

Outline of Surveys on Working Life in 1999, 2000 and 2001

“A sense of unity with the organization”, “effort” and “post-materialism” will be the key elements of working life.

The 1st Survey on Working Life (1999) made it clear that there are two strata of work consciousness. The objective of this paper is to elucidate the trend of work consciousness from 1999 to 2001 by focusing attention on these two strata of work consciousness and to induce policy implications regarding future working life.

The two strata of work consciousness that were identified in the 1999 survey have the following characteristics. The first stratum supports lifetime employment and seniority wage systems regarding employment, approves of the distribution of wealth (hereinafter referred to as “distribution”) based on the principles of effort, need and equality (hereinafter referred to as “effort,” “need” and “equality,” respectively), reflects a low level of self-worth, and seeks maintenance of the status quo in life. In contrast, the second stratum supports self-development with respect to employment, approves of distribution based on the principle of achievement (hereinafter referred to as “achievement”), and is oriented towards post-materialism, de-emphasis on status, and a sense of self-worth in life.

As a result of the analysis of data for the period through 2001, it was found that the two strata continued to exist until that time. It was also found that both strata attached importance to “a sense of unity with the organization” as regards employment, to distribution based on “effort,” and on “post-materialism” with respect to life. Another finding was that “a sense of unity with the organization” and “post-materialism” were also very important for enhancing “job satisfaction” and “satisfaction in life.” From the above, it is indicated that these three principles are the key rules that bridge the first and second strata, which means that they constitute the basic framework of policy support (approach) for these strata and that the reorganization of the working society will proceed based on these principles.

The key points of the analysis results are as follows:

1. Evaluation of Japanese employment practices

— **Both supporters of “lifetime employment” and the “seniority wage system” and supporters of “self-development” attach importance to “a sense of unity with the organization.”**

***General trend**

As to the evaluation of Japanese employment practices, the percentage of respondents who supported “lifetime employment” and “a sense of unity with the organization” was higher than 70%, as was the percentage of those who approved of the “principle of “self-development,” which maintains that people should open up their own future by developing their capabilities on their own without relying on their organization or company.

***Determination by attribute**

“Lifetime employment” was supported more by women than men, more by older age groups than younger ones and more by those with less education than those with longer years of education. The “Seniority wage system” was also supported more by women and those with less education. But, “self-development was supported more by men. A “sense

of unity with the organization" was also supported more by men. Among working people, the "seniority wage system" was supported more by regular employees than non-regular employees, while "self-development" was disapproved of more by regular employees.

***Correlation between aspects of workers' consciousness on employment**

As a result of the analysis of the 1999 survey, it was found that there was a strong positive correlation between "lifetime employment" and the "seniority wage system," while "self-development" had a negative correlation with both "lifetime employment" and the "seniority wage system." Although the negative correlation between "self-development" and "lifetime employment" and the "seniority wage system" later weakened the two-strata structure continued to exist. A "sense of unity with the organization" had a positive correlation both with "lifetime employment" and the "seniority wage system" as well as with "self-development." In short, both the people who hope for the continuation of Japanese employment practices and those who hope for reform attach importance to a "sense of unity with the organization."

2. Principles for distribution

— Both supporters of "need" and "equality" and supporters of "achievement" approve of "effort."

***General trend**

The highest percentage of respondents, at more than 80%, supported the principle of "effort," which maintains that the more effort people make, the more rewards they should receive, in each of the three years. More than 75% approved of the principle of "achievement," which maintains that the more achievements people have the more rewards they should receive. In particular, the support rate for "achievement" rose to a similar level to the support rate for "effort." In contrast, the support rate is low for both the principle of "need," which maintains that the more needy people are, the more they should be given, and the principle of "equality," which maintains that everyone should be given an equal share.

***Determination by attribute**

"Achievement" was supported more by men. "Effort" was supported more by older age groups and by people with lower education. "Equality" was approved of by people with lower education. In the 2000 and 2001 surveys, "need" was supported more by lower income earners than higher income ones. Among working people, "equality" was disapproved of more by workers engaged in sales than by skilled workers and laborers. In the 1999 and 2001 surveys, "equality" was disapproved of more by workers engaged in clerical work than by skilled workers and laborers.

***Correlation between the principles for distribution**

As a result of the analysis of the 1999 survey, "effort" and "achievement" had a strong positive correlation, as did "need" and "equality." However, while "achievement" had a negative correlation with "equality," "effort" had a positive correlation. In 2000 and thereafter, the positive correlation between "achievement" and "effort" strengthened. In contrast, the positive correlation between "achievement" and "need" weakened, while the negative correlation between "equality" and "achievement" strengthened. In short, there is a polarization between "achievement" at one end and "need" and "equality" at the other end. "Effort" has a positive correlation with both "achievement" and "need." Consequently, "effort" may be regarded as a principle acting as a bridge between the two poles.

3. Consciousness on life — Both supporters of “self-worth” and supporters of “maintenance of the status quo” approve of post-materialism.

***General trend**

The support rate is high at around 80% for “post-materialism,” which attaches more importance to spiritual wealth and slow life than to material wealth, and for “de-emphasis on social status,” which refers to the attitude of seeking a life that gives a sense of satisfaction, rather than wealth and status. On the other hand, only around 30% had “anxiety over competition for status” and around 20% had “anxiety over loss of status.” In short, the attitude of seeking spiritual wealth and a lifestyle that gives a sense of satisfaction has become the mainstream. However, “anxiety over competition for status” is gradually growing.

*** Determination by attribute**

The level of “anxiety over competition for status” is higher among men than among women and also higher among younger people than among older age groups. In contrast, the support rate for “post-materialism” is higher among women, older people, and people with longer years of education. The approval rate of “maintenance of the status quo” was higher among women, older people, people with lower education and people with higher income. On the other hand, the approval rate of a sense of self-worth was higher among people with longer years of education and people with higher income. Among working people, “anxiety over competition for status” was felt more strongly among people with longer years of service in the 2000 and 2001 surveys. The approval rate for “maintenance of the status quo” was lower among workers in management posts and those engaged in clerical work than among skilled workers and laborers.

***Correlation between aspects of consciousness on life**

As a result of the analysis of the 1999 survey, there was a strong positive correlation between “post-materialism” and “de-emphasis on social status.” Furthermore, both “post-materialism” and “de-emphasis on social status” had a positive correlation with “de-emphasis on other-directedness,” “self-worth” and “maintenance of the status quo.” On the other hand, there was a strong positive correlation between “anxiety over competition for status” and “anxiety over loss of status.” “Maintenance of the status quo” had a positive correlation with “anxiety over competition for status” and “anxiety over loss of status.” Thereafter, the correlation between “post-materialism” and “self-worth” became the strongest ever in 2001, while the correlation between “post-materialism” and “maintenance of the status quo” weakened in 2001. The positive correlation between “maintenance of the status quo” and “anxiety over competition for status” strengthened. The correlation between these two is particularly strong among men. Despite the above changes, the basic structure remained stable in each of the three years.

4. Correlation between employment, distribution and consciousness on life

— Both the first and second strata attach importance to “a sense of unity with the organization,” “effort” and “post-materialism”.

***Correlation between consciousness on employment and the principles for distribution**

In the 1999 survey, there was a positive correlation between “lifetime employment”/ “seniority wage system” and “effort” and between “achievement” and “self-development.” However, in the 2001 survey, “achievement” had the strongest correlation with “a sense of unity with the organization” and as strong a positive correlation with “lifetime employment” as with a “self-development.” “Effort” had a

positive correlation not only with “lifetime employment”/“seniority wage system” but also with “a sense of unity with the organization”/ “self-development.”

***Correlation between consciousness on employment and consciousness on life**

In the 1999 survey, “lifetime employment” had a positive correlation with the “seniority wage system” and “maintenance of the status quo” and a negative correlation with “self-development.” On the other hand, “self-development” had a positive correlation with “de-emphasis on social status,” “self-worthiness” and “post-materialism.” However, in the 2001 survey, “post-materialism” had the strongest positive correlation with “a sense of unity with the organization” and a stronger correlation with lifetime employment than with “self-development.”

***Conclusion**

“A sense of unity with the organization” (consciousness on employment), “effort” (principles for distribution) and “post-materialism” (attitude toward life) are highly regarded by both the first stratum of people, who support “lifetime employment,” the “seniority wage system,” “need” and “equality” and prefer “the maintenance of the status quo,” and the second stratum of people, who support “self-development” and “achievement and have a sense of “self-worth.” Therefore, it is possible to approach both the first and second strata from the viewpoints of these three principles.

5. Job satisfaction

- **The stronger the “sense of unity with the organization” and the preference for “post-materialism” are, the higher the level of satisfaction is.**

***General trend**

The highest percentage of respondents, at around 60%, was satisfied with their jobs on the “dimension of responsibility,” which measures the level of satisfaction in terms of how wide the range of the worker’s job responsibilities is. The percentage of those who were satisfied with their jobs on the “dimension of ability,” which measures the level of job satisfaction in terms of how much the worker can exercise their abilities, was also around 60%. The percentage of those who were satisfied with their jobs on the “dimension of effort,” which measures the level of job satisfaction in terms of the rewards received in exchange of effort, and on the “dimension of work,” which measures the level of job satisfaction in terms of how challenging the work is, was relatively low at around 50%.

***Determination by attribute**

On every dimension, the higher the income is, the greater the level of job satisfaction was. On the dimension of effort, job satisfaction was greater among non-regular workers than among regular workers and also greater among workers in management positions than among skilled workers and laborers. On the dimension of ability, the level of job satisfaction was higher among older age groups. In the 2001 survey, the level of job satisfaction was higher among non-regular workers. On the dimension of work, the level of job satisfaction was higher among those in management positions than among skilled workers and laborers.

