical insurance services in Japan are categorized into four:

- I company societies
- II combined societies
- III special programmes by the national government
- IV other

The first category is for the larger companies which have more than 3,000 employees. In 1972, 1,500 societies covered ten million workers and twelve million dependents. The smaller companies which have less than 3,000 employees are supporting insurance schemes together. The national government also offers some services so that the insurances can function at the equivalent level of that of the first category. In 1972, 670,000 firms covered thirteen million workers and thirteen million dependents. The third category is offered by the national government for day labourers, seamen, self-employees and several categories of public services. The national share of the cost is 35 per cent. The fourth category includes any other people who are not in the other three categories. It is called "the national health insurance" and supported by both municipalities and a few small, separate organizations. The national share of the cost is 40 per cent. In 1972, it covered forty-seven million people. These four programmes now cover

almost all the population. The first two insurances cover one hundred per cent cost for the subject person, and 70 per cent cost for their dependents. The cost coverage of the third and fourth is seventy per cent for the subject person (Koyama and Saguchi, 1975:152).

During the early 1970s, the medical care came to be free for the aged people. Now it is applied for people aged over seventy. In some municipalities such as Tokyo, local governments have the same programmes for people aged over sixty-five.

In 1971, the average life span was calculated to be 70.2 years for males, and 75.6 years for females. The infant mortality rate was 12.4 per cent. 11.73 doctors and 127.42 beds were available for 10,000 people in the same year (White Papers of Japan, 1973-74:Table 1-10-2).

As it was shown by the Chart 4-1, constructed by I.L.O., there can be found extreme unbalance among sub-fields of social welfare provisions in Japan. There is a great stress on the health care area, but on the other hand in other areas the standards are far from those standards existing in the Western welfare states. It is significant that the extraordinarily unbalanced Japanese

welfare structure should be regarded as the result of backwardness and immaturity in other areas of social welfare, especially in social security. Social welfare services were carried on by the responsibility and the ability of the old extended family system and the paternalistic labour sectors. Aged parents were supported by their son as a matter of course in the old family system, which led institutional provisions, such as pensions, to be neglected. At the same time, there was always someone available to take care of young children in the extended family, and this fact led to the extreme lag in the area of child welfare. In such a circumstance, the emphasis by the national government has been made on economic advancement. Consequently, the area of health care was paid attention because this area related directly to the matter of labour supply which was inevitable to promote the economic-oriented policies. Here attention is necessary not to misinterpret the heavy ratio of health care in Japan as if it were a reflection of highly developed standard of health care. With regard to this point, Koyama and Saguchi have criticized as follows (Koyama and Saguchi, 1975:65):

Such a bias (laid among social welfare provisions) is partly owing to particular "Japanese ethos" which has been fostered through the history of Japanese social security systems. The biased structure reflects such facts as social policies have never reached far beyond the function of paternalistic dole, the determinant for the policy-makings has been consistently aimed in increasing productivity so that the main emphasis has been on the health care which related directly with labour, ...and general pension systems have never been taken in consideration until urgent demand of war cost rose during the Second World War. These particular structures were supported by the low-wage labour system with the relatively high labour supply, by the Japanese old family system where basic needs risen from daily life were handled, and by prohibition against labour movement. (translated by the present writer.)

The main problem in Japanese health care may be its fragmented structure. The complicated system of several programmes need to be integrated so that all the population could receive health care benefits. Moreover, from the point of view of practicing equality to everyone, national share of cost for each separated insurance should be impartially allotted.

III Child Welfare

Industrialization and urbanization have produced pollution problems, causes of mental and physical illness because of the loss of communal ties and of accumulated tensions in technology-dominant systems. Also inflation

never ceases to accelerate. Under these circumstances people are facing great danger to get sick, both physically and mentally, and to stay in poverty and unemployment.

Besides the fact above, industrialization and urbanization have created the nuclear family system. In a nuclear family consisting of parents and dependent children, all these problems which parents are facing affect directly the children. Hence, the area of child welfare needs to be established through appropriate institutions so that human rights of children can be observed.⁶ Child welfare ranges from financial support for children and mothers, institutional care, home maker (or help) services, facilities for children including playground, support for handicapped children to supervision of general health care such like reduction of food pollution (Ichibangase, 1974:92-93).

