Globalization, Work and Health

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UCLA Work and Health Course
April 2, 2014
Overview

- **Part I** – The Social Epidemiology of CVD
- **Part II** – The Global Economy and the Changing Nature of Work
- **Part III** – Research and Policy Directions
PART 1: THE SOCIAL EPIDEMIOLOGY OF CVD
Cardiovascular Disease (CVD): A Worldwide Epidemic

- The major cause of morbidity & mortality in the industrialized world

- 30% of all deaths worldwide (33% by 2030)

- Trends towards lowered CVD mortality rates in North America & Western Europe but …

- Still a pandemic, a significant public health problem

Increases in CVD epidemic in developing countries

“CVD now causes the most deaths in all developing regions with the exception of sub-Saharan Africa where it leads causes of death in those older than 45 years. Between 1990 and 2001, of all deaths in low- and middle-income countries, deaths from CVD increased from 26% to 28% …” (Gaziano & Gaziano, 2012)
Rising prevalence of CVD/hypertension in developed countries during past 100-200 years

- Rising rates of CVD & hypertension parallel the transformation of society and work
  - from agricultural & relatively autonomous craft-based work
  - to machine-based (including computer-based) labor, typical of assembly-line & mass production (Taylorism):
    - high workload demands + low control/autonomy (“job strain”)
    - long work hours

CVD in China: An “Epidemiologic Crossroads”

- CVD as cause of death = 12.1% (1957); ↑40% (2012)
- Risk factors rapidly increasing
  - Smoking: 54% of men, 7% of women (2012) > 350,000,000 smokers
  - Overweight: 33% of adults
  - Type II diabetes: prevalence ↑ 3 times (1980-1994)
    - From 6% in 2002 to nearly 10% in 2007
- Hypertension prevalence increasing
  - Age >15: 5.1% (1959), 13.6% (1991)
  - 153 million adults (20.5%, 2010), > in urban (25%) than rural (16%)
  - 2.3 million CVD deaths due to HTN in 2005

Chronic Diseases & CVD Risk Factors Increasing in Developed and Developing Countries

- Diabetes
- Obesity
- Hypertension
- Metabolic Syndrome
The social nature of CVD risk factors

Widespread exposure to standard risk factors is recent (occurring in the past 100-200 years)

- **Smoking** ↑ –> mass production of cigarettes begins end 19th century
- **Elevated Cholesterol** ↑ –> diets rich in meat & dairy
- **Obesity** ↑ –> with sedentary labor and dietary changes
- **Diabetes** ↑ –> with obesity
- **Hypertension** ↑ –> with modern work & communities
American Kidney Foundation announces hypertension is a disease of industrial society 2012

- “…studies [suggest this is due to] to lifestyle changes related to industrialization and urbanization.”
- “…increased income…leads to…transition from traditional rural diets (high in fiber) to a diet rich in salt, saturated fat and poor-quality carbohydrates such as…in fast food.”
- “Urbanization….accompanied by reduced physical activity due to sedentary, desk-job, occupations that contribute to increased hypertension risk.”
Global epidemics are not natural

- CVD, stroke, obesity, diabetes are global epidemics ...but not the natural results of aging
- Products of industrialization, urbanization, chronic stress
- Medical model inadequate to explain or contain these epidemics
- These illnesses are Not caused by genes or individual behaviors, but have social causes:
  - social class differences
  - economic inequalities
  - unhealthy working & living conditions
Hypertension: A case study of a social epidemiological approach

- Leading cause of CVD worldwide
  - 54% of stroke and 47% of IHD

- Prevalence in 2000: 1 billion adults (26%)

- Projected prevalence by 2025: 1.56 billion adults (29%)

- Identified risk factors (obesity, sodium, alcohol, genetics, age):
  - These risk factors explain only a small part of the risk
  - some may be social/work-related.

Chronic job strain strongly associated with work systolic ambulatory BP (n=195 men)

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<th>Strain-T1:</th>
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</tbody>
</table>

Time 1 (p=.0017)  
Time 2 (p=.0015)

controlling for age, education, body mass index, race, smoking, alcohol use, work site

Job strain and Ambulatory BP: A meta-analysis (2013 AJPH)

- 34 studies considered
- Excluded (12):
  - 5: data unavailable (all x-sectional)
  - 3 longitudinal ABP change studies – variable time periods
  - 3 cumulative exposure studies
  - 1 case-control study
- Included: **22 cross-sectional studies**
  - (28 samples) of single exposure to job strain
- Studies by Theorell, Clays, Melamed, Schnall, etc.

Stronger association in population-based studies

### TABLE 2

**Relationship of blood pressure to left ventricular mass index**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Correlation coefficient with:</th>
<th>Systolic pressure</th>
<th>Diastolic pressure</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physician-measured</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>.24[^A]</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Automatic recorder</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Clinic</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>.33[^C]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>.50[^C]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Home</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>.31[^B]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sleep</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>.29[^A]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>.38[^C]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Statistical comparisons: ^[^A]p < .05; ^[^B]p < .01; ^[^C]p < .001.