***Correlation with employment, distribution and consciousness on life**

On every dimension, job satisfaction had a positive correlation with “a sense of unity with the organization” and “post-materialism” (Table 1). From this, we may conclude that “a sense of unity with the organization” and “post-materialism” are important for enhancing job satisfaction. This trend is particularly pronounced among men.

6. Satisfaction in life — The stronger the “sense of unity with the organization is, the greater the level of satisfaction in life is.

***General trend**

The general level of satisfaction in life was high, with 65% of all respondents satisfied with their current life.

***Determination by attribute**

The level of satisfaction is higher among women than among men, among older age groups than among younger people, among higher income earners than among lower income earners and among households with a full-time housewife than among singles. In particular, gender and age were strong determinant factors. Among working people, the less frequently a worker switches jobs, the higher the level of his/her satisfaction is.

Table 1. Correlation between employment/principles for distribution/life consciousness and job satisfaction (all subjects)

		Dimension of effort	Dimension of ability	Dimension of work	Dimension of responsibility
Lifetime employment	1999	.114**	.092**	.028	.032
	2000	.058*	.067**	-.006	.039
	2001	.037	.071**	.018	.034
Seniority wage system	1999	.042	.020	-.025	-.037
	2000	.018	-.009	-.047	.003
	2001	.028	.043	.009	-.001
Increase in pay in return for reduction in benefit system	1999	-.029	-.022	.009	-.030
	2000	-.036	-.022	-.009	-.010
	2001	-.040	-.020	.000	.005
Self-development	1999	.028	.027	.055*	.021
	2000	.011	.042	.075**	.067**
	2001	.080**	.059*	.068**	.099**
A sense of unity with the organization	1999	.088**	.076**	.079**	.090**
	2000	.099**	.133**	.109**	.113**
	2001	.076**	.078**	.086**	.104**
Achievement	1999	.054*	.085**	.054*	.071**
	2000	.043	.005	.071**	.036
	2001	.052*	.026	.015	.053*
Effort	1999	.048*	.073**	.050*	.056*
	2000	.046	.035	.036	.089**

	2001	-.001	.026	.029	.043
Need	1999	.041	.017	.023	.012
	2000	.009	.005	-.021	-.001
	2001	.015	.012	-.009	.004
Equality	1999	-.028	-.047	-.032	-.088**
	2000	.022	-.011	-.011	-.013
	2001	-.023	-.015	-.009	-.010
Anxiety over competition for status	1999	-.015	-.049*	.016	-.036
	2000	-.038	-.050*	.026	-.037
	2001	-.073**	-.140**	-.061*	-.081**
Anxiety over loss of status	1999	-.036	-.067**	.017	-.018
	2000	-.047	-.064**	.015	-.032
	2001	-.094**	-.166**	-.075**	-.078**
Maintenance of the status quo	1999	.029	.060*	-.012	.079**
	2000	.075**	.066**	.012	.065**
	2001	.014	.114**	.031	.068**
De-emphasis on other-directedness	1999	.062*	.078**	.063**	.077**
	2000	.048*	.033	.112**	.089**
	2001	.020	.089**	.093**	.062**
De-emphasis on social status	1999	.035	.036	.030	.064**
	2000	.024	.047	.039	.026
	2001	.011	.059*	.025	.052*
Self-worth	1999	.103**	.135**	.167**	.155**
	2000	.014	.032	.097**	.055*
	2001	.067**	.076**	.134**	.117**
Post-materialism	1999	.077**	.078**	.074**	.104**
	2000	.087**	.091**	.096**	.111**
	2001	.051*	.119**	.090**	.075**

** Significant at 1% * Significant at 5%

***Correlation with consciousness concerning employment, distribution and consciousness concerning life**

Among both men and women, the level of satisfaction had a negative correlation with “anxiety over competition for status” and “anxiety over loss of status.” In short, the absence of anxiety over status is a critical condition for satisfaction in life. Satisfaction in life has a positive correlation with “post-materialism” and “a sense of unity with the

organization” (Table 2). It may be said that “post-materialism” and “a sense of unity with the organization” are important for enhancing satisfaction in life as well as job satisfaction.

Table 2. Correlation coefficient between of employment, distribution and consciousness on life and “satisfaction in life”

		Satisfaction in life		
		All	Men	Women
Lifetime employment	1999	.106**	.159**	.045
	2000	.077**	.101**	.044
	2001	.078**	.111**	.037
Seniority wage system	1999	.084**	.083**	.075**
	2000	.038*	.008	.052*
	2001	.054**	.067*	.033
Increase in pay in return for reduction in benefit system	1999	-.058**	-.024	-.096**
	2000	-.024	-.038	-.009
	2001	-.052**	-.084**	-.024
Self-development	1999	.024	.039	.015
	2000	.008	-.002	.033
	2001	.024	.051	.009
A sense of unity with the organization	1999	.054**	.052	.073*
	2000	.055**	.068*	.063*
	2001	.099**	.156**	.066*
Achievement	1999	.066**	.072*	.072**
	2000	.039*	.027	.066*
	2001	.025	.025	.039
Effort	1999	.036	.024	.048
	2000	.047*	.047	.042
	2001	.040*	.047	.032
Need	1999	.032	.017	.046
	2000	-.008	.032	-.047
	2001	-.008	-.015	-.003
Equality	1999	-.016	-.011	-.028

	2000	-.016	-.036	-.008
	2001	-.025	.010	-.063*
Anxiety over competition for status	1999	-.134**	-.144**	-.118**
	2000	-.129**	-.111**	-.136**
	2001	-.115**	-.094**	-.132**
Anxiety over loss of status	1999	-.156**	-.162**	-.141**
	2000	-.123**	-.123**	-.112**
	2001	-.140**	-.136**	-.140**
Maintenance of the status quo	1999	.040*	.062*	.009
	2000	.073**	.045	.087**
	2001	.043*	-.012	.083**
De-emphasis on other-directedness	1999	.052**	.064*	.042
	2000	.048*	.032	.065*
	2001	.031	.047	.014
De-emphasis on social status	1999	.046*	.079**	.009
	2000	.068**	.069*	.055*
	2001	.053**	.021	.079**
Self-worth	1999	.061**	.071*	.060*
	2000	.056**	.019	.103**
	2001	.077**	.048	.113**
Post-materialism	1999	.121**	.152**	.087**
	2000	.151**	.150**	.140**
	2001	.130**	.093**	.162**

**Significant at 1% *Significant at 5%

Introduction: Outline of the Survey

1. Research issues

The objective of this research is to elucidate the state of and changes in people's working lives by focusing on their work consciousness. More specifically, we conducted a time-series survey on the various elements of people's work consciousness, such as work-related values, interest in work, evaluation and intention of work, and attitude toward work, in order to grasp the changes in their consciousness. We also attempt to understand the baseline and trends related to people's jobs (occupation) and their life in general with the purpose of gauging and assessing the actual situation of workers and obtaining basic data for policy making.

Institutional fatigue in the field of labor and employment has now been revealed, so praises bestowed on the Japanese style of employment more than a decade ago now

seem like a distant memory, and reform of employment rules has become a matter of utmost urgency. While various systems that supported workers' lives are undergoing momentous change, it would not be an overstatement to say that workers face a state of turmoil in their lives.

The objective of this survey is to explain the actual situation of Japanese workers' lives. Considering today's state of confusion in the field of labor and employment, however, a significant weight must be given not only to clarifying the current state of affairs, but also to elucidating the future direction.

2. Medium-term view

When we focus on the future direction of working life, we must ask what the time frame of our research should be. In considering the future of workers' lives, how far into the future should we look?

In this research, we did not focus on the long term but mainly on the medium-term trends over the coming 10 years or so for the reasons stated below. The reasons are: (1) The environment surrounding working life is undergoing drastic changes, and as evidenced by the IT revolution, these external changes are expected to continue to occur more rapidly and in a wider range of fields; and (2) under the prolonged economic recession which has made the employment situation very severe, it is very difficult to forecast future trends.

For example, now that the unemployment rate in Japan has risen above the rate in the U.S., it is difficult to predict, at this stage, whether it will improve or further deteriorate. It is even more difficult to judge whether the current situation represents a bottom or is in a state of transition leading to a further decline.

In sum, because Japanese society is still expected to change significantly in the future and the current employment situation is very severe and uncertain, preparing a framework for the long-term approach is extremely difficult. Even if we undertook to prepare this framework knowing fully well about the difficulty, the resultant framework would likely be too general and not specific enough, and we could not expect to obtain any meaningful and accurate information therefrom. We believe that limiting our scope to the medium term of about 10 years and accurately understanding the changes during the period will be much more productive.

In this survey, the medium-term approach was adopted to examine the state of and changes in working life. The theoretical and methodological methods we used to explain these changes are shown below.

3. Research of consciousness

Needless to say, workers' lives are closely related not only to their jobs (companies and workplaces) but also to their families and local communities. Therefore, an inquiry into their lives could be extremely wide-ranging. The scope of this survey was limited as explained below. Instead of focusing on the actual situation of working life, such as how many hours a week people work or what their monthly wages are, we concentrated on people's consciousness, such as what they are interested in and how they assess the various aspects of their working lives. Indeed, research on consciousness may involve elements of uncertainty and instability compared with a fact-finding survey. However, in this survey, which focuses on future changes, research of consciousness has a significant meaning, because it is an approach more appropriate to the task of positively grasping changes. Consciousness expresses people's needs and consciousness phenomena suggest structural change. Therefore, when we look at expressions of

consciousness as leading variables for change, research of consciousness takes on a particularly positive meaning. In order to counteract the uncertain and unstable elements of consciousness and to increase the precision of the survey, we conducted a time-series survey on fixed items instead of an analysis of consciousness at a single point of time, bearing in mind that consciousness is not in itself reality (there is a gap between consciousness and reality).

