

**Course No. 3507**

**Contemporary  
Japanese Culture  
and Society**

# Lecture No. 5

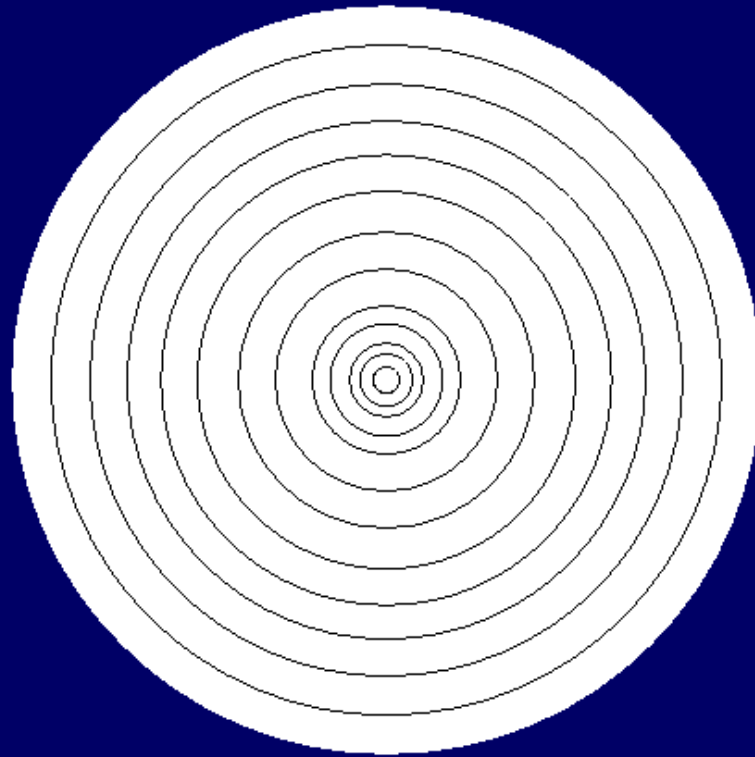
## Class and status in Japan

日本：階層・階級制度  
あり？

# **In the previous lecture...**

**I pointed out that despite important ethnic and cultural differences, Japanese society *looks* relatively homogeneous – minorities do not usually LOOK very different...**

**...more like an onion than a  
Hinomaru...**



**... and like an onion, it  
looks like a smooth whole**



***from the outside.***

# 前回：民族・文化の違い

**That was about ethnic and cultural difference.**

**Now I want to think about social and economic difference.**

**Differences of class and status.**

**今回は社会・経済の違いを考えたい**

# 「階級」vs.「階層」

## CLASS and STATUS

The Marxist and Weberian traditions

カール・マルクスが論じる<class>

=「階級」

マックス・ウェーバーが論じる<status>

=「階層」



**Karl Marx**  
**(1818-1883)**

**Class** is based  
on economic  
factors: ownership  
of the means of  
production.

**Bourgeoisie vs  
proletariat**

階級(class)の基本  
は経済力。生産手段  
を有するブルジョア  
(有産者)とプロレタリア  
(無産階級)



# Base and superstructure

## 下部構造 + 上部構造

Other aspects of class – cultural differences, social differences, linguistic differences etc – are all secondary. They are a **socio-cultural superstructure** built upon an **economic base**.

**Social status is a complex system in which relative wealth is only one of many factors.**

**社会階層 (status) は経済的な様子だけではなく、社会・文化の様子もある。**



**Max Weber  
(1864-1920)**

# The British case

**Britain is famous for her class system. Yet there are many cases of working class people with more money and property than middle-class people. Some say British-style class has more to do with accent, education and lifestyle than assets and income, so that the British “class system” is more like a Weberian “status system...”**

# And in Japan...

... the debate on class vs. status is roughly translated as *kaikyu* (階級) vs *kaiso* (階層).

Marxist scholars tend to use the word *kaikyu*, while liberal/Weberian scholars prefer *kaiso*.

Some have argued that Japan is a “classless society,” or an ‘all middle-class society.’ *What exactly does that mean?*

- Does it mean that wealth is spread evenly among people in Japan?
- Or does it mean that people in Japan do not have very strongly marked differences in status?
- *As in the British case, we have to distinguish carefully between class and status.*

# So-churyu shakai 総中流社会

**A slight variant on “classless Japan”:  
Japan as the “general middle-class  
society.” A famous factoid about Japan  
used to be that 90% of people view  
themselves as middle-class in annual  
surveys conducted by the Prime  
Minister’s office. The word is “churyu”  
中流 (‘mid-stream’) or ‘midoru-kurasu’ ミ  
ドルクラス, so it is unclear whether we  
are talking about class or status here.**

# Competitive Communism?

**During the 70s and 80s, many scholars portrayed Japan as a unique mix of capitalism and communism, in which the capitalist spirit of economic competition combined with the communist spirit of fair shares for all.**

**Reference: C. Douglas McKenrick, *The Success of Competitive Communism in Japan*.**

<b>Class identification</b>	<b>Upper</b>	<b>Upper middle</b>	<b>Middle middle</b>	<b>Lower middle</b>	<b>Lower</b>	<b>Total of middle</b>
<b>Canada</b>	<b>1.2</b>	<b>14.2</b>	<b>68.8</b>	<b>11.8</b>	<b>2.2</b>	<b>94.8</b>
<b>Singapore</b>	<b>1.0</b>	<b>3.9</b>	<b>74.2</b>	<b>16.2</b>	<b>3.0</b>	<b>94.3</b>
<b>Italy</b>	<b>2.2</b>	<b>12.5</b>	<b>70.5</b>	<b>10.8</b>	<b>3.0</b>	<b>93.8</b>
<b>USA</b>	<b>1.5</b>	<b>16.7</b>	<b>54.4</b>	<b>21.6</b>	<b>5.2</b>	<b>92.7</b>
<b>Australia</b>	<b>1.1</b>	<b>8.6</b>	<b>72.8</b>	<b>10.4</b>	<b>2.7</b>	<b>91.8</b>
<b>France</b>	<b>1.8</b>	<b>10.8</b>	<b>61.2</b>	<b>18.9</b>	<b>6.3</b>	<b>90.9</b>
<b>Japan</b>	<b>0.8</b>	<b>9.4</b>	<b>55.7</b>	<b>25.6</b>	<b>5.9</b>	<b>90.7</b>
<b>UK</b>	<b>0.4</b>	<b>7.2</b>	<b>53.6</b>	<b>28.1</b>	<b>8.1</b>	<b>88.9</b>

**Source: Yoshio Sugimoto, *An Introduction to Japanese society*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed (2003) p. 37 Japan 2001 data, others much older...**



## *Marx had a word for it...*

**These figures suggest that a lot of poor people (not only in Japan) think that they are middle class. Karl Marx would have called this a case of “false class consciousness” (誤った階級意識)... these people are not middle class, but have been fooled into thinking they are by the propaganda of the ruling class.**

## ***(Why are they not middle class?)***

- **They do not own property. They don't own the means of production, and many do not own their own dwelling. Japan has a low rate of home ownership and a high rate of rental dwellings.**
- **Even if they do own their own home, in many cases it is an apartment that does not include exclusive land rights.**
- **Marx wouldn't recognize most Japanese as "middle class" or "bourgeois."**

## *They may, however, own a car*

**For many Japanese people, their most valuable possession is their car. Japan's mighty car industry has managed to sustain about 10 independent auto makers (cf UK, zero), although most urban people travel mainly by train, by turning the car into a substitute status symbol for those who can't buy a house.**

**So: Where does Japan's  
reputation for  
egalitarianism come  
from?**

**日本はどうやって「平等」という  
評判になった？**

# **1. Japan's progressive postwar constitution**

## **日本の進歩的な戦後新憲法**

- On November 3, 1946, Japan adopted a new constitution, which remains in force today. Authored by the Occupation authorities, adopted by the Japanese parliament.**
- 1946年11月3日決定**

# Article 25: Welfare Rights

## 第25条 生存権、国の社会的使命

**(1) All people shall have the right to maintain the minimum standards of wholesome and cultured living.**

**(1)すべての国民は、健康で文化的な最低限度の生活を営む権利を有する。**

# Article 25: Welfare Rights

## 第25条 生存権、国の社会的使命

**(2) In all spheres of life, the State shall use its endeavors for the promotion and extension of social welfare and security, and of public health.**

**(2) 国は、すべての生活部面について、社会福祉、社会保障及び公共衛生の向上及び増進に努めなければならない。**

# **Article 27: Right and Obligation to Work, No Child Labor**

## **第27条 勤労の権利・義務、労働条件、児童酷使の禁止**

**(1) All people shall have the right and the obligation to work.**

**(1) すべて国民は、勤労の権利を有し、義務を負ふ。**



# **Article 27: Right and Obligation to Work, No Child Labor**

## **第27条 勤労の権利・義務、労働条件、児童酷使の禁止**

**(2) Standards for wages, hours, rest, and other working conditions shall be fixed by law.**

**(2) 賃金、就業時間、休息その他の勤労条件に関する基準は、法律でこれを定める。**

# **Article 27: Right and Obligation to Work, No Child Labor**

## **第27条 勤労の権利・義務、労働条件、児童酷使の禁止**

**(3) Children shall not be  
exploited.**

**(3) 児童は、これを酷使してはならない。**

**Ironically, you won't find many of those items in the *American* constitution. The Americans gave the Japanese a considerably more egalitarian constitution than their own one.**

**米国憲法よりずっと平等主義です。**

## **2. Redistributive taxation system**

**税金制度も平等主義です**

# Japan's progressive income tax system

- Introduced during the occupation by U.S. economist Carl S. Shoup – “the Shoup System” (1949)
- 進歩的な税金制度—「シュープ制度」

