

Chapter IV: Consciousness on society

Section I: Status identification

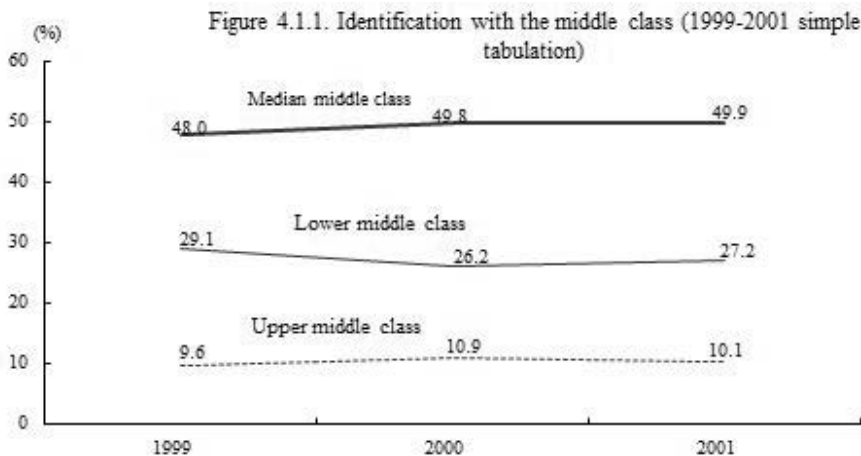
As the phrase “all Japanese are middle class” indicates, the tendency to identify with the middle class has taken hold all over modern Japanese society. However, as debate on income and class inequality has been held in recent years, doubt has been cast on the idea that Japan as a whole has become a middle-class society. Under these present-day circumstances, have people’s status identification changed?

Question: Suppose Japanese society is to be divided into five classes as shown below. To which class do you think you would belong?

- 1 Upper class
- 2 Upper-middle class
- 3 Middle-middle class
- 4 Lower-middle class
- 5 Lower class
- 6 Don't know

General trend

Figure 4.1.1. shows the results of cross tabulation of data concerning “identification with the middle class” in 1999 through 2001. Throughout the three years, around 90% of the respondents regarded themselves as belonging to the middle class, as a middle-class mentality has remained strong in recent years. Of the respondents who regarded themselves as middle class, the highest percentage at around 50%, identified with the middle-middle class, followed by those who identified with the lower-middle class at around 30%, and those who identified with the upper-middle class at around 10%. This trend remained mostly stable, with no significant change observed during the three years.



Determinant factors for “status identification”

Table 4.1.1. shows the determinant factors for “status identification” on a sample-wide basis. People with longer years of education and people with a higher income tended to identify with a higher status. However, the effects of educational attainment and income level declined year by year. Many experts have pointed out that people’s status identification is not strongly determined by their attributes in the modern society, and that trend is apparent in the results of our surveys.

Table 4.1.1. Determinant factors for "status identification" (multiple regression analysis; all subjects)

	Status identification		
	1999	2000	2001
Sex	-.099***	-.051**	-.038
Age	.073***	.025	.039
Educational attainment	.147***	.093***	.060**
Own income	.172***	.082***	.067***
R2	.045	.015	.008
adj-R2	.044	.013	.006
F value	27.475***	8.842***	4.457***
N	2316	2359	2359

*** Significant at 1%

** Significant at 5%

* Significant at 10%

Table 4.1.2. Determinant factors for "status identification" (multiple regression analysis; people with jobs)

	Status identification		
	1999	2000	2001
Sex	-.112***	-.046	-.007
Age	.031	.003	.092**
Educational attainment	.087***	.067**	.014
Own income	.173***	.087**	.098***
Number of times one changed jobs	-.009	.020	-.054*
Years of service	.062*	-.002	-.088**
Company size	.065**	.056*	-.029
Regular employees	.009	-.015	.017
Job type (vs. skilled workers)			
Specialist jobs	.073**	.037	.001
Management posts	.077**	.015	.010
Clerical work	.055	.035	.041
Sales	.042	-.012	.031
Service jobs	.034	-.016	.066**
Others	-.002	.031	-.006
R2	.086	.026	.017
adj-R2	.077	.016	.008
F value	9.384***	2.575***	1.818**
N	1417	1378	1448

*** Significant at 1%

** Significant at 5%

* Significant at 10%

Table 4.1.2. shows the determinant factors for "status identification" among people with jobs. Again, people with longer years of education and people with a higher income tended to identify with a higher status but the effects of educational attainment and income level declined year by year, with no significant effect of educational attainment observed in 2001. Moreover, although people working for larger companies tended to identify with a higher status than those working for smaller companies, and people engaging in specialist jobs and people in management posts tended to identify with a higher status in 1999 than skilled workers and laborers, there was no significant effect in 2000. In short, people's status identification was not determined by the attributes of their companies or the type of job they do.

Correlation with consciousness on employment, distribution and life

Table 4.1.3. shows the coefficients of correlation between "status identification" and consciousness on employment, distribution and life. In 1999 and 2000, "status identification" was positively correlated with "self-development," the "principle of achievement" and "self-worth." The correlation with "self-development" was notable particularly among men. In other words, people in the "second stratum" identified with a somewhat higher status. However, the correlations weakened year by year, with no significant correlation observed in 2001. In short, the current status identification appears to arise on a different level compared with the "two stratum" that are characterized by consciousness on employment, distribution and life.

Table 4.1.3. Correlation coefficient between consciousness on employment, distribution and life and status identification

		Status identification		
		All	Men	Women
Lifetime employment	1999	.086**	.129**	.044
	2000	-.032	-.033	-.033
	2001	-.017	.035	-.074**
Seniority wage system	1999	.039*	.049	.034
	2000	-.006	.004	-.017
	2001	-.005	.071*	-.079**
Increase in pay in return for reduction in corporate welfare	1999	.001	.046	-.045
	2000	.019	-.011	.046
	2001	-.066**	-.039	-.093**

Self-development	1999	.051*	.063*	.038
	2000	.048*	.076**	.030
	2001	-.003	.023	-.029
A sense of unity with the organization	1999	.082**	.123**	.036
	2000	-.005	-.024	.015
	2001	.020	.048	-.006
Achievement	1999	.096**	.119**	.072**
	2000	.049*	.080**	.026
	2001	.016	.003	.027
Effort	1999	.062**	.070*	.053
	2000	-.021	.036	-.076**
	2001	-.015	-.017	-.014
Need	1999	.017	.020	.015
	2000	-.006	.022	-.032
	2001	-.020	-.047	.007
Equality	1999	-.021	-.018	-.023
	2000	-.035	-.029	-.041
	2001	-.021	.008	-.048
Anxiety over competition for status	1999	-.007	-.006	-.011
	2000	-.008	.011	-.024
	2001	-.007	.013	-.026
Anxiety over loss of status	1999	-.005	-.006	-.006
	2000	.004	.015	-.005
	2001	-.006	-.007	-.005
Maintenance of the status of quo	1999	.026	.056	-.002
	2000	-.006	-.006	-.007
	2001	-.012	-.001	-.024
De-emphasis on other-directedness	1999	-.042*	-.033	-.051
	2000	.022	-.011	.050
	2001	.024	-.009	.056**
De-emphasis on social status	1999	.017	.028	.007
	2000	-.028	-.080**	.022
	2001	.019	.018	.020
Self-worth	1999	.132**	.124**	.138**
	2000	.045*	.022	.067*
	2001	.013	-.004	.028
Post-materialism	1999	.077**	.079**	.076**
	2000	.028	.026	.026
	2001	.002	.003	.002

**Significant at 1% *Significant at 5%

Section II: Sense of unfairness

In the modern industrial society, the rules on the distribution of social resources are based on the “principle of achievement.” However, there is a gap between the desirable rules and reality. When the state of reality is unacceptable, a sense of unfairness arises. In other words, if social rules are to be accepted by people and function smoothly, it is an important condition that their fairness be ensured. Emphasis on attributes is widely supported as an unfair rule, but how individual people are evaluated in relation to employee treatment differs depending on their own situation as well as social circumstances. Therefore, we examined people’s sense of unfairness regarding modern society.

