Work and consciousness of youth in Tokyo:
From “the third survey on the working style of young people”

Summary

Overview of Youth Work Style Surveys
This report aims to use three “youth work style surveys” covering young people in their 20s in Tokyo to specify metropolitan youths’ real work styles and challenges facing them and consider the direction of policy support for them. This study is positioned as “survey research on facts about and support for those having difficulties in developing a career,” a subtheme for the project “research on capability development and career formation support in a new economic society.”

Table 1 is an overview of the past surveys. For details and sampling methods for the surveys, see the full text of the report. A 2012 survey on workers in their 30s will be compiled in the next fiscal year.

Table 1 Overview of Surveys

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Survey title</th>
<th>Survey year</th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Sampling method</th>
<th>Survey target age group</th>
<th>Number of samples</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Youth work style survey</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Tokyo</td>
<td>Area sampling method (questionnaires were distributed to 1,000 freeters and 1,000 non-freeter workers)</td>
<td>18-29</td>
<td>2,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>2nd Youth work style survey</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Tokyo</td>
<td>Area sampling method (without distribution)</td>
<td>18-29</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Youth work style survey</td>
<td>2011</td>
<td>Tokyo</td>
<td>Area sampling method (without distribution)</td>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>2,058</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work style survey for workers in their 30s</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>Tokyo</td>
<td>Area sampling method (without distribution)</td>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural-version work style survey</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Hokkaido (Sapporo)</td>
<td>Area sampling method (without distribution)</td>
<td>20-34</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
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</table>
A comparison of samples for our surveys and the Tokyo samples for the Employment Status Survey (2007) by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications indicates that employment patterns and school careers for the male samples in our surveys are close to those for the Tokyo samples for the Employment Status Survey. However, the female samples for our surveys include fewer jobless people and more atypical job holders than the Tokyo samples, reflecting the sampling method. This point should be taken into account in our analysis where survey data are interpreted.

Findings from our survey analysis are as follows:

**This Report's Composition and Findings**

Chapter 1 analyzed recent youths’ vocational careers and consciousness that have changed amid the expansion of atypical employment patterns, using data from the third “Youth Work Style Survey” in 2011 as compared with the second such survey in 2006.

(1) Regular employees’ share of new graduates was higher than in the 2006 survey. The share was higher for new higher education graduates and those who graduated from school amid the economic recovery between 2005 and 2009. However, the regular employee share remained low for new senior high school graduates. The regular employee share for new senior high school graduates was considerably lower than levels found through schools and employment security agencies. Parents’ educational background and degrees of affluence had no influence on first employment patterns for new graduates as far as their school careers were fixed, but parents’ school careers and degrees of affluence defined new graduates’ school careers, and this worked to define their regular employment opportunities. Such relationship remained unchanged from the 2006 survey.

(2) In 2011 survey, compared with the 2006 survey, the share of those who found regular jobs on graduation from school and retained the same jobs increased. The share of those who found no jobs or atypical jobs upon graduation from school and were assumed regular jobs later increased for men and remained unchanged for women. Due to these changes, those who found regular jobs upon graduation and have retained regular jobs increased particularly among university graduates. Those who started career as atypical employees and have retained atypical jobs declined particularly among men. As seen in both the 2006 and 2011 surveys, many school dropouts retained atypical jobs. Among male school dropouts in their late 20s, many shifted from other employment patterns to

<table>
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<tr>
<th>(Hokkaido 2008)</th>
<th>Hokkaido (Kushiro)</th>
<th>Random sampling</th>
<th>20-34</th>
<th>47.1% of 240 persons requested to make responses, 113 made responses. The response rate was 47.1%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rural-version work style survey (Nagano 2008)</td>
<td>2008 Nagano (Nagano City)</td>
<td>Area sampling method (without distribution)</td>
<td>20-34</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2008 Nagano (Suwa, Chino, Okaya)</td>
<td>Area sampling method (without distribution)</td>
<td>20-34</td>
<td>500</td>
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</table>
Part-timers were working at small companies more frequently than regular employees, with annual income and hourly income being around 50%, and some 70% of the levels for regular employees. Contract and agency workers are working at small companies less frequently than regular employees, with annual income and hourly income being slightly less than 80%, and slightly less than 90% respectively of the level for regular employees. These trends remained almost unchanged from the 2006 survey. Not a small number of part-timers had no access to social insurance coverage or no knowledge about whether they were covered by social insurance. Those who shifted to regular jobs from other employment patterns were working at small companies more frequently than those who retained regular jobs. Their annual or hourly income was slightly less than 90% of those who retained regular jobs.