# Shoup doing fieldwork in a Fukuoka shopping street





# **Press conference on the Shoup report**

# **Income tax + local taxes for the richest 5% (OECD figures)**

**Belgium 66%**

**Japan 65%**

**Denmark and Sweden 62%**

**France and Turkey 61%**

**United States: In the 40–48% range,  
depending on state/city taxes**

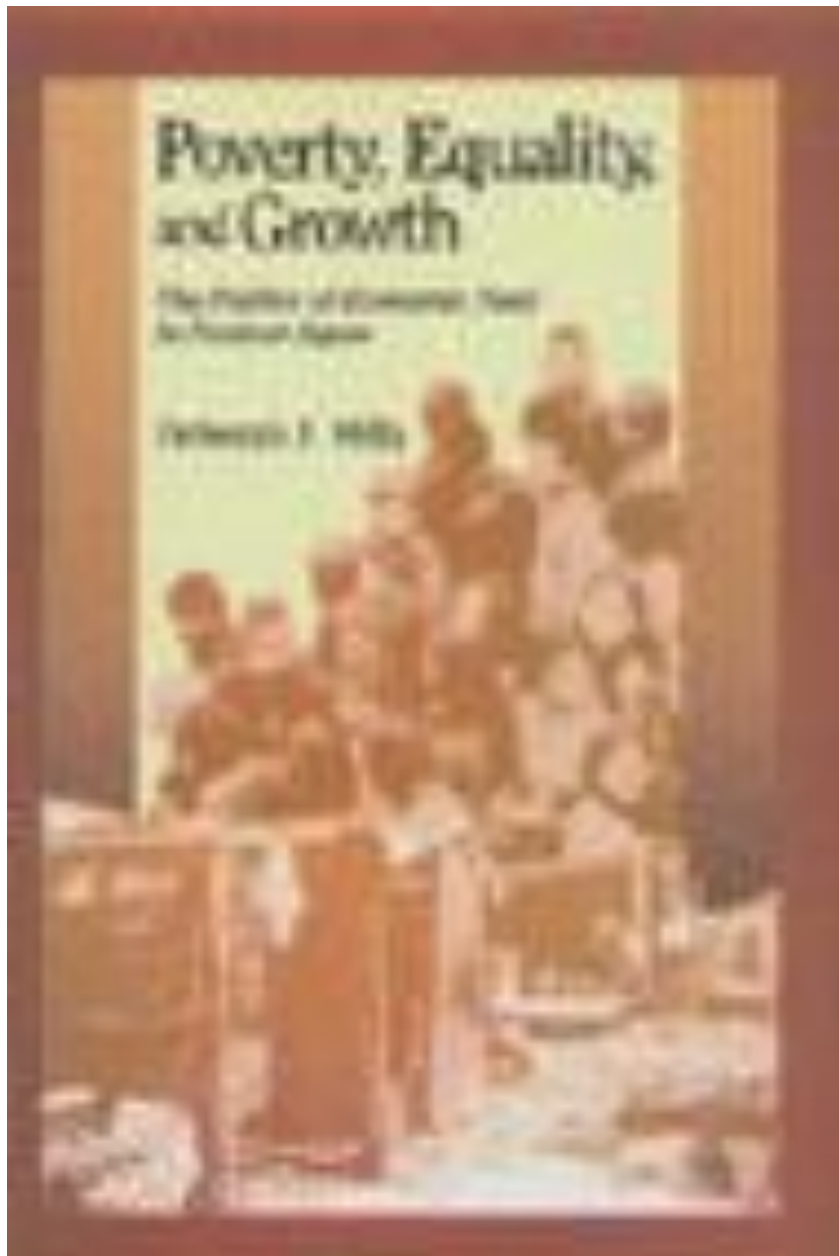


***These reforms came  
against a background  
of intense poverty.***

# **17 years lost**

**It took 8 years for per capita income to recover to pre-war levels: in other words, in 1953, Japan scrambled back to the level of income she had in 1936 (Deborah Milly 1999:16).**

- **In that year, 1953, the Ministry of Health and Welfare estimated that 25% of the population was living ‘below a physiological subsistence level’ – meaning they were so poor that it affected their health – and another 20% ‘at a level marginally adequate for maintaining a minimally healthy standard of living.’**



**Deborah Milly:  
*Poverty,  
Equality, and  
Growth: The  
Politics of  
Economic Need  
in Postwar  
Japan  
(1999)***

# 3. Progressive legislation

- **1958 National Health Insurance Law**
- **国民健康保険法**
- **1959 National Pensions Law**
- **国民年金法**
- **1959 Minimum Wage Law**
- **最低賃金法**

# 4. Early union victories

Labor unions were very powerful in early postwar Japan. A famous one was

**電産協 Densankyo**

(日本電気産業労働組合連合協議会)

Federation of electric industrial workers, founded 1946

1946年設立46年10月闘争が有名

# *Densangata* wage system 「電産型」賃金体系

In October 1946, Densankyo fought a famous campaign that ended in employers agreeing to a new wage system that is still called the 'Densan-type' system. 1946年秋、電産協は10月闘争で後に「電産型賃金体系」と呼ばれる賃金体系を獲得した。

**This wage system dominated Japanese industry for a decade after the war, and remains an influence on wage systems today.**

- **Key feature: a large element of the wage based on the livelihood needs of the worker and his family.**
- **本人の年齢で決まる「本人給」と抱えている家族の数に応じて支給される「家族給」を合わせた「生活保証給」が大部分を占めていた。**



# The Densangata wage system

<b>Wage</b> <b>賃金</b>	<b>Basic wage</b>	<b>92%</b>	<b>Living needs</b> 生活保証給	<b>67%</b>	<b>Indiv</b> 本人	<b>47%</b>
			<b>Family</b> 家族		<b>20%</b>	
			<b>能力給</b>	<b>20%</b>	<b>Ability</b>	
	<b>基本賃金</b>	<b>勤続給</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>Senio</b> rity		
		<b>地域賃金</b>	<b>8%</b>	<b>Regional element</b>		<b>8%</b>

出所: <http://homepage3.nifty.com/54321/labor.html>

# **“The Japanese Miracle... Socialism that Works”**

- **Unlike the US, nearly everyone has health insurance and pension.**
- **Taxes much lower than in the UK and other European welfare states.**
- **Wages based partly/largely on social needs of workers.**
- **All this and high economic growth...**

**“The Japanese Miracle”**

**Japan has a reputation for being relatively egalitarian, but how can we measure equality and inequality?**

**日本は「資本主義の国家として平等的だと言われてきたが、平等・不平等、それはどうやって測る？**

コラード・ジニー、経済学者

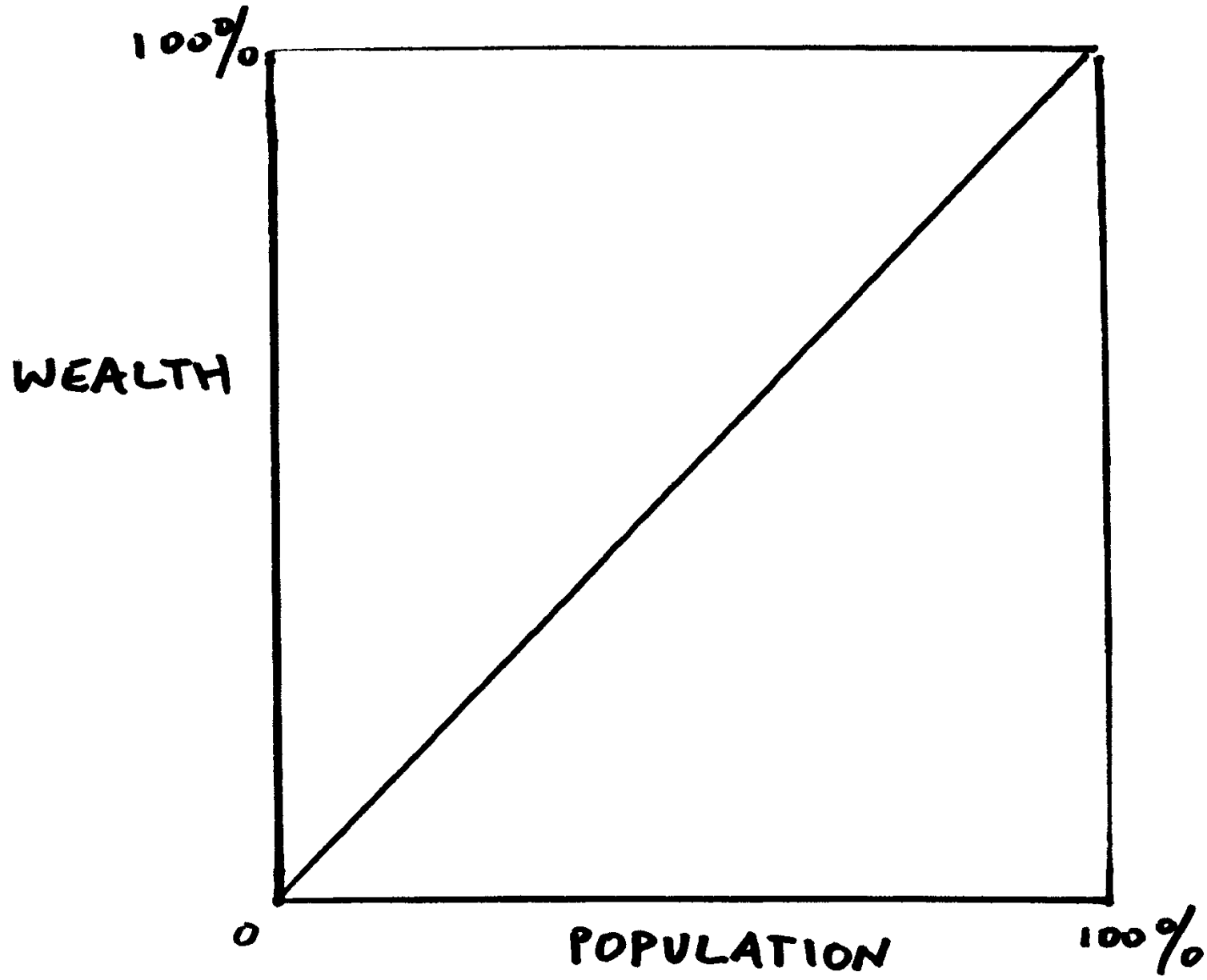


**Corrado  
Gini, 1884-  
1965,  
Italian  
economist**

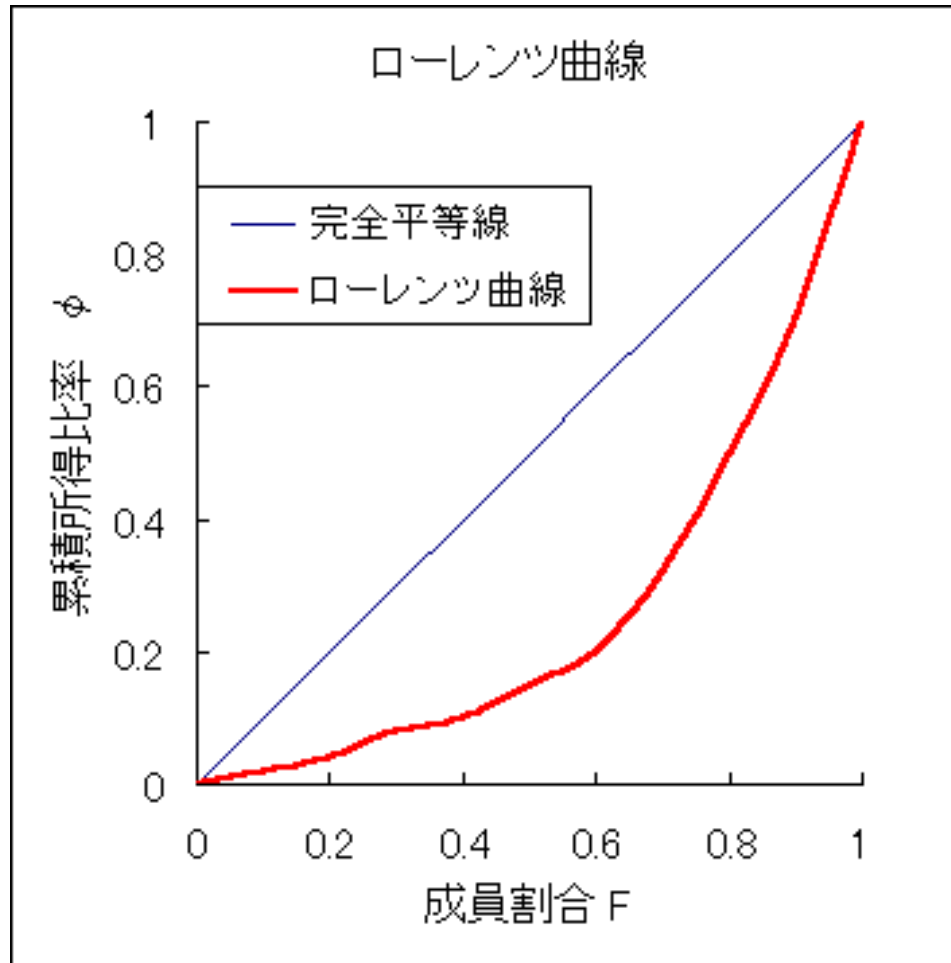
# The Gini Coefficient ジニ係数

- The most widely accepted way of measuring economic equality / inequality.
- 世界中一番信頼される平等・不平等の測り方。