Question: Generally speaking, do you think that today’s world is fair? Choose one from below.

1. It is fair
2. It is mostly fair
3. It is not so fair
4. It is not fair at all
5. Don’t know

(2) What do you think on each of the following? Answer each of questions (1) to (8).

- (1) Difference in treatment based on sex
- (2) Difference in treatment based on age
- (3) Difference in treatment based on educational background
- (4) Difference in treatment based on occupation
- (5) Difference in treatment based on income
- (6) Difference in treatment based on financial assets
- (7) Difference in treatment based on family pedigree
- (8) Difference in treatment based on nationality or race

It should be noted that we tabulated and analyzed data concerning a sense of unfairness with a focus on people who selected the answer “It is not so fair” or “It is not fair at all.”

General trend

Figure 4.2.1.1. shows the results of simple tabulation of data concerning a general “sense of unfairness” in 1999 through 2001. Of all the respondents, around 70% felt a sense of unfairness. Meanwhile, Figure 4.2.1.2. shows the results of simple tabulation of data concerning "a sense of unfairness" regarding individual items. Throughout the three years, the largest percentage of respondents felt that there was unfairness based on “nationality and race.” In addition, the percentage of people who felt a sense of unfairness based on “educational background” and “occupation” was high. On the other hand, while a sense of unfairness based on “family pedigree” and “age” was relatively weak, the percentage of people who felt this still reached 60%. On the whole, we may say that people feel a strong sense of unfairness.

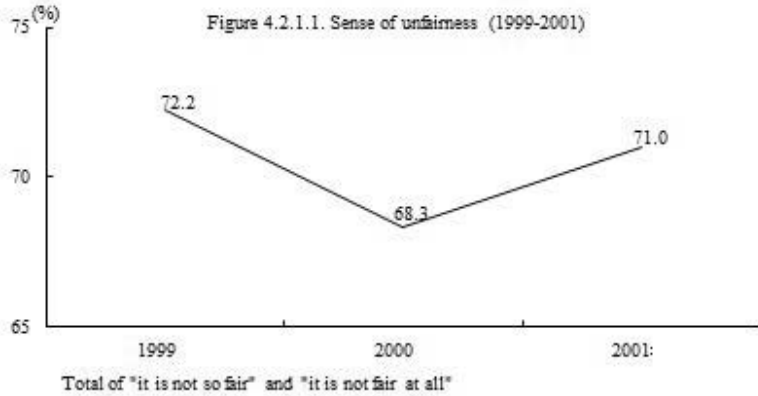
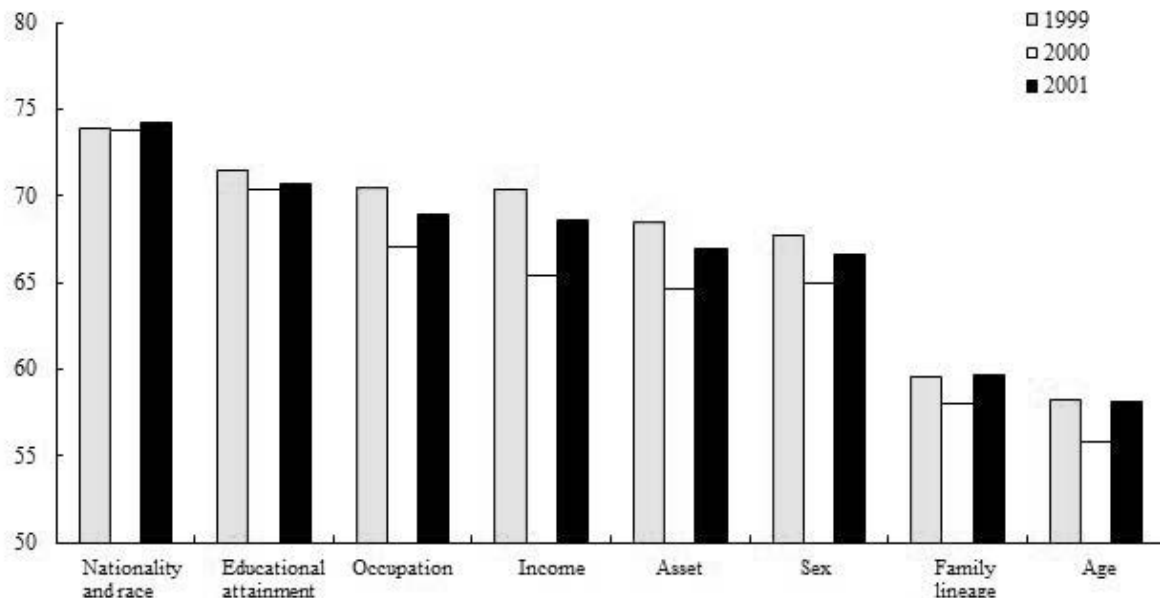


Figure 4.2.1.2. Sense of unfairness (1999-2001)



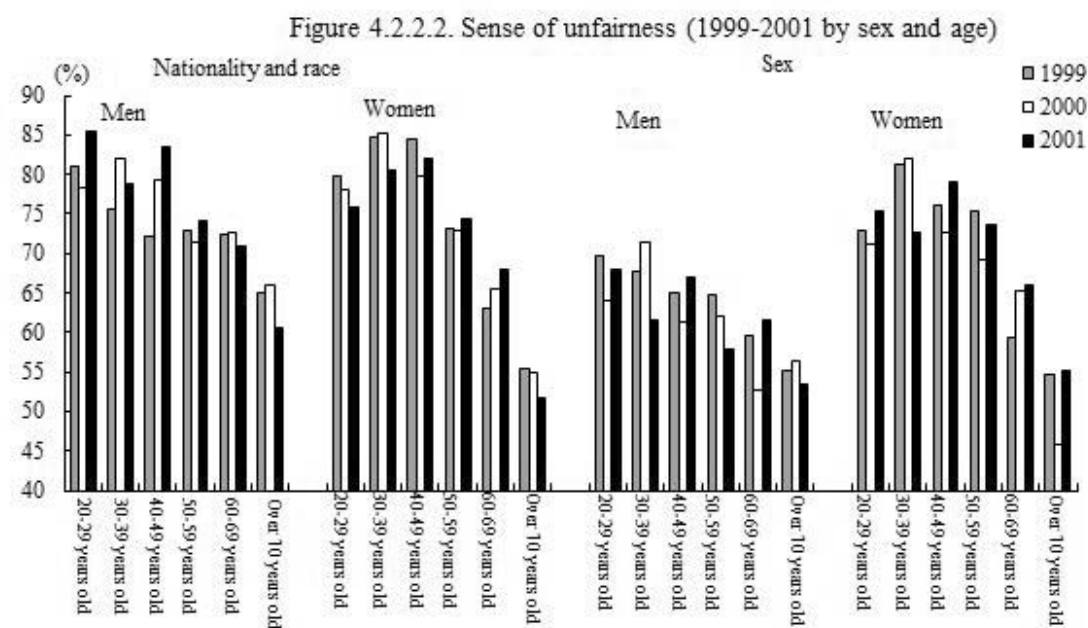
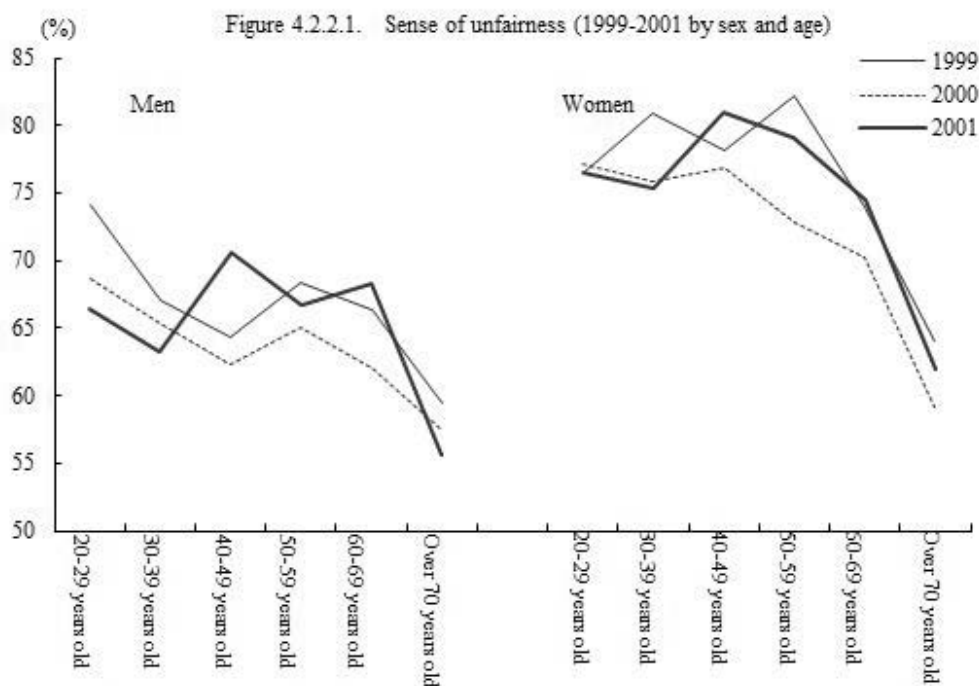


