

## **Chapter I: Two strata of work consciousness**

### **Introduction**

The employment rules that are collectively referred to as the Japanese employment practices has constituted the pillar of working life in Japan, as they are regarded as models to be looked to and followed. Although the Japanese employment practices used to be praised by Western countries for its rationality, its shortcomings have been exposed due to the economic stagnation that has continued since the bursting of the economic bubble. If we are to regard the Japanese employment practices as the pillar of the Japanese-style working life in the modern industrial society of postwar Japan, we must not overlook the importance of changes in the industrialist consciousness on life for future working life. A shift is ongoing from modern industrialism, which seeks rationality and efficiency, to the attitude of placing emphasis on having a peace of mind and living one's own way of life. Moreover, while the rules on the distribution of social resources are based on an achievement-oriented attitude in modern society, Japan is unique in this respect. Usually, results may be defined as an achievement that people make based on their own capabilities and efforts, but the Japanese-style achievement-oriented attitude is unique in that emphasis is placed on the efforts made by people in the process, rather than on the achievement made as a result. It may be said that the Japanese employment practices, industrialist consciousness on life and the rules on social distribution constitute the pillars of the Japanese-style working life.

As a result of an analysis of data collected through the Survey on Working Life in 1999, which was conducted from this perspective, it was found that there are two strata of work consciousness (Imada 2000). The first stratum supports lifetime employment and the seniority wage system and is strongly oriented toward the principles of effort, need and equality. It also prefers the maintenance of the status quo and lacks self-confidence. On the other hand, the second stratum is strongly oriented toward self-development and supports the principle of achievement. It is also strongly oriented toward post-materialism and de-emphasis on status and has a high level of self-confidence.

In which direction will these two strata move? Will they be further polarized away from each other? Or will they move closer to each other, or will some intermediary principle that links the two be found? In this chapter, we will examine those points by looking at the movements of the two strata over the three-year period of our surveys.

### **Section I: The Japanese employment practices**

Under the Japanese employment practices, which centers on long-term employment (lifetime employment) and seniority-based income protection (seniority wage system), employee benefits services are internally provided and in-house skills development programs are implemented. It is said that Japanese companies' high productivity has been ensured by contributions made by employees who have developed strong commitment to the organization as a result of such an "all-inclusive employment" arrangement. However, as job reduction and wage cuts have become common among Japanese companies in recent years, workers' confidence in long-term, stable employment is wavering.

Therefore, our surveys sought to find out workers' views on conventional practices and reforms concerning the five essential elements of the Japanese employment practices — employment and wage protection, the seniority wage system, skills development and commitment to the organization.

Question: What is your view on the Japanese style of working?

- (1) What is your opinion on lifetime employment in Japan where one works for a single company until the mandatory retirement age? (lifetime employment)
- (2) What is your opinion on the Japanese-style seniority wage system in which pay rises in line with the length of service? (seniority wage system)
- (3) What is your opinion on the view "Funds should be allocated not to improve welfare

facilities such as company housing and recreation facilities but to increase employees' pay"? (increase in pay in return for reduction in benefit system)

(4) What is your opinion on the view "One should not depend on an organization or a company but develop one's own skills to shape one's future"? (self-development)

(5) What do you think about having a sense of unity with a company or a workplace? (a sense of unity with the organization)

**Answers**

- 1 It is a good thing
- 2 It is more or less a good thing
- 3 It is more or less not a good thing
- 4 It is not a good thing
- 5 Don't know

**General trend**

In the 1999 survey, the support rate for "a sense of unity with the organization" and "lifetime employment, as well as "self-development" was high, indicating people's hopes for both the maintenance and reform of the Japanese employment practices. Figure 1.1.1. represents the simple tabulation of data collected in the surveys in 1999, 2000 and 2001. In each year, the support rate remained consistently high. In particular, support for "a sense of unity with the organization" and "self-development" steadily increased year by year. Although support for "lifetime employment" declined slightly in 2001, it remained at a high level. This indicates that hopes are growing both for the maintenance and reform of the Japanese employment practices.

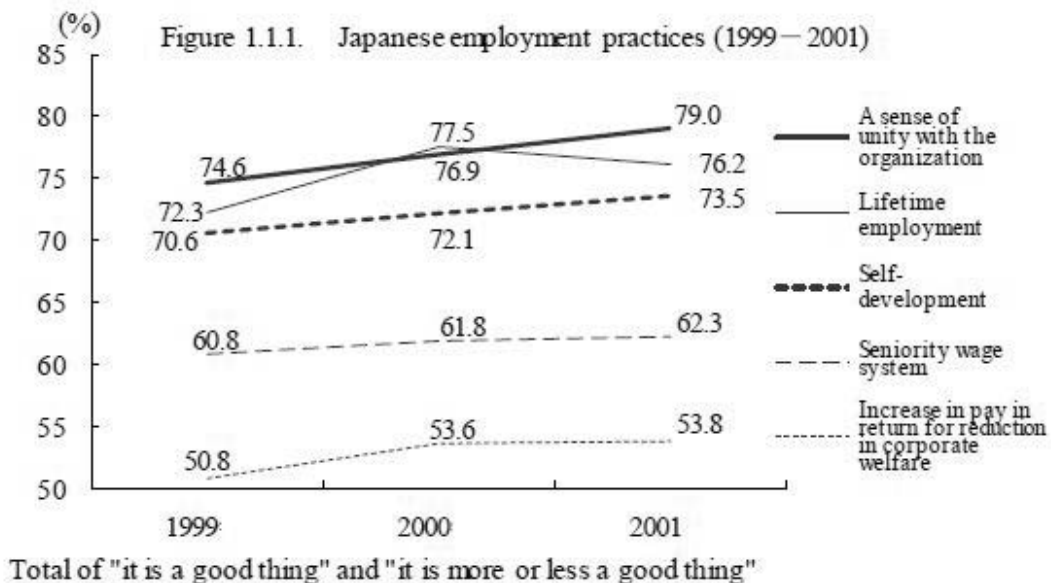


Figure 1.1.2. "A sense of unity with the organization" and "self-development" (by sex and age)

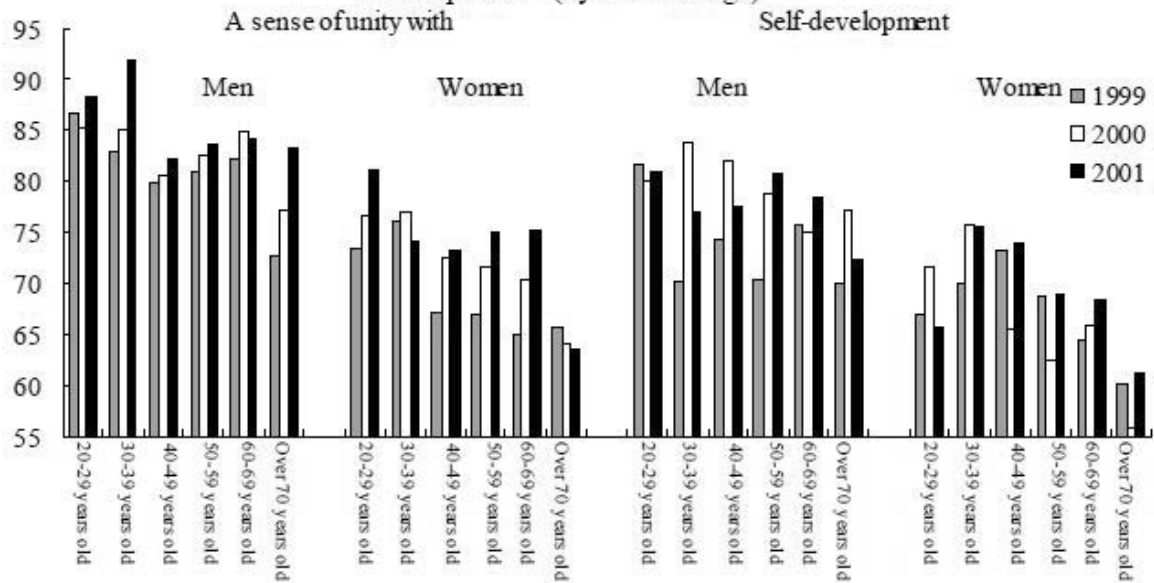


Figure 1.1.2. shows the results concerning "a sense of unity with the organization" and "self-development" by sex and age. Support for "a sense of unity with the organization" increased both among men and women and across all age groups except for women in their 30s. In short, "a sense of unity with the organization" was widely supported regardless of sex and age. On the other hand, support for self-development increased among men in their 50s and 60s and among women in their 30s and older age groups. In other words, support for "self-development" increased among people who have various opportunities to leave their organization, including men who are approaching the mandatory retirement age and women of marriageable and child-bearing age.

#### Supporters of "lifetime employment, the "seniority wage system," "self-development" and "a sense of unity with the organization"

In the 1999 survey, "lifetime employment" and "seniority wage system" were the distinct elements of the Japanese employment practices that were favored by people who belong to the first stratum of work consciousness, while "self-development" was the distinct element preferred by people who belong to the second stratum of work consciousness. It is also notable that support for "a sense of unity with the organization" increased over the three years of the surveys. Therefore, we examined the determinant factors for these four elements.

Table 1.1.1. shows the effects of the determinant factors for these elements on a sample-wide basis. Generally speaking, workers' consciousness was little determined by their own attributes, as shown by the small values of the coefficients of determination and the partial regression coefficients. We will focus on notable effects of the determinants.

The support rate for "lifetime employment" was higher among women than men, among people in older age groups than among those in younger age groups and among people with less education than those with longer years of education. Support for the "seniority wage system" was also high among women and people with less education. Under the traditional Japanese employment practices, women were mostly regarded merely as part-time workers. That support for "lifetime employment" and the "seniority wage system" was high among women although the value of the coefficient of determination was small indicates that women prefer a stable working style. Moreover, the finding that support for "lifetime employment" and the "seniority wage system" was high among people with less education and support for "lifetime employment" was high among people in older age groups indicates that people who are liable to be at a disadvantage in the external labor market support the Japanese employment practices.

Meanwhile, support for “self-development” was higher among men than among women. In addition, as shown by the cross tabulation of the results of the 1999 and 2001 surveys, “self-development” was supported more by people in older age groups than by those in younger age groups. However, as the value of the coefficient of determination is small, workers’ attitude toward “self-development” is largely a matter for future analysis.