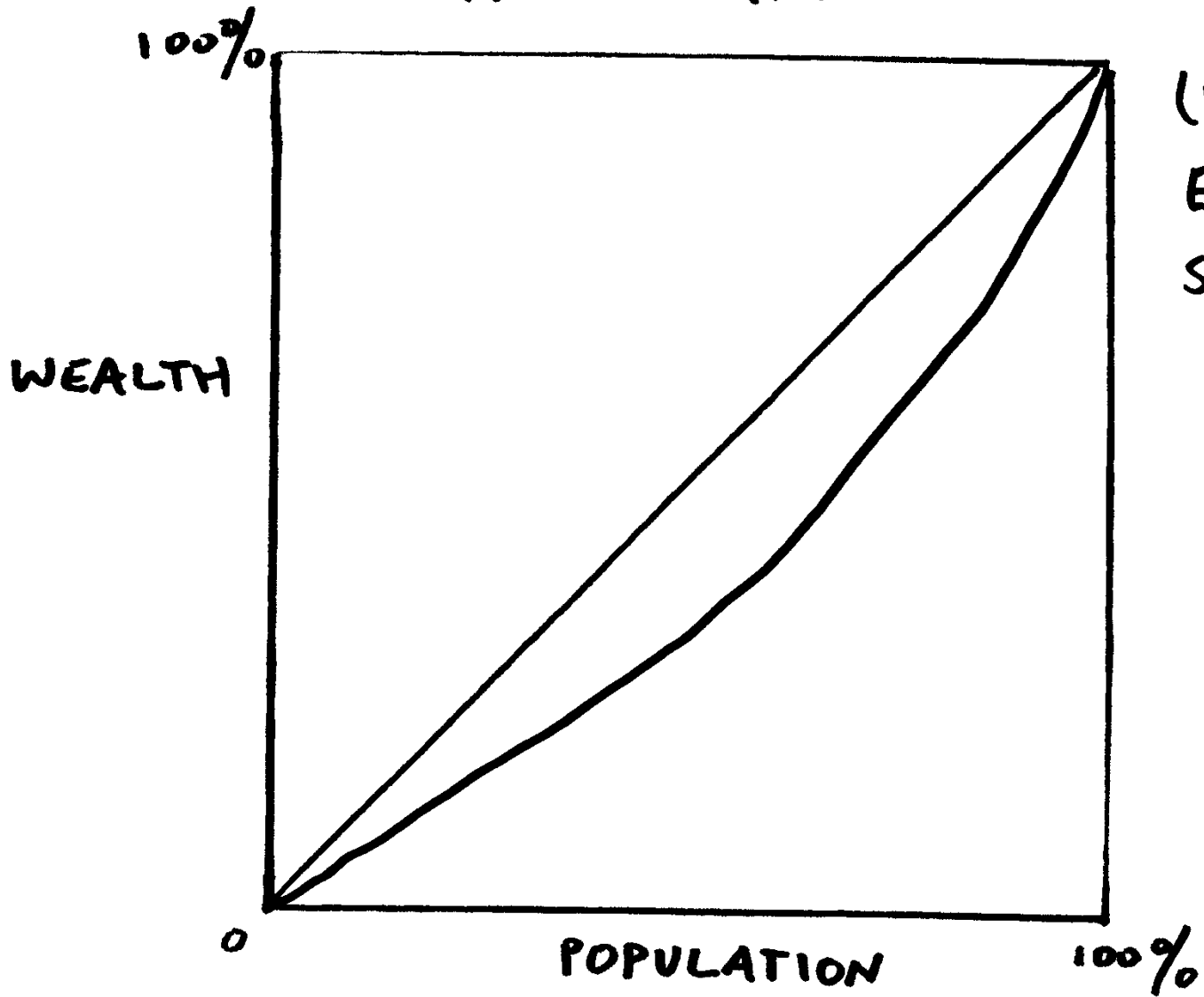
# GINI CHART



# Lorenz curve (red) shows income distribution



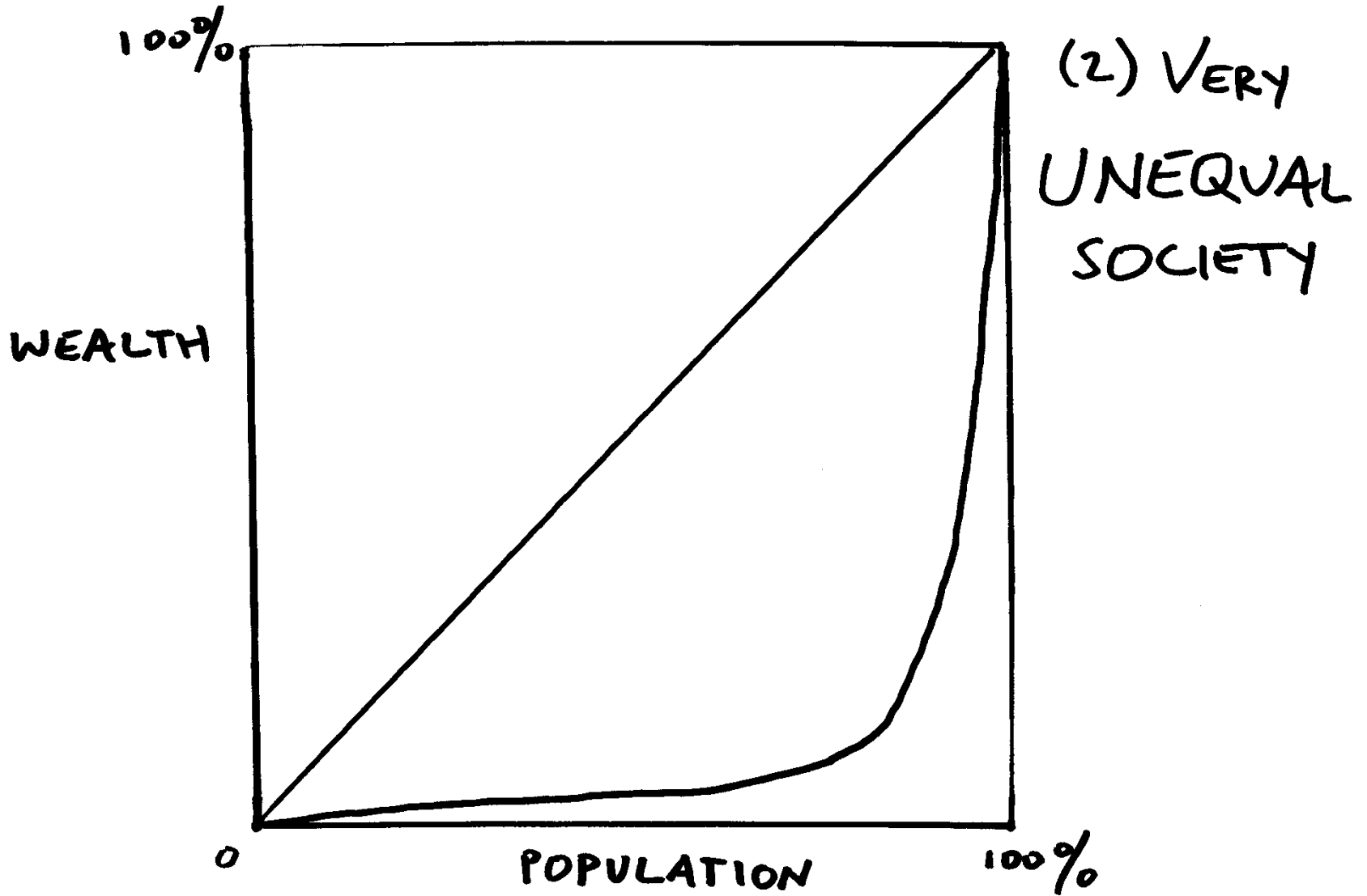
# GINI CHART



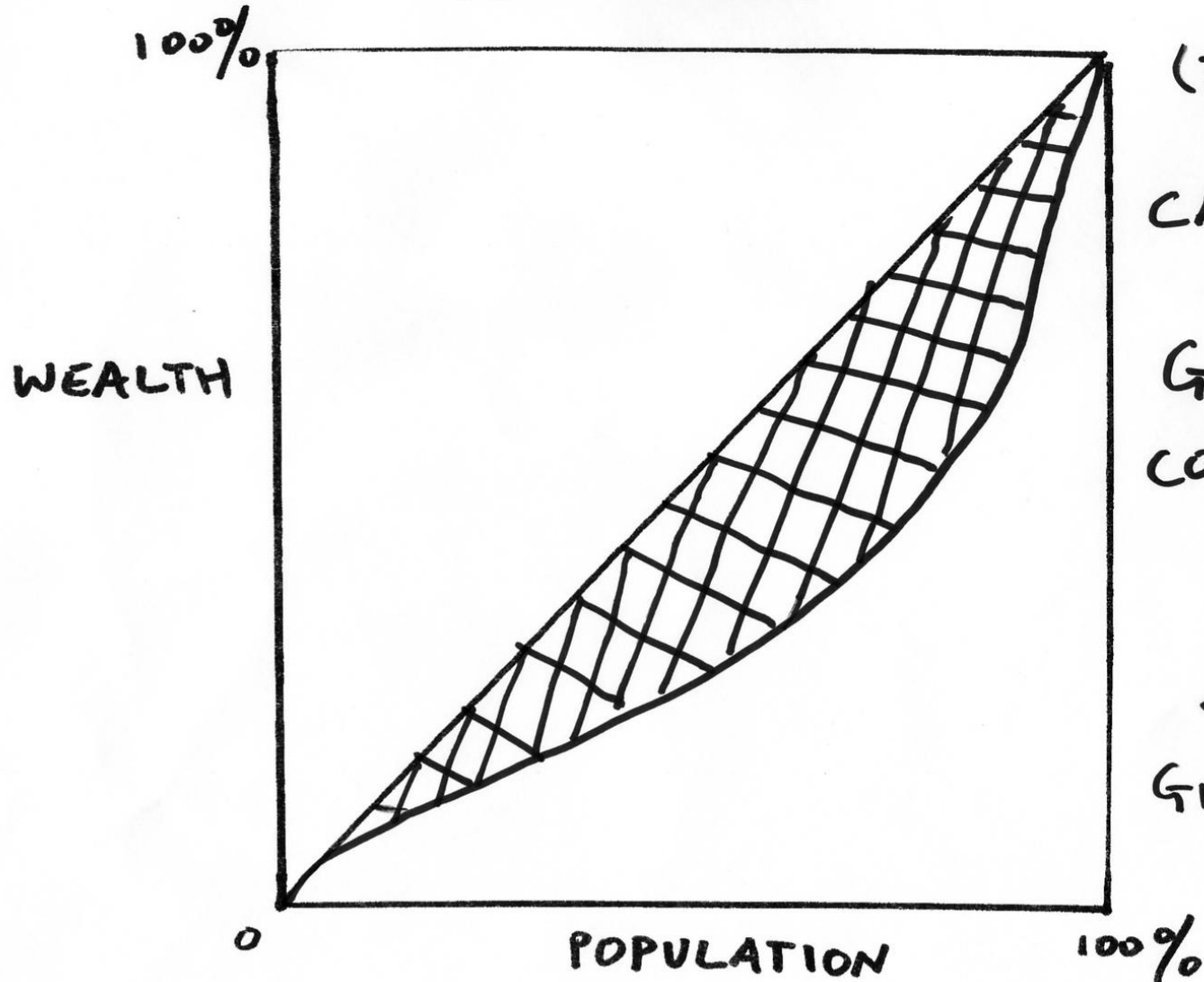
(1) VERY  
EQUAL  
SOCIETY



# GINI CHART



# GINI CHART



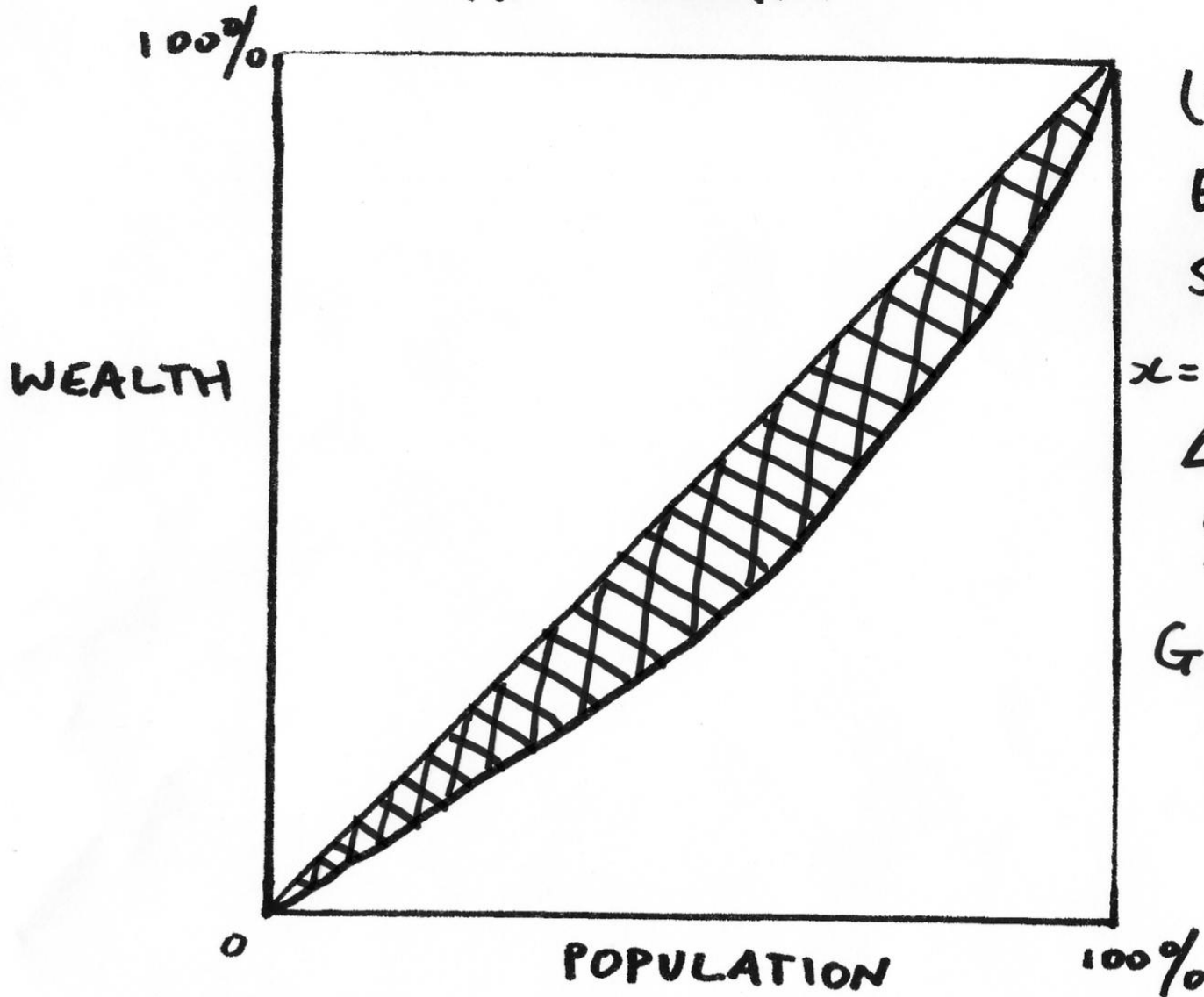
(3) HOW  
TO  
CALCULATE  
THE  
GINI  
COEFFICIENT

$$\Delta = x$$

$$\text{shaded area} = y$$

$$\text{GINI} = \frac{y}{x}$$

# GINI CHART

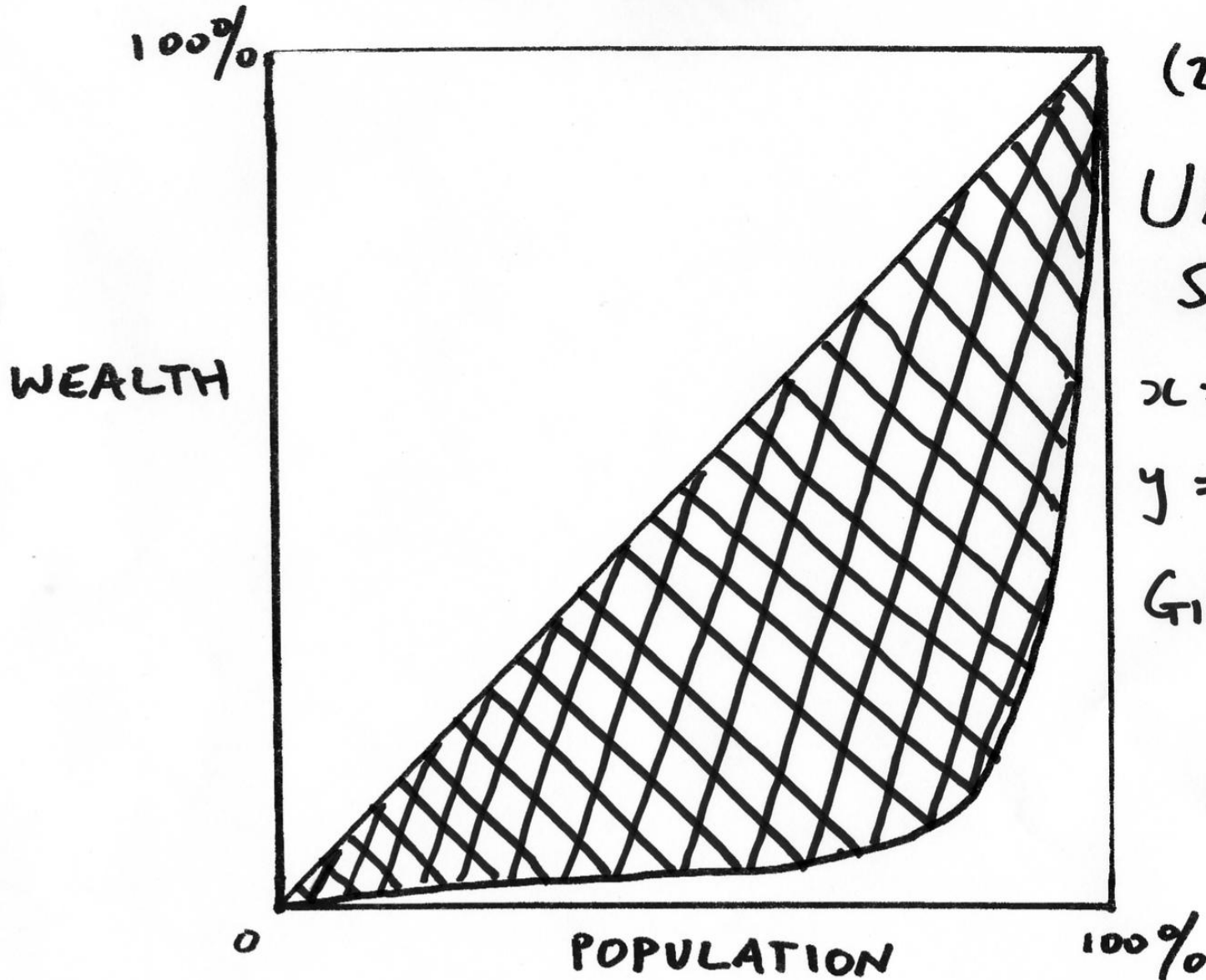


(1) VERY  
EQUAL  
SOCIETY

$$x = \triangle = 100$$
$$y = \text{shaded area} = 10$$

$$\begin{aligned} \text{GINI} &= \frac{y}{x} \\ &= \frac{10}{100} \\ &= \boxed{0.1} \end{aligned}$$

# GINI CHART



(2) VERY  
UNEQUAL  
SOCIETY

$$x = \triangle = 100$$

$$y = \text{shaded area} = 90$$

$$\begin{aligned} \text{GINI} &= \frac{y}{x} \\ &= \frac{90}{100} \\ &= \boxed{0.9} \end{aligned}$$

# Gini Coefficients, 1966-73

Country	Year	Pre-tax	Post-tax
Australia	1966-67	0.313	0.312
France	1970	0.416	0.414
Germany	1973	0.396	0.383
Sweden	1972	0.346	0.302
Britain	1973	0.344	0.318
USA	1972	0.404	0.381
<b>JAPAN</b>	<b>1969</b>	<b>0.335</b>	<b>0.316</b>

**Source: Deborah Milly, *Poverty, Equality and Growth: The Politics of Economic Need in Postwar Japan*, p.5.**

# Egalitarian Japan, inegalitarian USA?

<b>Country</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Pre-tax</b>	<b>Post-tax</b>
<b>USA</b>	<b>1972</b>	<b>0.404</b>	<b>0.381</b>
<b>JAPAN</b>	<b>1969</b>	<b>0.335</b>	<b>0.316</b>

平等な日本、不平等なアメリカ？

# So much depends on the comparison...

Country	Year	Pre-tax	Post-tax
Australia	1966-67	0.313	0.312
Sweden	1972	0.346	0.302
Britain	1973	0.344	0.318
<b>JAPAN</b>	<b>1969</b>	<b>0.335</b>	<b>0.316</b>

どこの国と比較するかにより、結果は全然違う...