CANADA

Child welfare was introduced in 1944 for the first time in the form of Family Allowances provided by the federal government. Actual payments began in 1945, and allowances were \$6.00 a month for each child under

ten years of age and \$8.00 a month for each child between the ages of ten to sixteen. 2,833,941 recipients for 6,882,272 children were numbered in 1967. The cost for 1966-1967 was \$555,794,947. In 1964, the Youth Allowances were instituted, which aimed to cover children between the ages of sixteen and seventeen with \$10.00 a month (Jenkins, 1969:113). The federal government announced in 1973 its intention to increase family allowance payments to an average of \$20.00 per eligible child (Task Force Social Security for Canada, 1973:35-36). Both allowances have an upper income limit specified. Families with income over \$4,500.00 would receive diminishing amounts and some of them would receive nothing. In addition to that, considering the existence of poor families without children, the present child welfare system cannot function as effective means to re-distribute income. Quebec and Newfoundland have each added to the federal programmes with a provincial programme.

Another main stress is on day care programmes. The Canadian Council on Social Development has stated the importance of day care centres in the following paragraph (Task Force Social Security for Canada, 1973:87):

Child day care centres can be employed in the fight against poverty in two ways. First, by stressing the child development rather than the custodial aspect of day care, children who would normally be living in undesirable and under-privileged home environments can have access to a better environment and, hence, be better prepared for the formal school system. Second, and this undoubtedly supplied the rationale for provision of day care in the past, a day care centre is regarded as a babysitting service that permits mothers who normally are ^{not} able to do so to take jobs and support themselves rather than live on public assistance.

The two points advocated in the quotation above are to secure children's basic rights to have a sound life, and to protect working mothers by offering institutions to take care of their children.

Most day care centres are run privately, with the income of participating families being taken into consideration. The amount that the parents pay is based on a sliding scale according to family income. Provincial governments aid financially. There were also some revisions taken in income tax legislation, which specified a deductible maximum of \$500.00 per child, up to a limit of \$2,000 per family income. It requires approximately \$1,000.00 a year for a child to cover normal day care costs, however, the present legislation is not adequate to support the necessary coverage (Task Force Social Security for Canada,

1973:89).

The availability of day care centres is also limited. At present only one per cent of children of working mothers can reach licensed day care facilities. The fact that children under the age of two are ineligible for day care centres is a policy that requires reconsideration. With the increase of female employment, and of problems of single mother comes from broken homes or other causes, working mothers with infants need the institutional care.

JAPAN

The history of child welfare has just begun in Japan. The basic ideas which have been clearly shown in the Canadian case - advocacy of basic human rights of children as members of a society, and embodiment of the advocacy into practical welfare provisions - have just been adopted recently. The first consideration of child welfare in Japan was made in the Children's Charter consisting of twelve points in May of 1951. The Children's Charter declared the following three basic advocations:

Every child shall be respected as a human being.

Every child shall be considered as a member of a society.

Every child shall be brought up in a sound environment. (Ichibangase, 1974:197-198).

Furthermore, in 1959, the United Nations Children's Charter was adopted in Japan.

With regard to the factors forcing attention to be paid to the child welfare field, the changes in the family system after the Second World War and in labour structure are important. The general trend towards nuclear families and the increase of women employees have resulted in a great demand for institutional care for children. In 1955, 62 per cent of all families were classified as nuclear families, and the ratio increased up to 68.1 per cent in 1965. At the same time, the ratio of women employees increased drastically, from 28 per cent of whole labour force (493,000) in 1955 to 33 per cent (1,086,000) in 1960. These changes produced great needs, especially, for day care centres, which increased to ten times in number during the period between 1947 and 1972. In 1947, 1,470 centres took care of 135,000 children, while 15,289 centres took care of 1,340,610 children in 1972 (Ichibangase, 1974:4-5).