Devereux et al. Circulation 1983;68:470-6  $R^2$ – coefficient of determination
Identified work-related risk factors for hypertension

- **Job strain**
  - Evidence excellent

- **Threat avoidant vigilant occupations (e.g., bus drivers)**
  - Evidence excellent
  - 50% with hypertension by age 50

- **ERI**
  - Evidence good to excellent

- **Long work hours**
  - Some evidence

- Possible role for: social support, job insecurity, emotional labor, shiftwork, lack of sleep, heavy metals, noise
Job stressors & cardiovascular disease: Potential pathways

Sources of stress at work

- Smoking
  - Lack of exercise
  - Heavy alcohol use
  - Overeating

- Hypertension
- Obesity

- Burnout, Depression

- Sleeping problems
  - ↓ Heart rate variability
  - Inflammation
  - Coagulation, atherosclerosis
  - Immune system

Cardiovascular disease

Cardiovascular mortality associated with job strain and ERI

Nmax=812 (73 deaths); mean follow-up 25.6 years

Tertiles
1 = low; 2 = intermediate; 3 = high

#adj. for age, sex, occupational group, smoking, physical activity, SBP, total chol., BMI

Kivimäki et al. (2002), BMJ, 325: 857
Chronic job strain: >CHD risk than single exposure

10.8-yr risk incident CHD (288 events) following assessment at phases 1 & 2 (3 yrs later) per 1 s.d. increase in job strain, 7,253 British civil servants

RTW to job strain predicts a 2\textsuperscript{nd} heart attack
(Employed non-fatal AMI, 30 Quebec hospitals, age 35-59, 866 men, 106 women;
5.9 yr mean f/u (1996-2005): 206 cases fatal CHD, nonfatal AMI, unstable angina)

Exposed to job strain: at baseline and at RTW 2.2 yr later;
al\ p<.05;
If LVEF <40\%, HR=8.0

Population attributable risk % for CVD due to Job Strain (one time exposure)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Study population</th>
<th>Study Years</th>
<th>Outcome</th>
<th>% Job Strain Exposure</th>
<th>RR</th>
<th>PAR%</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>U.S. men - HES</td>
<td>1960-2</td>
<td>MI</td>
<td>21.8</td>
<td>2.48</td>
<td>24.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>U.S. men - HANES</td>
<td>1971-5</td>
<td>MI</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>3.28</td>
<td>34.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Swedish men</td>
<td>1976-86</td>
<td>CVD</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>15.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>European men</td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>CVD</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1.5-2.0</td>
<td>13-23</td>
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<tr>
<td>and women</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>%exposed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Swedish men</td>
<td>1977-90</td>
<td>CVD</td>
<td>75¹</td>
<td>1.72</td>
<td>35</td>
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<tr>
<td>Danish men</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>CVD</td>
<td>6²</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Danish women</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>CVD</td>
<td>16²</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ exposed to medium and low work control
² exposed to monotonous high-paced work
Downsizing increases CVD death rates
(22,430 Finnish municipal workers, age 19-62, in 4 cities, 7.5 yr follow-up)

Personnel decrease in each occup. group in each city:  
<8% (ref)  8-18%  >18%

Adjusted for age, sex, SES, type of employment; *p<.05; p(trend) =0.043

Long work hours increase heart disease risk
(6,014 British govt workers, men & women, age 39-61, followed 11 yrs, 369 cases)

Overtime/day:  None   1 hr   2 hr   3-4 hrs

Similar pattern if control for age, gender, marital status, job status, diabetes, blood pressure, cholesterol, smoking, alcohol use, fruit and vegetable consumption, exercise, body mass index, sleeping hours

PART II. GLOBALIZATION AND THE CHANGING NATURE OF WORK
A Good Society

Society has basic responsibilities to its citizens. A “good society” must ensure:

- good working conditions (healthy work)
- certain basic standards of living
- health care
- collective representation
- controls on income inequality
- social and racial justice
- good schools, housing and support for children and families
- a healthy physical environment.

Social justice generally refers to the idea of creating a society or institution that is based on the principles of equality and solidarity, that understands and values human rights, and that recognizes the dignity of every human being. St. Thomas Aquinas, philosopher John Rawls
What is Globalization?

Globalization is a widely-used term that can be defined in a number of different ways. When used in an economic context, it refers to the reduction and removal of barriers between national borders in order to facilitate the flow of goods, capital, services and labor... although considerable barriers remain to the flow of labor.

Increasing inter-connectedness!!

Globalization is not a new phenomenon. It began before the distinct emergence of capitalism in the 16th or 17th century. But it has accelerated since end of 2nd World War
Globalization and Health

Globalization impacts people’s health in 3 interdependent ways:

1) Creates wealth and raises standard of living for some thereby improving health for those with rising living standards (*offset, in part, by exposure to new risk factors*)

2) Increases social inequality, creates disparities in resources between communities & groups, between developing & developed countries.

3) For some groups poverty is increased due to disruption of previous economic systems and food supplies.