4. Three frameworks for approaching people's work consciousness

In this survey, people's work consciousness is approached using three frameworks. The first is the framework of the Japanese employment practices that has supported postwar Japan and regulated work as a norm. The second is the framework of the industrial society that subsumes the first framework. We examined whether these norms or rules still function or how much they have disintegrated in the mind of the workers today. The third is the framework for the future norms or rules of society (i.e. new rules of the postindustrial society). From a future-oriented perspective, we looked at how people's minds are attuned to such norms or rules.

(1) Japanese employment practices

The Japanese employment practices are practices traditionally adopted by Japanese companies, such as the seniority wage system, lifetime (long-term) employment, and enterprise unionism.

The "Japanese employment practices" are not adopted by all Japanese companies. As is widely known, small- and medium-sized Japanese companies do not generally adopt the system. The "Japanese employment practices" are not necessarily unique to Japan. Past studies have confirmed that there are non-Japanese companies that have the seniority wage system and offer lifetime employment (Koike and Inoki, 1987).

The reason why those practices are described as "Japanese" is that the rules of lifetime employment and seniority wage system have been institutionalized in Japan as principles of employment. Institutionalization does not mean that the rules are written in law or in working rules. Rather, it is important to note that the rules function as an implicit norm that regulates employment. Employers are expected to abide by these rules, and employees work on the assumption that the rules are abided by. At small and medium-sized companies, these rules have not necessarily been standardized. Job security and skills enhancement, however, are the pillars of labor policies at small and medium-sized companies also, and this suggests that these companies model their employment management on lifetime employment and seniority systems. Therefore, lifetime employment and seniority systems are rules that apply not only to employment at large companies but employment at Japanese companies in general.

Vigorous empirical research activities concerning Japanese companies' employment and labor management have shed light on the state of the Japanese employment practices. It should be noted that these practices are highly rational. Under the seniority system, not all employees mechanically receive employment treatment in accordance with their length of service, but there is competition. A wage profile in which wages rise in accordance with the length of service merely represents an overall wage structure, so actual wages differ from worker to worker. Moreover, there is a rational mechanism that defines the wage profile. From a long-term perspective, companies employ young workers who at first engage in simple jobs and receive low wages. Eventually, they are transferred to different posts that require higher levels of skills, and their wages rise as

their skills are enhanced, a situation which justifies the seniority wage system. This is the essence of the Japanese employment practices (Koike, 1977).

As the Japanese employment practices are premised on lifetime employment, they provide a strong incentive for employers to retain employees and for employees to stay with their companies. This tendency is reinforced by the seniority wage system and supplemented by companies' welfare programs for their employees. This strengthens workers' commitment to their companies and builds a sense of unity with and loyalty thereto.

The Japanese employment practices are characterized by the seniority wage system, lifetime (long-term) employment, and enterprise unionism. As mentioned above, this system is a composite of a variety of programs and mechanisms, such as employee welfare programs, skills development, and formation of workers' commitment. Workers obtain the benefits of employment and income security, while companies secure high-quality labor in terms of both skills and commitment, making it possible to achieve a high level of productivity.

(2) Rules of industrial society

According to Max Weber, the industrial society and, more broadly, the modern society can be understood as a process of social rationalization. As typically seen in bureaucratic organizations, it is a process in which rules that allow computability and the rule of law infiltrate into social life. This tendency promoted the transformation of society, from a society that attached importance to such attributes as family lineage and birth to a performance-oriented society that placed a greater emphasis on efforts made by individuals and on competition. As a result of industrialization, machine technology and factory production systems were introduced, leading to a higher living standard for the masses and promoting equality.

The theory of industrial society maintains that with the advance of industrialization of society schooling spreads and higher education expands. As the impact of parents' vocational status and educational backgrounds on individual persons' educational attainment diminishes, social mobility or fluidity increases. Moreover, industrialization reduces the number of low-income earners by cutting down on less productive agricultural sectors and moving labor into more productive industrial sectors, thereby bringing more income equality. Of course, inequality cannot be totally eliminated, but industrialization raises the general standard of education and increases the population of people working in productive industrial sectors, leading to higher wages. As educational opportunity becomes equalized, anyone willing to make efforts can receive longer years of education and obtain a high occupational status. While wages differ by job type, the difference eventually become smaller, and incomes become more equal. Therefore, the advance of industrialization should lead to a higher living standard for the general public, and give equal opportunity for anyone to lead a successful life if he or she is willing to make efforts. In addition, people without good academic backgrounds also have the chance to obtain high incomes (Parsons, 1970; Treiman, 1970; Tominaga (ed.), 1979).

In sum, industrial society can be understood as a framework in which the principles of competition (meritocracy) take root and social equalization and improvement in living standards are promoted based on the process of rationalization.

This article aims at understanding people's work consciousness from the viewpoints of two set of rules — one governing the Japanese employment practices and the other governing industrial society. The two sets of rules are not independent of each other. It

is true that Japan is an industrial society and is governed by the rules of the society. As John Gray pointed out, however, just as the rules of the free market developed in different ways in Europe, Asia and North America, there is room for the rules of industrial society to evolve in distinct ways in different regions and cultures (Gray, 1998).

The Japanese society has developed its own framework and rules of employment under the social, economic, cultural, and demographic conditions of postwar Japan, and it is possible to focus attention on the uniqueness of the framework and rules. In understanding today's working life and its changes, we believe it is meaningful to examine the relation between the general rules of industrial society and Japanese employment practices.

(3) Burgeoning of new society

As mentioned above, we will approach changes in working life from the viewpoint of "fluctuation of existing rules." In addition, we will also attempt to approach from another viewpoint, the "emergence of new social rules." This approach seeks to envision a future society and new social rules to which the identified changes will lead and examine how the current state of affairs is changing compared with the vision of the future.

Compared with the existing two sets of rules mentioned above, it is not easy, at this stage, to draw a clear picture of the new social rules. However, active discussions conducted on postindustrial society in recent years may provide an insight into the future.

In the mid-1970's, it was pointed out that industrial society was shifting towards post-materialistic values with the advent of an affluent society and the global expansion of post-industrialization. As a wide variety of social theories were put forward, including those concerning the consumer society, late capitalistic society, advanced information society, postmodern society, and electronic media society, it was no longer possible to properly identify the changes of the time within the paradigm of modern industrialism. What underlay these arguments was the emergence of post-materialist values, which represented a shift of emphasis from the satisfaction of materialistic life to self-realization and unfettered freedom.

In Japan, theories concerning affluence, diversity, and purposes of life were presented in the 1980s, and active discussions were held not only in the political and academic field but also in the mass media. Although the discussions appear to have diminished in intensity as a result of the economic downturn, the concept of the postindustrial society remains influential in discussions on issues related to women, elderly people and working styles.

According to Daniel Bell, a shift to a postindustrial society will cause marked inconsistency between the economic domain that focuses on functionality and the cultural domain that is based on the principle of self-realization. Therefore, there will be an increase in "voluntary social behavior," Bell argues. In the past, shopping habits, children's education, hobbies, and voting behavior differed significantly by class or social status, but this assumption will no longer hold. In other words, with a shift to post-materialistic society, the existing hypothesis that the status defined by occupation, income and educational background determines cultural tastes and life styles does not stand, and arbitrary trends in cultural tastes and life styles become conspicuous.

The post-modernist thinking denies systematic, efficient unification and identification based on consensus building, and it is based on local, minor, and heterogeneous

activities and on paralogy of differentiation that is not mutually commensurate (Illogical imagination).

Put simply, post-modernism is a movement that argues against the convenience of the modern age, efficiency, and the thinking that does away with inefficiency, and tries to regain symbolic meaning and the disassembled semantic space.

A new social model has been discussed from various angles, but a consensus has not yet been formed. At the least, what underlies the model is a negative attitude towards modern functionalist reason that places emphasis on efficiency and rationality. The key elements of the model include post-materialism, purpose of life, self-realization, emphasis on life, and diversification.

In sum, we will examine whether the norms and rules that have regulated and supported the postwar Japanese working society (here, we assume that those norms or rules constitute the framework of the Japanese employment practices and of industrial society) still function or how much they have disintegrated in the mind of the Japanese workers today. On the other hand, we will also examine how much people's attitudes are changing towards the future social rules (i.e. new rules of the postindustrial society) and identify the current state of and changes in their attitudes toward working life.

5.Planning of the survey

Three surveys have been conducted in the past. The details are as follows:

[Objective]: To grasp the current state of working life, we will elucidate the baseline of and changes in working life through time-series surveys. We will evaluate the results as well as obtain basic data for policy making.

[Format]: The surveys were conducted in each year from 1999 to 2001.

[Description]: In order to understand the basic framework of working life, we will focus on people's areas of interest and trends. We will approach various aspects of people's work consciousness, including the relation between work and other areas of life, and work-related systems and rules.

[Composition]: The surveys were made up of two parts: basic questions that were asked each year (about 80 percent of the questions) and special questions concerning the topics of that particular year (about 20 percent of the questions). The questions of our latest survey are shown below. The basic questions and questions concerning unemployment have been asked since our first survey (1999), and questions concerning vocational skills development and consciousness on *freeters* (job-hopping part-timers) have been asked since our second survey 2000.) In the third survey, the current state of and consciousness on the Internet and IT in general were taken up as a special topic. This report includes three years of data on the basic questions and questions concerning unemployment. Basic questions (consciousness on work, society, and life)

1) Unemployment (rules on corporate restructuring, image of unemployment, response to unemployment, measures taken after loss of job)

- 2) Vocational skills development (self-evaluation, skills development methods)
- 3) *Freeters* (free and diverse working styles, unstable working styles)
- 4) IT (uses of the Internet, consciousness on IT)

[Survey method]:

Subject: 4,000 people (including both men and women and both employed and unemployed) aged 20 or older from various parts of Japan

Survey method: Stratified two-stage sampling; interviews by investigators

Response rate:	1999	68.1% (2,724 people)
	2000	69.5% (2,778 people)
	2001	68.8% (2,751 people)

Survey period: March 1999, February 2000, and March 2001 (the attached questionnaire “The 3rd Survey on Working Life (2001)”)

For the detailed results of the individual surveys, please refer to Research Report No. 139: “The 1st Survey on Working Life (1999): Consciousness on Work and Unemployment,” Research Report No. 140: “The 2nd Survey on Working Life (2000): Consciousness on Work and Fluidization,” and Research Report No.141: “The 3rd Survey on Working Life (2001): Consciousness on Work and IT Society.”