Table 1.1.1. Determinant factors for the "evaluation of Japanese employment practices (multiple regression analysis; all subjects)

	Lifetime employment			Seniority wage system		
	1999	2000	2001	1999	2000	2001
Sex	-.058**	-.048**	-.043*	-.068***	-.046**	-.040*
Age	.148***	.128***	.118***	.122***	.127***	.039
Educational attainment	-.056**	-.088***	-.122***	-.092***	-.114***	-.191***
Own income	-.022	-.013	-.017	-.059**	-.072***	-.030
R2	.040	.039	.049	.051	.058	.054
adj-R2	.039	.037	.047	.049	.057	.052
F value	23.600***	23.679***	29.813***	30.680***	36.023***	33.475***
N	2257	2330	2343	2296	2330	2362

	Self-development			A sense of unity with the organization		
	1999	2000	2001	1999	2000	2001
Sex	.044*	.097***	.064***	.135***	.091***	.119***
Age	.044*	.021	.094***	.064*	.008	.021
Educational attainment	-.019	.023	.044*	-.028	-.079***	-.044*
Own income	.024	.000	.013	-.013	.045*	.030
R2	.007	.010	.014	.024	.019	.021
adj-R2	.005	.009	.012	.022	.017	.019
F value	3.787***	5.943***	7.871***	13.260***	10.547***	12.163***
N	2255	2257	2291	2176	2203	2264

\*\*\* Significant at 1%      \*\* Significant at 5%      \* Significant at 10%

Support for “a sense of unity with the organization” was higher among men. This finding confirms the traditional view that a strong commitment to the organization, which is a distinct feature of Japanese employed workers, is particularly strong among men.

Next, we will examine the determinant factors for “lifetime employment,” the “seniority wage system,” “self-development” and “a sense of unity with the organization” while limiting the subjects of analysis to people with jobs and adding employment-related attributes as explanatory variables (Table 1.1.2.). The values of the coefficients of determination were small in this respect as well.

As was apparent in the results on a sample-wide basis, support for “lifetime employment” was higher among people in older age groups, while support for the “seniority wage system” was higher among women. “A sense of unity with the organization” was supported more by men than by women. This indicates that these basic attributes are stable determinants for each variable. In addition, support for the “seniority wage system” was higher among people with less income.

Regarding the effects of employer-related attributes, support for “lifetime employment” was higher at larger companies than at smaller ones in the 2000 and 2001 surveys. Although the Japanese employment practices were operated mainly by major companies, “lifetime employment” was taking roots among small and medium-size companies as well. However, in recent years, while support for “lifetime employment” is higher among people working for larger companies, people working for smaller companies appear to be starting to lose hope for “lifetime employment.” Support for the “seniority wage system” was higher among workers with lower income and among regular employees. For regular employees, the seniority wage system was a basic framework within which they planned their future life based not only on existing income but also on expected future income. Therefore, if this system falters, workers’

life plans could significantly go awry. Presumably, this risk is a factor behind the strong support for the “seniority wage system.” Support for “self-development” was lower among regular employees. It is natural that regular employees, most of who stay with their organization for an extended period of time under the protection of stable employment, support “self-development” less than other employees.

### Movements of the two strata

In the 1999 survey, regarding the evaluation of the Japanese employment practices, there was a polarization between a stratum of people who support “lifetime employment” and the “seniority wage system” and a stratum of people who support “self-development.” How did these two strata move thereafter?

Figure 1.1.3. shows changes in the coefficients of correlation between three elements of the Japanese employment system – “lifetime employment,” the “seniority wage system” and “a sense of unity with the organization.” “Lifetime employment” and the “seniority wage system” had a strong positive correction in each of 1999, 2000 and 2001. However, while “a sense of unity with the organization” had a positive correlation with “lifetime employment” and the “seniority wage system,” the value of the correlation coefficient was small.

Table 1.1.2. . Determinant factors for the "evaluation of Japanese employment practices (multiple regression analysis; people with jobs)

	Lifetime employment			Seniority wage system		
	1999	2000	2001	1999	2000	2001
Sex	-.112***	-.076**	-.038	-.105***	-.087***	-.065**
Age	.126***	.115***	.113***	.113***	.175***	.047
Educational attainment	-.002	-.051	-.147***	.009	-.041	-.115***
Own income	-.056	-.048	-.078**	-.105***	-.069*	-.064*
Number of times one changed jobs	-.045	-.009	-.092***	-.029	-.043	-.048
Years of service	.053	.054	-.005	.032	-.010	.002
Company size	.019	.061**	.086***	.031	.003	.002
Regular employees	.112***	.085***	.027	.139***	.121***	.133***
Job type (vs. skilled workers)						
Specialist jobs	-.058	-.018	.025	-.018	-.061*	-.025
Management posts	-.041	-.025	.089***	-.021	-.087**	-.023
Clerical work	-.099***	.014	.028	-.108***	-.020	-.037
Sales	-.046	-.015	-.004	-.040	-.023	-.033
Service jobs	-.089***	-.032	.022	-.033	.000	-.033
Others	-.005	-.014	.020	.035	-.016	-.005
R2	.045	.035	.053	.044	.053	.039
adj-R2	.035	.025	.044	.034	.043	.030
F value	4.560***	3.457***	5.687***	4.591***	5.319***	4.169***
N	1378	1357	1427	1410	1353	1443

	Self-development			A sense of unity with the organization		
	1999	2000	2001	1999	2000	2001
Sex	.036	.146***	.104***	.098***	.072**	.119***
Age	-.032	-.042	.027	.030	-.028	-.044
Educational attainment	-.016	-.011	.019	-.044	-.085**	-.077**
Own income	.029	-.005	.093**	-.007	.046	.038
Number of times one changed jobs	.046	.042	.043	.003	.032	-.011
Years of service	.059	.020	-.018	.012	.012	-.013
Company size	.006	-.066**	-.089***	-.053*	.022	-.009
Regular employees	-.099***	-.061*	-.070**	.054*	-.024	.013
Job type (vs. skilled workers)						
Specialist jobs	.002	.090***	.023	-.011	.012	.031
Management posts	-.011	.101***	.001	.019	.049	.072**
Clerical work	.026	.087**	.031	-.086**	-.016	.008

Sales	.062*	.036	-.014	.007	.015	.070**
Service jobs	-.026	.061*	-.044	-.003	.021	.045
Others	-.006	.026	-.059**	-.029	-.003	.003
R2	.017	.032	.037	.032	.020	.029
adj-R2	.007	.022	.027	.022	.009	.020
F value	1.753**	3.126***	3.853***	3.214***	1.894**	3.017***
N	1407	1334	1434	1364	1323	1419

\*\*\* Significant at 1%    \*\* Significant at 5%    \* Significant at 1%

Although there was not a significant change during the three years of the surveys, the values of the correlation coefficients generally declined gradually from the 1999 level. From this, we may presume that all elements of the Japanese employment system may not be equally supported in the future but that the level of support may vary widely between employment protection, income protection and commitment to the organization.

Table 1.1.3. shows the coefficients of correlation between the various elements of the Japanese employment by sex. The correlation between “lifetime employment” and the “seniority wage system” was strong and the correlation of “a sense of unity with the organization” with both the “lifetime employment” and the “seniority wage system” was weak among both men and women. In short, the pattern was similar to the results on a sample-wide basis regarding both men and women. Moreover, the correlation between “lifetime employment” and the “seniority wage system” weakened among women, while the correlation between “lifetime employment” and “a sense of unity with the organization” weakened among men. The correlation between the “seniority wage system” and “a sense of unity with the organization” weakened among women. From the changes in the correlation coefficients on a sample-wide basis, we recognize the weakening of the correlation between the various elements of the Japanese employment practices, but the strength of this trend varied between men and women.

Next, we look at changes in the coefficients of correlation between “self-development and the various elements of the Japanese employment practices (Figure 1.1.4.). In the 1999 survey, “self-development” had a positive correlation with “a sense of unity” but a negative correlation with “lifetime employment” and the “seniority wage system.” In the following years, the positive correlation between “self-development” and “a sense of unity with the organization” strengthened slightly. Meanwhile, the negative correlation between “self-development” and “lifetime employment” weakened. The negative correlation between “self-development” and the “seniority wage system” weakened in 2000, and there was not a significant correlation in 2001. In this trend, we see the possibility that the antithetical relationship between support for “self-development” and support for the Japanese employment practices may weaken in the future.

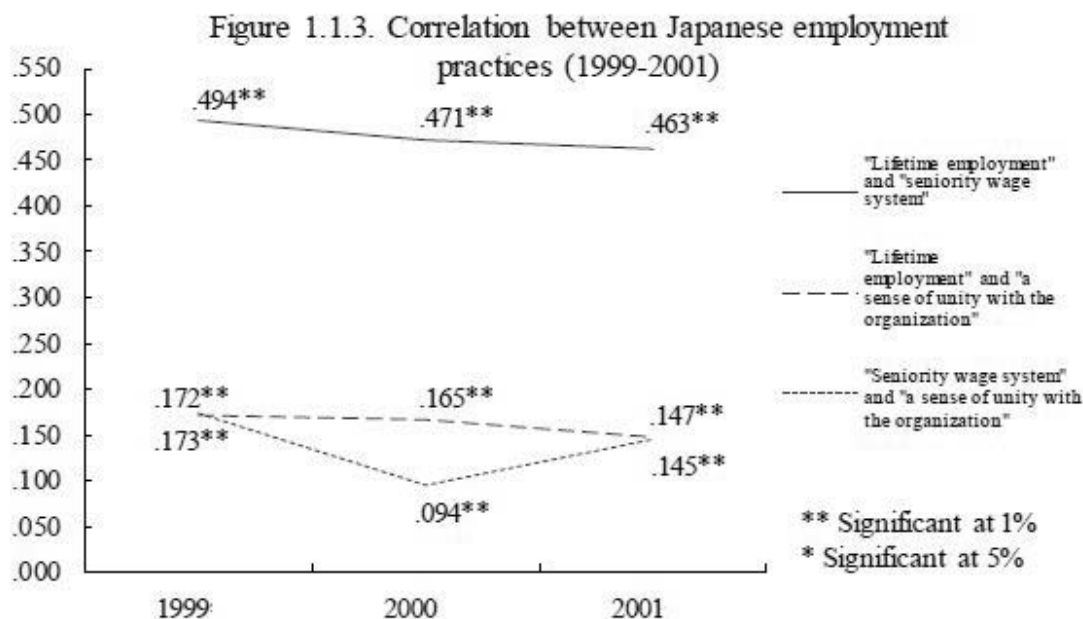


Table 1.1.3. Correlation coefficient between Japanese employment practices (by sex)

		1999	2000	2001
"Lifetime employment" and "seniority wage system"	Men	.510**	.435**	.500**
	Women	.473**	.503**	.419**
"Lifetime employment" and "a sense of unity with the organization"	Men	.198**	.177**	.145**
	Women	.162**	.167**	.164**
"Seniority wage system" and "a sense of unity with the organization"	Men	.165**	.055	.166**
	Women	.205**	.146**	.146**

\*\* Significant at 1%    \* Significant at 5%

Table 1.1.4 shows the coefficients of correlation between “self-development” and the various elements of the Japanese employment practices by sex. There is a clear disparity in correlation coefficient between men and women. In 2000 and 2001, there was not a significant correlation between “lifetime employment” and “self-development” among women, whereas the negative correlation between these two strengthened among men. In other words, contrary to the results on a sample-wide basis, there was an increasing polarization between support for “self-development” and support for “lifetime employment” among men. Among women, there was not a significant correlation between “a sense of unity with the organization” and “self-development,” while among men, there was a significant correlation in 2000 and 2001. In short, the positive correlation between “a sense of unity with the organization” and “self-development” that was apparent on a sample-wide basis is a trend more characteristic of men than of women.