4) Impacts (*transforms*) community & work environments
   a) promotes toxic physical environments
   b) creates slums
   c) contributes to unhealthy work environments (*chemical toxins, unsafe working conditions, psychosocial work stress*)
The global economy: neo-liberal policies

- **Liberalization**
  - Reduce trade barriers, eliminate subsidies

- **Privatization**
  - Sale of state-owned industries
  - Services: health, education, welfare: from govt → private sector

- **De-regulation**
  - Reduce state control/barriers to mobility of capital, goods, services
  - Reduce state control over labor market (social protections):
    - Minimum wage, overtime, job safety & health, job security

- **Reduce social welfare transfer payments to population**
  - Social security, pensions, health insurance, unemployment insurance, progressive taxation

Impact of “Neo-liberalism”

Regarding economic development lots of evidence it is not a success
Growth in Latin America fell under neo-liberalism in the 1980’s (and elsewhere)
Real wages decreased in the top 13 countries of the OECD since 1970
Yes, trade increases prosperity but disproportionate share of wealth is attained by the very rich – increasing social inequality the consequence
Neoliberalism and trade imbalances

- World trade has expanded rapidly over the past 3 decades. Since 1986, it has grown significantly faster than the world gross domestic product (GDP).
- During 1970’s trade liberalization with framework of GATT (general agreement on tariffs and trade) modest and mostly in industrialized countries.
- Trade expansion not uniform and the 12 most developed countries accounted for lion’s share. Majority of developing countries did not experience significant trade expansion.
- Many of the least developed countries (LDCs), includes sub-saharan Africa, experienced a proportional decline in the share of world markets – despite liberalization of trade.
Economic globalization

Liberalization
De-regulation
Privatization
Reduce welfare state

Labor market:
Precarious work
(social/economic insecurity)
Income inequality
Weaker unions
Weaker public sector
Less social protection
Geographical flexibility

Organizational practices:
Increase in Income Inequality in Developed Countries (GINI coefficient)
Decline in trade union membership (as % of workforce)

Increase in precarious/contingent work

Fifteen years of working conditions in the EU: Charting the trends. European Foundation, Dublin, Ireland, 2006.
Privatization/reduction of government services

- **Health care**
  - Workforce reduction/flexibility, worse working conditions
  - Worse quality of care
  - Public health & disease prevention: lower priorities

- **“Caring economy”: educ, health, social services**
  - Women are majority of this work force
  - Reduction in paid workforce → Women absorb unmet burden of society by unpaid “invisible labor”

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Developing countries

- “Race to the bottom” in working conditions to attract overseas capital (ongoing since at least the 1980s)
  - corporate-friendly, low regulatory export zones, despite effects on local economy, rural dislocation, social/environmental sustainability
- Cuts in public sector budgets, social protections
- Formal economy: downsizing, job insecurity
- Growth in (unregulated) informal economy (poorer health)

In Chinese factories, lost fingers and low pay

- worker abuse still commonplace in many Chinese factories that supply Western companies
- in the Pearl River Delta region, factory workers lose or break about 40,000 fingers on the job every yr
- child labor
- 16-hour days on fast-moving assembly lines
- paying less than minimum wage
Foxconn – A Case History

Demographic Changes in China

- Mass migration of 20 million Chinese farmers each year to urban setting
- Join working class in low income production centers
- Production Centers (Export processing zones) manufacture a range of products for export utilizing low paid workers
- Many factories employ hundreds of thousands of workers
A cry for help at India's call centers

Those working nights answering calls from the U.S. and Europe face:

- musculoskeletal disorders
- sleep disorders
- heart disease
- depression
- family discord

Global epidemics are not natural

- CVD, stroke, obesity, diabetes, even most cancers, are global epidemics...but are not the natural result of aging.
- Rather these are products of industrialization, urbanization, environmental and behaviors exposures as well as chronic stress.
- Medical model explanations are inadequate to explain or contain these epidemics.
- These epidemics are not caused (for the most part) by genes or individual behaviors - they involve social causes (e.g. social class differences, economic inequalities, unhealthy working & living conditions).
How does work contribute to epidemics?

- Unhealthy work organization/working conditions include: employment insecurity; precarious employment, long work hours, dangerous work environments, noxious psychosocial working environments. All these factors also contribute to chronic stress at work.

- Exposure to chronic stress at work (& other environments) has cumulative impact & can lead to mental and physical illness.

- Ubiquitous appearance of stress suggests it is a social process with social causes (e.g., stressors in the work environment).

- Focusing on individual responsibility for “stress” removes focus from systemic causes, creating challenges in finding/presenting a “common language” about the causes of stress across stakeholders (e.g., businesses, labor unions and academics).
Post 2008: the worsening global economic crisis

- Stagnant global economy (post 2008)
- Austerity policies
- Increasing inequality
- Changes to labor market and work organization?
Worldwide trends (2012)

- **Income inequality (Gini)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>GDP growth</th>
<th>Unemployment rate</th>
<th>Reducing public debt</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>85 countries with <strong>expansionary</strong> fiscal &amp; monetary policies</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
<td>Greater success</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47 countries with <strong>restrictive</strong> fiscal &amp; monetary policies</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
<td>11.5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- how do these policies affect job characteristics & CVD?