6. Data and method of analysis

Because the main objective of this report is to explain the correlation between various aspects of work consciousness, we adjusted the variables used for analysis as summarized below.

(1) Variables

The consciousness about each topic of the survey and respondents’ attributes were Represented as variables as shown below for the purpose of analysis.

[Consciousness]: On a scale of one to four or one to five, the following scores were allotted to each answer: “Yes” =2 points, “More or less yes”=1 point, “More or less no” = -1 point, “No” = -2 points, and “Neither yes or no” =0 point. The answer “don’t know” was excluded from the analysis. For single-answer and multiple-answer questions, the following scores were given: “Yes” =1 point and “No” =0 point.

[Attributes]: In this report, the respondents’ attributes were categorized into the following three types:

- ◆ Personal attributes: sex, age, educational attainment, income
- ◆ Work attributes: number of times one changed jobs, years of service, company size, employment style, job type
- ◆ Household attributes: households with a full-time housewife, dual-income households, single-person households

Personal attributes consist of the effect of sex and age as well as educational attainment and income, which indicate the effect of social status. These personal attributes are powerful determinant factors for almost all variables of consciousness, which can be virtually explained using the four personal variables (sex, age, educational attainment,

and income). For some variables of consciousness, increasing the number of explanatory variables provided less, rather than more, explanation. Therefore, the personal attributes were used as basic explanatory variables for analysis of all of the topics and samples. The scale used in the analysis was as follows:

Sex: Male=1, Female=0

Age: Continuous variable

Educational attainment (number of years in school): Continuous variable

Income: Continuous variable

With respect to the work attributes, since we focused on the differences among the employed, rather than the differences between the employed and unemployed, only the employed were subjected to our analysis. The scale used in the analysis was as follows:

Number of times one changed jobs: Continuous variable

Years of service: Continuous variable

Company size: Continuous variable

Employment style (employment status): Regular employees=1, others=0

(Others include corporate managers and executives, non-regular employees, temporary workers, self-employed, family workers, freelance professionals, and those doing side work.)

Job type (job description): Dummy variable with skilled workers and laborers constituting the reference group

The number of times one changed jobs and years of service are indicators of workers' commitment to their organizations. Years of service are also related to the seniority system. In light of the fact that the "Japanese employment practices" have developed mainly at large firms, we looked at "company size" as an important factor in examining changes in the Japanese employment practices in recent years. "Job description" (job types) is an important variable concerning accumulation of professional skills and career formation. In Japan, as social systems have developed with regular employment as a model, there is a significant difference in livelihood security and employment treatment between regular employees of firms and workers in other types of employment. Against this background, "employment style" was chosen as an explanatory variable.

Household attributes are influential explanatory variables regarding people's consciousness regarding their lives. Therefore, we used household variables for topics related to life (life consciousness, satisfaction in life, emphasis on life, new types of jobs). Dummy variable with "single-person household" as a standard category was used as the scale for analysis.

(2)Method of analysis

[Tabulation]: The general trend of each topic was identified based on the grand total of the results of the surveys from 1999 to 2001. Regarding important topics, a more detailed trend was identified based on the cross tabulation of sex, age, and job types.

[Determination by attribute]: Regression analysis was conducted to see how each variable of consciousness was determined by respondents' attributes. Multiple regression analysis was conducted on variables of consciousness that were measured in a scale of one to four or one to five. Logistic regression analysis was conducted on variables of consciousness that were measured by using single-answer or multiple-answer questions.

[Correlation coefficient]: The relation between variables of consciousness was explained

using correlation coefficient. The survey of 1999 revealed that people formed two strata with respect to their assessment of the Japanese employment practices, principles for distribution of wealth, and life consciousness. In this report, we will analyze the trends of these two strata based on three years of data. At the same time, by identifying the correlation between the variables of employment, distribution, and life consciousness and the variables concerning other topics, we examined the characteristics of the two strata of people's work consciousness.

7. Outline of chapters (*the tables are in the main text)

Chapter I: Two strata of work consciousness

Section I: The Japanese employment practices

• “Lifetime employment” and “a sense of unity with the organization,” which are components of the Japanese employment practices as well as “self-development” were supported by more than 70 percent of the respondents, indicating expectations for both maintenance and reform of the Japanese employment practices. In particular, support for “a sense of unity with the organization” and “self-development” increased each year (Figure 1.1.1). By sex and age, approval of “a sense of unity with the organization” increased among both men and women and in all age groups. Support for “self-development” increased among men in their 50s and 60s and among women in their 30s and above (Figure 1.1.2).

• By respondents' attribute, “lifetime employment” and “seniority wage system” were supported more by women than by men and by those with less education than those with longer years of education. “Lifetime employment” was also supported by older age groups. “Self-development” was approved more by men. “A sense of unity with the organization” was also supported more by men (Table 1.1.1). By employment style, regular employees tended to approve of “seniority wage system” while disapproving of “self-development” (Table 1.1.2).

• There was a positive correlation between “lifetime employment,” the “seniority wage system,” and “a sense of unity with the organization,” which are all components of the Japanese employment practices. The correlation was the strongest between “lifetime employment” and the “seniority wage system.” The correlation between these two, however, weakened over the three years of the survey (Figure 1.1.3). On the other hand, the positive correlation between “self-development” and “a sense of unity with the organization” increased. This shows that “a sense of unity with the organization” is correlated with “lifetime employment” and the “seniority wage system” as well as “self-development.” The negative correlation between “self-development” and “lifetime employment” weakened. There was a negative correlation between “seniority wage system” and “self-development,” but in 2001, there was no significant correlation (Figure 1.1.4).

This may indicate that the antithetical relation between “self-development” and the Japanese employment practices are being moderated.

Section II: Principles of distribution

• The highest percentage of respondents, at more than 80 percent, supported the principle of “effort”. This was followed by the approval of the principle of “achievement principle,” which was at a level of more than 75 percent. In 2001, however, the support rate for “achievement” rose to a similar level to the rate for “effort.” The support rate for the principle of “need” and the principle of “equality” was relatively low, but support

for “need” grew each year (Figure 1.2.1). With respect to “achievement” and “need,” “achievement” was supported more by young men and women, but in 2001, support for “achievement” increased in all age groups. For “need,” there was no significant difference by age group, but in 2001, approval increased among men in their 20s and 50s and among women in their 30s to 60s (Figure 1.2.2).

- By respondents’ attribute, “achievement” was supported more by men, “effort” by older age groups and those with less education, and “equality” by those with less education. In the 2000 to 2001 surveys, “equality” was also supported more by lower income earners (Table 1.2.1). By employment style, “equality” was disapproved of more by workers engaged in sales than by skilled workers and laborers. In the 1999 and 2001 surveys, “equality” was disapproved of more by workers engaged in clerical work than by skilled workers and laborers (Table 1.2.2).

- The positive correlation between “achievement” and “effort” became stronger each year. On the other hand, the positive correlation between “achievement” and “need” grew weaker, while there was an increasingly negative correlation between “achievement” and “equality” (Figure 1.2.3). Therefore, there is polarization between “achievement” at one end and “need” and “equality” at the other end. The positive correlation between “effort” and “equality” weakened, while the positive correlation between “effort” and “need” increased (Figure 1.2.4). Since “effort” is positively correlated to both “achievement” and “need,” it may be regarded as a principle that intermediates between the two.

Section III: Life consciousness

- The support rate was high at around 80% for “post-materialism” and de-emphasis on social status,” both of which are post-industrialist notions. In contrast, the percentage of those who had “anxiety over competition for status” and those who had “anxiety over loss of the status,” both of which are industrialist notions, was only about 30 percent and 20 percent, respectively, although “anxiety over loss of the status” gradually rose in the three years of the survey (Figure 1.3.1).

A comparison of “post-materialism” and “anxiety over competition for status” by sex and age showed that support for “post-materialism” was high regardless of sex or age. By age, approval of “post-materialism” was higher among older age groups, while a higher percentage of younger people had “anxiety over competition for status” (Figure 1.3.2). If we look at the contrasting post-industrial notions of the “maintenance of the status quo” and “self-worth” by sex and age, older age groups for both men and women preferred “maintenance of the status quo,” while a higher percentage of younger people supported “self-worth.” More women than men, even among younger age groups, preferred “maintenance of the status quo” (Figure 1.3.3).”

- By respondents’ attribute, the level of “anxiety over competition for status” is higher among men than among women and also higher among younger people than among older age groups. In contrast, the support rate for “post-materialism” is higher among women, older people, and people with longer years of education. The approval rate of “maintenance of the status quo” was higher among women, older people, people with lower education and people with higher income. (Table 1.3.1).

Among working people, “anxiety over competition for status” was felt more among people with longer years of service in the 2000 and 2001 surveys. The approval rate for “maintenance of the status quo” was lower among workers in management posts and those engaged in clerical work than among skilled workers and laborers (Table 1.3.2).