**What happened after that?**

**それからはどうなりました？**



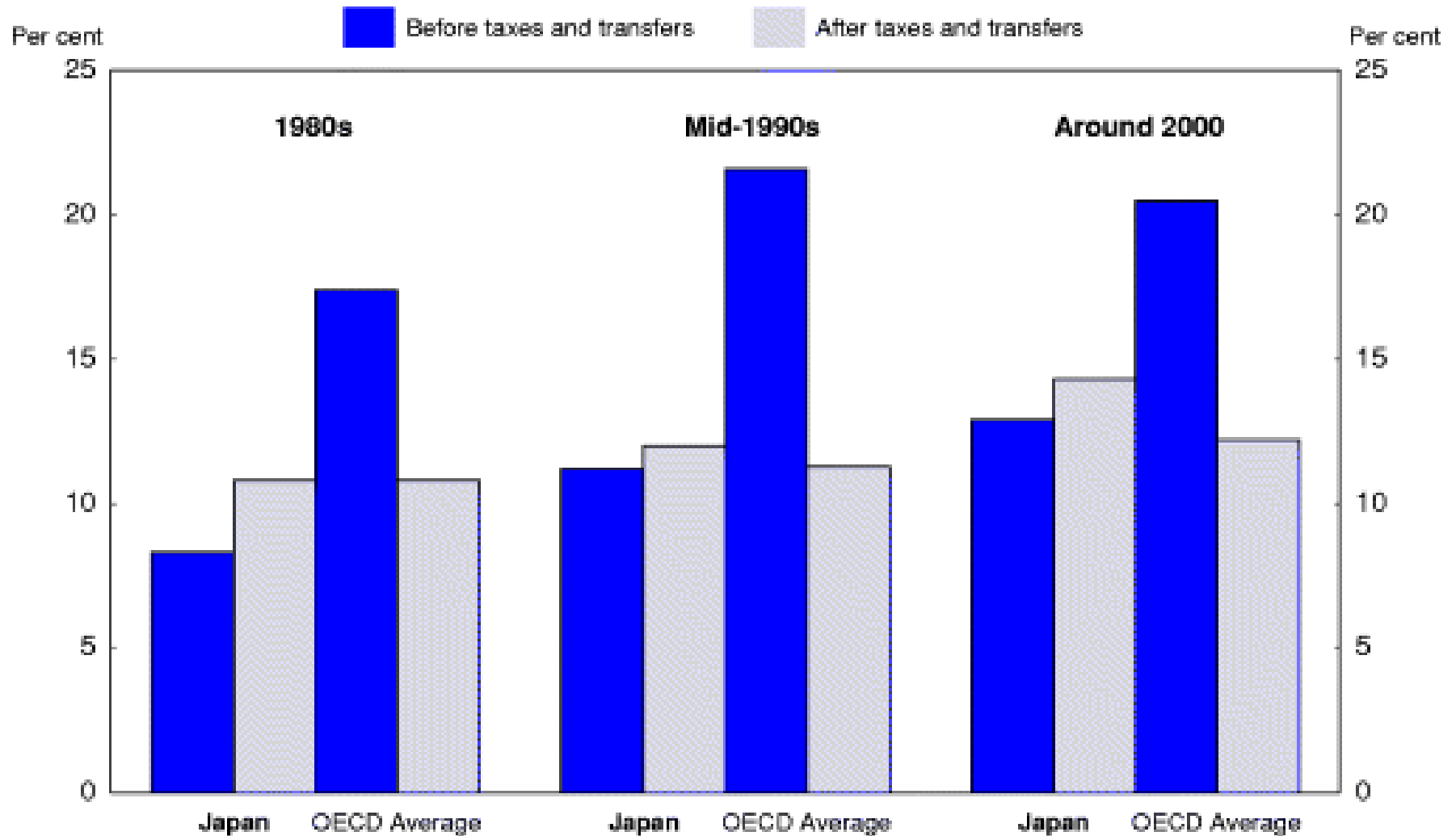
# Gini Index for Japan, 1981-1996

Year	Gini Index
1981	0.330
1984	0.382
1987	0.388
1990	0.421
1993	0.426
<b>1996</b>	<b>0.434</b>

日本のジニ係数

Source: Ministry of Health and Welfare, Japan (2000)

# Rising child poverty



**Widening inequality**

**不平等化**

***Fubyodoka***

# ***A flood of writing...***

**Toshiaki Tachibanaki *Nihon no Keizai Kakusa* (Japan's Economic Differentials; 1998)**

**橘木俊詔、『経済格差』**

**Toshiki Sato *Fubyodo Shakai Nihon: Sayonara Sochuryu* (Japan as an Unequal Society: Farewell to the General Middle Class; 2000)**

**佐藤俊樹、『不平等社会日本』**

橋木俊詔著

# 日本の経済格差

—所得と資産から考える—



格差拡大の実態と  
メカニズムを検証

前刊  
**60**年  
岩波新書

最新刊

定価(本体640円+税)

# 『日本の経済格差—所得と資産から考える』

## 橋木 俊詔

(たちばなき・としあき)

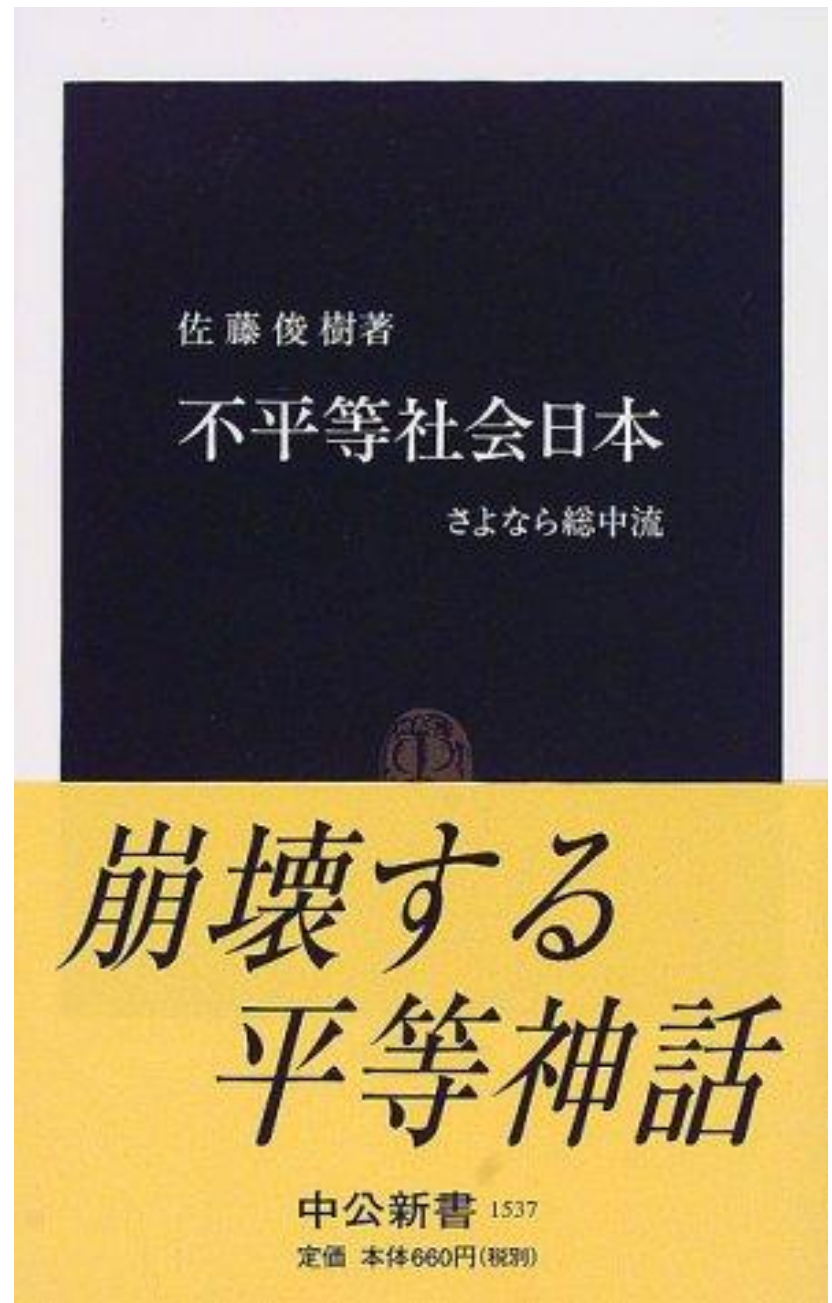
### 岩波新書、1998年

『不平等社会日本—さよなら総中流』

佐藤 俊樹

(さとう・としき)

中公新書、2000年



# The educational aspect

**Kariya Takehiko, *Kaisōka Nihon to Kyō'iku Kiki* (Stratifying Japan and the Educational Crisis; 2001)**

# 階層化日本と教育危機

インセンティブ・ディバイド  
——不平等再生産から意欲格差社会へ

苅谷剛彦 著



有信堂

階層化日本と教育危機——不平等  
再生産から意欲  
格差社会へ  
苅谷 剛彦  
かりや・たけひこ

有信堂高文社、  
2001年



# More *Fubyodoka*

Minoru Yamada, *Kibo Kakusa Shakai*,  
(‘The Hope Differential Society’)

山田実、『希望格差社会』

Atsushi Miura *Karyu Shakai* (Lower-  
class Society; 2005)

三浦展 2005年『下流社会 新たな階層  
集団の出現』

# ***Nikyokubunka* (polarization)**

***Kachigumi-makegumi***

**(winners and losers)**

***Make'inu no toboe* (the  
distant howling of beaten  
dogs) [title of a book by  
Sakai Junko, 2006]**

# Parallel trends

- **Ethnic/cultural homogeneity challenged by series of “multi” books (multicultural, multilingual, multiethnic Japan)**
- **Economic equality challenged by series of “inequalitization” (*fubyodoka*) books**

**INEQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY**

「機会の不平等」

**INEQUALITY OF OUTCOME**

「結果の不平等」

*The former breeds more  
resentment than the latter*

**REAL WIDENING OF INEQUALITY**

**実の不平等化**

**STRONGER CONSCIOUSNESS  
OF INEQUALITY**

**不平等性に対するより強い意識**

# Toshiki Sato 佐藤 俊樹

**... takes the strong position that a “myth of equality” used to blind Japanese people to inequality, whereas nowadays a “myth of inequality” is blinding people to those aspects of society that are relatively egalitarian.**

**平等の神話から不要同の神話へ**

# **Aspects of inequality**

- 1. The Dual Economy**
- 2. The Bubble Economy and its Collapse**
- 3. Rising Unemployment**
- 4. Rising bankruptcies**
- 5. Spread of Insecure Labor**
- 6. Low birthrate / aging society**