Besides the care centres, provision of child centres, child protection, special care for handicapped

children, juvenile delinquency, protection of juvenile labourers, and child allowances are taken into consideration. A child care centre functions, as the Child Welfare Act, article 40, proposed as the institution "which provides children with facilities and space where they can play, and further through the play, they can develop physical and emotional health (Ichibangase, 1974:113). Child care centres are run by municipalities or local governments. The number is increasing: 25 centres in 1950, 172 in 1960, 714 in 1965, 1,281 in 1968 and 1,655 in 1972. The main problem of child centres are the big differences in both numbers and standards between each local community. For example, there are 158 centres established in Tokyo, while only 89 are available in Niigata in 1973 (Ichibangase, 1974:116). With the increase of broken homes, the needs of institutional care or protection for children tends to increase. National-run institutions are inadequate. Only 13 per cent were national and the rest were private-run institutions in 1971 (Ichigangase, 1974:122). Handicapped children were numbered 111,100, according to the survey of 1970, however, only 17,300 children were provided with some institutional care, and 93,800 children were left at home without any special care. It is urgently needed

to improve this field. Juvenile delinquency is becoming a serious problem. The number increased from 32,000 in 1971 to 34,090 in 1972. According to the Labour Act of 1946 (労働基準法), working hours, holidays, and prohibition of night shift are specified for employees under age 18, in aiming to protect young labourers. Children's allowances were started in 1972. Ten dollars a month per eligible child, third and subsequent child, with upper income limit of \$700.00 a month is levied.

Owing to its long history of neglect, it is imperative that child welfare in Japan should be improved. As the previously quoted Chart 4-1 by I.L.O. shows, the actual governmental expenditure on child welfare is very small. Nevertheless, social welfare expenditures increased 37.5 per cent from 1971 to 1972, the increased ratio on child welfare was 29.1 per cent which was 14.3 per cent out of all welfare expenditure in 1972. The excessive responsibilities placed on local governments also needs to be reconsidered. The national government should take a larger role in reducing the burden on local governments for the provision of child care facilities. It may be said that child welfare is one of the areas requiring great improvement.

IV Conclusion

The idea of social welfare states has been adopted after the Second World War both in Canada and in Japan. Nevertheless, the ways in which social welfare provisions are carried out in the two countries have been different. In a comparison, Canadian systems can be considered as relatively balanced systems which share some similarities with other Western welfare states concerning its structure. On the other hand, looking into Japanese social welfare systems, its extremely unbalanced structure is striking, as it has been manifested in the Chart 4-1 illustrated previously. The great amount of stress on health care and extreme lag in other social welfare areas may be nothing but a consequence of the fact that, since the Japanese government for the first time took a modernization policy in 1968, the main stress has been focussed on economic advancement at the expense of people's welfare. Also it can be admitted the fact that the particular social structure in Japan--the extended Japanese old family system and the paternalistic labour structure--have affected the political, economic, and social changes in Japan. Eventually these two structures have functioned favourably

to the governmental economic advancement policies, which has allowed universal social welfare provisions to lag behind.

The problems in the social welfare systems of Japan can be summarized in a few points. First, as it has been clear in the three main social welfare programmes mentioned above, the Japanese systems are far from the universal systems. Only the old age pension as a part of the National Pension Insurance can be a universal programme; however, its coverage is not enough to support "the national minimum".

Secondly, fragmentary systems are the very weakness of Japanese systems. For each field, there are too many separate pensions or insurances in operation. This complicated present situation sometimes fails to cover people as the result of their job changes produced by more mobilization of job structure of recent years.

Thirdly, the actual responsibility undertaken by the national government is lower. While the ratio of the social welfare cost share is 2:2:5 (for individual contribution, share by employer, share by the national source), in British or Scandinavian countries on the average, the

Japanese ratio is surveyed as 3:3:3 (Koyama and Saguchi, 1975:236). In a comparison between Canada and Japan, almost traditional neglect by the Japanese government of social welfare programmes is clearly shown. As it was mentioned in the introductory chapter, the growth rate of G.N.P. and the increase of the social welfare expenditure are found in inverse proportion.