It is noteworthy that “a sense of unity with the organization” has a positive correlation both with “lifetime employment”/“seniority wage system” and with “self-development.” Both people who hope for the maintenance of employment and income protection under the Japanese employment practices and people who are ready to shape their own career path without depending on their organization think that “a sense of unity with the organization” should not be ignored. In particular, the correlation between “self-development” and “a sense of unity with the organization” has important implications. In short, the reform of the Japanese employment practices that people supporting “self-development” are hoping for is not a thorough pursuit of an individualistic achievement-oriented attitude but the creation of a working style that enables workers to have “a sense of unity with the organization” even while shaping their career path on their own by developing their skills.

Figure 1.1.4. "Self-development" and Japanese employment practices (1999-2001)

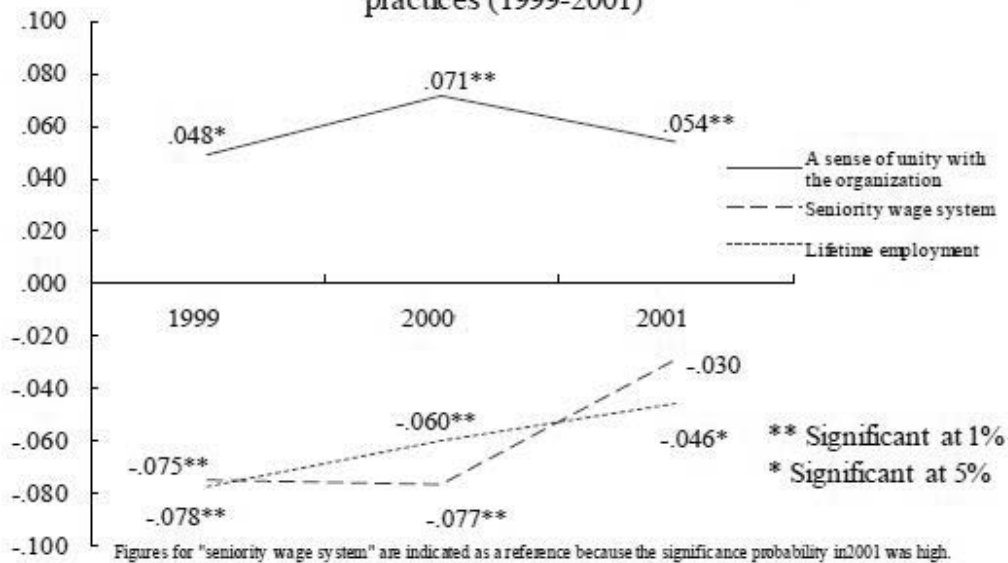


Table 1.1.4. Correlation coefficient between "self-development" and Japanese employment practices (by sex)

		1999	2000	2001
Lifetime employment	Men	-.064*	-.066*	-.075*
	Women	-.086**	-.047	-.008
Seniority wage system	Men	-.090*	-.067*	-.054
	Women	-.054	-.068*	.005
A sense of unity with the organization	Men	.035	.075*	.068*
	Women	.051	.050	.021

\*\* Significant at 1% \* Significant at 5%

## Section II Principles of distribution

Modern industrial society may be regarded as a framework in which efforts are made to achieve the following based on the principle of rationalization: spread of the principle of competition, adoption of an achievement-oriented attitude, promotion of equality and improvement of the living standards. It is presumed that economic wealth and social status should be provided to individuals based not on their intrinsic attributes (e.g., social class and family pedigree) but on the principle of achievement (individuals' efforts and capabilities). However, thorough pursuit of the principle of competition would expand the wealth gap and other inequalities, rather than promoting equality or improving living standards. Therefore, modern industrial society has rules on the distribution of social resources (wealth and prestige).

When a social inequality arises, whether people regard it as fair or unfair varies depending on which of the principles of distribution they approve of. In a society where the principle of effort has taken root, an inequality between those who make efforts and those who do not may be regarded as fair, while an inequality that arises when people who do not make efforts gain benefits while those who do not receive rewards may be regarded as unfair. In Japanese society, since the Meiji era, importance has been attached to the principle of effort (Takeuchi 1995). In the postwar period, Japanese society has promoted equality while upholding the principle of competition, and it is often pointed out that egalitarianism has gone too far. However, in recent years, concerns about widening social inequality have been growing. In addition, active debate is ongoing about thorough pursuit of the principle of competition and the introduction of an achievement-oriented attitude in various fields, including the corporate sector. In light of this social trend, it is necessary to consider once again what a desirable distribution of social



resources is.

While there are several principles of distribution of social resources, we examined four major principles in our research. The four principles are: the principle of achievement hereinafter referred to as “achievement”, which focuses on what achievements people make; the principle of effort (“effort”), which focuses on the efforts made by people during the process leading to the achievements; the principle of need (“need”), which requires that people be given according to their needs; and the principle of equality (“equality”), which requires that all people should be given equally. The first two principles are rules that govern an achievement-oriented attitude, while the latter two are rules that make up for the shortcomings of an achievement-oriented attitude.

Question: Who do you think should be given a high social status and economic wealth? Answer to each of the questions (1) to (4).

- (1) More should be given to those who achieve more (achievement principle)
- (2) More should be given to those who make the greater efforts (effort principle)
- (3) Each should be given according to one’s needs (need principle)
- (4) All should be given equally (equality principle)

1. (a) Agree
2. (b) More or less agree
3. (c) More or less disagree
4. (d) Disagree
5. (e) Neither agree nor disagree
6. (f) Don’t know

### General trend

Figure 1.2.1. shows changes in the results of simple tabulations of the surveys. Support was high for the “effort” and “achievement” but not high for “need” and “equality.” In Japan, support for “effort” is still persistent. Even so, in 2001, the support rate for “achievement” rose close to the level of the support rate for “effort”. In addition, support for “need” also rose, albeit slightly. While we can see that people show readiness to accept the social trend toward the achievement-oriented attitude, they are also sensitive to the ensuing demerits.

Next, we look at the results concerning “achievement” and “need” by sex and age (Figure 1.2.2.).

In both of the male and female samples, support for “achievement” was higher among people in younger age groups. In 2001, support for “achievement” increased in most age groups. Regarding “need,” there was no significant difference in the level of support across age groups. However, support increased in 2001 among men in their 20s and 50s and among women in their 30s to their 60s. As “need” constitutes the foundation of a welfare society, the high support rate for it may reflect concerns over pensions and social security.

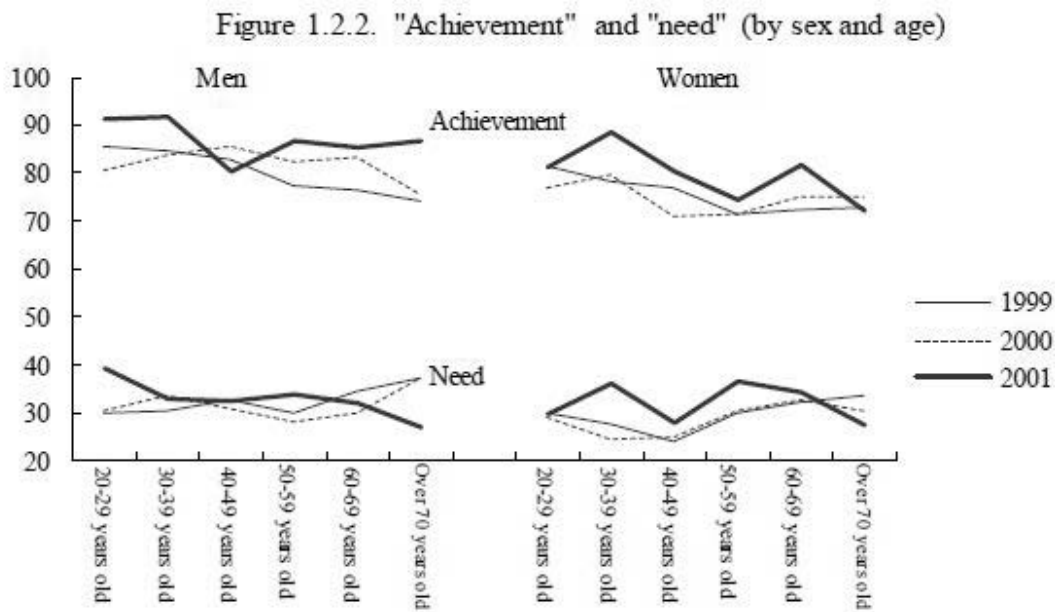
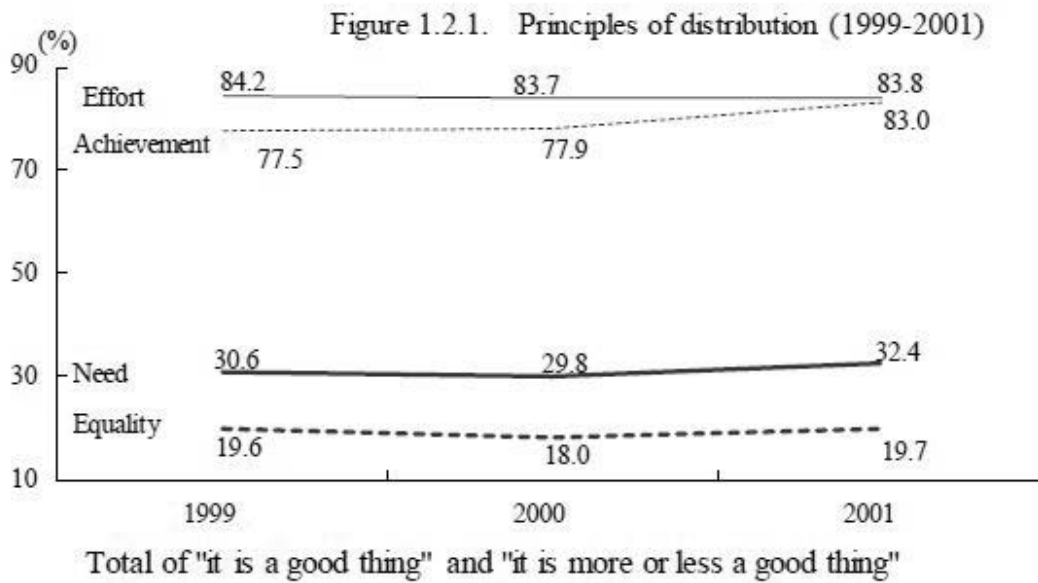


Table 1.2.1. Determinant factors for "desirable principles of distribution" (multiple regression analysis; all subjects)

	Achievement			Effort		
	1999	2000	2001	1999	2000	2001
Sex	.075***	.085***	.107***	-.002	-.013	-.010
Age	.010	.066***	.027	.100***	.113***	.058**
Educational attainment	.039	.071***	.022	-.074***	-.048**	-.062**
Own income	.017	.008	.009	-.019	-.043*	.018
R2	.009	.015	.014	.025	.024	.011
adj-R2	.008	.013	.012	.023	.023	.009
F value	5.534***	8.887***	8.510***	15.005***	14.773***	6.536***
N	2370	2393	2412	2372	2394	2412
	Need			Equality		
	1999	2000	2001	1999	2000	2001
Sex	.004	.004	.016	-.016	-.011	-.008

Age	.052**	.078***	-.009	.074***	.014	-.003
Educational attainment	-.072***	.006	-.044*	-.126***	-.163***	-.139***
Own income	-.033	-.045*	-.061**	-.083***	-.030	-.099***
R2	.014	.007	.006	.045	.033	.036
adj-R2	.012	.006	.004	.044	.031	.035
F value	8.190***	4.267***	3.367***	27.627***	20.063***	22.249***
N	2302	2329	2345	2329	2353	2375

\*\*\* Significant at 1%    \*\* Significant at 5%    \* Significant at 10%

### Determinant factors for the principles of distribution

In modern Japanese society, support for “effort” and “achievement” is high, while that for “need” and “equality” is low. What types of people support each of these four principles of distribution?