# 1. The “dual economy”: Big firms and little firms, regular and irregular workers

大企業と中小企業により正規・  
非正規労働者により、事情は  
違う



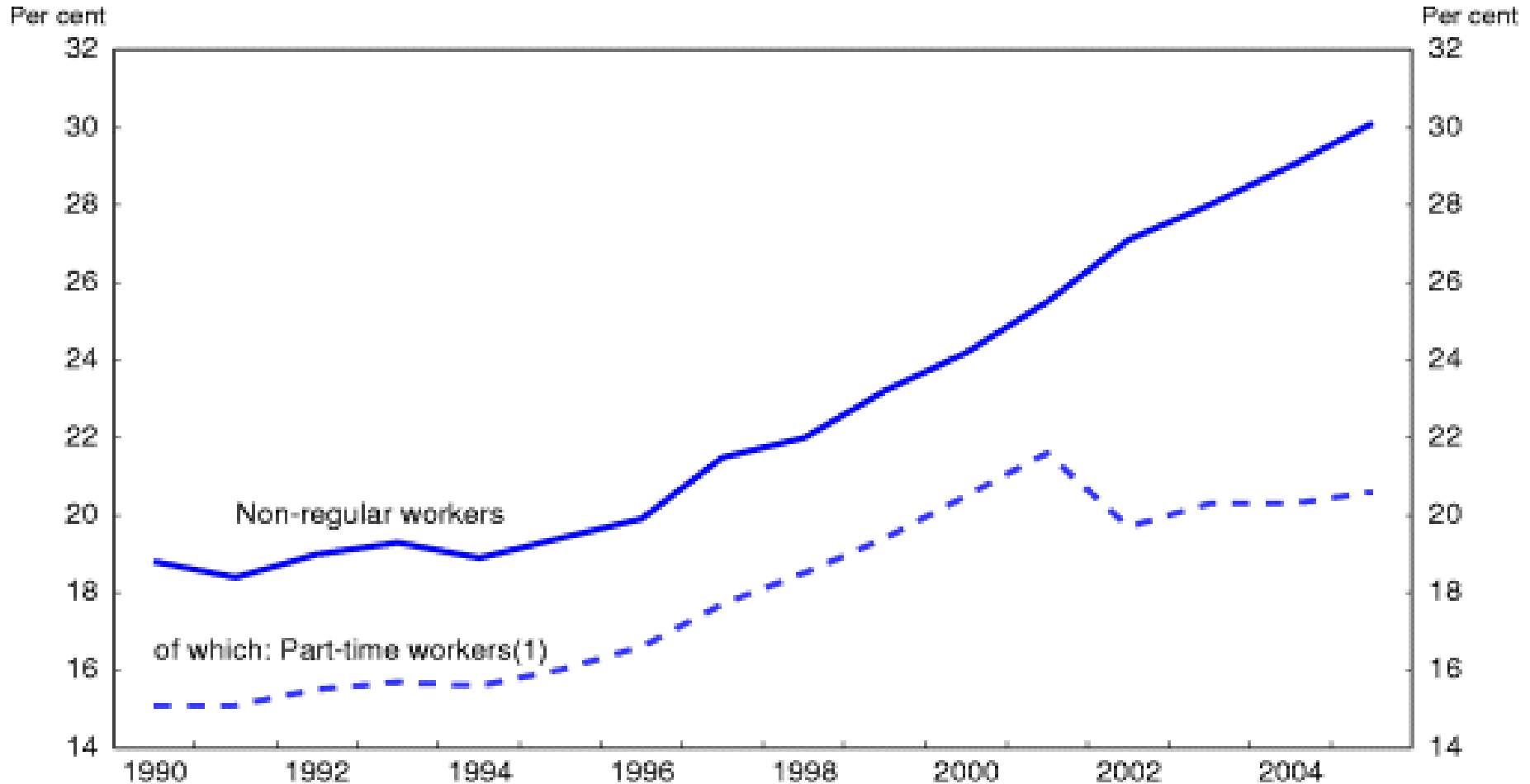
# Wage differentials in manufacturing industry by size of firm, 1965-1995 企業の規模により賃金の差

<b>Year</b>	<b>Over 1,000 employees</b>	<b>100-999 employees</b>	<b>10-99 employees</b>
<b>1965</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>82%</b>	<b>78%</b>
<b>1970</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>80%</b>	<b>74%</b>
<b>1975</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>82%</b>	<b>73%</b>
<b>1980</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>79%</b>	<b>70%</b>
<b>1985</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>77%</b>	<b>69%</b>
<b>1990</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>76%</b>	<b>68%</b>
<b>1995</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>79%</b>	<b>69%</b>

**Source: Ministry of Labour White Papers, 1965-1995.**

# Dual economy: more irregular workers

## 非正規労働者の増加 (OECD 2006)



# 嘱託、アルバイト、非常勤、 フリーター、期間工、派遣

- *Shokutaku, arbeiter, hijokin, freeter, kikanko, paato, haken...* a lot of different words to signify temporary/part-time/seasonal workers with little or no security of employment
- 1987, Nakasone legalizes employment dispatch agencies [hakengyo, 派遣業]

# 労使関係の希薄化

Initially limited by industrial sector, but by 2003, the last restrictions are gone.

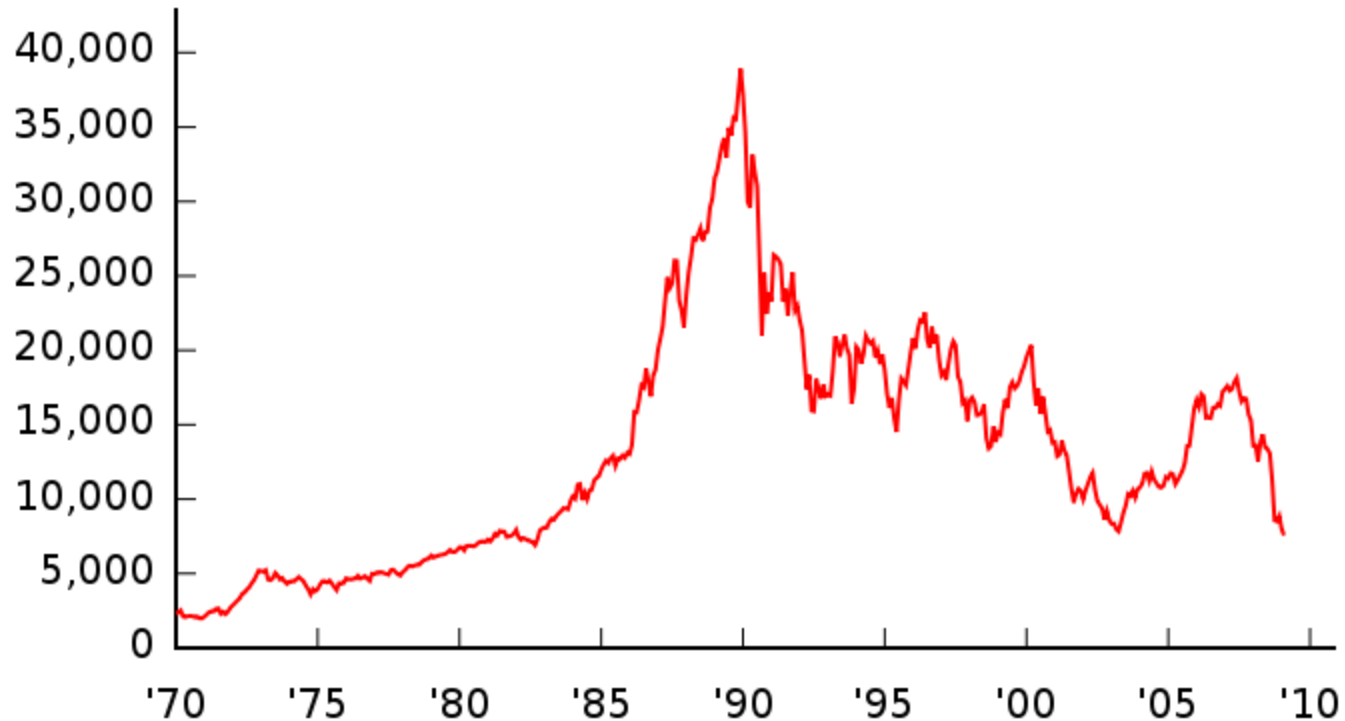
A significant move because labor dispatch agencies weaken the ties of obligation between worker and employer by interposing a middle man.

2 types of *haken*: regular and registered... further differentiation.

## 2. The Bubble Economy and its Collapse

- ... creates far more very wealthy people...and very poor people
- **INCOME** – Still relatively egalitarian
- 収入 – まだ割合平等的
- **ASSETS** – Gap widening
- 資産 – 不平等化は激しい

# The bubble and after



**日経 Nikkei stock index, 1970-2009**

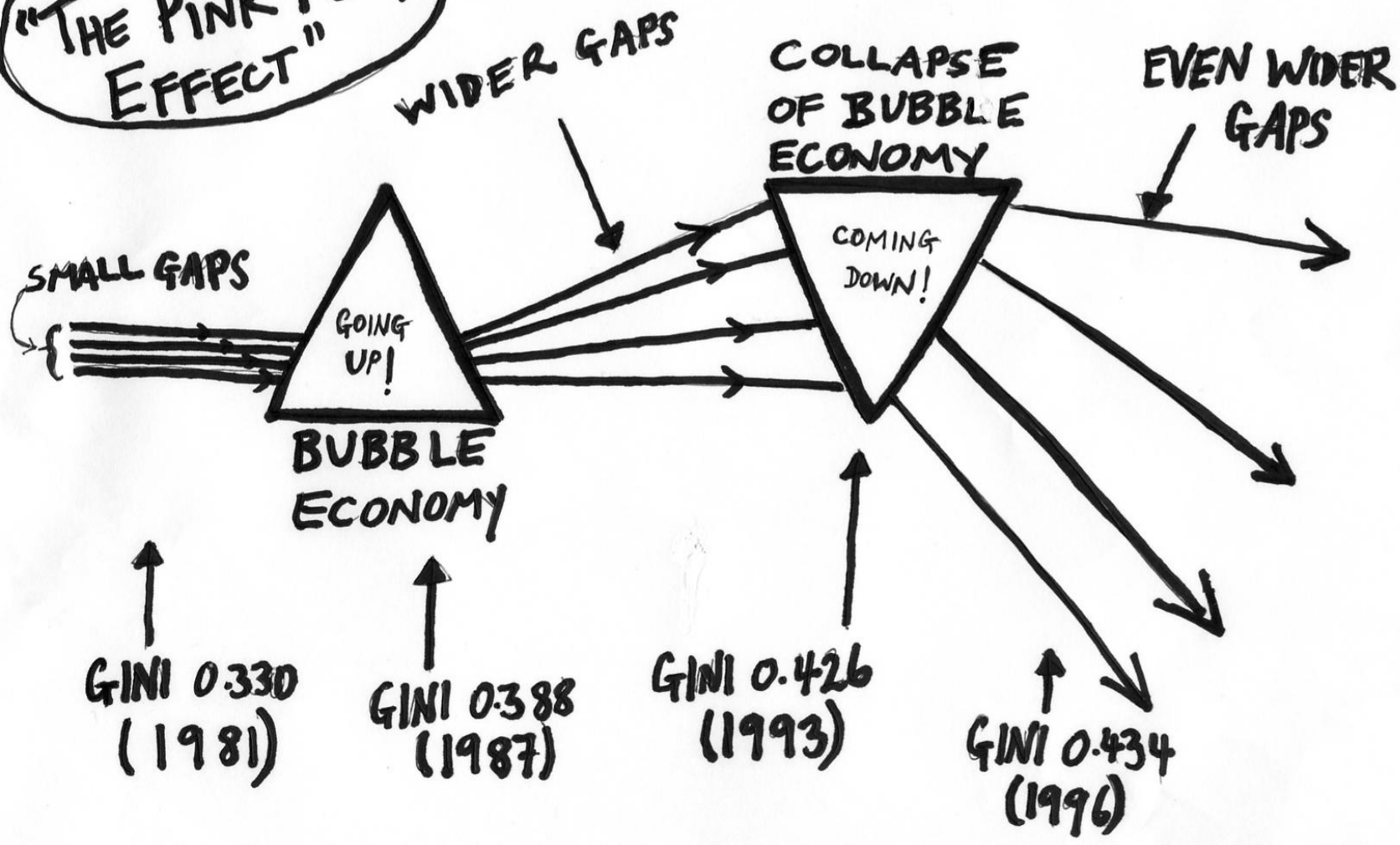
# ‘The Pink Floyd Effect’