Table 4-6

G.N.P. Percentage Changes from Previous
Year

	Average 1959-60 to 1970-71	1972	1973	1974
Canada	3.0	4.8	7.6	13.1
Japan	4.8	4.6	12.0	26.0

(Source: Economic Review, 1974:41)

Table 4-7

Social Welfare Expenditure in 1968

	Rate for G.N.P.
Average of main advanced countries	16.7%
Canada	15.3%
Japan	8.3%

(Source: Ichibangase, 1974:164)

Table 4-8

Social Security Efficiency in 1966

	Real Personal Income	Social Security Rate
Canada	\$1800	12.5
Japan	\$ 700	6.5

(Source: I.L.O.: The Cost of Social Security, 1964-66, 1972)

Tables 4-6 and 4-7 show that the expenditure on the social welfare programmes in Japan is almost half of those in the so-called social welfare states, contrary to the growth of G.N.P. Table 4-8 shows the real personal incomes and the actual availability of social welfare services in the two countries in 1966.

The two different social welfare systems of Canada and Japan have developed from different social backgrounds, as have been discussed in the previous part of this paper. Since J.S.Morgan has commented in his comparative study, there has not been a single model of social welfare which could be effective for every society. Morgan has stated (Morgan, 1969:125):

Universal answers (for social welfare systems) will not be found because of the differences among countries in social stratification, power of given

professions, effectiveness of market competition, and capacity of governmental departments for efficient regulation.

Moreover, here once again G. Myrdal's observation should be recalled: the social welfare state has never been established, it is still developing (Myrdal, 1960).

On the other hand, the notion of the welfare states is faced with some problems. First, the social welfare orientation is best suited to middle-sized capitalistic nations. Social welfare provisions are means to conceal the contradictions caused by capitalism itself, and to compromise problems instead of seeking more basic solutions such as redistribution of wealth and income. Secondly, there is some danger that a welfare state may come to stress ethnocentric or nationalistic characteristics because in the process of establishing herself as a welfare state centralized power systems come to be dominant. Thirdly, welfare states cannot avoid being affected by global international relations. The fairly high level of development of the Scandinavian welfare systems was favoured by their specific geographical or economic separation from other countries. However, it is inevitable that these welfare states will be influenced by world

economics (Koyama and Saguchi, 1975).

Nevertheless, as the theme is focussed on social welfare systems, Japan as one such capitalist country, could learn by examining the Canadian system as well as the social welfare systems of other developed nations, by using an eclectic approach to aid in shaping her future social welfare systems. The emergence and development of Japanese social welfare systems could be basically regarded as one case of the transition stated by J.L.Wilensky and C.N.Lebeaux.

After observing the development of the Japanese social welfare provisions, the conclusion regarding the assumption made by Wilensky and Lebeaux can be drawn as follows. Among three basic areas of social welfare systems, health care is characterized fairly institutional. Child care and income security are moving towards institutional, however, they still possess residual characteristics.

Recently, more positive involvement by certain public sectors in social welfare has been began by progressive municipalities, and these movements are having a

significant influence on the national government. These are (Ichibangase and Sanada, 1975:270):

- meal delivery services for the aged sick at home (Soka-city, Tokyo)
- mobile bath services (Nakano-city, Tokyo)
- home helper system for the handicapped (Shinagawa-city, Tokyo)
- day care for temporarily sick children (Tomacomai-city, Hokaido)
- temporary day care services for new born babies (Nishinomiya-city, Osaka)
- a factory for the handicapped (Tokyo)
- recruitment centre for the aged (Nakano-city, Tokyo).

These services have just been started, and they are not effectively functioning yet, however, their pioneering effort should be recognized and adopted by the national government.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER 4

1. Here again it may be appropriate to quote Marsh's comment (1975:9-10): "In modern economic life there are certain hazards and contingencies which have to be met, some of them completely unpredictable, some of them uncertain as to time but in other ways reasonably to be anticipated. They may be met in hit-and-miss fashion by individual families or they may be met by forms of collective provision... these problems or needs are always present at some place in the community or among the population." "For a large proportion of the population, incomes are not sufficient to take care of these contingencies through their own resources... As one of the Rowell-Sirois reports has summed up the matter, 'It is impossible to establish a wage which will allow every worker and his family to meet the heavy disabilities of serious illness, prolonged unemployment, accident and premature death. There are budget-shattering contingencies that strike most unevenly.'"
2. The poverty lines suggested by the three agencies are fairly wide ranging (Ross, 1975:5-11).