Table 4.2.1.1. Determinant factors for "sense of unfairness" (multiple regression analysis; all subjects)

	Sense of unfairness		
	1999	2000	2001
Sex	-.119***	-.079***	-.121***
Age	-.087***	-.086***	-.101***
Educational attainment	-.094***	-.028	-.138***
Own income	.011	-.045**	.030
R2	.022	.020	.029
adj-R2	.021	.018	.027
F value	13.508***	11.930***	17.585***
N	2357	2386	2391

*** Significant at 1%
at 10%

** Significant at 5%

* Significant

Table 4.2.1.2. Determinant factors for "sex," "age," "educational attainment" and "occupation" (multiple regression analysis; all subjects)

	Sex			Age		
	1999	2000	2001	1999	2000	2001
Sex	-.130***	-.121***	-.112***	-.117***	-.075***	-.098***
Age	-.012	-.050**	-.039	-.093***	-.071***	-.090***
Educational attainment	.048*	.068***	.026	-.044*	.027	-.032
Own income	.018	-.004	-.043*	-.037	-.042*	-.035
R2	.017	.025	.022	.029	.018	.023
adj-R2	.016	.024	.021	.027	.017	.021
F value	10.067***	14.986***	13.418***	16.759***	10.788***	13.692***
N	2279	2319	2347	2255	2296	2313

	Educational attainment			Occupation		
	1999	2000	2001	1999	2000	2001
Sex	-.103***	-.055**	-.056**	-.093***	-.050**	-.121***
Age	-.097***	-.103***	-.086***	-.040	-.053**	-.007
Educational attainment	-.090***	-.064**	-.107***	.018	.021	.012
Own income	-.029	-.054**	-.021	-.031	-.006	.031
R2	.026	.020	.017	.015	.007	.012
adj-R2	.025	.019	.015	.014	.006	.010
F value	15.624***	12.111***	10.218***	8.735***	4.246***	6.857***
N	2313	2349	2346	2236	2265	2270

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

Figure 4.2.2.1. shows data concerning the general “sense of unfairness” by sex and age. More women than men felt a sense of unfairness. In addition, the sense of unfairness was stronger among younger people. What are notable trends regarding women’s sense of unfairness? Table 4.2.2.2. shows a comparison of the sense of unfairness felt regarding “nationality and race.” Men and women felt similar levels of a sense of unfairness based on “nationality and race.” However, the sense of unfairness based on sex was weak among men, while women’s sense of unfairness based on “sex” and on “nationality and race” was at a similar level to the level of their sense of unfairness based on “nationality and race.” In other words, even though men did not much recognize the presence of unfairness based on “sex,” women had a persistently strong sense of such unfairness.

Determinant factors for "the sense of unfairness"

Table 4.2.1.1. shows the effects of the determinant factors for the general “sense of unfairness.” As was shown in the results of cross tabulation, a sense of unfairness was stronger among women than among men and among younger people than in older age groups. In addition, in 1999 and 2001, the sense of unfairness was stronger among people with less education. Generally speaking, people who are receiving favorable treatment tend to accept the existing rules as fair. If so, we may say that the present-day Japanese society is one in which men, middle-aged and older people, and people with longer years of education receive favorable treatment, while women, younger people and people with less education tend to feel that they are not treated well.

Table 4.2.2.1. Determinant factors for "sense of unfairness" (multiple regression analysis; people with jobs)

	Sense of unfairness		
	1999	2000	2001
Sex	-.135***	-.051	-.103***
Age	-.027	.007	-.006
Educational attainment	-.054*	-.028	-.088***
Own income	.056	-.045	.028
Number of times one changed jobs	.029	.027	.038
Years of service	-.082**	-.094**	-.049
Company size	-.001	.007	.009
Regular employees	-.065**	-.023	-.015
Job type (vs. skilled workers)			
Specialist jobs	-.068**	.011	-.037
Management posts	-.076**	-.020	-.106***
Clerical work	-.038	.054	-.065*
Sales	-.009	.030	-.024
Service jobs	-.032	.044	-.024

Others	-.015	.054*	-.029
R2	.049	.037	.042
adj-R2	.040	.027	.033
F value	5.277***	3.795***	4.522***
N	1446	1387	1466

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

What attributes determine the sense of unfairness based on “sex,” “age” and “educational background”? What about the sense of unfairness based on “occupation,” which involves the combination of various factors, such as sex, age and educational background? Table 4.2.1.2. shows the effects of the determinant factors for the sense of unfairness based on “sex,” “age,” “educational background” and “occupation”. First, the determinant effect of sex was strong, with more women than men feeling a sense of unfairness based on “age,” “educational background” and “occupation” as well as based on “sex.” This means that a sense the unfairness based on “sex” was also reflected in the sense of unfairness based on “age,” “educational background” and “occupation.” Moreover, the sense of unfairness based on “age” was stronger among younger people, while the sense of unfairness based on “educational background” was stronger among people with less education. With regard to “educational background,” the sense of unfairness was also stronger among younger people. Presumably, younger people are sensitive to differences in educational background because competition for educational attainment is a more familiar problem to them than to older people.

Did a sense of unfairness differ by employment-related attributes? Table 4.2.2.1 shows the effects of the determinant factors for the general “sense of unfairness” among people with jobs. Again, “sex” had a noticeable effect, with more women than men feeling a sense of unfairness in 1999 and 2001. By employment-related attributes, a sense of unfairness was weaker among people in management posts than among skilled workers and laborers. However, the effect of educational background was weaker among people with jobs. Although people’s educational background is naturally reflected in their job type to a certain degree, the job position has a stronger determinant effect than educational background among people with jobs. What about the sense of unfairness based on “sex,” “age,” “educational background” and “occupation”? Table 4.2.2.2 shows the effects of determinant factors for the sense of unfairness. Again, more women than men felt a sense of unfairness based on “sex.” In addition, in 1999 and 2001, more women than men felt a sense of unfairness based on “age” and “occupation” as well. By employment-related attributions, a sense of unfairness based on “occupation” was stronger among people with a shorter length of service in 1999 and 2001.