- “Post-materialism” had positive correlation with “de-emphasis on social status,” “maintenance of the status quo,” and “self-worth.” In particular, the positive correlation between “post-materialism” and “de-emphasis on social status” was the strongest

during the three years of the survey. The correlation between “post-materialism” and “self-worth” was stronger in 2001 than in the previous two years. In contrast, the correlation between “post-materialism” and “maintenance of the status quo” was the lowest in 2001 (Figure 1.3.4). With respect to correlation between “anxiety over competition for status” and “de-emphasis on social status” on one hand and “self-worth” and “maintenance of the status quo” on the other, “self-worth” had no significant correlation with “anxiety over competition for status” in the three years of the survey, but had a positive correlation with “de-emphasis on social status.” On the other hand, “maintenance of the status quo” had a stronger correlation with “de-emphasis on social status” than with “self-worthiness” and positive correlation with “anxiety over competition for status.”

The correlation regarding people’s life consciousness did not change considerably in the three years of the survey, and a stable structure was being maintained.

Section IV: Orientation of the two strata of work consciousness

• In 1999, “achievement” had a positive correlation with “self-development.” In 2001, however, “achievement” had a stronger positive correlation with “a sense of unity with the organization” than with “self-development.” Moreover, “lifetime employment” also had a positive correlation with “achievement” at a similar coefficient to that of correlation with “self-development” (Figure 1.4.1).” On the other hand, in 1999, “effort” had a positive correlation with “lifetime employment” and “seniority wage system.” This positive correlation was maintained at a high level in 2000 and 2001. Moreover, in 2000 and 2001, the positive correlation between “effort” and “self-development” strengthened (Figure 1.4.2). The above shows that an achievement-oriented attitude is spreading not only among supporters of “self-development” but also among supporters of “lifetime employment;” on the other hand, support for “effort” is taking hold not only among supporters of “life employment” and “seniority wage system” but also among supporters of “self-development.” Furthermore, “effort” and “a sense of unity with the organization” are considered important among supporters of “lifetime employment” and the “seniority wage system” as well as supporters of “self-development” and “achievement.”

• In 1999, “maintenance of the status quo” had a positive correlation with “lifetime employment” and “seniority wage system,” while “self-worth” had a positive correlation with “self-development.” In 2001, the positive correlation between “maintenance of the status quo” and “lifetime employment” and “seniority wage system” as well as between “self-worthiness” and “self-development” further strengthened. On the other hand, the negative correlation between “self-worth” on one hand and “lifetime employment” and “seniority wage system” on the other weakened. Therefore, it seems that while the bipolar structure is maintained, the antithetical relation has eased. In 1999, “post-materialism” had a strong positive correlation with “self-development,” but in 2001, “post-materialism” had a stronger correlation with “a sense of unity with the organization” and “lifetime employment” than with “self-development.” In short, “post-materialism” is spreading among supporters of “self-development” as well as those of “lifetime employment.”

• It can be understood that the antithetical relation of the “two strata” of work consciousness that were revealed in our survey of 1999 has eased, rather than strengthened. In this context, it is possible to approach both the “first” and “second” strata from the viewpoint of “a sense of unity with the organization,” “effort,” and “post-materialism.” The key to analyzing future working life is a “self-motivated ability-based system where individuals belong to but are not dependent on their organizations.”

Chapter II: Consciousness on work

Section I: Job satisfaction

- The highest percentage of respondents, at around 60 percent, was satisfied with their jobs on the “dimension of responsibility.” The percentage of those who were satisfied with their jobs on the “dimension of ability” was also around 60 percent.

The percentage of those who were satisfied with their jobs on the “dimension of effort” and “dimension of work” was relatively low at around 50 percent (Figure 2.1.1). By job type, those in management posts had the highest satisfaction in all categories. On the other hand, those engaged in clerical work had the lowest satisfaction in all categories (Figure 2.1.2).

- By respondents’ attribute, higher income earners had higher job satisfaction in all categories. By sex and age, those in older age groups had high job satisfaction on the “dimension of ability.” With regard to employment style, those who were not regular employees had high job satisfaction on the “dimension of effort” and “dimension of work.” In 2001, those who were not regular employees had higher job satisfaction than regular employees on the “dimension of ability” as well. As regards job type, those in management positions had higher job satisfaction on the “dimension of effort” and “dimension of work” compared with skilled workers and laborers. Although not a strong determinant factor, those working for smaller firms tended to have higher job satisfaction on the “dimension of ability” and “dimension of responsibility” (Table 2.1.1).

- Job satisfaction in all categories had positive correlation with “a sense of unity with the organization,” “self-worth,” “de-emphasis on other-directedness” and “post-materialism.” The “dimension of effort” had a positive correlation with “lifetime employment” and “achievement.” The “dimension of ability” had a positive correlation with “lifetime employment,” “anxiety over competition for status,” “anxiety over loss of status,” and “maintenance of the status quo.” In short, the above two dimensions had similar characteristics to those of the “first stratum” of work consciousness. As the “dimension of work” was positively correlated with “self-development” and “achievement,” it had similar characteristics to those of the “second stratum” of work consciousness. Job satisfaction on the “dimension of responsibility” had a positive correlation with “self-development” and “achievement” as well as with “effort” and “maintenance of the status quo.” Therefore, it overlaps with both the first and second strata of work consciousness (Table 2.1.3).

Section II: Careers

- While the highest percentage of respondents was oriented towards developing their careers at “a single company,” the survey of 2001 showed that the number of those who were oriented towards developing their careers at “a number of companies” was increasing. The percentage of those who were oriented towards “independent or self-employed” careers was low (Figure 2.2.1). Compared to 20 years ago, orientation towards careers at “a single company” remained unchanged, while orientation towards “independent or self-employed” careers decreased (Figure 2.2.2). Orientation towards careers at “a number of companies” increased. By sex and age, older age groups had stronger orientation towards careers at “a single company,” while orientation towards careers at “a number of companies” was rising among younger age groups (Figures 2.2.3 and 2.2.4).

- With respect to the choice of “being employed” or “self-employment,” more men than women in the entire sample chose “independent or self-employed” careers. Among those who selected “employed” careers, more people in younger age groups and with longer years of education chose careers at “a number of companies.” By work-related attribute, more people who were not regular employees, who had longer

years of service, and who worked for smaller firms had stronger orientation towards “independent or self-employed” careers. In the 2000 and 2001 surveys, those engaged in service jobs had stronger orientation towards “independent or self-employed” careers compared with skilled workers and laborers. With regard to the selection of a career at “a single company” or “a number of companies,” those who had changed jobs more often tended towards a career at “a number of companies.”

In the 1999 and 2001 surveys, those with shorter length of service preferred a career at “a number of companies.”

- While orientation towards “independent or self-employed” careers had a negative correlation with “lifetime employment” and “seniority wage system,” it had a positive correlation with “self-development” as well as with “self-worth.” Orientation towards careers at “a number of companies” also had a negative correlation with “lifetime employment” and “seniority wage system” but a positive correlation with “self-development.”

At the same time, it had a negative correlation with “maintenance of the status quo” but a positive correlation with “self-worth.” Therefore, orientation towards “independent or self-employed” careers and towards careers at “a number of companies” largely overlaps with the “second stratum” of work consciousness.

Chapter III: Consciousness on unemployment

Section I: Image of unemployment

- Throughout the three years of the survey, the highest percentage of respondents, at around 95 percent, saw unemployment as “economic difficulty.” While the percentage of those who saw unemployment as “loss of social ties” was high at around 60 percent, the percentage of those who regarded unemployment as “an opportunity to reset one’s career” was also high at around 60 percent. Moreover, the number of those who saw unemployment as “an opportunity to reset one’s career” increased each year (Figure 3.1.1). This shows that excluding economic factors, people do not necessarily have a negative image of unemployment. If we look at those who recognized unemployment as a “loss of social ties” or as “an opportunity to reset one’s career” by sex and age group, more people in younger age groups tended to see unemployment as “an opportunity to reset one’s career.” In contrast, more men in older age groups saw unemployment as a “loss of social ties.” In the 2001 survey, however, the percentage of people who regarded unemployment as “an opportunity to reset one’s career” rose even among middle-aged and older people.

This shows that more people are seeing unemployment positively in a wider range of age groups. (Figure 3.1.2).

- The respondents’ attributes were not a major determinant factor in any category. If we look at the attributes that had any significant effect during the three years of the survey, more women than men regarded unemployment as “economic difficulty,” more people in older age groups saw unemployment as a “loss of social ties,” more people in older age groups and more people with less education regarded unemployment as a “loss of identity,” and more people with higher education recognized unemployment as “an opportunity to reset one’s career” (Table 3.1.1). The results show that more people in older age groups had a negative view of unemployment.

At the same time, more people with less education also had a negative view of unemployment, while more people with longer years of education saw unemployment in a positive light. Among those with jobs, those in management posts did not see unemployment as “economic difficulty” compared with skilled workers and laborers (Table 3.1.2).

- The images of unemployment as “economic difficulty,” “loss of social ties,” and “loss

of identity” had a positive correlation with “lifetime employment,” “seniority wage system,” “effort,” and “maintenance of the status quo.” “Loss of social ties” and “loss of identity” also had a positive correlation with the distribution based on “need” and “equality.” In other words, those who saw unemployment negatively generally overlapped with the “first stratum” of work consciousness. On the other hand, the recognition of unemployment as “an opportunity to reset one’s career” had a negative correlation with “lifetime employment” and “seniority wage system,” but a positive correlation with “de-emphasis on social status” and “self-worth.” In short, those who saw unemployment positively generally overlapped with the “second stratum” of work consciousness (Table 3.1.3).

Section II: Views on unemployment

- Close to 20 percent of those with jobs were anxious about losing their jobs in the near future (within a year). On the possibility of unemployment, the percentage of respondents who wanted “to avoid unemployment” and the percentage of those who thought unemployment was “unavoidable under certain circumstances” was similar. The percentage of those who wanted to avoid losing their jobs as much as possible and those who considered unemployment in a positive light was both high (Figure 3.2.1). By sex and age, more people of middle age and older wanted to “to avoid unemployment” both among men and women. In the 2001 survey, however, the percentage of middle-aged and older people who wanted “to avoid unemployment” decreased among men.