Statistics Canada Revised Poverty Lines - Actual
January 1, 1974 and Estimated January 1, 1975.

Family Size	January 1, 1975 --size of area of residence--				
	500,000 or more	100,000- 499,999	30,000- 99,999	Small urban	Rural (farm & non-farm)
1	\$3,459	\$3,238	\$3,145	\$2,893	\$2,514
2	5,013	4,694	4,558	4,192	3,647
3	6,397	5,991	5,815	5,351	4,652
4	7,608	7,123	6,915	6,363	5,532
5	8,504	7,962	7,731	7,114	6,186
6	9,336	8,741	8,487	7,808	6,789
7 or more	10,236	9,583	9,305	8,559	7,444

The Poverty Line by Senate Committee on Poverty,
January 1, 1975

Family Size	Poverty Line
1	\$ 3,372
2	5,620
3	6,744
4	7,871
5	8,992
6	10,116
.	-
.	-
.	-
10	14,612

For the family of size four, which is considered as an average family size in Canada, four different figures ranging from \$4,984 to \$7,871 have been suggested by the three agencies. They have been:

\$5,877 by Statistics Canada Updated Poverty Lines,
\$4,984-\$7,608 by Statistics Canada Revised
Poverty Lines,
\$7,028 by Canadian Council on Social Development,
\$7,871 by the Special Senate Committee Poverty
Lines.

3. As it was also mentioned in Chapter Two, the availability of the social welfare services is a crucial issue. I.Adams and D.A.Croll, in a case of Canada, stressed that social services including tax system, health and housing, education, unemployment and manpower policies and law system have taken ways which eventually were favourable to those with the characteristics of the middle class (Adams, 1970, and Croll, 1971). What has been done under the name of social welfare has often functioned to make "life more difficult for the poor, easier for the affluent." (Adams, Cameron, Hill and Penz, 1971).

In the regressive tax structure, a high proportion of tax from the low-income groups is always kept. Forcese and Richer have stated (1975:120): "(There is the question of accumulated wealth, the ability of the wealth, to conceal income (and of) the regressive nature of the Canadian tax structure (where the poor pay proportionately more taxes than the rich.)"

Health also relates to some of the elements of poverty. Poor housing, poor sanitation, poor nutrition, and psychological pressure come from being poor, which at the same time forced the poor to stay unemployed and in poverty. The costs of drugs are high, and medical facilities are concentrated in urban areas (Boydell, Grindstaff, and Whitehead, 1971; Croll, 1971).

Regarding educational system, Pike (1970) or Forcese and Richer (1975) pointed out that the basic idea or philosophy of educational institutions have been conducted in a way that was most beneficial to the middle class. Indeed the middle class culture has been embodied in the idea, and of intelligence and educational attainment has been measured by the index which was favourable to the middle class (norm, and so on). Education is often too expensive for the poor to afford, while student financial aid programmes are mostly out of reach for them for scholarships, grants, allowances and loans are designed for post-secondary levels which the poor seldom can attain.

Croll pointed out that Canadian legal system is "in a number of ways... discriminatory" (1971:141). Bail system or fire system are the examples that suggest that the legal character is favourable to the rich.

The poor mostly are outside of labour unions, and consequently, with organization to make themselves heard, they are "kept at the bottom of the work ladder". (Adams, Cameron, Hill and Penz, 1971:81). In such a situation, the poor are most vulnerable to unemployment. Nevertheless, the welfare programmes of unemployment or of manpower are characterized to be economy-oriented

instead of being people-oriented, with the emphasis on helping men with skills (Croll, 1971:150-152).