Economic “Recovery” Good for Profits, Bad for Jobs and Income

With millions still out of work, companies face little pressure to raise salaries, while productivity gains allow them to increase sales without adding workers.

“So far in this recovery, corporations have captured an unusually high share of the income gains,” said Ethan Harris, co-head of global economics at Bank of America Merrill Lynch. “The U.S. corporate sector is in a lot better health than the overall economy. And until we get a full recovery in the labor market, this will persist.”
Income Shifting to Businesses

The share of the national income going to corporations is at its highest level since 1950, and the portion going to individuals is near its lowest since 1966. Other parts of national income include proprietors and rental income.

Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis
Cumulative change in total economy productivity and real hourly compensation of selected groups of workers, 1995–2011

Increase in part-time work
(U.S., 2006-8)

These data are from the [Current Population Survey](#) and are seasonally adjusted. To learn more, see "Involuntary part-time work on the rise" (PDF), *Issues in Labor Statistics*, summary 08-08, December 2008.
Policies of economic globalization

Trade liberalization
De-regulation
Privatization
Reduce welfare state

Labor market:
Precarious work (social/economic insecurity)
Income inequality
Weaker unions
Weaker public sector
Less social protection
Geographical flexibility

Organizational practices:
Downsizing, restructuring
Irregular, long hours
Involvement, flexibility
Union avoidance
Electronic monitoring
Lean production
Intensification of labor

Policies of economic globalization
Lean work increases stress, MSDs in manufacturing (1999 literature review)

- Studies of auto manufacturing plants in U.S. & Canada, lean production →
  - Increased musculoskeletal Sx
  - Intensified work pace & demands, overtime
  - Modest, temporary increases in job control, skill use

Lean Sigma—Will It Work for Healthcare?

James A. Bahensky, MS, Janet Roe, and Romy Bolton

Journal of Healthcare Information Management — Vol. 19, No. 1

Going Lean in Health Care

Institute for Healthcare Improvement Cambridge, Massachusetts

Lean thinking for the NHS

Daniel Jones and Alan Mitchell, Lean Enterprise Academy UK
New Public Management (NPM): Lean production principles applied to public sector & to emotional labor

- Variety of features in different settings
  - Downsizing, restructuring, privatization, contracting out
  - More flexible (temporary, contract, part-time) employees
  - Focus on customers, “quality”
  - Teams
  - Software to increase work pace, volume, monitor productivity
  - De-skilled, standardized work, SOPs, partial task fragmentation
  - **Strict performance goals, hourly output targets, white boards, peer pressure, work intensification**
  - Value stream maps, time & motion study, continuous workflow
  - More formal performance evaluation

- Only 4 studies of NPM & job characteristics & health
2013 update: Lean work increases stress, health risks in manufacturing & other industries

- 20 published studies since 1999: 11 countries, 13 in manufacturing, 4 NPM
- Similar findings as in previous reviews
  - Increased psychological distress
  - Increased or high job demands
  - Low or reduced levels of job autonomy, authority or participation
- Studies not being done by people in our field!

Economic globalization

- Liberalization
- De-regulation
- Privatization
- Reduce welfare state

Labor market:
- Precarious work (social/economic insecurity)
- Income inequality
- Weaker unions
- Weaker public sector
- Less social protection
- Geographical flexibility

Organizational practices:
- Downsizing, restructuring
- Irregular, long hours
- Involvement, flexibility
- Lean production
- Intensification of labor
- Electronic monitoring
- Union avoidance

Job characteristics:
- Job demands ↑
- Work hours ↑
- Job insecurity ↑
- Job control?
- Social support?
- Rewards?
Sweden
Spain
Japan
USA
Republic of Korea
Hungary
Mexico
Chile

HOURS WORKED PER YEAR

Precarious Employment: a new form of highly stressful work

- Crucial adjunct to Taylorism
- Precarious workers:
  - More exposed to high demand/low control
  - Have limited decision latitude
- Apparent task control vanishes when overriding economic pressures force workers to work harder & longer
- Their desperation undermines permanent workers’ resistance to work intensification

Precarious work means more job stress

European Union surveys (2000)

Increase in work intensity, job demands
European Union surveys, 1995-2010

At least 1/4 of the time

Tight Deadlines

High Speed

European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions
Decrease/leveling in Job Control (autonomy)
European Union Surveys 1995-2010

Control over:
- Task order
- Work methods
- Speed

European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions
Workplace Psychosocial Factors

1. Long Work Hours
2. Shift work
3. TAV
4. Job Strain
5. ERI (effort reward imbalance)
6. Social Isolation
7. Low Social Support (from co-workers and supervisors)
8. Emotional Labor
9. Organizational Justice (fairness)
10. Bullying
11. Job insecurity (precarious labor)
12. Work family imbalance
PART III: RESEARCH AND POLICY DIRECTIONS
Need Better National Surveillance of Job Characteristics