「ピ。ンク・フロイド効果」

"THE PINK FLOYD EFFECT"

©. T. GILL 2003



バブル経済とその崩壊は日本の社会をより不平等にした過程

How the bubble economy and its collapse made Japan a more unequal society



# 3. Unemployment impact

## 失業率が急増でまた打撃

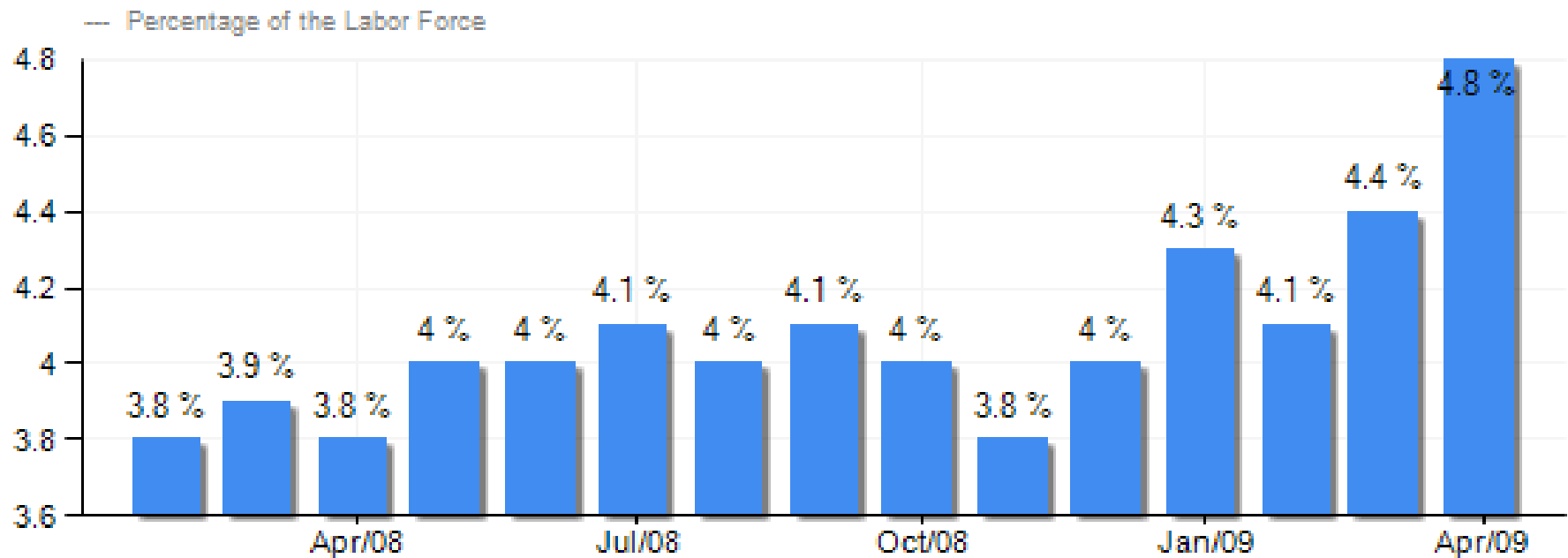
- For years, low unemployment was the pride of the Japanese economy... it briefly surpassed the US rate a few years ago: an important psychological moment.

<b>1970</b>	<b>1.1%</b>
<b>1980</b>	<b>2.0%</b>
<b>1990</b>	<b>2.1%</b>
<b>1997</b>	<b>3.4%</b>
<b>2001</b>	<b>5.5%</b>
<b>2003</b>	<b>5.5%</b>

**2011 4.3%**

# Hit by 2008 Lehmann shock...

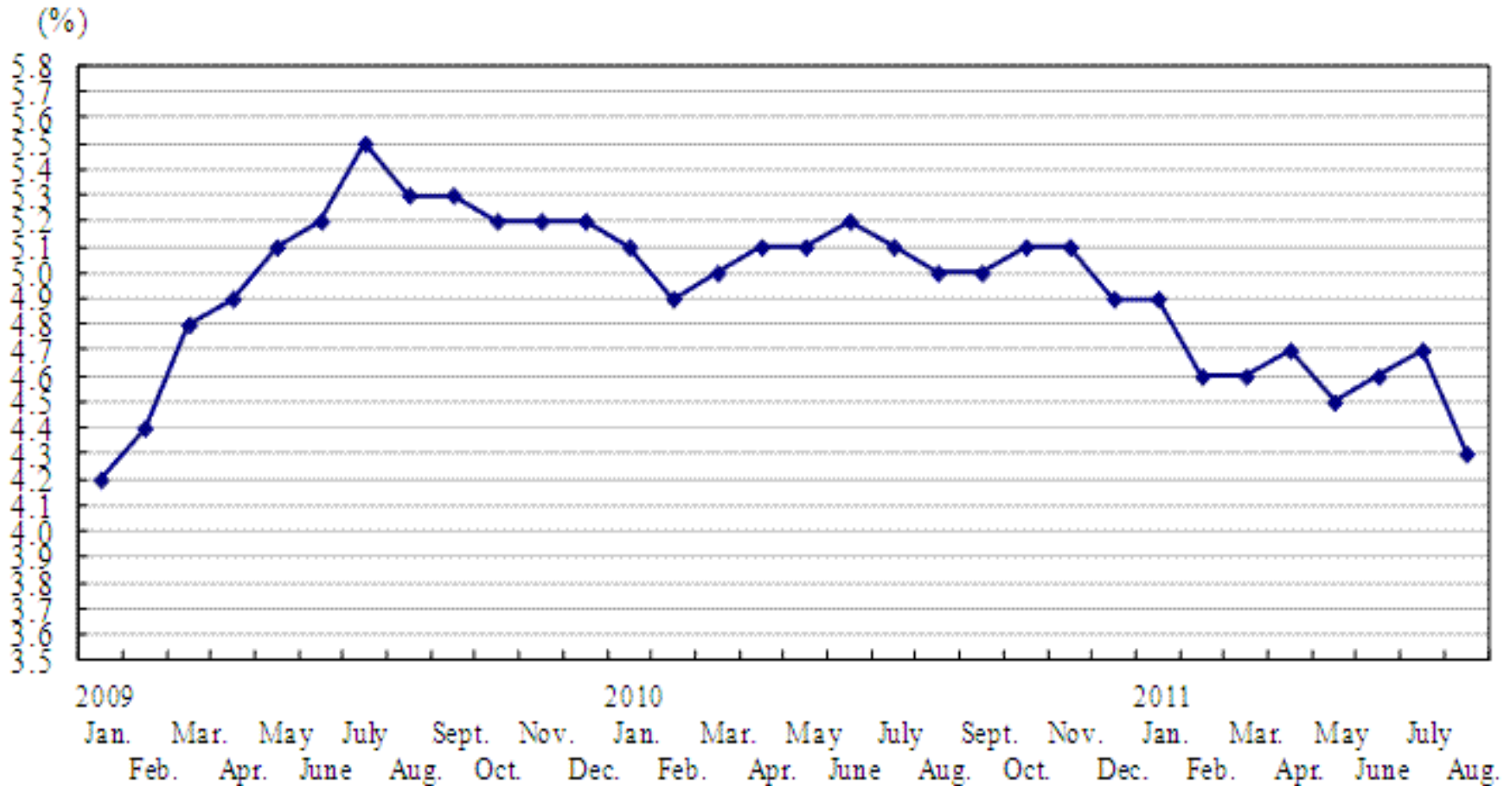
Japan Unemployment Rate



source: Ministry of Internal Affairs &

# Now slowly getting over the Lehmann shock

- Unemployment rate (Seasonally adjusted) -



# Worse than it seems?

This is the 'absolute unemployment rate'  
(*kanzen shitsugyo-ritsu*) 完全失業率

- Excludes anyone with even a tiny bit of part-time work.
- Also excludes anyone who is not officially looking for work, e.g. long-term unemployed who have given up using employment exchanges.
- Most married women are automatically excluded.

## 4. Personal bankruptcies 自己破産件数

<b>1990</b>	<b>11,000 cases</b>
<b>2000</b>	<b>139,000 cases</b>
<b>2006</b>	<b>166,000 cases</b>

**Twelve times higher in ten years  
then higher still**

Still not as bad as the US on this point  
まだ米国に「キャッチアップ」していないが

- **US – C. 1.4 million personal bankruptcies a year. Allowing for double population, still about 5 times higher than the Japanese rate...**
- **米国は毎年焼く140万件があり、人口は日本の約2倍だけど、それでも個人破産率は日本の率の約5倍...**

**But 20 years ago the US  
rate was FIFTY times  
higher. The gap is  
closing...**

**20年前、アメリカの個人破産率は日  
本の個人破産率の50倍だった  
ので、その差ががなりハイペースで  
狭くなっている。**

# Related issue: *Sarakin* サラ金

**The concept of the overdraft... does not exist in Japan.**

**If you experience a cash-flow problem, you have to formally apply for a bank loan, explaining what you need it for... very humiliating.**

**OR you can borrow it from a sarakin (loan shark), no questions asked, no human contact! But rather high interest rates...**



# ***Suicidal social consequences***

**Every year from 1998 to 2009, more than 30,000 Japanese killed themselves, leaving Japan with by far the highest suicide rate in the developed world.**

**(2010: 29,524 – a ray of light)**

**About 600 suicides a week.**

**Partly an economic phenomenon.**

**Suicide rates are growing fastest among men in their 40s and 50s, the demographic most affected by Japan's financial restructuring.**

# Better off without me

- **According to the World Health Organization, 25 Japanese out of every 100,000 take their life. That is more than double the U.S. suicide rate and three times that of Britain. Elsewhere in Asia, 14.7 per 100,000 Hong Kong residents kill themselves, while the figure is 9.5 in Singapore.**
- **For some, joblessness leads to a desperate calculus that families would be better off without them - and the debt collectors. Insurance companies in Japan still pay out life insurance policies on suicides.**

