

**Reform of Industries and the Workers'
Consciousness in China by Comparison
with Japanese Workers**

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1. The point of issue

It has been fifteen years since Chinese government begun the economic reform actually. For that time, not only China but all the socialist countries have tried to carry out the economic and political reforms to put their survival on them. It was only result that the end of socialist countries occurred with some exceptions, but compared with east European countries, Chinese economy only seems to be successful in its activation with maintaining socialist system. From this view point, it is natural that Vietnam, Myanmar, and so on are interested in Chinese economy and society. The process of the change in Chinese society now become the actual model for development in these countries.

For the time being, we don't try to analyze the factors of success, but after several days of staying in the cities on coastal area in China, we find that the results of the activation cause the structural change in Chinese society. Among others, the prosperity and chaos of some cities in southern coastal area, for example Shanghai, and Guangzhou, are beyond our supposition.

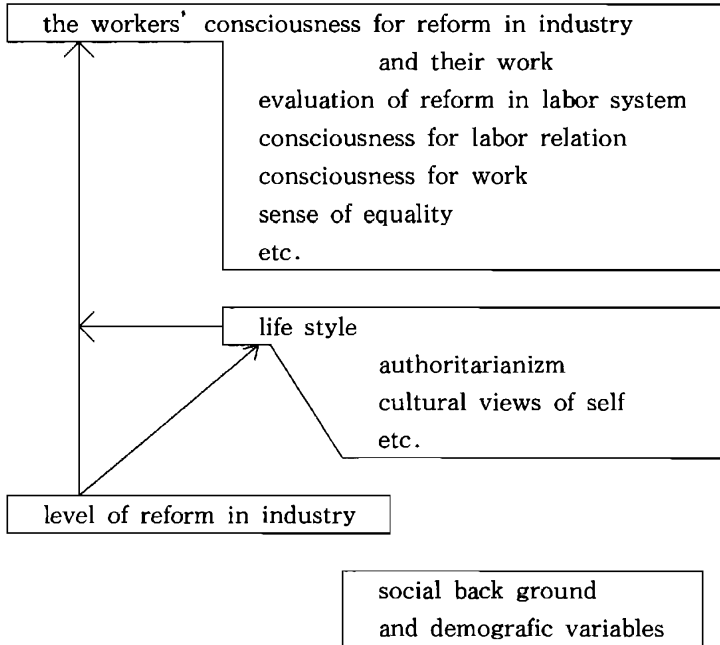
It is worth while examining the hypothesis that this structural change crucially influences the consciousness of the members in Chinese society.

Every socialist society, not only China, is based on the tacit consensus that the interest of workers (including farmers) are basically in accord, and the differentiation of strata and the difference between attitudes caused by them are enough little to ignore them. This confidence in the unity or single slab of rock

solidarity is basis for social integration in socialist society. We have no doubt that this confidence orients the way of getting everyday support of members and the way of making order-sense.

What kind of meaning does the structural change in recent China have for this tacit understanding? The purpose of our research has this question jointly. In these cases, there are two sub questions in it. First what kinds of outputs does the reform and open policy in China make as the social behavior and consciousness? Second what kinds of social interpretations is taken for it in the process of everyday life. The report places the stress on the former.

The relation between factors is hypothetically following.



In these basic construction, we try to think some topics concerning the differentiation of the worker's attitudes for reform in industry.

Before investigation, we must show the feature of our survey. The survey was carried out as the questionnaire on June 1995 with support of Chinese academy of social science and the college of labor movement. We conduct it for 7 government industries in national level in Beijing 北京, Dalian 大連, Wenzhou 温州, and Shenzhen 深圳.

A=petrochemistry 11829	freq 299	
B1=petrochemistry, carpet	freq 201	
B2=petrochemistry B1 and B2 are common industry,	46268	freq 303
C=generation 1026	freq 197	
D=glass 4000	freq 68	
E=electric light 659	freq 72	
F=electric parts small size	freq 57	
G=construction 2500	freq 39	total 1236

2. Cross analysis in the evaluations for reform by some attribute.

We can take some view points about the reform in industry in China. First we divide it into two sub reform, that is the reform of industrial structure concerning to the finance and organization management, and the reform of labor system. And we try to think some aspects of workers' consciousness for the latter.