- European working conditions surveys 1990-2010
- U.S. NIOSH quality of work life surveys 2002-2010
- Other countries/regions
- To determine impact of global recession & austerity policies!
- Need to overcome problems:
  - Work & health data not in same studies (in U.S.)
  - Recent data not publicized (in US)
  - Trends in job strain, ERI not provided!
  - Are they reaching undocumented immigrants, precarious workers, domestic workers, informal sector workers?
  - Expensive, not available in most developing regions/countries
Need Better National Surveillance of CVD Incidence, Mortality & Risk Factors by

- Labor market indicators
  - Precarious work
  - Immigrant status
  - Income inequality
- Organizational practices
- Occupation
  - Can be linked to job characteristics
- Education & income (SES)
More research needed on:

- To what extent do these factors lead to stressful jobs?
  - Age
  - Gender
  - Race/ethnicity
  - Immigration status
  - SES

- To what extent do they interact with job stressors?
  - stronger effect of job strain on BP in manual workers

- Taken collectively the key variables above reflect social inequality → a major contributor to negative health

- To what extent are job stressors causes of occupational health inequalities, thru what mechanisms?
Globalization and work

- Globalization contributes to the changing nature of work in industrial and industrializing societies.

- New and changing working conditions impact the health of many working people.
  - E.g., 40,000 reportable occupational health injuries each day in China
Throughout the course we will examine data from industrialized countries relating working conditions to health outcomes.

More data are available from western countries than developing nations (though U.S. data on work & health is less available than European data).

Data are inadequate in all countries on the health impact of recent changes in work organization (downsizing, mergers, outsourcing, off-shoring, informal labor sectors).
More research needed on:

- National and regional differences in health & job characteristics
- To what extent do national policies affect:
  - Income Inequality
  - Precarious work
  - Labor protections
  - Unionization
  - Prevalence of job stressors
  - Differences in the strength of association between job characteristics & health (Dragano, 2011)
Association between job stressors & depression varies by type of government
(5383 men, 4534 women, age 50-64, 12 European countries, 2004)

More research needed on:

- Workers typically excluded from research studies (national datasets) in our field:
  - temporary/contingent workers
  - informal sector workers (domestic workers, sweatshops etc.)
  - immigrant & undocumented workers
  - workers in developing countries

- **How to study?** Community-based participatory action research and qualitative approaches?
Dear Reader,

This issue of GOHNET aims at raising awareness of psychosocial risks and work-related stress through a variety of articles which describe national situations and the state-of-the-art with respect to the impact/influence of these risks to mental and physical health. Contributions received cover five of the six WHO Regions.

This topic has either not or only scarcely been addressed in countries in economic transition, in newly industrialized countries, and in developing countries (afterwards referred to as: target countries). There is ample research from developed countries outlining the relationship between workers’ health and consequences of work-related stress originating from psychosocial risks. However, we have little knowledge about assessment methodologies, risk management and interventions from the target countries. The lack of research in this field and that even though specific programmes or initiatives can be implemented at country level, little is done to address the problem.

The WHO is working on several processes addressing the health of workers in an integrated and comprehensive manner. Firstly, the 60th WHO World

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Articles

WHO headquarters: Work-related stress and psychosocial risks: trends in developing and newly industrialized countries
More research needed on systems of work organization

- Lean production systems
  (including New Public Management)

- Worker cooperatives
  (such as Mondragon)

→ job characteristics, worker health
More Intervention Research Needed

- To demonstrate
  - Health benefits
  - Processes for reducing job stressors
- Need for community-based participatory action research & qualitative research approaches
Participatory action research (PAR):
Hotel room cleaners: San Francisco & Las Vegas

- PAR: effective methodology to describe problems, apply systems view, uncover physical & psychosocial stress factors, improve work organization, measure results

- Hotel room cleaners, San Francisco, 1998: union initiated partnership with Univ., defined priorities

- Results presented to union-mgmt contract committee
  - 1999 contract: daily room quota from 15 → 14 or 13
  - 2007 contract reached further improvements

Some evidence for health benefits of increasing worker control/participation

- **Work re-organization**: 
  
  - Increased employee job control 
  
  - Improved mental health, sickness absence, performance  
    (Bond & Bunce, 2001, UK)

- **High employee participation**: 
  
  - Decreases in work demands, improved social support, decreases in stress levels  
    (Eklof et al 2004, Sweden)

- **A collaborative/participatory approach in the intervention**: 
  
  - Led to improved co-worker relations, job security  
    (Lindstrom 2000, Finland)

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Leaving Job Strain Leads to Decrease in Work Ambulatory BP

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<td>yes</td>
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<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Systolic ABP

Diastolic ABP

N=195 men, controlling for age, race, body mass index, smoking, alcohol use, work site

*p<.05, **p<.01, (vs Ref group)

Why Improve Work? Why Not the Medical Approach to CVD Risk Factors?
Medication or Individual Behavior Change

- **CVD Epidemic is Global:**
  - Soon to be 3 billion with HTN or CVD
  - 80% of burden of CVD in developing countries

- **Medical approach to CVD Epidemic is COSTLY:**
  - 1 in 6 U.S. health dollars spent on CVD
  - U.S. health care costs for CVD: triple to $818 billion by 2030
  - U.S. spends only 3% of health care dollars on prevention

Martin A.B. et al., Health Affairs, 2012; 31:208-219; Gaziano T. Circulation. 2005; 112: 3547-3553
A. Medical management of standard CVD risk factors means:

- Potentially medicating 100s of millions
- $$$Costly (especially developing countries)
- Many side-effects and even deaths from medications
- 40-50% of CVD risk due to BP among people with “normal” BP (120-140/80-90)
Why Improve Work?