Table 1.2.1. shows the effects of the determinant factors for the desirable “principles of distribution” on a sample-wide basis.

Support for “achievement” was higher among men and increased year over the period of the surveys. “Effort” which constitutes the basis of the Japanese-style achievement-oriented attitude garnered a higher level of support among people in older age groups. In addition, support for “effort” was higher among people with less education. Support for “equality” was also higher among people with less education. “Achievement” had a negative correlation with “equality” while “effort” had a positive correlation with “equality.” Although the results of competition based on an achievement-oriented approach is liable to reflect intrinsic advantages and disadvantages, the opportunity to make efforts is considered to be equally available for all people regardless of such advantages and disadvantages. The finding that support for “equality” and “effort” was higher among people with less education indicates a positive correlation between “effort” and “equality.” “Need” garnered a higher level of support among people with lower income in 2000 and 2001. Presumably, hopes for a minimum level of livelihood protection grew amid the severe recession.

Next, we will examine the determinant factors for the “principles of distribution” among people with jobs (Table 1.2.2.). As was apparent in the results on a sample-wide basis, support for “achievement” was higher among men. This is presumed to be related with the fact that men are generally better positioned, in terms of job type and working arrangement, to make achievements than women. In 2000 and 2001, support for “equality” was higher among people with less education. Support for “equality” was lower among workers engaged in sales than among skilled workers and laborers. There was not a significant determinant factor for “effort” and the “need” in 1999 and 2001.

Table 1.2.2. Determinant factors for “desirable principles of distribution” (multiple regression analysis; people with jobs)

	Achievement			Effort		
	1999	2000	2001	1999	2000	2001
Sex	.083**	.143***	.115***	.006	.004	.010
Age	-.046	-.049	-.037	.093***	.122***	.004
Educational attainment	.069**	.065**	.030	-.048	-.029	-.094***
Own income	.033	.058	.053	-.050	-.039	-.012
Number of times one changed jobs	.034	.001	.012	.004	-.007	-.016
Years of service	-.017	.004	.007	-.018	.026	.021
Company size	.049	-.011	.028	-.009	-.034	.034
Regular employees	-.009	-.034	-.040	.042	.025	-.070**
Job type (vs. skilled workers)						
Specialist jobs	-.043	.006	-.030	.022	-.049	.022
Management posts	-.012	.039	-.005	.024	-.029	.065**
Clerical work	-.027	.100***	.019	-.021	.031	.053
Sales	-.043	.067**	.036	.009	-.002	-.001
Service jobs	-.039	.063*	.010	.026	-.019	.053*

Others	.053*	.024	-.015	.040	-.009	.026
R2	.031	.043	.024	.018	.028	.018
adj-R2	.021	.033	.014	.008	.018	.009
F value	3.267***	4.426***	2.526***	1.862**	2.836***	1.933**
N	1454	1398	1476	1456	1396	1474

	Need			Equality		
	1999	2000	2001	1999	2000	2001
Sex	.008	.046	.025	-.045	-.012	-.036
Age	.057	-.003	-.019	.017	-.021	.035
Educational attainment	-.018	-.001	-.025	-.032	-.085**	-.087***
Own income	-.069*	-.031	-.073**	-.099***	-.025	-.109***
Number of times one changed jobs	-.031	-.011	.029	-.037	-.009	.056*
Years of service	.016	.008	.030	.064*	.042	.004
Company size	-.018	.003	.026	-.056*	-.011	-.007
Regular employees	.032	-.046	-.030	.002	.012	.077**
Job type (vs. skilled workers)						
Specialist jobs	.001	.009	-.016	-.057	-.050	-.049
Management posts	-.008	-.010	-.017	-.024	-.071**	-.058*
Clerical work	-.017	.017	-.027	-.093***	-.012	-.114***
Sales	.010	.007	-.018	-.052*	-.070**	-.073**
Service jobs	-.021	.026	-.017	.018	-.066**	-.016
Others	.017	-.050*	-.023	.011	.029	-.013
R2	.011	.006	.009	.047	.028	.057
adj-R2	.001	-.004	.000	.037	.018	.047
F value	1.065	.621	.974	4.938***	2.777***	6.191***
N	1418	1374	1453	1427	1381	1459

\*\*\* Significant at 1%    \*\* Significant at 5%    \* Significant at 1%

### Movements of the two strata

In the 1999 survey, regarding support for the principles of distribution, there was a divide between a stratum of people who supported “achievement” and “effort” and a stratum of people who approved of “need” and “equality.” While there was a positive correlation between “effort” and “equality,” there was a negative one between “achievement” and “equality.” How did these two strata of people move in the following years?

Figure 1.2.3. shows changes in the coefficients of correlation between “achievement,” “effort” “need” and “equality” over the three years of the surveys. The positive correlation between “achievement” and “effort” strengthened year by year, as did the negative correlation between “achievement” and “equality.” This indicates that there was a growing polarization between supporters of an achievement-oriented attitude and people who prefer equality. Table 1.2.3. shows the coefficients of correlation between “achievement,” “effort,” “need” and “equality” by sex. Among both men and women, there was a positive correlation between “achievement” and “effort” and a negative correlation between “achievement” and “equality.” Among women

Figure 1.2.3. Correlation between "achievement" and "effort"/"need"/"equality" (1999–2001)

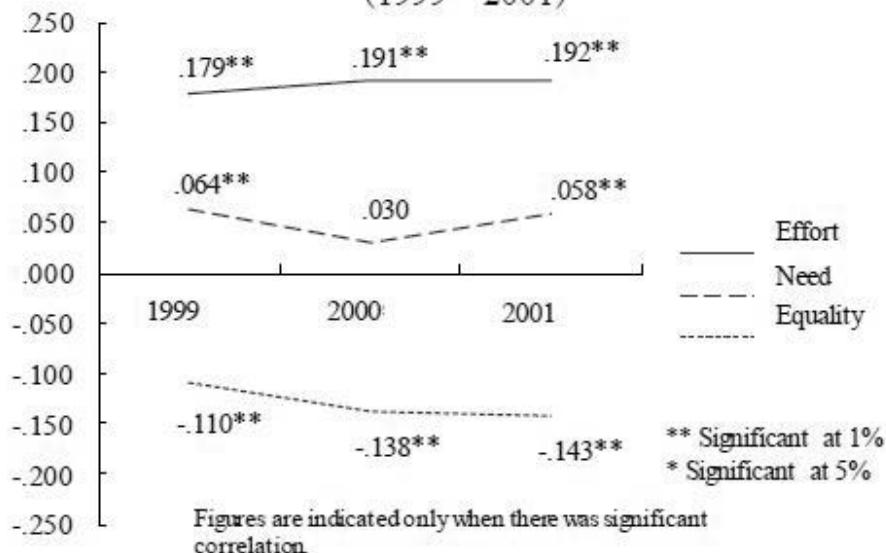


Table 1.2.3. Correlation coefficient between "achievement" and "effort"/"need"/"equality" (by sex)

		1999	2000	2001
Effort	Men	.150**	.215**	.139**
	Women	.210**	.180**	.238**
Need	Men	.063*	.030	.039
	Women	.065*	.033	.078**
Equality	Men	-.101**	-.171**	-.109**
	Women	-.110**	-.104**	-.156**

\*\* Significant at 1%

\* Significant at 5%

in particular, the negative correlation between "achievement" and "equality" strengthened in 2001, so the polarization between supporters of an achievement-oriented attitude and egalitarianism was greater than among men.

Next, we look at changes in the coefficients of correlation between "effort" and each of "need" and "equality" (Figure 1.2.4.).

The positive correlation between "effort" and "need" weakened slightly in 2000 but was somewhat stronger in 2001 than in 1999. On the other hand, the positive correlation between "effort" and "equality" weakened. In short, "effort" is becoming more correlated with "need" than with "equality"

Table 1.2.4. shows the coefficients of correlation between "effort" and each of "need" and "equality" by sex. There was a positive correlation between "effort" and "need" among both men and women. However, the positive correlation weakened among men year by year but strengthened among women in 2001. On the other hand, between "effort" and "equality," there was not a significant correlation among women in 2000 and 2001, but among men, the positive correlation between the two strengthened in 2001.

It is noteworthy that both "achievement" and "effort" had a positive correlation with "need." Of course, the correlation between "achievement" and "need" was weak, and "need" was more correlated with "equality" than with "achievement." However, in a competitive society, "need" has the function of making up for the demerits of "achievement." In a capitalist society, "need" has functioned as an element of welfare policy that assures a necessary level of livelihood

protection for people who lose out in market competition based on the achievement-oriented approach. However, simple pursuit of the principle of need could cause excessive dependence on welfare services and encourage free riding. In this respect, “effort” plays an important role as an intermediary between “achievement” and “need.” In other words, if the achievements made as a result of effort are highly regarded while people who make efforts receive a necessary level of protection, both “achievement” and “need” function well. In this sense, “effort” will likely continue to be important as the basic principle of the Japanese-style meritocracy.

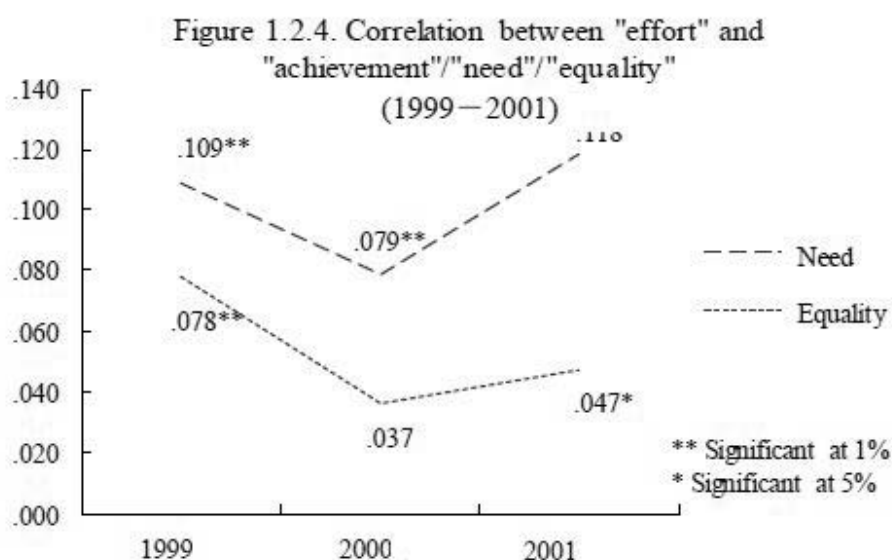


Table 1.2.4. Correlation coefficient between "effort" and "need"/"equality" (by sex)

		1999	2000	2001
Need	Men	.107**	.099**	.093**
	Women	.111**	.059*	.142**
Equality	Men	.057*	.039	.084**
	Women	.098**	.032	.014

\*\* Significant at 1%

\* Significant at 5%

### Section III: Life consciousness

In industrial society, people have attached importance to gaining economic wealth and high social status through competition based on an achievement-oriented approach. However, in modern Japanese society, which achieved material wealth after experiencing high economic growth in the postwar period, aspects of life consciousness that cannot be understood within such a framework are growing. In this section, in order to examine such aspects of consciousness, we conducted analysis centering on inclination toward non-material wealth and departure from competition for status.