On the other hand, more people in younger age groups thought unemployment was “unavoidable under certain circumstances.” The percentage increased among men and women in their 20s and 30s (Figure 3.2.2).

- By respondents’ attribute, more people in older age groups, more people with less education, and lower income earners were anxious about unemployment. The age factor, however, diminished each year. More people in older age group also tended “to avoid unemployment.” In contrast, in the 1999 and 2001 surveys, more people in younger age groups and more people with lower wages thought unemployment was “unavoidable under certain circumstances” (Table 3.2.1). With respect to job types, the “anxiety about employment” in 1999 was smaller among those in specialist jobs, those in management posts, those engaged in sales, and those engaged in service jobs, compared with skilled workers and laborers. In 2000, there was no significant difference with the exception of specialist jobs, and in 2001, there was no significant difference in any job types. More people with longer length of service tended to want “to avoid unemployment.” In 1999 and 2000, more people in management posts felt that unemployment was “unavoidable under certain circumstances” compared to skilled workers and laborers; but in 2001, there was no significant difference (Table 3.2.2). The above results indicate that anxiety about employment, which was particularly noticeable among blue-collar workers, spread to white-collar workers after 2000.

- “Anxiety about employment” had a positive correlation with “anxiety over competition for status” and “anxiety over loss of status” as well as with the distribution based on “need” and “equality.” This shows that “anxiety over competition for status” and “anxiety over loss of status” are not general anxiety of the modern society in which individuals compete for social status, but rather concern over the risk of unemployment. “Avoidance of unemployment” was positively correlated with “lifetime employment” and “a sense of unity with the organization” as well as with “effort” and “maintenance of the status quo.” In short, those who wanted to “avoid unemployment” had the characteristics of the “first stratum” of work consciousness. This group, however, was composed mainly of men and was oriented towards “de-emphasis on

other-directedness,” “de-emphasis on social status,” and “post-materialism.” In light of this, it may be possible to provide support for efforts to deal with unemployment of people who do not cling to their current organizations. The view that unemployment was “unavoidable under certain circumstances” had a negative correlation with “life-time employment” and “seniority wage system,” but had positive correlation with “self-development” as well as with “de-emphasis on other-directedness,” “de-emphasis on social status,” “self-worth,” and “post-materialism.”

In other words, those who felt that unemployment was unavoidable under certain circumstances had the same characteristics with the “second stratum” of work consciousness (Table 3-2-3).

Section III: Response to unemployment

- About 80 percent of the respondents expressed hope to find a new job at an early date. On the other hand, about 70 percent of the respondents placed “an emphasis on the kind of jobs” they might take on and about 50 percent on wages, indicating an emphasis on carefully choosing career options (Figure 3.3.1). More people in younger age groups placed “an emphasis on the kind of jobs” and “to seek jobs different from their previous jobs” (Figure 3.3.2).

- By respondents’ attribute, people in younger age groups were proactive in all categories. That is to say that younger people not only tended to be concerned about carefully choosing career options but also were highly motivated to find a job at an early date.

More men than women were eager “to find a new job at an early date”, while those with higher education were inclined to place “an emphasis on the kind of jobs” and “to seek jobs different from their previous jobs” (Table 3.3.1). The same trend can be observed among those with jobs. People in younger age groups were more proactive in all categories. More men than women preferred “to find a new job at an early date” and those with longer years of education placed “an emphasis on the kind of jobs.” Although not a strong determinant factor, in the 1999 and 2001 surveys, those who had changed their jobs many times tended to want “to find a new job at an early date.” Those engaged in specialist jobs were less willing “to seek jobs different from their previous jobs” compared with skilled workers and laborers (Table 3.3.2).

- “Early reemployment,” “an emphasis on wages,” and “to seek jobs different from their previous jobs” had a positive correlation with “anxiety over competition for status” and “anxiety over loss of status.” “An emphasis on wages” also had a positive correlation with “increase in pay in return for reduction in corporate welfare.” “An emphasis on the kind of jobs” was positively correlated with “self-development.”

It had a negative correlation with the distribution based on “equality” and a positive correlation with “self-worth” and “post-materialism.” In short, this group had the same characteristics with the “second stratum” of work consciousness. Similarly, the group who wanted “to seek jobs different from their previous jobs” also had the same characteristics of the “second stratum,” but in 2001, this group did not have a significant correlation with “self-development.”

Section IV: Rules on corporate restructuring

- About 50 percent of the respondents felt that “those with less vocational skills” should be laid off first, while about 40 percent supported the view that “those whose posts are no longer needed” should be laid off first, indicating growing support for restructuring rules that are based on individuals’ abilities to perform job duties. The percentage of respondents who thought that “older employees,” “those with shorter length of service,” and “younger employees” should be dismissed first was low (Figure 3.4.1). There was a

tendency for respondents to accept reasons that were related to employees' professional skills when cutting back the workforce. By sex and age of those who felt that "those with less vocational skills" or "older employees" should be laid off first, more people thought that "those with less vocational skills," rather than "older employees," should be dismissed first among both men and women and in all age groups. Moreover, respondents in younger age groups tended to choose "those with less vocational skills," while those in older age groups tended to select "older employees" (Figure 3.4.2).

- By respondents' attribute, the tendency for those with longer years of education, among all the samples, to select "those with less vocational skills" increased each year. The tendency that more men than women choose "those with less vocational skills" and "those whose posts are no longer needed" also grew stronger each year. More men than women and more people in older age groups supported the view that "older employees" should be laid off first. More people in older age groups also chose "those with shorter length of service," a tendency that also increased each year. There was no particularly effective determinant factor with respect to the view that "younger employees" should be dismissed first (Table 3.4.1). Among those with jobs, too, more people in older age groups tended to choose "older employees" (Table 3.4.2).

- The view that "those with less vocational skills" should be dismissed first had a negative correlation with "lifetime employment" and "seniority wage system," and a positive correlation with "achievement." The view that "those whose posts are no longer needed" should be laid off first had a negative correlation with "seniority wage system," and a positive correlation with "self-development" and "achievement." In other words, the groups that supported the above views had the same characteristics with the "second stratum" of work consciousness. On the other hand, the view that "those with shorter length of service" was positively correlated with "lifetime employment" and "seniority wage system," "achievement," and "need" and "equality." In short, this group shared the same characteristics as the "first stratum" of work consciousness. The view that "older employees" should be dismissed first had a positive correlation with "equality" as well as with "maintenance of the status quo." The view that "younger employees" should be dismissed first had a positive correlation with "need" and with "anxiety over loss of the status" (Table 3.4.3).

Section V: Safety net

- A high percentage of respondents selected "reemployment assistance" and "subsistence" as important elements of the social safety net. With regard to the most important elements of the safety net, "subsistence" ranked first and "reemployment assistance" second (Figure 3.5.1.2). A comparison of "reemployment assistance" and "maintenance of employment" by sex and age shows that support for "reemployment assistance" was high among both men and women and in all age groups, while more women than men chose "reemployment assistance," and more men than women favored "maintenance of employment." More women in younger age groups tended to choose "reemployment assistance" (Figure 3.5.2).

- If we look at the determinant factors concerning "the most important element of the safety net," more men than women supported "maintenance of employment," and in the 2001 survey, more people in older age groups supported "maintenance of employment." In the 1999 and 2001 surveys, more women than men favored "reemployment assistance." More men than women and more people with higher education tended to see "job creation" as the most important element of the safety net. With respect to "counseling for finding the right job," more people in younger age groups preferred it. In the 2001 survey, more men than women and more people with longer years of education

called for such counseling (Table 3.5.1). Among those with jobs, there were no particular work-related attributes that acted as strong determinant factors for the “most important element of the safety net.”

- “Job creation” had a negative correlation with “lifetime employment” and “seniority wage system,” and a positive correlation with “achievement” as well as with “self-worthiness.”

“Counseling for finding the right job” also had a negative correlation with “lifetime employment” and “seniority wage system,” but a positive correlation with “self-development” as well as with “self-worth” and “post-materialism.” In short, the groups that preferred the above two elements of the safety net had the same characteristics with the “second stratum” of work consciousness.

Chapter IV: Consciousness on society

Section I: Status identification

- About 90 percent of all respondents saw them as belonging to the middle class, as a middle-class mentality remained strong. Among those who regarded themselves as belonging to a middle class, the highest percentage, at around 50 percent, viewed them as median middle class, while around 30 percent regarded themselves as lower middle class, and around 10 percent as upper middle class. This trend remained stable, with no significant change observed in the three years (Figure 4.1.1).

- By respondents’ attribute, more people with longer years of education and more people with higher income saw themselves as belonging to a higher social class. This trend, however, diminished each year (Table 4.1.1). Among those with jobs in 1999, more people working for larger firms and more people engaging in specialist jobs and holding management posts regarded themselves as belonging to a higher social class. But in 2000 and 2001, there was no significant difference (Table 4.1.2). In other words, respondents’ attributes ceased to affect social class identification.

- In 1999 and 2000, there was a positive correlation among “self-development,” “achievement,” and “self-worth.” This showed that people in the “second stratum” of work consciousness tended to see them as belonging to a higher social class. The correlation, however, grew weaker each year; in 2001, there was no significant correlation (Table 4.1.3).

Section II: Sense of unfairness

- About 70 percent of all respondents, had a sense of unfairness (Figure 4.2.1.1), and this sense was more widespread among women than among men (Figure 4.2.2.1). Regarding individual items, the highest percentage of respondents perceived unfairness based on “nationality and race,” and a large percentage of women felt there was gender-based unfairness (Figures 4.2.1.2 and 4.2.2.2).