4. Somers (1969:91): "Whatever the merits of maxim, 'the sick get poorer and the poor get sicker,' the association of increased morbidity and mortality with poverty is indisputable."
5. Regarding the importance of health care services in a modern industrial society, Ichibangase and Sanada have stated the situation in Japan (1975:226):
"The economic advancement policy' has raised Japan's G.N.P. up to the second highest among capitalist countries. However, this policy at the same time has destroyed people's health, because the economic advancement has been carried out at the expense of workers' health. Where the new technology or automation system are adopted, it is inevitable to take some considerations such as cutting off working hours or lessening of content of labour by which the added burden on workers in a modern labour system can be mitigated. Specifically, the neglect of these considerations has created among workers various kinds of new diseases which were directly brought by the poor working conditions. It is apparent that a number of the aged sick is increasing. In addition to that, there can be observed another distinct trend since 1970; the increase of female employment has accelerated the rate of being sick among females. This may be interpreted that a great number of females are suffering from double burdens; domestic work and pay work outside the house." (translated by the present writer.)
6. Ichibangase has emphasized the importance of child welfare services in a modern industrial society: "It is apparently found that the great extent of and rapid changes in industrial structures, and changes, which follow the previous changes in industrial structures, among the lives of parents or young workers have been leading children's lives to be destroyed (1974:90)."
"In words, several contradictions come from capitalism itself have created, through the lives of parents, especially through the life based on wage, problems concerning children's existence and development. These

problems on children's rights are getting serious and accumulating, unless the essential channels will be developed so that social welfare services, health care, education and other services will be provided with as basic means to secure their lives (1974:36)."
(translated by the present writer.)

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APPENDIX 1

CHRONOLOGY - PERIODS IN MODERN JAPANESE HISTORY

	Tokugawa (Edo)	1603-1867
	Meiji	1868-1912
	Taisho	1912-1926
	Showa	1926-
1868	Meiji Restoration	
1889	Meiji Constitution promulgated	
1890 Oct.	Imperial Rescript on Education	
1890 Nov.	The first Imperial Diet convened	
1894-5	Sino-Japanese War	
1904-5	Russo-Japanese War	
1918-21	Japanese Expeditionary Force to Siberia	
1923	Great Kanto Earthquake	
1930	London Naval Treaty	
1931 Mar.	March Incident	
1931 Sept.	Manchurian Incident	
1931 Oct.	October (Imperial Flag) Incident	
1932 Jan.	Shanghai Incident	
1932 Feb-Mar.	Blood Pledge Crops Incident	
1932 May	May 15 Incident	
1933 Mar.	Japan secedes from the League of Nations	
1935	Minobe case	
1936 Feb.	February 26 Incident	
1936 Nov.	Anti-Comintern Pact (Germany-Japan)	
1937 July	Outbreak of China Incident (Marco-Polo Bridge)	
1937 Aug.	Expeditionary Force to Shanghai	
1937 Dec.	'Rape of Nanking'	
1940 May	New Order Movement (political parties and labour unions dissolved)	
1940 Oct.	Imperial Rule Assistance Association inaugurated	

1941 Dec.	Japan attacks Pearl Harbour
1941-5	Pacific War
1945 Aug.	Japan accepts the Potsdam Declaration
1945 Sept.	Imperial Rescript of Surrender
1946 Jan.	Imperial Rescript denying the divinity of the Emperor
1946 Nov.	New Constitution promulgated
1946-8	International Military Tribunal for the Far East
1952	Peace Treaty comes into effect: Japanese sovereignty restored.

Quoted from Maruyama, M., 1963, pp.333-334.

APPENDIX 2

CHANGES OF PERSONAL INCOME AND G.N.P. IN CANADA

Year	Personal Income per Capita		Changes in G.N.P.
	\$	%	%
1947	-	(Per cent change	13.4
1948	-	from previous	15.1
1949	-	year)	8.3
1950	1,040	4.4	10.1
1951	1,199	15.2	17.0
1952	1,286	7.3	13.6
1953	1,317	2.4	5.1
1954	1,290	-2.1	0.3
1955	1,355	5.0	10.1
1956	1,463	8.0	12.4
1957	1,515	3.6	4.5
1958	1,560	3.0	3.8
1959	1,608	3.0	5.9
1960	1,656	3.0	4.1
1961	1,651	-0.3	3.4
1962	1,764	6.9	8.3
1963	1,840	4.3	7.1
1964	1,933	5.1	9.4
1965	2,091	8.2	10.1
1966	2,303	10.1	11.7
1967	2,482	7.8	7.4
1968	2,690	8.4	9.3
1969	2,943	9.4	10.0
1970	3,129	6.3	7.4
1971	3,414	9.1	8.9
1972	3,778	10.7	10.9
1973	4,254	12.6	14.9
1974	-	-	17.3

(Per cent change from
previous period)

Source: Economic Review: a general review of recent economic development, Ottawa: Minister of Finance, April 1975.