Why Not the Individual Behavior Change Approach to CVD Risk Factors?

B. Feasibility of behavioral interventions on millions at risk globally?

- How effective are individual level interventions?
- How to include most at-risk populations – those in informal sectors/developing countries?
- Profits people in the behavioral modification business

Implementation of ... prevention measures to reduce stress related illness and injury in the workplace and ... to bridge the gap between current knowledge and implementation of that knowledge at all levels - international, national, regional, local and individual. The role of agencies such as NGO’s, labor organizations and health services will be critical in facilitating the closing of these gaps.
NIOSH: TOTAL WORKER HEALTH™

Integrating:
Health Protection (Occupational Health) & Health Promotion

http://www.cdc.gov/niosh/twh/
Conclusions

- Epidemics of globalization increasing at dramatic pace
- Working conditions deteriorating for many worldwide
- European working conditions most likely better due to stronger unions & work laws, so cannot be generalized
- Research is “behind the curve” in assessing effects of global economic changes on work processes (esp. outside of high income countries) contributing to the world epidemics
- Beyond Job Strain? Need comprehensive studies of work stressors (ex: 15 different risk factors in COPSOQ)
- Change needed at workplace level & government level to make work safe and improve economic security
Conclusions

☐ We know enough to justify implementing national standards for:

- Surveillance of occupations & workplaces to identify elevated levels of hazardous work characteristics
- Regulations & laws limiting psychosocial stressors at the workplace
- Limiting the workday to 8 hours
- Limiting the workweek to 40 hours
- Minimum vacation time of 3-4 wks/yr
- And much much more
Unhealthy Work: Causes, Consequences, Cures


Center for Social Epidemiology
http://www.workhealth.org
http://unhealthywork.org/
Healthy Work

- Healthy work requires more than the absence of noxious workplace psychosocial stressors or shorter work weeks...

- **People need:**
  - to perceive their skills are being used on the job
  - to have a say in how their job is done
  - reasonable & fair work demands
  - to be treated with respect and not as objects
  - their interests & needs taken into account in decision-making
Global epidemics

The global epidemics we face in advanced industrialized countries as well as in those undergoing industrialization are considered to be the ordinary diseases of everyday life: e.g., hypertension, heart disease, stroke, diabetes and depression.

In most parts of the world, these illnesses have replaced infectious diseases as the major causes of chronic illness and death.

SOME CHANGES IN THE ORGANIZATION OF WORK IN MODERN TIMES

☐ With the development of industrial society, profound changes have occurred in the way in which work is organized during the past two hundred years.

☐ Craftwork was largely replaced by the industrial revolution.

☐ Skilled workers, who had exercised substantial control over their work processes, were replaced by lower-skilled labor in new machine-based production technologies (Karasek, 1990: pp19-20).

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CHANGES IN THE ORGANIZATION OF WORK IN MODERN TIMES cont:

- In the 20th century, Taylorism reshaped the workplace with its emphasis on narrow performance and efficiency using the technique of the assembly line, at the expense of employee collectivity and broader employee expertise and knowledge of the work process.

- Even lower-level white collar work, through office automation, has been shaped by the principles of the assembly line.

- More and more small businesses have been replaced by large centralized multinational organizations.
Micro - Theoretical framework of Employment Conditions and Health Inequalities

Employment conditions
- Full employment
- Unemployment
- Precarious employment
- Informal employment
- Child labour
- Slavery & bonded labour

Working Conditions
- Exposures and risk factors:
  - Injuries
  - Physical & Chemical Hazards
  - Ergonomics
  - Psychosocial

Health related behaviours
- (Life style / medication)

Physiological changes

Material deprivation & economic inequalities

Health Systems

Social & family networks

MODEL OF DYNAMIC LIFE-COURSE INTERACTIONS
Country/regional/locally influenced by social class, gender, race/ethnicity, age, migration

Globalization and CVD

- Spread of CVD globally implicates globalization
- Globalization is a widely-used term with multiple definitions
- When used in an economic context, it refers to the reduction and removal of barriers between national borders in order to facilitate the flow of goods, capital, services and labor.
- Barriers remain to the flow of labor.
- Globalization is not a new phenomenon. It began centuries age (?) When)
Hypertension as a disease of industrialized society

Hypertension as an epidemic seems likely to be of relatively recent historical origins

- Minimal hypertension disease burden among hunter-gatherers, non-market agricultural communities & other non-industrialized societies. (Waldron, 1982)
- Industrial society: hypertension socially patterned by class, race, ethnicity, urbanicity & gender.
- Evidence implicates the “unidentified” causes of essential hypertension as likely including ubiquitous exposures.
- Need to examine diet, lifestyle, work or community.
- Adequate explanatory risk factor needs to incorporate the above-mentioned social patterning of the disease.