Of respondents in their late 20s who retained atypical jobs, 40% saw atypical employment at present as desirable, while those seeing such employment after the passage of three years as desirable were limited to only 8% of men and 26% of women. Compared with the 2006 survey, those seeing regular jobs at present and after the passage of three years as desirable increased. The increase was substantial for women. Men who shifted to regular jobs from other employment patterns featured particularly fewer descriptions on specific future prospects, indicating some problems regarding careers after acquiring regular jobs.

Among those in their late 20s, more workers who retained or shifted to regular jobs had positive views on their future prospects, past courses, the sense of independence and life satisfaction. More atypical job retainers had negative views. Women featured narrower gaps between careers in their views than men and were generally more positive. Positive views generally increased from 2001 to 2006, but negative views increased from 2006 to 2011. Positive views on their past courses declined substantially among men retaining atypical jobs, and the sense of independence dropped sharply among men who shifted to regular jobs from other employment patterns. Among women, those who shifted to regular jobs from other employment patterns became far more negative generally. Between employment patterns or career categories, gaps were not large in interests in social problems, including the temporary agency workers whose employment contracts are unilaterally terminated.

Respondents were asked to choose their personal strengths from among four vocational capability categories: “skills/qualifications,” “interpersonal capabilities,” “behaviors” and “others.” Atypical job retainers citing “skills/qualifications” were particularly fewer than other groups, and more of them replied that they had no strengths or made no response to this question. Atypical job retainers citing workplace experiences as a way to obtain some strength were also fewer, indicating that schools are important as a way to obtain skills outside the workplace. Among higher education graduates who majored in science or engineering or had qualifications, more said they obtained their respective strengths at school. Among senior high school graduates who underwent vocational
education, atypical job retainers were fewer. Effects of vocational or special education emerge differently depending on school careers.

Chapter 2 used data at three time points for an analysis focusing on freeters, or job-hopping temporary workers.

1. Interregional gaps were seen in answers to whether respondents recognized themselves as freeters. Roughly, those who had worked as part-timers tended to say they had been freeters.

2. Whether people have had experiences as freeters heavily depends on school careers, graduation timings and majors. Among women, it depends on parents’ degrees of affluence as well.

3. In 2011 compared with before, those with experiences as freeters were less likely to recognize being a freeter as a free work style through which they could find suitable jobs.

4. Among three categories of freeters, those in the “dream pursuer category” in 2006 and 2011 increased from 2001, while those in the “moratorium category” declined over time and those in the “inevitable freeter category” declined in 2006 but increased in 2011. The distribution of the three freeter categories depended greatly on degrees of economic affluence. Particularly, the inevitable freeter category accounted for a half of less affluent women.

5. In changes over time, the share for freeters who attempted to become regular employees declined from 2001 to 2006 and rose back to the 2001 level in 2011. However, the share for those who successfully became regular employees (the freeter life termination rate) failed to rise back to the 2001 level.

6. A willingness to acquire stability generally provides great motivation for freeters to become regular employees, but a large share of male freeters cited marriage as a motive to become regular employees. By school career, senior high and lower school graduates among both male and female freeters viewed regular employees as advantageous. Meanwhile, a large share of male and female higher education graduate freeters said they would become regular employees when they find what they want to do, which suggests that motives to terminate a freeter life differ depending on school careers.

7. Asked what they would do to become regular employees, freeters said they would search for jobs, use Hello Work public employment security offices, collect information, improve skills or file regular employment applications.

8. Human networks had been a dominant path to regular jobs but have become less dominant gradually. The share for those who acquire regular jobs from part-time or contract employee jobs increased in the 2006 survey but fell back in the 2011 survey.

9. Durations in which respondents remained as freeters had specific effects on the termination of the freeter life. The freeter life termination rate was higher for those who remained as freeters for six or fewer months, but the rate declined for those who remained as freeters for three years or longer.
(10) Among public support services for young people who have experienced job loss, Hello Work services were used most frequently. Nearly 50% of them used Hello Work offices. Career categories have great influences on the use of administrative and public support services (excluding scholarships), and a higher ratio of job seekers with lower school careers or less affluent parents used administrative and public support services.