- Regarding determinant factors for unfairness in general, more women than men and more people in younger age groups, among all the samples, indicated a stronger sense of unfairness. In the 1999 and 2001 surveys, people with less education felt a stronger sense of unfairness (Table 4.2.1.1). More women than men had a stronger sense of unfairness based on “sex,” “age,” “education,” and “occupation.” More people in younger age groups felt unfairness based on “age,” and more people in younger age groups and more people with less education had a stronger sense of unfairness based on “education” (Table 4.2.1.2). Among people with jobs in 1999 and 2001, those in management posts felt less unfairness compared with skilled workers and laborers (Table 4.2.2.1). In 1999 and 2001, more people with shorter length of service had a stronger sense of unfairness based on “occupation” (Table 4.2.2.2).

- Generally speaking, “sense of unfairness” had a negative correlation with “lifetime employment,” “seniority wage system,” and “a sense of unity with the organization” as well as with the “achievement.” This trend was also virtually evident to unfairness based on specific items like “sex,” “age,” “education,” and “occupation” (Table 4.2.3).

Section III: Future direction of Japanese society

- More respondents showed support for “society of free competition” than for “society of equality.” It should be noted, however, that the percentage of those who support the former is only around 40 percent, and that around 25 percent of all respondents said “it was not possible to choose one over the other.”. During the three years of the survey, support for “society of equality” declined, but support for “society in which individuals can compete freely” did not increase, either. The number of those who replied “it was not possible to choose one over the other” increased (Figure 4.3.1). Support for “society of free competition” was more noticeable among men. Moreover, more men and women in younger age groups approved of “society of free competition,” and more men and women in older age groups supported “society of equality” (Figure 4.3.2).

- By respondents’ attributes, more men than women and more people with longer years of education approved of “society of free competition.” In contrast, more women than men and more people with less education supported “society of equality” (Table 4.3.1). Among those with jobs, more people in management posts approved of “society of free competition” compared to skilled workers and laborers. Clerical workers also tended to support such society. In addition, in the 1999 and 2001 surveys, regular employees tended not to support “society of free competition,” but to support “society of equality” (Table 4.3.2).

- Support for “society of free competition” had a negative correlation with “life-time employment” and “seniority wage system” but a positive correlation with “self-development.”

It also had a positive correlation with “achievement” but a negative correlation with “need” and “equality.” Moreover, it had a negative correlation with “maintenance of the status quo” but a positive correlation with “self-worthiness.” This shows that supporters of “society of free competition” share the same characteristics with the “second stratum” of work consciousness. On the other hand, support for “society of equality” had a positive correlation with “lifetime employment,” “seniority wage system,” “need,” “equality,” and “maintenance of the status quo,” but a negative correlation with “self-development,” “achievement,” and “self-worthiness.” In other words, supporters of “society of equality” shared the same characteristics with the “first stratum” of work consciousness (Table 4.3.3).

Chapter V: Consciousness on life

Section I: Emphasis on life balance

- The percentage of respondents who attached importance to “family” was consistently high at around 90 percent. About 60 percent also attached importance to “income” and “community activities.” The percentage of those who placed priority on “hobbies and leisure,” “occupation,” and “education” was low (Figure 5.1.1.). By age, there was a rise in the 2001 survey in the percentage of people in younger age groups who attached importance to “occupation” (Figure 5.1.2.).

- Regarding determinant factors, including “occupation,” “education,” “income,” and “property,” more men than women placed priority on “occupation,” while older age groups attached importance on “education.” People in younger age groups and more people with higher incomes tended to place priority on income, as did dual-income households compared with single-person households. More people in younger age

groups also tended to place more emphasis on “property” (Table 5.1.1.1.). Among those with jobs, while regular employees tended to attach importance to “occupation” and “education” in 1999 and 2000, there was no significant difference in 2001. In 2000 and 2001, more people with longer years of service tended to place priority on “property.” In 2001, this group of people also chose “income” as their priority (Table 5.1.1.2.).

- With respect to determinant factors such as “family,” “community activities,” and “hobbies and leisure,” the type of households had a considerable effect on “family” and “social activities.” More people belonging to households with a full-time housewife or dual-income households placed priority on “family” compared with singles. With respect to “community activities,” people with longer years of education and with higher Incomes tended to place priority on it, as did married households, including both those with a full-time housewife and dual-income households, compared with singles. In the 1999 and 2001 surveys, more men than women attached importance to “hobbies and leisure,” while in 2000 and 2001, people with higher education tended to place priority on this item, as did households with a full-time housewife, compared with single people (Table 5.1.2.1.). Attributes related to work did not figure as effective determinant factors with regard to “family,” “community activities,” or “hobbies and leisure” (Table 5.1.2.2.).

- All of the above items related to everyday life had a positive correlation with “anxiety over competition for status” and “anxiety over loss of status.” The emphasis on “family,” “community activities,” and “hobbies and leisure,” however, was also positively correlated with “de-emphasis on social status,” “self-worthiness,” and “post-materialism.” Moreover, respondents belonging to this group had a positive correlation with “a sense of unity with the organization.”

The emphasis on “hobbies and leisure” had a negative correlation with “maintenance of the status quo” and a positive correlation with “self-development,” which are characteristics of the “second stratum” of work consciousness. The emphasis on “community activities” had a positive correlation with “self-development” as well as with “maintenance of the status quo.” The emphasis on “family” also had a positive correlation with “maintenance of the status quo.” The attachment of importance on “occupation,” “education,” “income,” and “wealth” had a positive correlation with “achievement.”

“Occupation” had a positive correlation with “seniority wage system” and “a sense of unity with the organization,” whereas “education” tended to be positively correlated with “lifetime employment” and “seniority wage system.” In this respect, the groups who attached importance to “occupation” and “education” had the characteristics of the “first stratum” of work consciousness (Table 5.1.3).

Section II: A sense of fulfillment in life

- About 75 percent of the respondents were satisfied with their life in general. More specifically, about 80 percent, the highest percentage, had a sense of fulfillment with respect to their family life, while about 50 percent felt fulfilled with regard to their work (Figure 5.2.1.). If we focus only on men, the percentage of those with a sense of fulfillment about their work was higher. In particular, the percentage was higher among the working population of people in their 20s through 50s. A sense of fulfillment derived from “community activities” rose during the three years of the survey among the middle aged and older people for both men and women (Figure 5.2.2.).

- By respondents' attribute, the household type had significant effects. With regard to a sense of fulfillment in overall life, more women than men, more people with longer years of education, more people with higher incomes, and more people in households with a full-time housewife or dual-income, as compared with singles, had a greater sense of

fulfillment. In the 1999 and 2001 surveys, more people in higher age groups were satisfied with their life in general. With respect to "work," more women than men, more people in higher age groups, more people with higher incomes, and more people in dual-income households, as compared with singles, were satisfied. As regards "family life," more women than men, more people with higher incomes, and more people in households with a full-time housewife or dual income, as compared with single people, were fulfilled. With respect to "community activities," more people in higher age groups and more people in households with a full-time housewife or dual income, as compared with singles, were satisfied. With regard to "leisure time," more people with longer years of education were satisfied, whereas more people in dual income households, as compared with singles, were less satisfied (Table 5.2.1.). Among those with jobs, regular employees tended to be less satisfied with "community activities" (Table 5.2.2.).

- A sense of fulfillment in "overall life" and fulfillment in each aspect of life had a negative correlation with "anxiety over competition for status" and "anxiety over loss of status" and a positive correlation with "de-emphasis on other-directedness," "de-emphasis on social status," "self-worth," and "post-materialism."

Fulfillment from "overall life," "work," "social activities," and "leisure time" had a positive correlation with "a sense of unity with the organization." In 2001, fulfillment from family life was also positively correlated with "a sense of unity with the organization." Fulfillment derived from "overall life" and "work" had a positive correlation with "lifetime employment" and "maintenance of the status quo." Fulfillment from "family life" and "work" was positively correlated with "effort" and "maintenance of the status quo," while "community activities" also had a positive correlation with "seniority wage system" and the "equality." In this respect, those who were satisfied with their "life in general," "work," "family life," and "community activities" had the characteristics of the "first stratum" of work consciousness. On the other hand, fulfillment from "leisure time" had a positive correlation with "self-development" and a negative correlation with "maintenance of the status quo." Therefore, those who had a sense of fulfillment from "leisure time" had the same characteristics as the "second stratum" of work consciousness.

Section III: Anxiety in life

- The highest percentage of respondents were anxious about their "family's health."

A large percentage of respondents were also anxious about health including "their own health" and about economic aspects such as "life after retirement" and "income and assets" (Figure 5.3.1.). Regarding anxiety about "income and assets" by sex and age, more people in middle age among both men and women were concerned, compared with people in younger age groups and senior age groups. This tendency was particularly marked among men (Figure 5.3.2.).

- More people in older age groups were anxious about "their own health" (Table 5.3.1.1.) Among those with jobs, a large percentage of people in dual-income households were also anxious about their own health (Table 5.3.1.2.). With respect to "income and assets," more people in younger age groups, more people with less education, more people with lower income, and more people in dual-income households had a greater level of anxiety. With respect to "life after retirement," the level of anxiety was higher among people in older age groups, and people in households with a full-time housewife or dual-income households (Table 5.3.2.1.). As regards "human relations with family and relatives" and "human relations within the local community," the level of anxiety was higher among people in dual-income households. With respect to anxiety about "human relations at the workplace," the level of anxiety was higher among people in younger age groups and people with higher incomes (Table 5.3.3.1.). Among those with

jobs, regular employees tended to be anxious about “human relations at the workplace” (Table 5.3.3.2).

- All of the types of anxiety had a positive correlation with “anxiety over competition for status” and “anxiety over loss of status.” This shows that behind people’s anxiety about life in general was an anxiety about their status. Anxiety about “their own health” had a positive correlation with “seniority wage system” and “maintenance of the status quo.” In this respect, concern about one’s own health has the same characteristics as the “first stratum” of work consciousness.