Table 4.2.2.2. Determinant factors for "sex," "age," "educational attainment" and "occupation" (multiple regression analysis; people with jobs)

	Sex			Age		
	1999	2000	2001	1999	2000	2001
Sex	-.117***	-.102***	-.065**	-.136***	-.041	-.088***
Age	.000	-.002	.074**	-.043	-.058	.005
Educational attainment	-.002	.041	.050	-.036	.023	.011
Own income	.080**	.014	-.132***	-.007	.004	-.057
Number of times one changed jobs	.030	-.013	-.066**	.073**	.012	-.027
Years of service	-.053	-.039	-.098***	-.063*	-.051	-.068*
Company size	.033	.051*	.048	.032	-.012	-.011
Regular employees	-.076**	-.022	-.010	-.025	-.084**	-.009
Job type (vs. skilled workers)						
Specialist jobs	.050	.034	.005	-.016	-.029	.037
Management posts	.037	-.044	.036	-.007	-.063*	-.037
Clerical work	.069**	.053	.029	.000	.030	.002
Sales	.000	.035	.018	.014	.035	.041
Service jobs	.035	-.035	-.032	.028	-.049	.033
Others	.021	-.006	.002	-.006	-.026	.011
R2	.029	.033	.037	.050	.034	.036
adj-R2	.020	.023	.027	.040	.024	.027
F value	3.019***	3.261***	3.918***	5.219***	3.354***	3.826***
N	1416	1372	1446	1402	1363	1432
	Educational attainment			Occupation		
	1999	2000	2001	1999	2000	2001
Sex	-.081**	-.053	-.037	-.098***	-.019	-.096***
Age	-.063	-.094**	-.028	.027	-.010	.094**
Educational attainment	-.077**	-.081**	-.065**	.025	-.020	.028

Own income	-.006	.011	-.039	.002	.012	-.003
Number of times one changed jobs	.067**	.043	-.026	.015	-.008	-.038
Years of service	-.034	-.029	-.046	-.111***	-.061	-.133***
Company size	.051*	-.011	.014	.036	.037	.078**
Regular employees	-.047	-.053	-.009	-.033	-.036	.006
Job type (vs. skilled workers)						
Specialist jobs	-.044	-.001	-.048	-.027	.012	.000
Management posts	-.010	-.014	-.090***	.014	-.041	-.050
Clerical work	-.004	.010	-.054	-.001	.068*	-.043
Sales	-.070**	.018	.001	-.014	.042	.035
Service jobs	-.002	-.002	-.034	.011	.029	-.013
Others	-.055*	-.002	-.033	.001	.011	.009
R2	.041	.027	.029	.029	.017	.030
adj-R2	.032	.017	.020	.019	.006	.021
F value	4.330***	2.692***	3.065***	2.970***	1.613*	3.117***
N	1427	1386	1445	1397	1349	1413

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

This indicates that such people felt that seniority-based employment treatment was unfair.

Correlation with consciousness on employment, distribution and life

Table 4.2.3.1. shows the coefficients of correlation between “a sense of unfairness” and consciousness on employment, distribution and life. Table 4.2.3.2 and Table 4.2.3.3. shows those coefficients among men and among women, respectively.

Regarding consciousness on employment, “a sense of unfairness” was negatively correlated with “lifetime employment,” the “seniority wage system” and “a sense of unity with the organization”. In other words, whereas people who had a sense of unfairness disapproved of “lifetime employment,” the “seniority wage system” and “a sense of unity with the organization,” people who supported them tended to regard Japan as a fair society. We can see that there was a clear divide between people who regarded Japanese employment practices as fair and those who viewed them as unfair. This divide was observed among both men and women, and the sense of unfairness concerning individual items was reflected in the general sense of unfairness.

Regarding the desirable principles of distribution, the general “sense of unfairness” had a negative correlation with the “principle of achievement.”

In other words, people who regarded present-day Japan as a fair society supported “the principle of achievement” while people who viewed it as unfair disapproved of that principle. Regarding items other than “nationality and race,” the sense of unfairness was negatively correlated with the “principle of achievement.” Among women, although the general “sense of unfairness” was negatively correlated with the “principle of achievement,” the correlation between the sense of unfairness concerning individual items and the “principle of achievement” was weak. A sense of unfairness based on “nationality and race” was also negatively correlated with the “principle of effort.” This trend was notable particularly among men. Among men, the general “sense of unfairness” had a negative correlation with “principle of effort.” We may say that whether the “principle of effort” should be regarded as a fair or unfair rule is a question that concerns the core of the achievement-oriented approach in Japan.

Regarding association with life, the sense of unfairness based on “sex” and “age” was negatively correlated with “maintenance of the status quo,” but on the whole, there was no significant correlation.

If we regard the sense of fairness as an approval of social rules, it is evident from the clear divide in opinions as to whether Japanese employment practices and

Table 4.2.3.1. Correlation coefficient between consciousness on employment, distribution and life and "sense of unfairness" (all subjects)

		Sense of unfairness	Sex	Age	Educational attainment	Occupation	Income	Asset	Family lineage	Nationality and race
Lifetime employment	1999	-.129**	-.056**	-.121**	-.098**	-.136**	-.121**	-.120**	-.067**	-.081**
	2000	-.057**	-.052**	-.091**	-.026	-.064**	-.065**	-.054**	-.024	-.039
	2001	-.058**	-.106**	-.147**	-.072**	-.053**	-.091**	-.083**	-.049*	-.128**
Seniority wage system	1999	-.096**	-.076**	-.090**	-.062**	-.078**	-.087**	-.056**	-.013	-.036
	2000	-.076**	-.099**	-.099**	-.086**	-.071**	-.068**	-.060**	-.048*	-.058**
	2001	-.063**	-.108**	-.102**	-.046**	-.039*	-.051**	-.026	-.024	-.117**
Increase in pay in return for	1999	.002	-.004	.006	.009	.012	.005	-.024	-.023	-.009
	2000	.000	-.035	-.003	.004	-.014	-.003	-.003	-.004	.011