Question: How much do the descriptions of (1) to (7) fit you?

(1) I am worried that other people might get the better of me unless I work hard (anxiety over competition for status).

(2) I am concerned that I might lose all that I gained if I am not careful (anxiety over loss of status).

(3) It is more important to maintain what I have gained so far than to try to gain more (maintenance of the status quo).

- (4) It does not bother me that others think differently and have a different lifestyle from mine (de-emphasis on other-directedness).
- (5) I would rather live the way I like to than try hard to gain wealth and high social status (de-emphasis on social status).
- (6) I have something I can be proud of beside my work (self-worthiness).
- (7) I would like to attach more importance to enriching my mind and having a peace of mind than to seeking materialistic affluence (post-materialism).

Answers

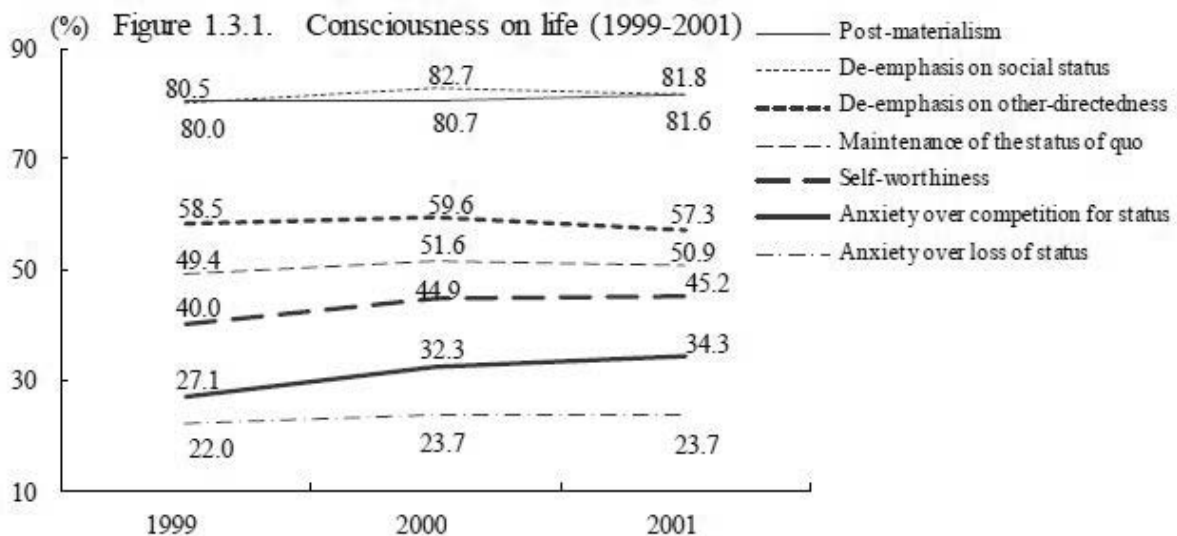
- 1 (a) Fits me exactly  
 2 (b) Fits me somewhat  
 3 (c) Does not fit me very well  
 4 (d) Does not fit me at all  
 5 (e) Neither  
 6 Don't know

“Anxiety over competition for status” and “anxiety over loss of status” indicate industrialist attachment to status. “Maintenance of the status quo” indicates passive attachment to status and is also related to post-industrialism. “De-emphasis on other-directedness,” “de-emphasis on status” and “post-materialism” represent post-industrialist aspects of life consciousness.

**General trend**

As shown in Figure 1.3.1., support for post-industrialist values such as “post-materialism” and “de-emphasis of status” has been high in recent years. In contrast, the level of “anxiety over competition for status” and “anxiety over loss of status” has been low. In the three years of our surveys, the level of support remained relatively stable regarding each item. However, the increase in the level of “anxiety over competition for status” was conspicuous compared with the trends regarding other items. This presumably means that the strengthening of the principle of competition was reflected in “anxiety over competition for status.”

Figure 1.3.2. indicates trends regarding “post-materialism” and “anxiety over competition for status,” which are typical values of post-industrialist consciousness, by sex and age. Regardless of sex and age, support for “post-materialism” was higher.



Total of "Fits me exactly" and "Fits me somewhat".

Figure 1.3.2. Post-materialism and anxiety over competition for status (by sex and age)

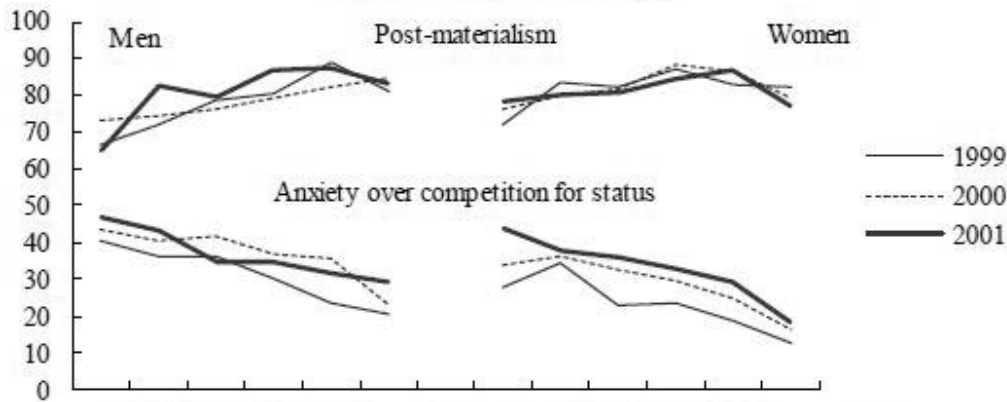
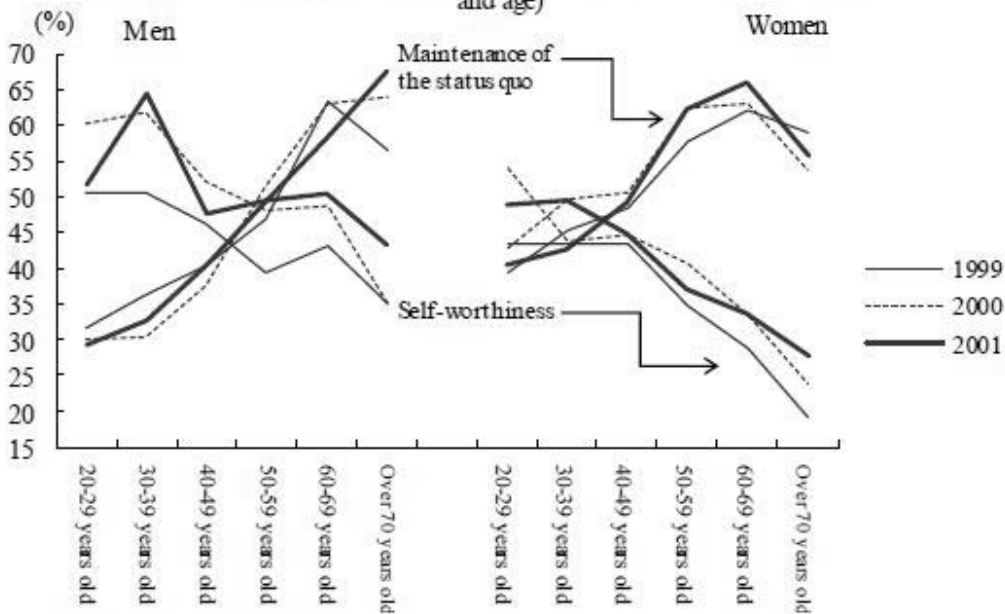


Figure 1.3.3. "Maintenance of the status quo" and "self-worthiness" (by sex and age)



While the level of support for “post-materialism” was high among both men and women and across all age groups, we recognized a gradual increase in the level of support that was in accordance with the advance of age. On the other hand, regarding “anxiety over competition for status,” there was a notable disparity across age groups among both men and women, with the level of anxiety higher among people in younger age groups. In particular, the level of “anxiety over competition for status” increased over the three years among people in their 20s and 30s. Among women, “anxiety over competition for status” increased across all age groups. This suggests that the growing inclination toward competition in recent years is generating strong concerns among young people and women in particular.

Among post-industrialist values, “maintenance of the status quo” and “self-worthiness” had an antithetical relation in the 1999 survey. Figure 1.3.3. shows trends regarding the “maintenance of the status quo” and “self-worthiness” by sex and age. Preference for “maintenance of the status quo” was stronger in older age groups among both men and women, while the sense of “self-worthiness” was higher in younger age groups. In the male sample, the percentage of respondents who preferred “maintenance of the status quo” was higher than the percentage of those who had a sense of self-worthiness in the 50s and older age groups, whereas in the female sample, the percentage of respondents who preferred “maintenance of the status quo” was higher in the 40s and older age groups. Moreover, while there was a wide



gap between the percentage of respondents who preferred “maintenance of the status quo” and the percentage of those who had a sense of “self-worthiness” among young men, there was not a major gap among young women, as the percentage of supporters of “maintenance of the status quo” was higher in the female sample than in the male sample in age groups from the 20s upward. In short, in younger age groups, preference for “maintenance of the status quo” was higher among women than among men.

### Determinant factors for “life consciousness”

Table 1.3.1. shows the effects of the determinants factors regarding life consciousness on a sample-wide basis. As was apparent in the results of cross-tabulation, the level of “anxiety over competition for status” was higher in younger age groups. One factor behind this trend is increasing competition faced by younger people as exemplified by curbs on the recruitment of new school graduates. The level of “anxiety over competition for status” was also higher among men than among women. On the other hand, “post-materialism” was favored more by women than by men and was more popular among people in older age groups than among younger people. It was also favored more by people with longer years of education than by people with less education. While age was a strong determinant factor throughout the three years of our surveys, the effects of sex and educational attainment weakened in 2001. Preference for “maintenance of the status quo” was stronger among women, older people, people with less education and people with lower income. While the age effect was particularly strong, that is presumably not because of the cohort effect but because the older people grow, the less they want. The effect of educational attainment was also strong, and this presumably indicates that eagerness for high social status weakened among people with less education. A sense of “self-worthiness” was stronger among people with longer years of education and people with higher income. In particular, the effect of educational attainment was strong. In other words, regarding post-industrialist consciousness, “post-materialism” is more popular and a sense of “self-worthiness” is stronger among people with longer years of education, whereas preference for maintenance of the status quo is stronger among people with less education. This suggests that people inclined to post-industrialism have different values depending on their material situation.