# ***Personal Responsibility***

- **In Japan, owners of smaller companies have responsibility for corporate debts, so they go personally bankrupt, too, when a business fails. This system leads to debt-related suicides.**

**What is the government  
doing about inequality?**

**行政は金持ちからお金を取って、  
そのお金を貧困者にあげること  
がどれぐらいやられている？**

**Take from the Rich,  
Give to the Poor?**

そ~~う~~でも~~な~~い。

**Not really.**

# Income tax

<b>Taxable Income (Yen)</b> <b>(a)</b>	<b>Rate</b> <b>(b)</b>	<b>Exemption (Yen)</b> <b>(c)</b>
<b>1000 to 1,949,000</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>1,950,000 to 3,299,000</b>	<b>10%</b>	<b>97,500</b>
<b>3,300,000 to 6,949,000</b>	<b>20%</b>	<b>427,500</b>
<b>6,950,000 to 8,999,000</b>	<b>23%</b>	<b>636,000</b>
<b>9,000,000 to 17,999,000</b>	<b>33%</b>	<b>1,536,000</b>
<b>Over 18 million</b>	<b>40%</b>	<b>2,796,000</b>

**Public Sector Social Spending as a Percentage of National Income. Source: *Keizai* (2000), fig 2, p. 52.**

	<b>Health</b> 健康	<b>Pensions</b> 年金	<b>Welfare</b> 福祉	<b>Total</b>
<b>Japan</b> <b>(1997)</b>	<b>6.5</b>	<b>9.3</b>	<b>2.0</b>	<b>17.8</b>
<b>France</b> <b>(1993)</b>	<b>9.2</b>	<b>18.4</b>	<b>10.2</b>	<b>37.7</b>
<b>Germany</b> <b>(1993)</b>	<b>8.7</b>	<b>14.3</b>	<b>10.3</b>	<b>33.3</b>
<b>UK (1993)</b>	<b>7.3</b>	<b>10.8</b>	<b>9.1</b>	<b>27.2</b>
<b>USA</b> <b>(1992)</b>	<b>6.8</b>	<b>8.4</b>	<b>3.5</b>	<b>18.7</b>

国民所得の何%が公共出資に使われている？

## Public Expenditure on Wage-Related Income-Transfer Programs 1992 (percentage of GDP)

<b>UK</b>	<b>7.84</b>
<b>Germany</b>	<b>6.31</b>
<b>France</b>	<b>5.39</b>
<b>US</b>	<b>2.64</b>
<b>Japan</b>	<b>0.91</b>

**Food stamps, bus passes for senior citizens, welfare payments etc.**

**老人のバスパス、食券、貧困者の法外援助などなど**

Source: Tanzi, Vito. 2000. 'Globalization and the Future of Social Protection.' IMF Working Paper, WP/00/12, January. Table II. 11, Unemployment payments excluded.



# More insecure labor

**PAATO... HAKEN... FREETER...  
NEET**

パート、派遣、フリーター、ニートへ

Part-timers [may work full time]

Dispatch personal (temp agencies)

Freeter: “Free arbeiter” – still doing part-time jobs after completing education.

NEET: “Not in employment, education or training.”

# Wage differentials

	2001	2005
<b>A. All employees</b>	<b>5,030,000</b>	<b>4,875,000</b>
<b>B. Temporary workers</b>	<b>2,395,000</b>	<b>2,917,000</b>
<b>B/A</b>	<b>47.6%</b>	<b>59.8%</b>

## **6. Low birthrate/aging society**

- 1. Economic gap wider among older people; older people now a bigger proportion of the population; therefore tends to widen differentials.**
- 2. With no children, or very few children, people resent inequality more because they lose the chance of seeing their children better themselves. (Sato Toshiki)**

**What does it mean at  
the human level?**

**では、人間レベルではどういう意味なのか？**

# *More poor families...*

- **Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare 厚生労働省 Citizen's Basic Living Survey (国民生活基礎調査) 9 August 2002: 247,000 households surveyed.**
- **Average household income for 2000 about 6.17 million yen.**
- **For families with children under the age of 18, average annual household income was about 7.26 million yen.**
- **Down 1.5% from the previous year.**
- **Fourth straight year with a decline in average income.**

- **59.3% of families with children said they felt their economic situation was difficult.**
- **「子供もち」の家族：59.3%は「苦しい」**

# Single-mother families worst-off

- **The average annual income of these families was just 2.52 million yen, about one-third of the average.**
- **母子家庭の年収は252万円,約三部の一**

# And their numbers are growing

- **The 1993 National Survey on Lone Mothers Households Etc. (全国母子家庭等調査) counted 789,900.**
- **In 1998 the same survey recorded 954,900.**
- **This was an increase of 165,000, up 20.9% in just five years... and almost certain to increase.**



**Because the divorce  
rate is also climbing  
fast**

- **離婚率も増加中です**

*Up 100% in 24 years*

*24年間で100%アップ*

- **Between 1973 and 1997, the number of divorces per year doubled from 111,877 to 225,635. In 2010, the estimated number was 251,000, to 2.3 times the level of 1973.**

# **Dad avoids responsibility**

- **No legal enforcement on alimony payments by men who leave their wives and children.**

# More homeless people





**Large communities in parks...**



***...and on the riverside.***

# 2002: Self-reliance Support Law

**‘Special Law on Temporary Measures to Support the Self-reliance of Homeless People’ (*Homuresu no Jiritsu no Shien Nado ni Kan-suru Tokubetsu Sochi-ho*). Drafted by DPJ members when still in opposition. 10-year limit; extended for 5 more in 2012.**

**ホームレスの自立等に関する特別措置法**

# Government figures for street homeless in Japan

<b>1998</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>2001</b>	<b>2003</b>	<b>2007</b>	<b>2010</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2012</b>
<b>16,247</b>	<b>20,451</b>	<b>24,090</b>	<b>25,296</b>	<b>18,564</b>	<b>13,124</b>	<b>10,890</b>	<b>9,576</b>

*Job nearly done?*



**Reasons to temper joy  
at falling numbers**

# 1. City figures give reason to doubt

<b>CITY</b>	<b>Jan 2003</b>	<b>Jan 2007</b>	<b>Jan 2010</b>	<b>Jan 2012</b>	<b>9 yr % change</b>
<b>Tokyo</b>	<b>5,927</b>	<b>4,213</b>	<b>2,786</b>	<b>2,134</b>	<b>-64%</b>
<b>Osaka</b>	<b>6,603</b>	<b>4,069</b>	<b>2,860</b>	<b>2,171</b>	<b>-67%</b>
<b>Kawasaki</b>	<b>829</b>	<b>848</b>	<b>666</b>	<b>543</b>	<b>-34%</b>
<b>Fukuoka</b>	<b>607</b>	<b>784</b>	<b>393</b>	<b>226</b>	<b>-63%</b>
<b>Nagoya</b>	<b>1,788</b>	<b>741</b>	<b>502</b>	<b>347</b>	<b>-81%</b>
<b>Yokohama</b>	<b>470</b>	<b>661</b>	<b>710</b>	<b>609</b>	<b>+30%</b>
<b>Kyoto</b>	<b>624</b>	<b>387</b>	<b>277</b>	<b>166</b>	<b>-75%</b>

**“We are almost proud that Kawasaki’s figure went up in 2007. It shows that we are one of the few groups who take the count seriously. We really know where the homeless guys are.” (Member of Kawasaki Wednesday Patrol).**

# 2. The meaning of words

Concept	US	UK	Japan
Sleeping in the street	Street homeless	Rough sleepers	Nojukusha, homuresu, aokan 野宿者 アオカン
Have roof but no fixed abode	Sheltered homeless	Homeless	No common term
Could become homeless	At risk	Vulnerable	Yobigun 予備軍

# International comparison is hard

<b>Concept</b>	<b>US pop</b>	<b>UK pop</b>	<b>Japan pop</b>
<b>Sleeping in the street</b>	<b>“350,000”</b>	<b>“503”</b>	<b>“13,124”</b>
<b>No fixed abode</b>	<b>“400,000”</b>	<b>“380,000”</b>	<b>?</b>
<b>Could become homeless</b>	<b>“c. 5 million?”</b>	<b>“c. 1 million?”</b>	<b>?</b>

***Since Japan now has several thousand beds in emergency and transitional facilities, a US-style analysis would see the recent decline in numbers as evidence of a switch from street homeless to sheltered homeless.***

# 3. Role of “Poverty Business” NPOs (1998 NPO Law)

- **SSS (Social Security Service):** buys up empty company dormitories around Tokyo
- **Houses homeless people in them**
- **Helps residents apply for livelihood protection, usually successfully**
- **Pockets c. 90% of welfare payments for food + lodging...**
- **Run by ex-yakuza, busted for tax evasion**

***Now houses 3-4,000 people in  
the greater Tokyo area...***

***... more than all the public  
shelters in Japan put  
together.***



**Similar large-scale NPOs operate in the Yokohama area (*Sagami*) and the Osaka area (*Daito Network*). The latter were busted for tax evasion in May 2007, accused of concealing income of 130 million yen over 3 years.**

**Love them or hate them, these  
NPOs get many people off the  
street and into livelihood  
protection.**

**(Compared to the welfare population, the homeless population is like a flea on an elephant's bum.)**

# 4. Livelihood protection (*seikatsu hogo* 生活保護) recipients

1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010	2012
1.43	1.01	0.88	1.07	1.48	1.83	2.13

**Unit: Millions of people,**

**2012 figure for November, others January**

**Source: Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare**

**Roughly speaking...**

***While officially reported  
homeless people have  
declined by a few thousand,  
people living off welfare  
have risen by several  
hundred thousand...***

***Numbers of homeless, and the rise and fall in their numbers, are small enough to possibly be accounted for simply in terms of livelihood protection policy... embarrassment over homelessness & pressure from activists & NPOs starting to shame the government into meeting its constitutional obligations.***

# **Class vs. Status**

- **Japan may still LOOK egalitarian because class is not just a matter of money... but also of lifestyle etc.**
- **A story from Oxford... the Manor Ground and the John Radcliffe Hospital.**

**2000s: Trans Pacific Press (Melbourne, Australia) publishes a series of important works on class and poverty in Japan.**

***Class Structure in Contemporary Japan* by Kenji Hashimoto (2003).**

***Japan's Underclass*, by Hideo Aoki (2006).**

***Poverty and Social Welfare in Japan*, ed. Akihiko Nishizawa and Masami Iwata. Melbourne (2008).**



**『階級社会  
日本』**

**橋本 健二**

**青木書店、2001年**

**Hashimoto analyzes Japan as  
having 4 classes:**

**Capitalist, old middle  
class, new middle class,  
and working class.**

# Japan's Underclass

Cheryl L. Johnson and Ken Takahashi



# Poverty and Social Welfare in Japan



# POVERTY AND SOCIAL WELFARE IN JAPAN

Edited by  
Mitsuru Imai  
with  
Akihiro Matsuyama

**While Aoki focuses on the  
underclass**

**Coming up next:**

**Social Control**

**社会管理**