reduction in corporate welfare	2001	.004	-.031	-.006	-.001	.009	.037	.013	.017	-.009
Self-development	1999	-.022	.002	.024	.025	-.007	-.005	-.001	.010	-.014
	2000	.009	.037	.043	.038	.011	.011	.031	-.001	-.039
	2001	-.002	-.033	.002	-.035	-.026	-.024	-.008	-.015	-.025
A sense of unity with the organization	1999	-.118**	-.101**	-.091**	-.097**	-.107**	-.112**	-.086**	-.054*	-.069**
	2000	-.078**	-.046*	-.066**	-.073**	-.048*	-.052*	.001	.015	-.050*
	2001	-.135**	-.116**	-.101**	-.088**	-.122**	-.115**	-.065**	-.069**	-.087**
Achievement	1999	-.098**	-.003	-.018	-.058**	-.041*	-.039	-.045*	-.061**	-.025
	2000	-.116**	-.045*	-.045*	-.043*	-.046*	-.039	-.032	-.054**	-.045*
	2001	-.077**	-.044**	-.071**	-.085**	-.068**	-.099**	-.090**	-.066**	-.032
Effort	1999	.002	-.025	-.030	-.033	.008	-.021	-.010	.034	-.007
	2000	-.055**	-.039*	-.046*	-.056**	-.040*	-.021	-.035	-.006	-.066**
	2001	-.034	-.018	-.027	-.016	-.002	-.021	-.020	-.020	-.047*
Need	1999	-.001	.000	-.025	-.031	-.029	-.007	-.015	.013	-.013
	2000	-.028	-.040*	-.006	-.017	-.049*	-.047*	-.012	.018	-.014
	2001	-.003	-.026	-.004	-.031	-.056	-.012	.014	-.030	-.048*
Equality	1999	.020	-.029	-.013	.005	-.050*	.000	.000	.062**	-.014
	2000	.034	-.035	-.031	-.013	-.009	.003	-.017	.027	-.011
	2001	.011	-.030	-.018	.001	-.031	.035	.024	-.004	-.085**
Anxiety over competition for status	1999	.004	-.021	-.016	.011	-.021	.003	.004	-.016	-.012
	2000	.029	.016	.017	.002	.025	.022	.039	.016	-.041*
	2001	.042*	.025	.005	.025	.008	.023	.041	.044*	.013
Anxiety over loss of status	1999	.017	.007	.013	.031	.005	.035	.026	.026	-.002
	2000	.037	.033	.004	.020	.031	.040*	.016	.016	-.048*
	2001	.041*	.018	.022	.017	.008	.019	.025	.044*	.012
Maintenance of the status of quo	1999	-.012	-.105**	-.028	-.028	-.054**	-.044*	-.067**	-.038	-.073**
	2000	.006	-.062**	-.012	.007	-.036	-.005	-.053	-.014	-.066**
	2001	.061**	-.034	-.046*	-.013	-.030	.000	.020	.020	-.015
De-emphasis on other-directedness	1999	-.013	.002	-.028	-.041*	-.021	-.025	-.036	-.066	-.015
	2000	.001	.031	.015	-.019	-.008	-.012	-.025	-.036	-.010
	2001	.003	.003	-.024	-.033	-.016	-.016	-.020	-.012	.002
De-emphasis on social status	1999	.026	.015	.016	-.001	.004	-.007	-.017	-.022	.016
	2000	.014	.014	.028	.015	.024	.007	-.019	-.005	-.002
	2001	.030	.023	-.004	.032	.010	-.023	-.001	-.017	.030
Self-worth	1999	-.021	-.006	.000	-.052**	-.039	-.050*	-.017	-.036	-.011
	2000	.037	.004	.028	.006	.015	-.001	-.006	-.012	.022
	2001	-.010	.032	.001	-.006	-.010	-.041*	.002	-.005	.025
Post-materialism	1999	-.019	-.004	-.011	-.016	-.022	-.028	-.036	-.029	.013
	2000	-.007	.027	-.008	-.041*	-.026	-.012	-.045	-.038	.011
	2001	-.008	.045*	-.007	-.025	-.015	-.043*	-.022	-.020	.010

**Significant at 1%

*Significant at 5%

the “principle of achievement” and “principle of effort” are fair or unfair that the social rules that have served as the pillars of Japan are at a crossroads.

Table 4.2.3.2. Correlation coefficient between consciousness on employment, distribution and life and "sense of unfairness" (men)

		Sense of unfairness	Sex	Age	Educational attainment	Occupation	Income	Asset	Family lineage	Nationality and race
Lifetime employment	1999	-.190**	-.079**	-.152**	-.127**	-.168**	-.148**	-.143**	-.097**	-.089**
	2000	-.054	-.033	-.102**	-.031	-.065*	-.078**	-.059*	-.026	-.009
	2001	-.088**	-.137**	-.173**	-.095**	-.074*	-.115**	-.114**	-.061*	-.150**
Seniority wage system	1999	-.095**	-.078**	-.147**	-.086**	-.102**	-.092**	-.067*	-.027	-.047
	2000	-.074*	-.074*	-.089**	-.085**	-.066*	-.098**	-.098**	-.045	-.046
	2001	-.099**	-.152**	-.167**	-.071*	-.058*	-.076**	-.063*	-.085**	-.161**
Increase in pay in return for reduction in	1999	-.026	-.006	-.026	.018	.009	-.009	-.053	-.041	-.030
	2000	.014	-.051	.016	.008	-.020	.011	-.028	-.004	.017
	2001	-.007	-.004	.028	-.001	.009	.049	.037	.007	.017

corporate welfare										
Self-development	1999	-.021	.025	.016	.014	-.027	-.011	-.002	-.005	-.013
	2000	.024	.030	.031	.004	-.013	.012	.005	-.033	-.070*
	2001	.032	-.004	.015	-.034	.000	-.013	.006	.005	-.029
A sense of unity with the organization	1999	-.115**	-.115**	-.088**	-.090**	-.143**	-.097**	-.060	-.038	-.044
	2000	-.065*	-.021	-.030	-.055	-.058	-.063*	-.003	.012	-.057
	2001	-.130**	-.120**	-.097**	-.087**	-.123**	-.108**	-.048	-.097**	-.082**
Achievement	1999	-.115**	.032	-.003	-.018	-.048	-.012	-.061*	-.094	-.019
	2000	-.138**	-.074*	-.075**	-.080**	-.094**	-.070*	-.045	-.063*	-.034
	2001	-.056	-.013	-.042	-.098**	-.089**	-.102**	-.087**	-.117**	-.044
Effort	1999	.018	-.026	-.051	-.047	.002	-.028	.004	.032	.015
	2000	-.061*	-.063*	-.070*	-.086**	-.046	-.035	-.064*	-.015	-.084**
	2001	-.082**	-.028	-.040	-.037	.014	-.010	-.019	-.045	-.066*
Need	1999	.005	-.029	-.021	-.051	-.023	-.018	-.038	-.008	-.017
	2000	-.062*	-.052	-.019	-.028	-.056	-.077**	-.041	.022	-.037
	2001	-.034	-.023	-.022	-.050	-.062*	.005	.008	-.041	-.031
Equality	1999	.033	-.051	-.028	-.011	-.062*	-.017	-.031	.043	-.046
	2000	.065*	-.030	-.037	.031	-.009	.010	.023	.018	-.006
	2001	-.016	-.045	-.052	-.032	-.049	.023	-.012	-.017	-.091**
Anxiety over competition for status	1999	.009	-.020	-.030	-.007	-.033	.020	.004	.007	-.009
	2000	.025	.001	-.001	-.029	.045	-.005	.044	.038	-.056
	2001	.048	.016	.020	.017	.020	.023	.029	.047	-.006
Anxiety over loss of status	1999	.038	.038	.015	.032	.009	.058*	.046	.067*	.000
	2000	.029	.012	-.028	-.014	.016	.012	.007	.044	-.034
	2001	.050	.019	.033	.021	.005	-.007	.005	.051	-.002
Maintenance of the status of quo	1999	-.033	-.126**	-.067*	-.050	-.093**	-.068*	-.091**	-.050	-.102**
	2000	-.005	-.096**	-.013	-.026	-.069*	-.038	-.087**	-.003	-.083**
	2001	.031	-.107**	-.081**	-.023	-.038	-.027	.001	.023	-.066
De-emphasis on other-directedness	1999	-.005	-.034	-.045	-.046	-.079**	-.065*	-.051	-.077*	-.024
	2000	-.002	.059*	.012	-.027	-.001	.028	-.037	-.061*	-.015
	2001	.006	-.036	-.066*	-.075**	-.036	-.034	-.037	-.045	-.021
De-emphasis on social status	1999	.014	-.015	-.012	-.033	-.058*	-.052	-.049	-.064*	-.032
	2000	-.015	-.001	.005	.014	.019	.009	-.005	-.002	.011
	2001	.034	-.016	-.033	.020	-.010	-.058*	-.028	-.012	.013
Self-worth	1999	-.023	.000	-.026	-.053	-.095**	-.063*	-.041	-.064*	-.023
	2000	.028	.004	.032	.023	.015	.005	-.013	-.026	.001
	2001	.042	.052	.019	.007	-.006	.009	.026	.020	.041
Post-materialism	1999	-.051	-.030	-.049	-.046	-.064*	-.045	-.049	-.061*	-.030
	2000	-.028	.037	-.047	-.089**	-.059*	-.024	-.056	-.053	.014
	2001	.020	.034	-.014	-.026	-.019	-.056	-.009	.010	.002