Table 1.3.1. Determinant factors for "life consciousness" (multiple regression analysis; all subjects)

	Anxiety over competition for status			Post-materialism		
	1999	2000	2001	1999	2000	2001
Sex	.069***	.079***	.047**	-.083***	-.138***	-.096***
Age	-.134***	-.155***	-.120***	.213***	.171***	.208***
Educational attainment	-.032	-.004	-.007	.128***	.096***	.070***
Own income	.003	-.007	-.014	.044*	.036	.072***
Households (vs. single person)						
Households with a full-time housewife	-.059**	.033	-.006	.023	.031	.005
dual-income households	.019	.050*	-.013	.048*	.016	-.031
Others	-.082***	.032	-.017	.041	.052*	.004
R2	.036	.027	.016	.041	.039	.041
adj-R2	.033	.024	.013	.038	.037	.038
F value	12.565***	9.427***	5.617***	14.598***	14.061***	14.375***
N	2382	2401	2402	2379	2408	2385

	Maintenance of the status quo			Self-worth		
	1999	2000	2001	1999	2000	2001
Sex	-.042*	-.050**	-.097***	.013	.042*	.045*
Age	.169***	.191***	.222***	-.035	-.084***	-.051*

Educational attainment	-.095***	-.090***	-.104***	.179***	.149***	.144***
Own income	-.079***	-.077***	-.044*	.062**	.044*	.061**
Households (vs. single person)						
Households with a full-time housewife	.018	.004	.014	-.022	.007	.015
dual-income households	.074***	.055**	.025	-.008	.041	.035
Others	.009	.010	-.021	.034	.009	.063**
R2	.071	.077	.093	.045	.053	.041
adj-R2	.068	.075	.090	.043	.050	.038
F value	25.348***	28.208***	34.431***	15.600***	18.587***	13.856***
N	2345	2363	2359	2303	2325	2298

\*\*\* Significant at 1%    \*\* Significant at 5%    \* Significant at 10%

Table 1.3.2. Determinant factors for "life consciousness" (multiple regression analysis; people with jobs)

	Anxiety over competition for status			Post-materialism		
	1999	2000	2001	1999	2000	2001
Sex	.058*	.050	.009	-.073**	-.131***	-.068**
Age	-.086**	-.191***	-.135***	.183***	.120***	.148***
Educational attainment	-.045	.012	.026	.078**	.048	.035
Own income	.000	-.007	-.039	-.005	-.001	.031
Number of times one changed jobs	.024	.023	-.008	-.027	.014	.042
Years of service	.034	.107***	.096***	.028	.034	.014
Company size	-.003	.011	-.031	.013	.048	.029
Regular employees	.002	-.035	.051	-.016	-.021	-.045
Job type (vs. skilled workers)						
Specialist jobs	.010	-.029	.007	.022	.042	.074**
Management posts	-.017	-.020	-.020	.020	.031	.046
Clerical work	-.045	-.056	-.035	.003	.008	.023
Sales	.047	-.002	.017	.007	.058*	-.024
Service jobs	-.045	-.049	.026	-.008	-.022	.029
Others	-.044	-.004	.032	-.073**	-.001	-.089***
Households (vs. single person)						
Households with a full-time housewife	-.057	.034	.016	-.037	.017	.044
dual-income households	.006	.069*	.013	-.024	.022	-.032
Others	.007	.000	-.018	-.043	.027	.049*
R2	.020	.027	.023	.041	.040	.059
adj-R2	.009	.015	.012	.030	.029	.048
F value	1.734**	2.282***	2.055***	3.615***	3.418***	5.324***
N	1451	1408	1478	1448	1401	1470

	Maintenance of the status quo			Self-worth		
	1999	2000	2001	1999	2000	2001
Sex	-.041	-.089***	-.117***	.010	.086**	.059*
Age	.162***	.136***	.232***	-.020	-.082**	-.090**
Educational attainment	-.112***	-.081**	-.090***	.120***	.086***	.135***
Own income	-.057*	-.029	-.034	.035	.042	.096***
Number of times one changed jobs	-.047*	-.036	.001	-.018	.068**	.049*
Years of service	.045	.073**	.054	-.048	-.008	.004
Company size	-.071**	-.088***	-.039	-.021	.010	.000
Regular employees	-.009	-.009	-.002	-.022	-.050	-.081**
Job type (vs. skilled workers)						
Specialist jobs	-.034	-.105***	-.026	.087**	.058*	.008
Management posts	-.059*	-.091***	-.072**	.066**	.026	-.040
Clerical work	-.055*	-.087**	-.108***	.036	.037	-.034
Sales	-.040	-.040	-.024	.092***	.041	-.035
Service jobs	-.013	-.062*	-.017	.058*	.039	.026
Others	-.080***	-.011	.032	.019	.031	-.017
Households (vs. single person)						

Households with a full-time housewife	-.018	-.054	-.041	-.014	-.005	.046
dual-income households	.041	-.004	-.039	-.034	.015	.069**
Others	-.008	-.031	-.010	.045	-.002	.061**
R2	.107	.110	.138	.043	.035	.047
adj-R2	.096	.099	.127	.032	.023	.035
F value	9.991***	9.940***	13.564***	3.722***	2.904***	4.066***
N	1439	1391	1463	1419	1373	1432

\*\*\* Significant at 1%    \*\* Significant at 5%    \* Significant at 10%

Table 1.3.2 shows the effects of the determinant factors for life consciousness among people with jobs. As was apparent in the results on a sample-wide basis, the level of “anxiety over competition for status” was higher among people in younger age groups and “post-materialism” was more popular among women and older people. Preference for “maintenance of the status quo” was stronger among older people and people with less education, while a sense of “self-worthiness” was stronger among people with longer years of education. As was the case on a sample-wide basis, educational attainment was a major determinant as to whether people prefer “maintenance of status quo” and whether they have a sense of “self-worthiness.” Regarding the effects of employer-related attributes, the level of “anxiety over competition for status” was higher among people with more years of service in the 2000 and 2001 surveys. Presumably, “anxiety over competition for status” increased among people facing increased competition in the race for in-house promotion. Preference for “maintenance of the status quo” was weaker among management posts and people engaging in clerical work than among skilled workers and laborers. This suggests that in-house competition is generating strong anxiety among people in management posts and people engaging in clerical work.

### Movements of the two strata

In the 1999 survey, regarding consciousness on life, there were two strata of people — a stratum of people who had a strong sense of self-worthiness while upholding post-materialism and de-emphasis on status as their core principles and a stratum of people without a sense of self-worthiness who have anxiety over competition for status and loss of status and prefer the maintenance of the status quo. How did these two strata move during the three years of our surveys?

Figure 1.3.4. shows changes in the coefficients of correlation between “post-materialism” and each of “de-emphasis on status,” “self-worthiness” and “maintenance of the status quo.” The correlation between “post-materialism” and each of the other three items remained positive over the three-year period. The correlation between “post-materialism” and “self-worthiness” was at its strongest in 2001. Meanwhile, the correlation between “post-materialism” and “maintenance of the status quo” was weak in 2001. Table 1.3.3. shows the coefficients of correlation between “post-materialism” and each of “de-emphasis on status,” “self-worthiness” and “maintenance of the status quo” by sex. Among both men and women, “post-materialism” had a positive correlation with each of de-emphasis on status,” “self-worthiness” and “maintenance of the status quo” throughout the three years, with no significant disparity observed between men and women. The positive correlation between “post-materialism” and “self-worthiness” increased in 2001 among both men and women. However, the correlation between “post-materialism” and “maintenance of the status quo”

Figure 1.3.4. "Post-materialism," "de-emphasis on status," "self-worthiness" and "maintenance of the status quo"

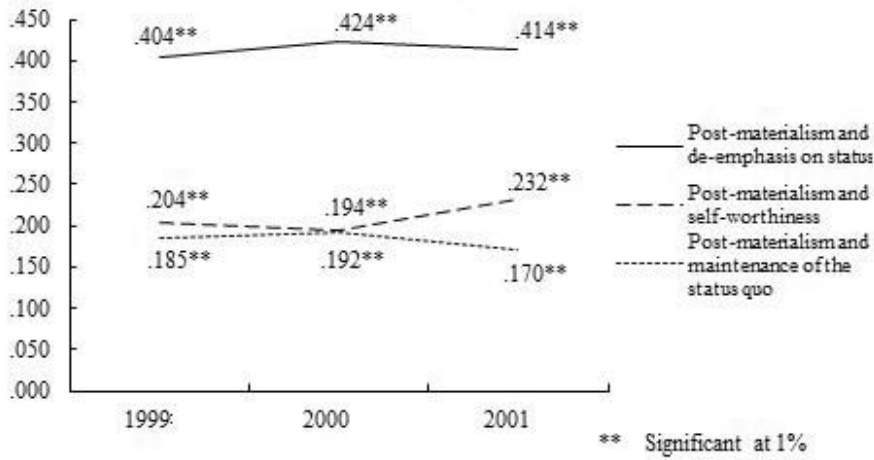


Table 1.3.3. Correlation coefficient between "post-materialism" and "de-emphasis on status"/"self-worthiness"/"maintenance of the status quo" (by sex)

		1999	2000	2001
De-emphasis on social status	Men	.338**	.412**	.390**
	Women	.467**	.429**	.436**
Self-worth	Men	.229**	.200**	.243**
	Women	.186**	.204**	.232**
Maintenance of the status quo	Men	.183**	.176**	.149**
	Women	.181**	.196**	.184**

\*\* Significant at 1% \* Significant at 5%

Figure 1.3.5. "De-emphasis on status," "anxiety over completion for status," "maintenance of the status quo" and "self-worthiness"

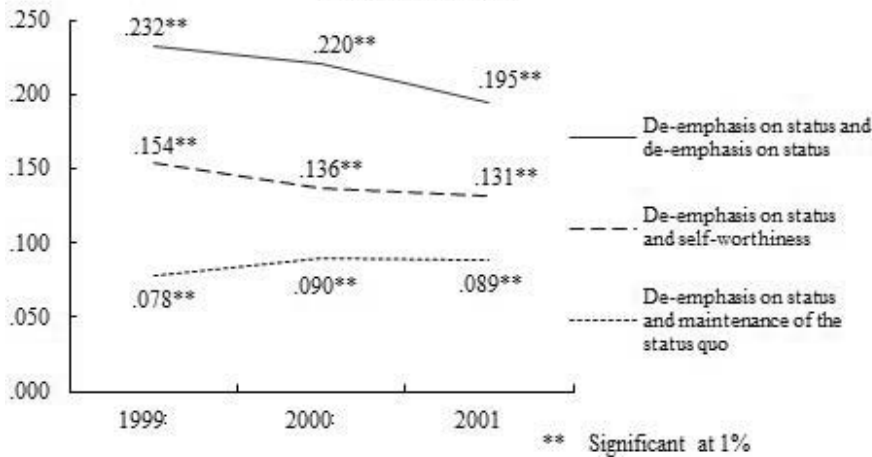


Table 1.3.4. Correlation coefficient between "de-emphasis on status"/"anxiety over competition for status" and "self-worthiness"/"maintenance of the status quo" (by sex)

		1999	2000	2001
"De-emphasis on social status" and "self-worth"	Men	.145**	.133**	.116**
	Women	.168**	.152**	.158**
"De-emphasis on social status" and "maintenance of the status quo"	Men	.231**	.233**	.162**
	Women	.228**	.198**	.218**
"Anxiety over competition for status" and "maintenance of the status quo"	Men	.110**	.116**	.119**

status quo"	Women	.059*	.074**	.067*
-------------	-------	-------	--------	-------

\*\* Significant at 1%      \* Significant at 5%

weakened among men. The weakening of the positive correlation between “post-materialism” and “maintenance of the status quo” that was apparent on a sample-wide basis may have reflected a trend that was particularly strong among men.