We take cross tabulation for 'introduction of contract worker system 契約工制度導入', 'introduction of independent employment

system 自主雇用制度' and 'introduction of collective bargaining 集団協商導入' by the age. These three new systems are the focus in setting up new labor law. All industry must introduce the contract worker system by the end of 1995. From tab. 1 to 4 shows the results.

Tab 1 introduction of collective bargaining

age	for	against	don't know	total
~20s	132 27.6	43 9.0	303 63.4	478
30s	118 31.6	23 6.1	233 62.3	374
40s	70 30.3	12 5.2	149 64.5	231
50s~	38 42.2	4 4.4	48 53.3	90
	358 30.5	82 7.0	733 62.5	1173 100.0

$$X^2(df=6)=11.94(Pr<0.10)$$

Tab 2 introduction of contract worker system

age	for	little for	can't say which	little against	against	total
~20s	111 23.0	135 28.0	202 41.8	23 4.8	12 2.5	483
30s	92 24.4	93 24.7	165 43.8	14 3.7	13 3.4	377
40s	36 15.3	71 30.2	102 43.4	22 9.4	4 1.7	235
50s~	17 19.1	33 37.1	31 34.8	2 2.2	6 6.7	89
	256 21.6	332 28.0	500 42.2	61 5.2	35 3.0	1184 100.0

$$X^2(df=12)=29.75(Pr<0.01)$$

Tab 3 introduction of independent employment system

age	for	little for	can't say which	little against	against	total
~20s	127 26.3	151 31.3	169 35.0	20 4.1	16 3.3	483
30s	84 22.3	102 27.1	163 43.2	14 3.7	14 3.7	37
40s	38 16.2	66 28.1	106 45.1	18 7.7	7 3.0	235
50s~	17 19.5	26 29.9	32 36.8	7 8.0	5 5.7	87
計	266 22.5	345 29.2	470 39.8	59 5.0	42 3.6	1182 100.0

$$X^2(df=12)=23.24(Pr<0.05)$$

Tab 4 purpose of reform in industry

age	1	2	3	4	5	total
~20s	158 34.4	94 20.5	13 2.8	59 12.9	135 29.4	459
30s	126 34.5	94 25.8	9 2.5	38 10.4	98 26.8	365
40s	90 40.0	64 28.4	2 0.9	13 5.8	56 24.9	225
50s~	43 51.2	16 19.0		4 4.8	21 25.0	84
計	417 36.8	268 23.7	24 2.1	114 10.1	310 27.4	1133 100.0

$$X^2(df=12)=28.31(Pr<0.01)$$

- *1...consideration for labor productivity
- 2...company's initiative
- 3...reguration of employment
- 4...guarantee of mobility
- 5...there are no reoform

We can find the differenciation of the age for these three variables. In the former two, the young workers are much for them, while in the case of collective bargaining, the old are relatively for it. It is the reason that the former two are the

systems which actually assure the freedom of choice in occupations, though the collective bargaining is the system of restrict it. We can summ up this result that the young employees relatively support the freedom of choice in occupation, on the contrary the older need a kind of stop for the competitive element which the freedom of choice in occupation inevitably has.

Generally speaking, the reform of labor system has two sides, one side to guarantee the freedom of choice to get job and to move into other industry (單位) from the present industry, and the other side to secure the company's initiative on the labor construction and the activation of labor force in industry. In the latter case, the adjustment of employment necessary to capitalism society is also included in this case. These two aspect are the social fact to control the employees' behavioral pattern 'as a matter of course' within the large frame in the capitalism society. The employees' social personality in our society, that is freedom and anxiety, is also made from it, therefore this as-a-matter-of-course-phenomena in our society are about to occur in full scale as law system in continental China. And this result suggests that these kinds of problem will appear as the social problem which is likely to develop with generation split like our society. Can Chinese labor union reply the expectation of the old and middle age workers' that they look the collective bargaining as the stop for company's initiative in the collectivizm? Indeed the development of market economy was in principle supported, especially in the young, therefore the support of the old workers' for collective bargaining still means that the reform progressed to bring into

existence of making consciousness for negative side of market economy. This is not the social problem which is able to be resolved only by the contradictory word "socializm market economy".

This occurs in the response for the question which asked the purpose of reform in industry. In principle, "the consideration for labor productivity" is the major, especially strong support by the over 50 year old group means adaptability in industry, or intimacy for it. We interpret the relatively high support of the 40s for "company's initiative" as the reflection of their viewpoints from which they must take care of whole activity in their industry. On the other hand, the young group shows the relatively high support for "the freedom to be secured by reform", and the slow pace of the reform means insufficiency from the viewpoints of them.