**Significant at 1% *Significant at 5%

Table 4.2.3.3. Correlation coefficient between consciousness on employment, distribution and life and "sense of unfairness" (women)

		Sense of unfairness	Sex	Age	Educational attainment	Occupation	Income	Asset	Family lineage	Nationality and race
Lifetime employment	1999	-.079**	-.045	-.107**	-.083**	-.117**	-.105**	-.105**	-.045	-.084**
	2000	-.072**	-.084**	-.091**	-.031	-.067*	-.059*	-.054	-.028	-.073**
	2001	-.040	-.090**	-.135**	-.056*	-.040	-.075**	-.056*	-.043	-.108**
Seniority wage system	1999	-.121**	-.093**	-.058*	-.061*	-.071*	-.098**	-.056	-.010	-.035
	2000	-.101**	-.146**	-.128**	-.104**	-.085**	-.050	-.032	-.062*	-.077**
	2001	-.045	-.087**	-.058*	-.032	-.033	-.038	.000	.027	-.079**
Increase in pay in return for reduction in corporate welfare	1999	.025	-.008	.030	-.009	.007	.013	.002	-.008	.011
	2000	-.011	-.018	-.019	.002	-.008	-.015	.021	-.003	.005
	2001	.009	-.067*	-.045	-.004	.004	.023	-.016	.025	-.037
Self-development	1999	-.012	-.010	.045	.052	.024	.011	.006	.031	-.009
	2000	.019	.072**	.070*	.089**	.043	.025	.071*	.039	-.005

	2001	-.010	-.031	.013	-.021	-.032	-.019	-.007	-.023	-.013
A sense of unity with the organization	1999	-.096**	-.065*	-.062*	-.074*	-.047	-.106**	-.098**	-.054	-.078**
	2000	-.068*	-.043	-.079**	-.072*	-.028	-.032	.019	.031	-.036
	2001	-.116**	-.084**	-.080**	-.077**	-.104**	-.105**	-.066*	-.030	-.084**
Achievement	1999	-.065*	-.018	-.010	-.077**	-.018	-.052	-.019	-.021	-.021
	2000	-.080**	.002	-.004	.005	.002	-.001	-.010	-.035	-.047
	2001	-.074**	-.041	-.072**	-.060*	-.032	-.081**	-.080**	-.013	-.013
Effort	1999	-.017	-.024	-.009	-.019	.015	-.012	-.025	.037	-.033
	2000	-.055*	-.021	-.028	-.031	-.037	-.012	-.009	-.002	-.050
	2001	.016	-.008	-.016	.003	-.021	-.033	-.023	.003	-.027
Need	1999	-.008	.031	-.028	-.009	-.034	.007	.011	.035	-.006
	2000	.003	-.031	.006	-.009	-.043	-.019	.016	.016	.007
	2001	.024	-.035	.009	-.016	-.054	-.033	.016	-.023	-.067*
Equality	1999	-.008	-.019	-.014	.006	-.051	.007	.024	.074*	.011
	2000	-.004	-.053	-.035	-.063*	-.013	-.008	-.060*	.032	-.019
	2001	.021	-.036	-.006	.022	-.027	.036	.050	.001	-.087**
Anxiety over competition for status	1999	.015	-.005	.018	.048	.007	-.001	.014	-.030	-.006
	2000	.047	.047	.046	.045	.013	.057*	.043	.003	-.022
	2001	.044	.041	-.003	.038	.003	.030	.058*	.045	.035
Anxiety over loss of status	1999	.018	-.005	.035	.055	.020	.027	.018	-.002	.012
	2000	.062*	.075**	.049	.069**	.055*	.079**	.037	-.001	-.056*
	2001	.043	.029	.020	.018	.020	.054*	.052	.042	.031
Maintenance of the status of quo	1999	-.010	-.104**	-.011	-.028	-.032	-.035	-.053	-.039	-.056*
	2000	-.002	-.048	-.027	.026	-.013	.015	-.033	-.036	-.056*
	2001	.068*	.010	-.041	-.020	-.042	.011	.023	.006	.030
De-emphasis on other-directedness	1999	-.021	.037	-.012	-.037	.037	.015	-.020	-.056	-.005
	2000	.006	.011	.021	-.008	-.012	-.046	-.012	-.012	-.003
	2001	-.003	.039	.013	.006	.000	.001	-.006	.018	.024
De-emphasis on social status	1999	.025	.033	.028	.017	.058*	.030	.009	.016	.059*
	2000	.028	.014	.038	.002	.020	-.006	-.046	-.018	-.021
	2001	.010	.045	.008	.035	.019	.004	.018	-.031	.044
Self-worth	1999	-.007	-.001	.038	-.039	.027	-.028	.013	-.002	.007
	2000	.061*	.021	.039	.002	.022	.002	.010	.007	.046
	2001	-.041	.037	.005	-.007	-.001	-.080**	-.010	-.020	.014
Post-materialism	1999	.004	.012	.014	.003	.012	-.021	-.030	-.004	.052
	2000	-.005	-.004	.014	-.007	-.002	-.011	-.046	-.035	.002
	2001	-.049	.046	-.011	-.031	-.020	-.037	-.044	-.058*	.015

**Significant at 1%

*Significant at 5%

Section III: Future direction of Japanese society

In modern society, “freedom” and “equality” are basic principles. However, in competition for achievement in the industrial society, these two principles are not necessarily compatible with each other. In other words, although “equality of opportunity” is assured in free competition, “equality of outcome” is not. Moreover, free competition often brings “inequality of outcome” and a wealth gap among people. Therefore, whether to give priority to freedom or equality has been an important policy issue. Throughout its postwar history, Japanese society has more or less pursued equality. However, in recent years, debate has been held on the introduction of the principle of free competition, so we face the question of in which direction Japanese society should move.

Question: In which direction do you think Japan as a society should be moving in the future? Choose the closest answer from below.

1. A society of equality where there is little gap between the rich and the poor.
2. A society in which individuals can compete freely depending on their motivation and abilities.
3. Neither of the above.
4. Don't know

General trend

Figure 4.3.1. shows the results of simple tabulation of data concerning the “future direction of Japanese society” in 1999 through 2001. Throughout the three years, support for a “society of free competition” was higher than that for a “society of equality.” However, it is noteworthy that the support rate was only around

40% for each of them, with 25% choosing the answer “Don’t know.” While support for a “society of equality” declined during the three years, support for a “society of free competition” did not increase, either. The percentage of people who chose “Don’t know” increased.

Figure 4.3.2 shows data concerning “future direction of Japanese society” in 1999 through 2001 by sex and age. Support for a “society of free competition” was particularly high among men. Moreover, among both men and women, support for a “society of free competition” was higher in younger age groups while support for a “society of equality” was higher in older age groups.