Next, we look at correlation between “de-emphasis on status”/“anxiety over loss of status” and “self-worthiness”/“maintenance of the status quo” (Figure 1.3.5.). The correlation between “de-emphasis on status” and “maintenance of the status quo” was the strongest, and “de-emphasis on status also had a positive correlation with “self-worthiness” in each of the three years. The correlation between “de-emphasis on status” and “maintenance of the status quo” weakened year by year, and the correlation between “de-emphasis on status” and “self-worthiness” also weakened slightly. In 1999, “anxiety over competition for status” and “maintenance of the status quo” had a positive correlation, which stayed at a similar level in 2001. Table 1.3.4. shows the coefficients of correlation between “de-emphasis on status”/“anxiety over loss of status” and “self-worthiness”/“maintenance of the status quo” by sex. The correlation between “anxiety over competition for status” and “maintenance of the status quo” was stronger among men than among women. Among men, the positive correlation between “de-emphasis on status” and “self-worthiness” and between “de-emphasis on status” and “maintenance of the status quo” weakened year by year. In contrast, the correlation between “anxiety over competition for status” and “maintenance of the status quo” strengthened year by year. This indicates that men grew increasingly eager to protect their status, as opposed to pursuing their own ways of life with no regard for status.

The shift in life consciousness from industrialism to post-industrialism is based on economic wealth attained through high economic growth in the postwar period, and it is a change that has been proceeding gradually in the foundation of society. Life consciousness is less liable to change in the short term than consciousness on other matters. Also, in our surveys, it was found that life consciousness remained generally stable.

#### Section IV Orientation of the two strata of work consciousness

In the preceding sections, we examined the movements of the two strata of consciousness regarding work, principles of distribution and consciousness regarding life. In this section, we examine the trend of consciousness regarding work by focusing on correlation between work, distribution and consciousness on life over the three years from 1999 to 2001.

In the 1999 survey, there were a stratum of people who supported the lifetime employment/seniority wage system and the principles of effort, need and equality, preferred the maintenance of the status quo and had a low sense of self-worthiness and a stratum of people who supported self-development and the principle of achievement and upheld such values as post-materialism, de-emphasis on status and self-worthiness. How did these two strata move in the following years?

#### Japanese employment practices and principles of distribution

Figure 1.4.1. shows changes in the coefficients of correlation between “achievement” and various aspects of consciousness on work. In 1999, “achievement” had a positive correlation with “self-development” and “increase in pay in return for reduction in corporate welfare.” However, in 2000 and 2001, the correlation with self-development weakened and there was not a significant correlation with “increase in pay in return for reduction in benefit system.” On the other hand, in 2001, “achievement” had a significant correlation with “a sense of unity with the organization” and “lifetime employment.” This indicates that people who support “achievement” also attach importance to employment protection and a sense of unity with the organization.

Figure 1.4.1. Correlation between "achievement" and Japanese employment practices

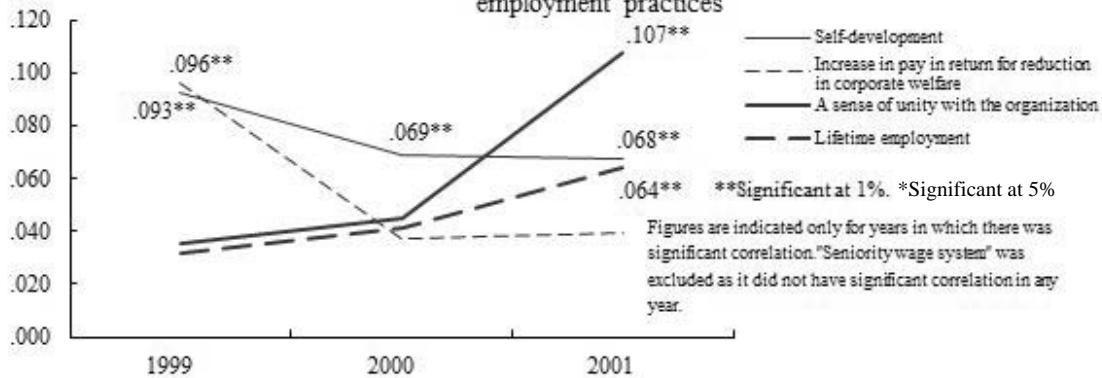


Table 1.4.1. Correlation coefficient between "achievement" and employment consciousness (by sex)

		1999	2000	2001
Lifetime employment	Men	.045	.028	.019
	Women	.028	.065*	.117**
Seniority wage system	Men	-.038	.017	.007
	Women	.017	.000	.010
Increase in pay in return for reduction in corporate welfare	Men	.123**	.054	.021
	Women	.076**	.022	.060*
Self-development	Men	.105**	.067*	.070*
	Women	.075**	.053	.047
A sense of unity with the organization	Men	.071*	.034	.111**
	Women	-.015	.037	.082**

\*\* Significant at 1% \* Significant at 5%

Figure 1.4.2. Correlation coefficients between "effort" and Japanese employment practices

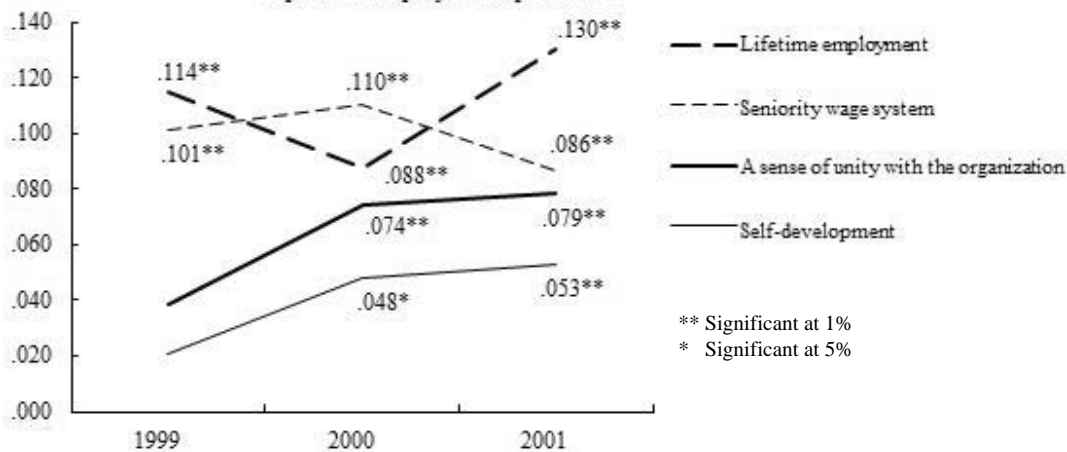


Table 1.4.2. Correlation coefficient between "effort" and employment consciousness (by sex)

		1999	2000	2001
Lifetime employment	Men	.077**	.094**	.140**
	Women	.155**	.077**	.120**
Seniority wage system	Men	.071*	.109**	.095**
	Women	.132**	.106**	.078**
Increase in pay in return for reduction in	Men	.019	.005	-.021

corporate welfare	Women	.038	-.035	.025
Self-development	Men	.013	.024	.044
	Women	.030	.077**	.064*
A sense of unity with the organization	Men	.063*	.076*	.055
	Women	.018	.081**	.103**

\*\* Significant at 1%      \* Significant at 5%

“A sense of unity with the organization,” which had the strongest correlation with the “principle of achievement” in 2001, is particularly important.

Table 1.4.1. shows the coefficients of correlation between “achievement” and aspects of consciousness on work. Among both men and women, “achievement” had a positive correlation with “a sense of unity with the organization” in 2001. In short, “a sense of unity with the organization” is important even for people who support “achievement” regardless of sex. In particular, the correlation between “achievement” and “a sense of unity with the organization” is strong particularly among men. In addition, the correlation between “achievement” and “self-development” weakened among men in 2000 and 2001, while there was not a significant correlation among women. Meanwhile, a positive correlation was observed between “achievement” and “lifetime employment” among women in 2000 and 2001. In short, the combination of preference for “lifetime employment” and support for “achievement” is a feature notable among women.

Figure 1.4.2. shows changes in the coefficients of correlation between “effort” and aspects of consciousness on work. In 1999, “effort” had a positive correlation with “lifetime employment” and the “seniority wage system,” and the positive correlation remained strong in the following years. Thus, we observed a strong correlation between “effort” and each of “lifetime employment” and the “seniority wage system.” It is noteworthy that in 2000 and 2001, “effort” had a positive correlation with both “self-development” and “a sense of unity with the organization” and the correlation grew stronger. In short, “effort” has effects not only on material factors, such as work and wages, but also on mental factors such as “a sense of unity with the organization.” Moreover, supporters of “self-development” came to recognize the importance of appreciating effort.

Table 1.4.2 shows the coefficients of correlation between “effort” and aspects of consciousness on work. Among both men and women, “effort” had a positive correlation with “lifetime employment” and the “seniority wage system” throughout the three years. However, among women, the correlation between “effort” and both “lifetime employment” and the “seniority wage system” weakened. Meanwhile, “self-development” had a positive correlation with “effort” in 2000 and 2001. In short, “effort” was important for women who support “self-development.” “A sense of unity with the organization” also had a positive correlation with “effort” among women in 2000, and the correlation increased in 2001. This indicates that “effort” may play an important role in increasing women’s commitment to the organization.

As shown above, an achievement-oriented attitude was spreading not only among people who approve of “self-development” but also among people who support “lifetime employment.” On the other hand, support for “effort” was starting to take root not only among people who support “lifetime employment” and the “seniority wage system” but also among people who approve of “self-development.” In short, the “two strata” are not increasingly polarized but instead moving closer to each other. It is noteworthy that “a sense of unity with the organization” was supported by both people who approved of “achievement” and people who preferred “effort.” As was already shown, “a sense of unity with the organization” was supported by both people who approved of “lifetime employment” and the “seniority wage system” and people who supported “self-development.” This indicates that “a sense of unity with the organization” and “effort” may function as an intermediary between people who support “lifetime employment” and the “seniority wage system” and those who approve of “self-development” and “achievement.”

### Consciousness on life and the Japanese employment practices

Figure 1.4.3. shows changes in the coefficients of correlation between “maintenance of the

status quo” and each of “lifetime employment” and the “seniority wage system.” In 1999, there was a positive correlation between “maintenance of the status quo” and both “lifetime employment” and the “seniority wage system,” which increased in 2001. Table 1.4.3. showed the coefficients of correlation between “maintenance of the status quo” and both “lifetime employment” and the “seniority wage system” by sex. The correlation between “maintenance of the status quo” and both “lifetime employment” and the “seniority wage system increased among both men and women.