We tried it from the point of "political stand" further, that is "members of the party", "association for young communist", or "independent". (Tab 5-8)

Tab 5 introduction of collective bargaining

political stand	for	against	don't know	total
young	113	34	245	392
com asso	28.8	8.7	62.5	
party	122	18	162	302
member	40.4	6.0	53.6	
other		1	2	3
party		33.3	66.7	
independent	95	25	275	395
	24.1	6.3	69.6	
	330	78	684	1092
	30.2	7.1	62.6	100.0

$$X^2(df=6) = 28.59 (Pr < 0.01)$$

Tab 6 introduction of contract worker system

political stand	for	little for	can't say which	little against	against	total
young	95	112	164	19	9	399
com asso	23.8	28.1	41.1	4.8	2.2	
party	75	105	102	18	8	308
member	24.4	34.1	33.1	5.8	2.6	
other	2			1	1	4
party	50.0			25.0	25.0	
independent	79	82	202	20	12	395
	20.0	20.8	51.1	5.1	3.0	
	251	299	468	58	30	1106
	22.7	27.0	42.3	5.2	2.7	100.0

$$X^2(df=12)=42.28(Pr<0.01)$$

Tab 7 introduction of independent employment system

political stand	for	little for	can't say which	little against	against	total
young	98	135	135	18	12	398
com asso	24.6	33.9	33.9	4.5	3.0	
party	74	97	101	21	13	306
member	24.2	31.7	33.0	6.9	4.2	
other	2	1			1	4
party	50.0	25.0			25.0	
independent	85	90	198	15	10	398
	21.4	22.6	49.7	3.8	2.5	
	259	323	434	54	36	1106
	23.4	29.2	39.2	4.9	3.3	100.0

$$X^2(df=12)=41.80(Pr<0.01)$$

Tab 8 purpose of reform in industry

political stand	1	2	3	4	5	total
young	9128	89	13	46	102	378
com asso	33.9	23.5	3.4	12.2	27.0	
party	125	76	4	20	71	296
member	42.2	25.7	1.4	6.8	24.0	
other	1	1			2	4
party	25.0	25.0			50.0	
independent	129	89	8	38	112	376
	34.3	23.7	2.1	10.1	29.8	
	383	255	25	104	287	1054
	36.3	24.2	2.4	9.9	27.2	100.0

1. consideration for labor productivity
2. company's initiative
3. regulation of employment
4. guarantee of employment
5. there are no reform

On the whole, "independent" prefers "DK-answer" compared with other groups. If "independent" represents the opinions of the people in general, this response teaches us their bewilderment and anxiety for the new labor system. Therefore, we are afraid that the coersive introduction of these new systems can not always gain large consensus. As for "contract worker system", for some years it has been tried in many area. So these results show the social difficulty of introduction of new system. (though we think Chinese way is successful to some extent.) Or, with other unders tanding, when the new systems are about to appear in any fields, there happens the concrete recognition to the negative side of it in their society. Anyway, it is certain that these anxiety and bewilderment persist in influence for the social change in China.

As to "collective bargaining", and "purpose of reform", the young communist association and independent have lots in common, compared with party members. On the other side, as for "contract worker system", and "independent employ system", "young communist" and "party members" behave commonly, compared with independent. Therefore, there are different features about the commonality of their opinion between social stands per problem. It shows not only the difficulty of uniform approval or uniform opposition, but that the split of for or against can not always exists on the same place, so there is the possibility to place these splits on the different point by the degree of social recognition, social consensus, and newlyness for their problem. So the difficulty of the dealing by the officials has increased.

3. some comparison about the social meaning in company between Japan and China.

In this paragraph, we try to compare the consciousness of belonging-company between Japan and China.

Generally speaking, it is commonly accepted that Japanese workers have much attachment for their company. in this case, we will analyze the nature and way of this attachment compared with Japanese workers and Chinese.

There are three questions. The first is about “their relationship to their own company”, the second is about “their attitude for production plan etc.”, the third is about “their career development design”.