Figure 4.3.1. Desirable future direction of Japanese society (simple tabulation 1999-2001)

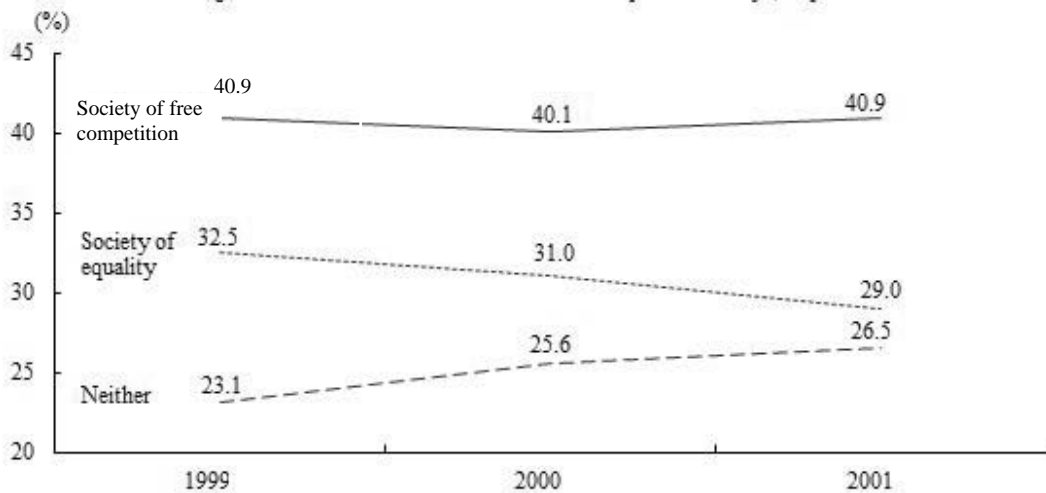


Figure 4.3.2. Desirable future direction of Japanese society (by sex and age)

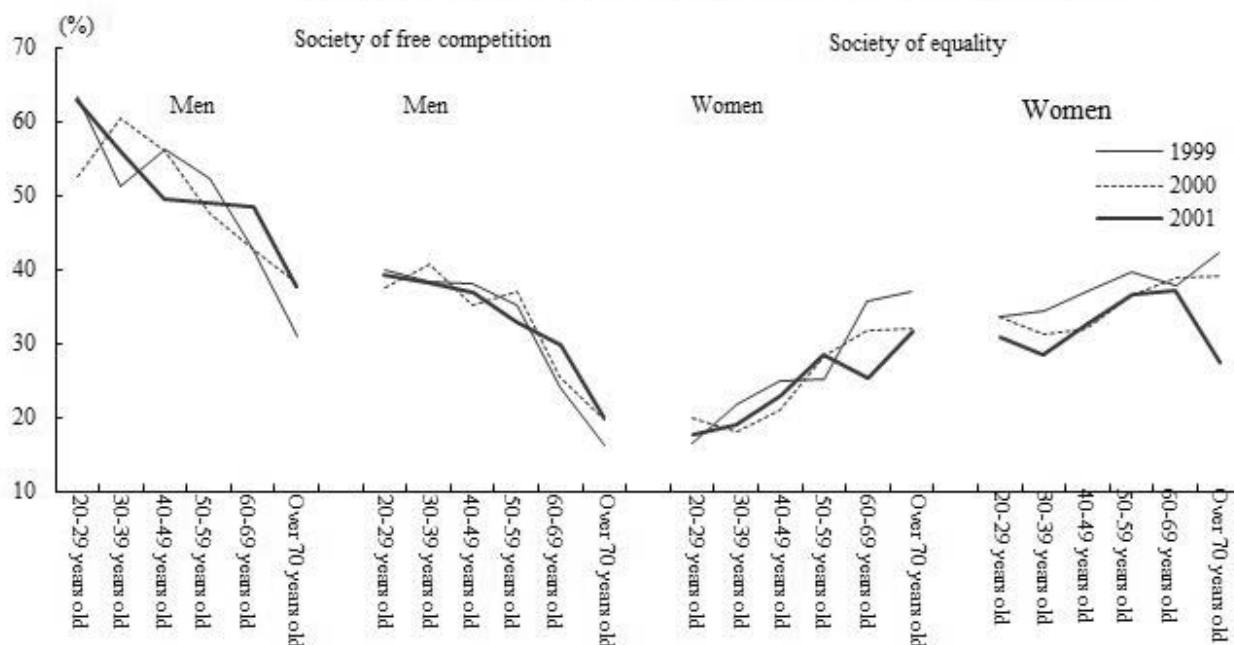


Table 4.3.1. Determinant factors for "desirable future direction of Japanese society" (logistic regression analysis; all subjects)

	Society of free competition					
	1999		2000		2001	
	Effect	Exp (effect)	Effect	Exp (effect)	Effect	Exp (effect)
Sex	.568***	1.764	.362***	1.436	.436***	1.547
Age	-.009***	.991	-.005	.995	-.002	.998
Educational attainment	.122***	1.130	.114***	1.121	.164***	1.178
Own income	.001***	1.001	.001***	1.001	.001***	1.001
Constant	-1.792***	.167	-1.860***	.156	-2.604***	.074
chi-square	185.951***		159.679***		175.591***	

-2 log likelihood	2995.869		3067.471		3047.058	
N	2333		2372		2365	
	Society of equality					
	1999		2000		2001	
	Effect	Exp (effect)	Effect	Exp (effect)	Effect	Exp (effect)
Sex	-.469***	.625	-.294***	.745	-.257**	.773
Age	.006	1.006	.005	1.005	-.003	.997
Educational attainment	-.129***	.879	-.097***	.908	-.149***	.862
Own income	.000	1.000	.000***	1.000	.000**	1.000
Constant	.884**	2.420	.451	1.570	1.372***	3.943
chi-square	119.343***		86.062***		91.931***	
-2 log likelihood	2876.716		2901.159		2815.030	
N	2333		2372		2365	

*** Significant at 1%

** Significant at 5%

* Significant at 10%

Determinant factors of “future direction of Japanese society”

Table 4.3.1. shows the effects of the determinant factors for the “future direction of Japanese society” on a sample-wide basis. Throughout the three years, the effects of sex and educational attainment were strong, and contrasting results were observed. In other words, support for a “society of free competition” was higher among men and among people with longer years of education. Conversely, support for a “society of equality” was higher among women and among people with less education. Although differences by age were also observed in the results of cross tabulation, we may interpret that as a reflection of the effect of educational attainment. Although income had a significant correlation, its determinant effect was small.

Generally speaking, men are more likely than women to receive favorable treatment, as are people with longer years of education than people with less education, so men and people with longer years of education are more likely to participate in competition from an advantageous position. Indeed, whereas men and people with longer years of education regarded Japan as a fair society, women and people with less education felt a sense of unfairness. In light of these results, we may say that the differences by sex and educational attainment in opinion about the “future direction of Japanese society” reflected the relationship between the positions of advantage and disadvantage regarding the principle of competition.

Were there differences by employment-related attributes in the level of support for “society of free competition” and “society of equality”? Table 4.3.2. shows the effects of the determinant factors for the “future direction of Japanese society” among people with jobs. Again, more men than women supported a “society of free competition” while more women than men supported a “society of equality.” In addition, support for a “society of free competition” was higher among people with longer years of education and support for a “society of equality” was higher among people with less education. By employment-related attributes, support for a “society of free competition” was stronger among people in management posts than among skilled workers and laborers. In addition, people engaging in clerical work tended to support a “society of free competition.” This indicates that white-collar workers were more likely to support a “society of free competition” than blue-collar workers. Moreover, among regular employees, support for a “society of free competition” was weaker and support for a “society of equality” was stronger in 1999 and 2001. Given that Japanese employment practices are harmonious with the “principle of equality” as part of the principles of distribution, it is understandable that

Table 4.3.2. Determinant factors for “desirable future direction of Japanese society” (logistic regression analysis; people with jobs)