Figure 1.4.3. Correlation between "maintenance of the status quo" and "lifetime employment"/"seniority wage system"

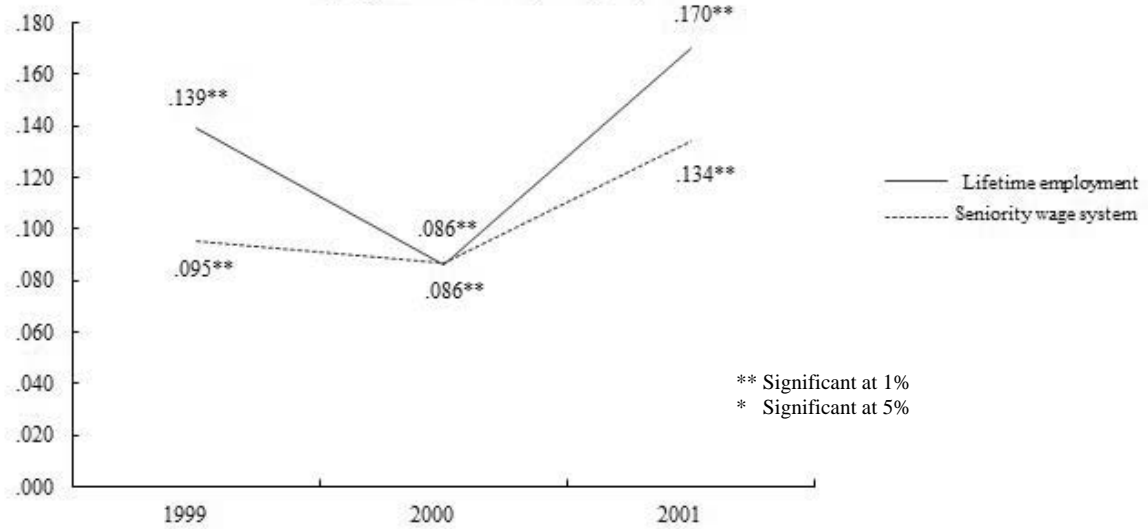


Table 1.4.3. Correlation coefficient between "maintenance of the status quo" and "lifetime employment"/"seniority wage system" (by sex)

		1999	2000	2001
Lifetime employment	Men	.156**	.113**	.179**
	Women	.112**	.050	.150**
Seniority wage system	Men	.107**	.079**	.135**
	Women	.069*	.079**	.118**

\*\* Significant at 1%      \* Significant at 5%



Figure 1.4.4. Correlation between "self-worthiness" and consciousness on employment

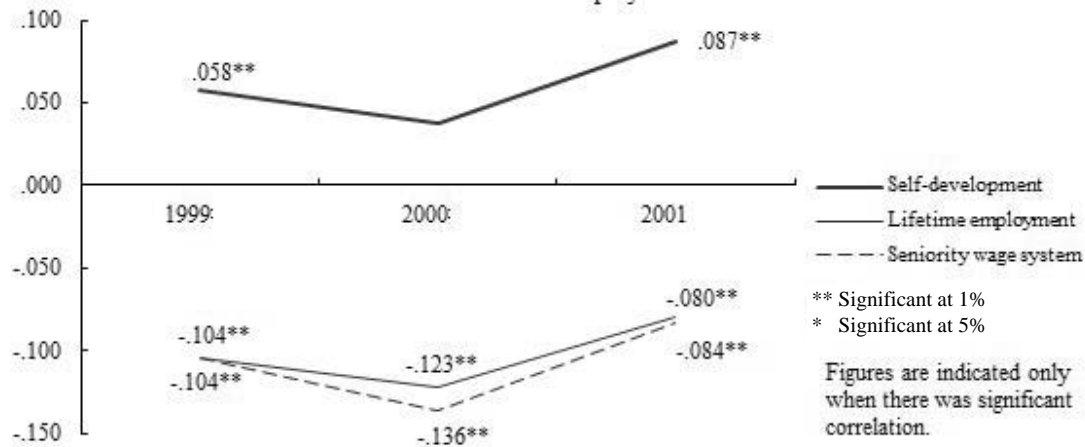


Table 1.4.4. Correlation coefficient between "self-worthiness" and employment consciousness (by sex)

		1999	2000	2001
Lifetime employment	Men	-.119**	-.079**	-.061
	Women	-.083**	-.157**	-.091**
Seniority wage system	Men	-.120**	-.101**	-.077**
	Women	-.080**	-.157**	-.077**
Increase in pay in return for reduction in corporate welfare	Men	.031	.006	.023
	Women	-.046	.032	-.044
Self-development	Men	.093**	.061*	.105**
	Women	.020	.006	.057*
A sense of unity with the organization	Men	.035	-.004	.026
	Women	.045	-.005	.021

\*\* Significant at 1% \* Significant at 5%

Next, we look at changes in the coefficients of correlation between "self-worthiness" and each of "lifetime employment," the "seniority wage system" and "self-development" (Figure 1.4.4.). In 1999, "self-worthiness" had a negative correlation with "lifetime employment" and the "seniority wage system" and a positive correlation with "self-development." The correlation between "self-worthiness" and "self-development" strengthened in 2001. "Self-worthiness" had a negative correlation with "lifetime employment" and the "seniority wage system" in 2000 and 2001 but the correlation weakened year by year. This indicates that while there was still a divide between people who had a sense of self-worthiness and supporters of "lifetime employment" and "seniority wage system," the antithetical relation between the two groups was weakening.

Table 1.4.4. shows the coefficients of correlation between "self-worthiness" and aspects of consciousness on work by sex. Whereas the negative correlation between the "seniority wage system" and "self-worthiness" weakened among both men and women, the positive correlation between "self-development" and "self-worthiness" grew among men.

In short, the correlation between each of "lifetime employment" and the "seniority wage system" and "maintenance of the status quo" and between "self-development" and "self-worthiness" continued. Even so, by focusing on "post-materialism," we may find an intermediary between supporters of "lifetime employment" and the "seniority wage system" and people with a sense of "self-worthiness" who approve of "self-development."

Figure 1.4.5. shows changes in the coefficients of correlation between "post-materialism" and aspects of consciousness on work. In 1999, there was a strong positive correlation between "post-materialism" and "self-development," which weakened in the following years. Meanwhile, the positive correlation between "lifetime employment" and "post-materialism" strengthened

and it was stronger than the correlation between “self-development” and “post-materialism” in 2001. Moreover, the strength of the positive correlation between “a sense of unity with the organization” and “post-materialism” remained almost unchanged in 2001 compared with 1999, and in 2001, “a sense of unity with the organization” had a stronger correlation with “post-materialism” than the other items did. Table 1.4.5. shows the coefficients of correlation between “post-materialism” and aspects of consciousness on work by sex. Among men, there was a positive correlation between “lifetime employment” and “post-materialism.” Among both men and women, there was a positive correlation between “a sense of unity with the organization” and “post-materialism.”

In short, “post-materialism” is taking roots among people who support “lifetime employment,” particularly in the male sample. If looked from the other side, supporters of “post-materialism” cannot ignore employment protection. It can also be said that the presence of the positive correlation between “a sense of unity with the organization” and “post-materialism” suggests that spiritual unity with the organization in work is perceived as a way of post-materialistic involvement with the organization.

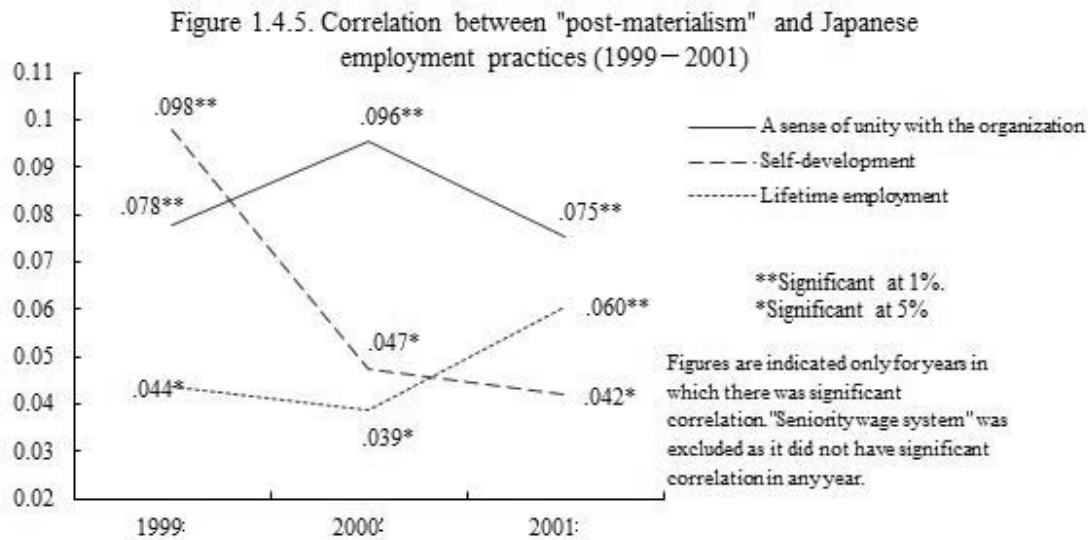


Table 1.4.5. Correlation coefficient between "post-materialism" and consciousness on employment (by sex)

		1999	2000	2001
Lifetime employment	Men	.086**	.096**	.086**
	Women	-.006	-.029	.026
Seniority wage system	Men	-.008	-.023	.013
	Women	-.010	-.033	.028
Increase in pay in return for reduction in corporate welfare	Men	-.054	-.056	-.074*
	Women	-.019	-.004	-.042
Self-development	Men	.112**	.063*	.044
	Women	.088**	.052	.049
A sense of unity with the organization	Men	.092**	.135**	.091**
	Women	.077**	.080**	.074**

\*\* Significant at 1%      \* Significant at 5%

### Summary

In 2001, the “achievement” had a positive correlation not only with “self-development” but also with “a sense of unity with the organization” and “lifetime employment.” “Post-materialism” had a positive correlation with “self-development,” and its positive correlation with “a sense of unity with the organization” and “lifetime employment” also

increased. The negative correlation between “self-worthiness” and each of “lifetime employment” and the “seniority wage system” weakened. At the same time, “a sense of unity with the organization” had a positive correlation not only with “lifetime employment” and the “seniority wage system” but also with “self-development.” It is noteworthy that while the “effort” had a positive correlation with all of categories of “achievement” “need” and “equality,” “post-materialism” had a positive correlation with both “self-worthiness and “maintenance of the status quo.” Therefore, when we consider in the future what working life should be, we may approach both the “first stratum” and the “second stratum” from the viewpoints of “a sense of unity with the organization,” “effort” and “post-materialism.” Regarding the first stratum of people, who belong to an organization but do not depend on it, it is important to take support measures based on “effort”. Regarding the second stratum of people, it is important that the organization support workers in achieving self-realization without ascribing risks associated with self-responsibility to individuals. In short, the key to future working life is a “self-motivated ability-based system where individuals belong to but are not dependent on their organizations.”

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