How do these work changes contribute to epidemics?

- These changes lead to longer hours, work intensification, more psychosocial stressors such as job strain, ERI, TAV, emotional labor, social isolation, inter alia.

- Exposure to chronic stress at work (& other environments) has cumulative impact & can lead to physical and mental illness.

- Ubiquitous appearance of stress shows it is a social process with social causes (e.g., stressors in the work environment).

- Focusing on individual responsibility for “stress” removes focus from systemic causes, creating challenges in finding/presenting a “common language” about the causes of stress across stakeholders (e.g., businesses, labor unions and academics).
Job Strain

HIGH psychological job demands and LOW job decision latitude

Karasek and Theorell – 1980
Work and blood pressure

- The work environment is where adults now spend majority of waking hours.
- Work activities increasingly characterized as demanding, constraining & in other ways highly stressful.
- **Blood pressure (BP) is elevated during working hours.**
- Performing demanding, constraining & otherwise mentally stressful activity **provokes sharp rises in BP.**
- Specific features of work are implicated as important causes of hypertension, as well as CVD., e.g. Job strain

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Taylorism reshaped the workplace In the 20th century

- emphasis on narrow performance and efficiency using the technique of the assembly line

- at the expense of employee collectivity and broader employee expertise and knowledge of the work process.
Relational justice (fair treatment by supervisors) decreases risk of heart disease
(Whitehall II study, 6,442 men, age 35-55, 8.7 yr follow-up)

Legal minimum paid vacation days and holidays

The employee shall be given the opportunity of participating in the design of his/her own working situation.

Technology, work organization & job content shall be designed in such a way that the employee is not subjected to physical or mental strains which can lead to illness or accidents.

Ensure that work provides opportunities for:

- variety, social contact & co-operation
- personal & professional development

Beyond “The Average Worker”: Trends in Long and Short Workweeks 1970 and 1990, by Gender

MEN

WOMEN

[Misread bar chart data]

Increase in family hours worked/year, U.S. (middle-income husbands + wives with children, age 25-54)
The New York City Work Site Blood Pressure (BP) Study

- At Weill Medical College, Cornell University-NY Hospital
- Began in 1985 as a case-control study
- 283 men initially enrolled at 8 large NYC work sites
- Funding became available (after studying 7 sites) to:
  - conduct a prospective study (evaluate Ss every 3-4 yrs)
  - enroll women
- Currently, 472 subjects enrolled at 10 sites (38% women)
  - maximum of 4 evaluations & 10 years of follow-up
Job strain and carotid artery intima-media thickness (IMT), controlling for pre-employment risk factors, Finnish men, age 33-39

Controlling for age and risk factors assessed at age 12-18: BMI, HDL and LDL cholesterol, triglycerides, systolic BP, smoking, family history of CHD, parents occupational position

Job Strain associated with Work Ambulatory BP \( (n=195 \text{ New York City men}) \)

Systolic ABP: 7.8 vs. 6.4
Diastolic ABP: 5 vs. 5

***p<.001

controlling for age, education, body mass index, race, smoking, alcohol use, work site

Job strain associated with Ambulatory BP
(n=178 Belgian workers)

Clays et al. High Job Strain and Ambulatory Blood Pressure in Middle-Aged Men and Women
From the Belgian Job Stress Study. JOEM 49(4) April 2007.
Workplace risk factors for hypertension

- **Direct effects**
  - BP is higher at work than home (on work day)
  - BP is lower on non-workday
  - Job strain (most widely studied) with Ambulatory BP
  - Long work hours
  - Effort-reward imbalance
  - Threat-avoidant vigilant work (professional drivers)
  - Shift work (mixed evidence)
  - Noise, lead, arsenic (some evidence)

- **Risk factors influenced by working conditions (mediation)**
  - Work stressors $\rightarrow$ smoking behavior, overweight, alcohol $\rightarrow$ HTN
  - Low SES $\uparrow$ work stressors $\rightarrow$ HTN

- **Interaction**
  - Low SES x work stressors $\rightarrow$ HTN; gender, race, economic development
During the heyday of America’s middle class (1950-80), the wealthiest 1% had about 10% of total income. Now, it is back up to 23.5%. Concentration at the top is even more extreme in NYS and NYC.
Lean Manufacturing Comes to China:
A Case Study of Its Impact on Workplace Health and Safety

Organizational practices: Increased Flexibility

- Numerical flexibility
  - **External**: Staff reductions thru downsizing, short-term contracts, P/T work (precarious employment)
  - **Internal**: Irregular hrs, mandatory overtime, 24/7 operations