APPENDIX 3

EMPLOYED PERSONS BY INDUSTRIES IN JAPAN, JANUARY, 1969.

Categories	Persons (,000's)	Percentage
All Industries	47,860	100.00
Agriculture and Forestry	7,040	14.70)
Fishery	530	1.10) 16.3
Mining	240	0.50)
Construction	3,830	8.00
Manufacturing	13,000	27.20
Wholesaling, Retailing, Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	11,400	23.80
Transport, Communications and Public Utility	3,290	6.90
Services	6,930	14.50
Government Services	1,550	3.30

Source: Monthly Statistics of Japan, March, 1969.
 from: Foreign Market Study, Japan, Toronto: 1969, p.2.

APPENDIX 4

CHANGES IN ECONOMIC TRENDS BETWEEN LATTER HALF OF 1960s
AND FIRST HALF OF 1970s IN JAPAN

The peak to the peak rates of increases of business cycles increase at annual rates	Latter Half of the 1960s Oct-Dec.1964 July-Sept.1970	First Half of the 1970s July-Sept.1970 Oct-Dec.1973
Personal consumption expenditure	14.8	17.9
Real gross national expenditure	11.2	7.4
Gross national expenditure	16.5	17.4
Productive capacity (manufacturing)	12.1	7.4
Production index	14.8	8.7
Consumer price index	5.3	8.7

Source: Economic Survey of Japan, 1973/74, Tokyo, 1974, p.18.

APPENDIX 5

PRODUCTIVITY AND COSTS - MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES
IN CANADA.

1961 = 100 Year	Output	Persons Employed
1961	100.0	100.0
1962	109.3	102.7
1963	116.7	105.2
1964	127.9	110.0
1965	139.5	115.7
1966	149.3	121.2
1967	153.3	121.7
1968	163.6	120.8
1969	175.4	123.2
1970	173.0	120.3
1971	181.7	119.6
1972	193.9	121.9
1973	-	-

Source: Economic Review: a general review of recent economic development, Ottawa, April, 1975, p.149.

APPENDIX 6

INTERNATIONAL COMPARISON OF INDUSTRIAL STRUCTURE

Country and Year	(Composition of Total Value Added)			Total (%)
	Primary (%) Industries	Secondary (%) Industries	Tertiary (%) Industries	
Japan, 1960	12.55	43.48	43.98	100.00
Japan, 1965	9.27	43.31	47.42	100.00
Japan, 1970	6.07	46.18	47.74	100.00
U.S.A., 1967	3.06	39.90	57.02	100.00
U.K., 1968	2.43	44.87	52.70	100.00
France, 1965	3.03	45.44	46.49	100.00
West Germany, 1970	3.25	55.35	41.40	100.00

APPENDIX 7

ESTIMATED INCOME DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES IN CANADA-1969

Income group	Income share as % of total income (less than)	Average Income \$	Group income average as % of total income
Poorest 5%	1	1000-1500	10-15
Poorest 10%	2	1500-2000	20
Poorest 20%	6	2500-3000	30
Second low 20%	13	6000	60
Middle 20%	18	8000	90
Second high 20%	23	10000	120
Highest 20%	40	18000	200
Highest 10%	25	22000-23000	250
Highest 5%	15	25000-30000	300+

Source: Adams and others, The Real Poverty Report, 1971, p.17.

APPENDIX 8

UNEMPLOYMENT, CANADA 1954-1974

Year	Thousands of Persons	Unemployment rate %
1954	250	4.6
1955	245	4.4
1956	197	3.4
1957	278	4.6
1958	432	7.0
1959	372	6.0
1960	446	7.0
1961	466	7.1
1962	390	5.9
1963	374	5.5
1964	324	4.7
1965	280	3.9
1966	267	3.6
1967	315	4.1
1968	382	4.8
1969	382	4.7
1970	495	5.9
1971	552	6.4
1972	562	6.3
1973	520	5.6
1974	525	5.4

Source: Economic Review - A General Review of Recent Economic Development, Ottawa: Minister of Finance, April, 1975, p.140.

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