In general, there is little overlap between anxiety in life in general and the “second stratum” of work consciousness (Table 5.3.4.).

Section IV: New perception on work

- The largest percentage of respondents, at around 60 percent, regarded housekeeping” as work. The percentage of respondents who viewed “looking after elderly parents” at home and “child care” as work was also on the rise. Moreover, the percentage of those who saw such community activities as “volunteer activities,” “contributing to the regional community,” and “taking part in consumer or civic movement” increased each year (Figure 5.4.1.). Men tended to think of “volunteer activities” as work as they grew older. In particular, during the three years of the survey, the percentage of men in their 50s who have such a view rose markedly. In 2001, the percentage of men in their 20s who thought similarly also rose sharply. On the other hand, difference by age among women on this issue gradually diminished (Figure 5.4.2.).

- By respondents’ attribute, the type of household was a major determinant factor for all activities. More people in dual-income households regarded “looking after elderly parents” as work compared with single people. More people in households with a full-time housewife or dual-income households thought of “child care” as work compared with single people, indicating married people were more inclined to think this way. With regard to “housekeeping,” more people in households with a fulltime housewife or dual income households viewed it as work compared with single people, again indicating married people were more likely to see housekeeping as work. More women than men also thought of “housekeeping” as work. With respect to “volunteer activities,” “taking part in consumer or civic movements,” and “contributing to the local community,” more people in households with a fulltime housewife saw them as work, as compared with single people, in both 2000 and 2001 (Table 5.4.1). Among those with jobs, more regular employees than non-regular ones regarded “looking after elderly parents” and “child care” as work (Table 5.4.2).

- All types of activities were positively correlated with “anxiety over competition for status” and “anxiety over loss of status” as well as with distribution based on “equality.” At the same time, they also had a positive correlation with “post-materialism.” “volunteer activities,” “taking part in consumer or civic movements,” and “contributing to the local community” was positively correlated with “self-worthiness.”

Section V: Satisfaction in life

- The general level of satisfaction with life was high at around 65 percent of all respondents (Table 5.5.1.). The level of satisfaction was higher among those in older age groups. In the 2001 survey, however, the level of satisfaction declined in all age groups (Table 5.5.2).

- The level of satisfaction was higher among women than among men, among older age groups than among younger people, among higher income earners than among lower income earners and among households with a full-time housewife than among singles. In particular, sex and age were strong determinant factors (Table 5.5.2.). Among

working people, the less frequently a worker switches jobs, the higher the level of his/her satisfaction is.

- Satisfaction with one's life had a negative correlation with "anxiety over competition for status" and "anxiety over loss of status," and a positive correlation with "a sense of unity with the organization" and "post-materialism." It also had a positive correlation with "lifetime employment," "seniority wage system," and "maintenance of the status quo," indicating a high level of satisfaction mainly in the "first stratum" of work consciousness. On the other hand, however, the level of satisfaction was high among those indicating "self-worthiness," particularly among women, and in this respect, the level of satisfaction was also high in the "second stratum" of work consciousness. The correlation with distribution based on "achievement" diminished each year, and in the 2001 survey, there was no significant correlation (Table 5.5.3.).

Chapter VI: Relation of job satisfaction to satisfaction in life, a sense of fulfillment in life, and sense of unfairness

- An analysis of "satisfaction in life" from the viewpoint of "satisfaction in work" shows that the higher the job satisfaction on the "dimension of effort" and the "dimension of ability", the higher the satisfaction in life is. In particular, the effect of the "dimension of efforts" was significant (Table 6.1.).

- An analysis of "a sense of fulfillment in life" from the viewpoint of "satisfaction in work" shows that the higher the job satisfaction on all dimensions is, the greater the sense of fulfillment in life is (Table 6.2.1.). In particular, the "dimension of ability" and the "dimension of work" were effective. With respect to "family life," the greater the job satisfaction on the "dimension of effort," "dimension of work," and "dimension of responsibility", the greater the sense of fulfillment is. As regards social activities, job satisfaction did not contribute to enhancing the sense of fulfillment. With respect to "leisure activities," the "dimension of abilities" increased the sense of fulfillment in 2000 and 2001 (Table 6.2.2.).

- An analysis of "sense of unfairness" from the viewpoint of "satisfaction in work" shows that the lower the job satisfaction on the "dimension of effort" is, the higher the sense of unfairness in general is (Table 6.3.1.). In all categories of "sex," "age," "education," and "occupation," the lower the job satisfaction on the "dimension of effort" is, the higher the sense of unfairness is (Table 6.3.2.). This also shows that "effort" is an important condition for having trust in social rules.

8. Conclusion

The analysis of the correlation between various aspects of people's work consciousness confirmed that there are two major strata of work consciousness. The first stratum supports lifetime employment and the seniority wage system regarding employment, approves of distribution of wealth based on effort, need, and equality, has a low sense of self-worth, and seeks maintenance of the status quo in their lives. In contrast, the second stratum supports self-development with respect to employment, approves of distribution based on achievement, and is oriented towards post-materialism, de-emphasis on status, and self-worth in their lives. Moreover, it was found that both strata attached importance to "a sense of unity with the organization" as regards employment, on distribution based on "effort" and on "post-materialism" with respect to everyday life. It was also revealed that "a sense of unity with the organization" and "post-materialism" were also important for enhancing "satisfaction in work" and "satisfaction in life."

The above results may suggest that three principles, "a sense of unity with the organization," "effort," and "post-materialism," may become the key rules in the future

reorganization of working society. As these principles are regarded positively by both the first and second strata of people, who have different orientations (consciousness), they could become the key rules that connect the two strata. Furthermore, the above results are also significant from the point of view of policy support (approach). In other words, it is indicated that these principles may form a basic framework for implementing effective policies without creating a conflict between the two strata. People's work consciousness is essentially composed of many aspects, and it varies widely from person to person. In this survey and research, we approached people's consciousness on work from a limited angle by setting a framework as shown above. Nevertheless, even with such constraint, we obtained a vast amount of information as shown in this article and in our report on the 1st, 2nd and 3rd surveys, "Survey on Working Life (1999): Work Consciousness and Unemployment," "Survey on Working Life (2000): Work Consciousness and Fluidization," and "Survey on Working Life (2001): Work Consciousness and IT Society." Depending on which aspects of people's work consciousness we focus on, our findings may vary widely. In this article, we only attempted a limited analysis on the correlation between different aspects of people's work consciousness. Therefore, it goes without saying that the resulting policy implications are also largely limited. We hope that further analyses will be conducted in the future and more data will be accumulated for presentation of meaningful information.

<Bibliography>

- IBM Work Life Study Group (1994) *Changes in Work Life*, IBM Japan, Ltd.
- Imada, Sachiko (2000) "Restructuring of Working Style — Future Direction of Diversifying and Chaotic State of Consciousness on Work," *Nihon Rodo Kyokai Zasshi*, No. 479, P. 2-13.
- Imada, Sachiko and Hirata, Shuichi (1995) *Structure of Promotion of White-Collar Workers*, Japan Institute of Labour
- Imada, Takatoshi (1998) *Exploring New Dimension of Social Classes*, 1995 SSM Survey Series 20, 1995 SSM Survey Study Group.
- Imada, Takatoshi (1998) "New Dimension of Social Classes: Status Variables of Post Materialistic Society," *Sociology Essays* Vol. 48. No.4: 31-49.
- Genda, Yuji (1994) "Trend toward Longer Years of Education and Middle and Elderly Ages and Wage Structure," Ishikawa, Tsuneo, ed., *Income and Distribution of Wealth in Japan*, University of Tokyo Press.
- Koike, Kazuo (1977) *Japan-U.S. Comparison of Unionism in Workplace and Labor-Management Relationship*, Toyo Keizai Inc.
- Koike, Kazuo and Inoki, Takeshi (1987) *International Comparison of Human Development: Southeast Asia and Japan*, Toyo Keizai Inc.
- Takanashi, Akira (1994) *Changing Japanese Style of Employment*, Nikkei Inc.
- Takeuchi, Yo (1995) *Meritocracy Structure and Sentiment in Japan*, University of Tokyo Press.
- Tachibanaki Toshiaki (1998) *Wealth Gap in Japan*, Iwanami Shoten.
- Tominaga, Kenichiro (1979) *Cass Structure in Japan*, University of Tokyo Press
- Japan Institute of Labour (2003) *The 1st Survey on Working Life (1999): Consciousness on Work and Unemployment*, Research Report No. 139.
- Japan Institute of Labour (2003) *The 2nd Survey on Working Life (2000): Consciousness on Work and Fluidization*, Research Report No.140.
- Japan Institute of Labour (2003) *The 3rd Survey on Working Life (2001): Consciousness on Work and IT Society*, Research Report No.141.

- Hara, Junsuke and Moriyama, Kazuo (1998) *Social Classes – Inequality in Affluence*, University of Tokyo Press
- Miyano, Masaru (1998) Sense of Fairness and Social Classes, 1995 SSM Survey Series 8, 1995 SSM Study Group.
- Gray, John (1998) False Dawn, Grant Publications. (Ishizuka, Masahiko, trans., *Gurobarizumu Toiu Moso*, Nikkei Inc., 1999)
- Inglehart, Ronald (1977) Silent Revolution: Changing Values and Political Styles among Western Publics, Princeton University Press.(Miyake, Ichiro; Kanamaru, Teruo; and Tomisawa, Katsu, trans., *Shizukanaru Kakumei*, Toyo Keizai Inc., 1978)
- Parsons, Talcott (1970) Equality and Inequality in Modern Society, or Social Stratification Revisited, in Laumann, Edward(ed) Social Stratification: Research and Theory for the 1970s, The Bobbs-Merrill Company.
- Treiman, Donald J. (1970) Industrialization and Social Stratification, in Laumann, Edward(ed) Social Stratification: Research and Theory for the 1970s, The Bobbs-Merrill Company.