	Society of free competition					
	1999		2000		2001	
	Effect	Exp (effect)	Effect	Exp (effect)	Effect	Exp (effect)
Sex	.723***	2.060	.469***	1.598	.688***	1.990
Age	-.008	.992	-.009	.991	-.011*	.989
Educational attainment	.081***	1.085	.027	1.028	.117***	1.124
Own income	.001**	1.001	.001***	1.001	.001***	1.001
Number of times one changed jobs	-.001	.999	-.015	.986	.027	1.027
Years of service	-.002	.998	-.010	.990	-.001	.999
Company size	.000	1.000	.000	1.000	.000	1.000
Regular employees	-.226*	.798	-.091	.913	-.331***	.718
Job type (vs. skilled workers)						
Specialist jobs	.262	1.299	.436**	1.547	.370*	1.447

Management posts	.436*	1.546	.965***	2.625	.591***	1.806
Clerical work	.592***	1.807	.224	1.251	.540***	1.715
Sales	.456**	1.577	.599***	1.821	.206	1.229
Service jobs	.248	1.282	.291	1.338	.490***	1.633
Others	.111	1.117	.072	1.075	-.568*	.567
Constant	-1.533***	.216	-.771	.463	-2.014***	.133
chi-square	106.069***		114.268***		139.771***	
-2 log likelihood	1878.223		1801.449		1863.602	
N	1433		1387		1455	

	Society of equality					
	1999		2000		2001	
	Effect	Exp (effect)	Effect	Exp (effect)	Effect	Exp (effect)
Sex	-.702***	.496	-.389**	.678	-.509***	.601
Age	.006	1.006	.000	1.000	.012*	1.012
Educational attainment	-.103***	.902	-.067**	.935	-.136***	.873
Own income	.000	1.000	.000	1.000	-.001**	.999
Number of times one changed jobs	.030	1.031	.021	1.021	-.044	.957
Years of service	.005	1.005	.006	1.006	-.002	.998
Company size	.000	1.000	.000	1.000	.000	1.000
Regular employees	.394***	1.482	-.064	.938	.474***	1.606
Job type (vs. skilled workers)						
Specialist jobs	-.408*	.665	-.291	.747	-.222	.801
Management posts	-.674**	.510	-.269	.764	-.293	.746
Clerical work	-.390*	.677	-.138	.871	-.551***	.576
Sales	-.510**	.600	-.669***	.512	-.230	.794
Service jobs	-.133	.875	-.042	.959	-.059	.943
Others	-.049	.952	-.102	.903	.226	1.254
Constant	.555	1.741	.292	1.339	.907	2.477
chi-square	86.674***		51.940***		98.006***	
-2 log likelihood	1680.841		1603.453		1670.190	
N	1433		1387		1455	

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

support for a “society of equality” was stronger among regular employees working for companies than among self-employed people and freelance workers.

Correlation with consciousness on employment, distribution and life

Table 4.3.3. shows the coefficients of correlation between the “future direction of Japanese society” and consciousness on employment, distribution and life. Throughout the three years, a “society of equality” was positively correlated with “lifetime employment” and the “seniority wage system”, but was negatively correlated with “self-development.” In addition, while it was negatively correlated with the “principle of achievement,” it had a positive correlation with the “principle of equality.” It also had a positive correlation with “maintenance of the status quo” but a negative correlation with “self-worth.” In other words, people who supported a “society of equality” mostly corresponded with the “first stratum” regarding consciousness on employment, distribution and life. This trend was observed both among men and women. However, among women, a “society of equality” did not have any significant correlation with either “self-development” or the “principle of achievement.” In contrast, a “society of free competition” was negatively correlated with “lifetime employment” and the “seniority wage system” but was positively correlated with “self-development.” In addition, it had a positive correlation with the “principle of achievement” but a negative correlation with the “principle of equality.” While it was negatively correlated with “maintenance of the status quo,” it had a positive correlation with “self-worth.” This trend was observed among both men and women. In other words, people who supported a “society of free competition” mostly corresponded with the second stratum regarding consciousness on employment, distribution and life.

Table 4.3.3. Correlation coefficient between consciousness on employment, distribution and life and "desirable future direction of Japanese society"

		All		Men		Women	
		Society of free competition	Society of equality	Society of free competition	Society of equality	Society of free competition	Society of equality
Lifetime employment	1999	-.190**	.152**	-.152**	.124**	-.214**	.167**
	2000	-.204**	.167**	-.209**	.175**	-.187**	.151**
	2001	-.183**	.149**	-.181**	.161**	-.173**	.131**

Seniority wage system	1999	-.214**	.174**	-.202**	.162**	-.207**	.169**
	2000	-.248**	.174**	-.273**	.193**	-.205**	.143**
	2001	-.211**	.194**	-.223**	.202**	-.182**	.178**
Increase in pay in return for reduction in corporate welfare	1999	.023	-.004	.016	-.018	.036	.004
	2000	.054*	-.038	.077**	-.072*	.031	-.009
	2001	.000	-.013	.013	-.047	-.004	.011
Self-development	1999	.112**	-.053**	.081**	-.034	.130**	-.059*
	2000	.121**	-.071**	.115**	-.063*	.099**	-.057*
	2001	.105**	-.069**	.115**	-.045	.070*	-.074**
A sense of unity with the organization	1999	-.024	.028	-.070*	.048	-.022	.042
	2000	-.030	.033	.016	.101	-.070*	.055*
	2001	.040*	.030	.051	.017	-.005	.063*
Achievement	1999	.119**	-.067**	.140**	-.077**	.076**	-.041
	2000	.130**	-.096**	.105**	-.094**	.126**	-.079**
	2001	.115**	-.065**	.111**	-.083**	.087**	-.034
Effort	1999	-.050*	.073**	-.026	.051	-.075**	.095**
	2000	-.031	.080**	-.033	.053	-.021	.100**
	2001	-.003	.032	.001	.024	-.007	.039
Need	1999	-.058**	.045*	-.059*	.025	-.064*	.066*
	2000	-.055**	.024	-.065*	.016	-.044	.029
	2001	-.029	.032	-.035	.036	-.020	.026
Equality	1999	-.193**	.160**	-.182**	.139**	-.192**	.167**
	2000	-.180**	.140**	-.152**	.132**	-.195**	.138**
	2001	-.197**	.173**	-.244**	.218**	-.138**	.128**
Anxiety over competition for status	1999	.052**	-.013	.025	.012	.060*	-.019
	2000	.000	.005	-.025	.041	.006	-.012
	2001	-.016	.048*	-.040	.091**	-.002	.017
Anxiety over loss of status	1999	.033	-.004	.035	.005	.002	.010
	2000	.017	.002	-.005	.021	.015	.001
	2001	-.005	.037	-.034	.077**	.010	.011
Maintenance of the status of quo	1999	-.094**	.086**	-.107**	.125**	-.055*	.034
	2000	-.099**	.104**	-.122**	.135**	-.053*	.063*
	2001	-.126**	.124**	-.132**	.159**	-.090**	.077**
De-emphasis on other-directedness	1999	.003	-.015	-.005	-.016	.010	-.015
	2000	.026	-.009	-.019	.024	.063*	-.032
	2001	.044*	-.048*	.082**	-.096**	.014	-.010
De-emphasis on social status	1999	.019	.035	.013	.009	.042	.046
	2000	.024	.010	.000	.059*	.072*	-.048
	2001	.010	.003	.041	-.036	.000	.028
Self-worth	1999	.086**	-.054**	.041	-.007	.115**	-.083**
	2000	.136**	-.071**	.123**	-.061*	.133**	-.068*
	2001	.121**	-.076**	.109**	-.074*	.110**	-.064*
Post-materialism	1999	-.004	.040*	-.018	.037	.025	.031
	2000	.051**	.014	.054	.050	.075**	-.033
	2001	.014	.010	.012	-.024	.034	.030

**Significant at 1% *Significant at 5%