Chapter 3 analyzed changes in young people’s consciousness using the 2001 and 2011 survey data.

(1) Comparing economic advantages and stable employment with free work styles symbolized by freeters, Tokyo residents born between 1981 and 1991 did not necessarily support the latter in the third Youth Work Style Survey. Capability-improving efforts, including those to polish up professional knowledge and skills and acquire qualifications, were supported by 80-90% of these people. While nearly 70% supported economic improvements, including higher income than others, less than 40% endorsed the goal of becoming independent or famous. Some 30-40% of the total respondents answered that they would like to avoid working if possible, indicating their tendency to avoid jobs. More than 40% had doubts about their jobs.

(2) A noticeable difference between men and women compared in the third Youth Work Style Survey was that men were more affirmative than women of success-oriented views, including that “I would like to get higher income than others.”

(3) A comparison of men and women in their early and late 20s in the third Youth Work Style Survey indicated that men in their late 20s were more positive than those in their early 20s about becoming regular employees and improving their capabilities. Women in their early 20s are more supportive of or sympathetic with freeter-style behaviors free from typical working style than those in their late 20s. They are also more affirmative of views such as “I don’t know what job is suitable for me,” “I would like to avoid working if possible,” and “I would like to become famous.”

(4) According to an analysis of job consciousness gaps between employment patterns for men and women in the third Youth Style Work Style Survey, male regular employees tended to have doubt about or avoid their jobs while having consciousness toward seeking a steady or stable job. Male dispatched and contract employees were apt to have clear visions about their work styles and be free from conventional work styles or systems. Male part-timers tended to give priority to what they would like to do or pay little attention to employment patterns. Jobless and other male youths were negative about living for the moment or choosing free work styles, however tending to avoid working if possible amid doubts about working. Male and female regular employees commonly had steady approaches supporting stable employment. However, we cannot conclude that female dispatched and contract employees had fewer affirmative views than others about ambitions for vocational improvement or avoidance of or doubts about working. This was not the case with men.
(5) An analysis of job consciousness gaps between school careers for men and women in the third Youth Work Style Survey indicated that university and graduate school graduates among men were unsupportive of freeter work styles and oriented toward regular employees but also suggested their willingness to avoid working if possible. Male graduates from vocational schools, junior colleges and technical colleges are strongly oriented toward what they would like to do and their independence. Male senior high school graduates, while being supportive of or doubtful about living for the moment, were oriented toward working seriously in a stable work environment. Generally, women’s tendencies were similar to men’s. Among women, however, there were gaps in views about sympathies with freeters between senior high school graduates and graduates from professional schools, junior colleges and technical colleges. This was not the case with men.

(6) An analysis of job consciousness gaps between occupational career categories for men and women in the third Youth Work Style Survey indicated that atypical job retainers among men were the least affirmative of the willingness to avoid working if possible. Men who shifted to regular jobs from other employment patterns were highly affirmative of dream pursuer freeters’ characteristic ambitions to go independent to own shops or companies and to become famous. Among women, those who shifted to regular jobs from others were the least affirmative of the view that they did not know what jobs were suitable for them. This was not the case with men.

(7) An analysis of job consciousness gaps between family categories for men and women in the third Youth Work Style Survey indicated that gaps for women were more remarkable than for men. Married women living with their children, compared with those in other family categories, were less supportive of avoiding or doubting working and more supportive of stability. Single women were more supportive of views about personal aggrandizement and challenges toward new possibilities.

(8) An analysis of gender gaps regarding three new views adopted in the third Youth Work Style Survey indicated that jobless and other people among both men and women were less affirmative of views about political efficacy and self-assessment of interpersonal relations. Among men, part-timers were as affirmative as regular employees on political efficacy, as were temporary agency workers and contract employees, among women.

(9) A comparison of responses to views about sympathies with freeters in the first and third Youth Work Style Surveys indicated a decline from the first survey to the third one in support for the views, “I can get along without any regular job in the present world,” “I would like to give priority to what I want to do while I am young,” “I would like to experience various jobs,” and “whether I am a freeter or a regular employee is not a problem as long as I have a job that I want to do.” Support increased for the views, “it would be better to work for the same company longer” and “being a regular employee would be more advantageous than being a freeter.” Generally, youths became less oriented toward what they want to do and more oriented toward stability than in 2001.