The result are followings. (see, Tab 9 to 14) As for “their relationship to their own company”, there are not large difference between J and C, except “much interest and try to possitive expresion”. Genarally speaking, we can find Chinese workers are interest in their company’s achievement, compared with Japanese, but we have different feelings from 2nd question. Japanese workers are divided into two classes, that is “cooperative” and “independent”, on the contrary, Chinese workers are divided into two classes, that is “cooperative” and “opposite”, or “resigned”. Chinese workers tend to depend on their own company, compared with Japanese. It looks that Japanese workers more expressed their employee’s stand than Chinese. On the other hand, Chinese are inclined to be against.

We want to attribute this difference to the present state of industrial relations. The reform of industry, especially labor

system, aims to change the attitude of these workers', and through that process, aims to increase their productivity. Therefore, it is the problem of the officials and Chinese society how they bring these "opposite" and "resigned" to the frame of industrial relation, but in the socialism system, it will be difficult to recognize the difference of stands in company.

4. Conclusion

We have tried to consider first but important issue. In consequence, we think that the reform and open policy, or the economic and industrial reform as its corollary make differentiation to some extent among the employees of the government backed industry. It does not always mean the conflict to the principle of socialist country, but we are afraid of the occurrence of new social problems. And they will need other methods to solve them. So the preparatory phase to solve them will be necessary.

In 1995, it is decided that many kinds of new system and law, which are tried currently in many area, are carried out entirely, but the results of this research indicate that it is necessary to deal with them carefully.

(Major: Sociology. Professor)

**Tab 9 Relationship to their own company
China**

Q42	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percent
1	95	8.2	95	8.2
2	99	8.5	194	16.7
3	525	45.2	719	61.9
4	429	37.0	1148	98.9
5	13	1.1	1161	100.0

Frequency Missing=75

1. with discontent, but there is no way except working here for livelyhood
2. relationship to the company is only earning, except it no interest
3. because of dependance on company, desire for company to develop stably
4. very interested in company, want to possitive proposal.
5. want to resign company.

**Tab 10 sense to management policy or production plan
China**

Q43	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percent
1	114	9.9	114	9.9
2	625	54.3	739	64.2
3	146	12.7	885	76.9
4	25	2.2	910	79.1
5	241	20.9	1151	100.0

Frequency Missing=85

1. because of the work for manager, should not have a word
2. from the cooperative stand, should participate possitively
3. from the employee's stand, should critisize and keep right to deside
4. cooperation is harmful.
5. advise is no use.

**Tab 11 Career development design
China**

Q70	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percent
1	116	10.3	116	10.3
2	43	3.8	159	14.1
3	145	12.8	304	26.9
4	631	55.9	935	82.8
5	110	9.7	1045	92.6
6	32	2.8	1077	95.4
7	39	3.5	1116	98.8
8	13	1.2	1129	100.0

Frequency Missing=107

1. want to be top management
2. at least, middle level management
3. engineer or specialist
4. only to finish my own job everyday
5. let things take their course
6. want to be independent
7. want to resign
8. other

**Tab 12 Relationship to their own company
Japan**

V92	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percent
1	8	7.5	8	7.5
2	13	12.3	21	19.8
3	50	47.2	71	67.0
4	30	28.3	101	95.3
5	5	4.7	106	100.0

Frequency Missing=5

1. with discontent, but there is no way except working here for livelyhood
2. relationship to the company is only earning, except it no interest
3. because of dependance on company, desire for company to develop stably
4. very interested in company, want to possitive proposal.
5. want to resign company.

**Tab 13 sense to management policy or production plan
Japan**

V93	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percent
1	9	8.6	9	8.6
2	42	40.0	51	48.6
3	41	39.0	92	87.6
4	7	6.7	99	94.3
5	6	5.7	105	100.0

Frequency Missing=6

1. because of the work for manager, should not have a word
2. from the cooperative stand, should participate positively
3. from the employee's stand, should criticize and keep right to decide
4. cooperation is harmful.
5. advise is no use.

**Tab 14 Career development design
Japan**

V101	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percent
1	13	12.5	13	12.5
2	19	18.3	32	30.8
3	16	15.4	48	46.2
4	29	27.9	77	74.0
5	7	6.7	84	80.8
6	10	9.6	94	90.4
8	10	9.6	104	100.0

Frequency Missing=7

1. want to be top management
2. at least, middle level management
3. engineer or specialist
4. only to finish my own job everyday
5. let things take their course
6. want to be independent
7. want to resign
8. other