- Structural flexibility
  - Teamwork, flatter hierarchies, teleworking

- Functional or task flexibility
  - Greater involvement/multiskilling for some
  - Job assignment/rotation based on employers’ needs
  - Lean production (Japanese production management)

- Intensification of labor

Precarious Employment has Adverse Impact on Work Community

- Temporary workers can be ‘desperate to achieve targets that would secure future work or permanent employment’
- Often fulfill role of rate busters
- Undermine resistance of permanent workers to work intensification
- “precarious employment can act as a crucial adjunct to the introduction of Taylorist work practices”

Long work hours increase heart attack risk
(men, Fukuoka, Japan, 260 cases, 445 controls, 1996-1998)

Controlling for smoking, alcohol, overweight, hypertension, diabetes, hyperlipidemia, parental heart disease, job type, sedentary job

Greater prevalence of heart disease in U.S. vs. Britain
(age 55-64 yrs)


*p<.05 (England vs U.S.), based on national surveys in 2002
Lower healthy life expectancy if greater labor market inequality
(larger informal economy)

Low & middle income countries:

Benach J, Muntaner C, Santana V (coords). Employment, work, and health inequalities: A worldwide perspective. 115
Higher cardiovascular death rates if higher income inequality
(U.S. states, 1990)

Increase in heart disease rates in British civil servants undergoing privatization
(5 yr follow-up, n=8,354)

Increase in diabetes prevalence, U.S.
age 25-74

Kanjilal et al. Archives of Internal Medicine 2006;166:2348-2355.
Economic globalization

- Liberalization
- De-regulation
- Privatization
- Reduce welfare state

Labor market:

Organizational practices:

Job characteristics:
- Job demands ↑
- Work hours ↑
- Job insecurity ↑
- Job control?
- Social support?
- Rewards?

Ill health:
- Cardiovascular disease
- Psychological disorders
- Sickness absence
- Musculoskeletal disorders
- Injuries
Why improve work?

Why don’t we just manage standard CVD risk factors with medication?

What’s wrong with behavioral interventions targeting standard risk factors?
Legislation & Regulation (Europe)

- Scandinavian Work Environment Acts (1970s)
- European Union directive (12 June 1989)
  - Less monotonous work at predetermined pace to improve health
- European Council directive (1996)
  - Right to refuse >48 hrs/wk
- European labor-management (8 October 2004)
  - Framework agreement on work-related stress
Legislative efforts needed in US

- Legislation to reduce workplace stressors (as in Europe)
- Increased minimum wage, fair taxation
- Job protection & social benefits (e.g. pensions)
- Comprehensive, prevention-focused national health care
- Paid sick leave, family leave, vacation time
- Limits on legal hours of work per week
- Workers’ compensation laws that recognize illnesses are related to work stressors
- Support for collective bargaining to improve work environment, including legal protection for joining unions
A question then is how different is global capitalism in various parts of the world and how this impacts on type of jobs?

- And we may need to ask in addition “what jobs” are we referring to.
  - Jobs in factories vs. White/pink collar jobs (clerical)
  - Contingent work
  - Immigrant labor
  - Domestic labor

- All of the above suggests the disease burden for any given set of psychosocial factors will vary a great deal by group and location and perhaps a great deal from country to country depending on the makeup of the employed/unemployed workforce

- On the other hand, job strain has been validated against mental health and CVD outcomes for many occupations in many countries!!!!
## Cumulative Job Strain Exposure

(High Strain at 2 time points (HS-HS) and Ever Exposed vs. Never Exposed (NHS))

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sample</th>
<th>Yrs between JS measures</th>
<th>Working SBP/DBP mmHg (Mean Differences - Exposed vs. Never Exposed)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Repeated Exposure (HS-HS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schnall 1998</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>+11/+9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York City: 8 employers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fauvel 2003</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-3/-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France: Chemical Factory</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riese 2004</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>+2.5/-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands: Nurses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

New Public Management (NPM): Lean production principles applied to public sector & to emotional labor

- Many articles on NPM in employment relations, personnel, management, sociology journals

- BUT, only 4 studies found on impact of NPM on job characteristics or on worker health!
Updates to 1999 lean production literature review

- 2012 review by Brännmark & Håkansson
  - included 12 unpublished Swedish studies, 1996-2010
  - 9 showed mixed results, 2 showed mostly positive results
  - lean → increased stress, work pace, workload intensification
    → WMSD risk, if not accompanied by ergonomic program
  - context and implementation likely affect results:
    Sweden: socio-technical context, employee participation in implementation

  - Experience of lean implementation in Scandinavia

Changes in Job Demands (Taiwan, 2001-2010)

Yawen Cheng, ScD, Institute of Health Policy and Management, National Taiwan University,
Email: ycheng@ntu.edu.tw – Data from Taiwan national surveys, Council of Labor Affairs
Changes in Job Control (Taiwan, 2001-2010)

Yawen Cheng, ScD, Institute of Health Policy and Management, National Taiwan University,
Email: ycheng@ntu.edu.tw – Data from Taiwan national surveys, Council of Labor Affairs