(10) Respondents were supportive of three views about ambitions to improve capabilities in both the
first and third surveys, but support declined for the two views, “I would like to polish up professional knowledge and skills” and “I would like to acquire useful qualifications for my occupational life,” while support increased for the remaining view, “I would like to do a job that is helpful for others.”

(11) A comparison of responses to success-oriented views indicated that despite some exceptions, support generally declined from the first survey to the third one for all of the following three views, “I would like to go independent to own a shop or a company in the future,” “I would like to become famous,” and “I would like to get higher income than others.”

(12) A comparison of responses to views about avoidance of or doubts about working indicated that support declined from the first survey to the third one for the view, “I would like to enjoy my present life rather than considering my future,” while support increased for the following views, “I don’t know what job is suitable for me” and “I would like to avoid working if possible.” From these, no one can conclude that youths are enjoying their present life while failing to consider their future. Rather, an increase was seen from 2001 to 2011 in youths who did not know what jobs were suitable for them, indicating that youths grew more inclined to leave the occupational world.

Chapter 4 analyzed youths’ social networks (consulting partners).

(1) The 2006 survey found that the share for those citing workplace people as consulting partners was the highest among regular employees and lower among atypical employees and jobless people. In line with this relationship, the number of consulting partners declined for regular employees, atypical employees and jobless people in that order. The tendency was basically seen in the 2011 survey as well (although some points of the tendency were vaguer than in the 2006 survey). Atypical employees and jobless people may have fewer consulting partners related to the workplace and their social networks may be less multidirectional. This basic possibility is not negligible even at present.

(2) An exception to the above point is that no large gap is now seen between unmarried male regular and atypical employees in conditions of social networks and consulting partners regarding worries about jobs and work styles and about future ways of living and working. This exception has worked to weaken the abovementioned tendency.

(3) It is not appropriate to conclude that there are no problems with the social networks of male atypical employees. This is because even if an analysis of respondents in the 20-24 and 25-29 age groups indicates narrower gaps between regular and atypical employees, this may be temporary and can be expected to widen.

(4) It is not appropriate to simply conclude that male regular employees have sufficient consulting partners. Regular employees who have no consulting partners increased substantially from 2006 to 2011. Close attention may have to be paid to their future trend.
Policy proposals are summarized below:

(1) Expand support for continuation of new graduates’ job searches and widen support targets, which has been limited to job seekers among new graduates

Earlier studies indicated that not a small number of youths withdraw from job-finding activities due to initial failures (JILPT, 2007). The labor administration authorities are required to cooperate with universities’ career service offices and centers in leading students to use administrative services and in paving the way for providing direct administrative services to them after their graduation. In this respect, the support targets, now limited to job seekers, should be widened to cover potential job seekers who dropped out or withdrew from job-finding activities.

(2) Ascertain, prevent and support school dropouts

While the Cabinet Office has launched a survey research on dropouts from senior high schools, no realities have been ascertained about dropouts from universities amid a rise in the university advancement rate. The authorities are required to immediately ascertain the realities and provide support based on the realities.

(3) Support companies’ recruitment of regular employees and expansion of recruitment quotas for new graduates

The authorities should expand the job card system including trial employment and vocational training to reduce companies’ recruitment risks and job seekers’ burdens or should increase measures to promote companies’ recruitment of youths within three years after graduation.

(4) Promote capability development

While opportunities have increased for new graduates to undergo vocational training, all new graduates willing to undergo such training are not necessarily allowed to do so. It is important to socially promote various capability development opportunities, including those for vocational capability development through school education.

At the same time, the authorities may have to take into account signs of youths’ declining ambitions to acquire professional knowledge and qualifications and may have to provide education opportunities to allow youths to form specific ideas on qualifications and professional knowledge.

(5) Expand consulting and capability development opportunities for youths in their 20s as a career-exploring age group

Regarding future prospects and consulting networks, youths in their 20s represent an age group of trial and error. These youths, even if they are regular employees, may have no prospects for
their future courses or no consulting partners. A wide range of youths are required to become subject to career formation support, irrespective of their employment patterns.