

same for males and females, but in Japan, the rate for women is less than half of that of men. This finding derives from the fact that the class positions attained by women are different from those attained by men in Japan. As shown in Table 3, 42.8 percent of American women and 44.2 percent of German women reached the professional-managerial class, while only 19 percent of Japanese women did. The gender gap in the attainment of professional-managerial positions clearly reduced the intergenerational stability of the professional-managerial class among Japanese women.

Table 4 (last three columns) reports the self-recruitment rate for different class destinations by gender and nation. These rates show what proportion of the members of the current class came from the same class. For example, among Japanese men who occupied the professional-managerial class, 35.1 percent of them came from the same class origin, that is, their fathers were also engaged in professional-managerial positions. The distinctive Japanese pattern appears to emerge for both men and women. In Japan, the self-recruitment rates of the petty bourgeoisie and the farming class are higher and the rates of the skilled and the non-skilled manual working classes are clearly lower than the rates in the United States and Germany. The Japanese manual working class is much more extensively recruited from the farming and the petty bourgeoisie class than is the working class in either the United States or Germany. These features are related to the shapes of class origin distribution in the three nations. Japan shows a larger share of the farming and petty bourgeoisie and a smaller share of the two manual working classes in the class origin distribution than do the United States and Germany.

When the low self-recruitment and the low intergenerational stability are taken together, the Japanese manual working class can be characterized by weakly developed demographic stability, or “demographic identity” (Goldthorpe 1982, 2000), at least in comparison with the American and German working classes. This distinctive feature of the Japanese working class has been pointed out throughout the postwar period (Ishida, Goldthorpe, and Erikson 1991; Ishida 2001). Moreover, it is possible that because the Japanese manual working class has never developed the stable demographic core in the Japanese postwar class structure, there has been weak working class consciousness and the corresponding prevalence of middle-class consciousness expressed in opinion surveys.

As we have seen, the rates of intergenerational stability and

self-recruitment are heavily influenced by the marginal distributions of class origin and class destination. For example, the farming class, which was a major component of the Japanese class origin distribution, was dramatically reduced in its size, producing movements out of farming to other sectors. In contrast, due to the rapid expansion of both the blue-collar working classes and the white-collar sectors during Japan's postwar economic development, the Japanese class destination distribution contains a large share of the professional-managerial class and the routine non-manual class, thereby producing intergenerational movements into these classes. It is therefore not possible to determine, from the rates of intergenerational stability and self-recruitment, whether the patterns of mobility and immobility are produced by the changes in the marginal distribution or the movement of people independent of these changes.

In order to evaluate the chances of mobility and immobility, net of the effect of changes in class structure, we compute the relative chances – the comparison of immobility chances from people of different class origins. Table 5 reports the relative chances of class inheritance, expressed by log of odds ratios. For example, the figure (1.233) for Japanese men of the professional-managerial class indicates that men of the professional-managerial class origin are 3.43 times ($e^{1.233} = 3.43$ because 1.233 is the log of odds ratio) more likely to occupy the professional-managerial class than men of other class origins. It shows the relative advantage of reaching the professional-managerial class for those who come from the same class origin as opposed to those of other class origins. Three points stand out from Table 5. First, all the rates are positive, implying that class inheritance is prevalent among all three societies. Second, the pattern of the inheritance rates is similar across nations and across genders. The chances of relative inheritance are the highest among the farming class, suggesting that this class has a high barrier to entry. The relative inheritance chances for the professional-managerial class are also high in all nations. The advantage of the professional-managerial class is passed on from one generation to the next. The tendency for the petty bourgeoisie class to reproduce itself is also apparent in all nations, although the German petty bourgeoisie shows a higher inheritance rate than those of other nations.

If we assume these relative inheritance rates as the measure of how closed or open each society is, the Japanese class structure is neither more nor less open than the American or German class structures. The rates of

relative inheritance in Japan are generally found between the American and German rates. The German class structure may be considered more closed than the American and the Japanese class structures because the German rates are always higher than the American and Japanese rates.

In summary, the rates of total mobility, intergenerational stability, and self-recruitment are influenced by the changing shapes of class structure. Our analyses point to the impact that postwar Japan's rapid industrialization and economic development had on its rates of intergenerational stability and self-recruitment, especially regarding the manual working class. Our analyses also show that the ways class origin affects people's life chances (at least intergenerational mobility chances) are similar across three nations. Class background is a powerful determinant of shaping people's prospects of mobility not only in Japan but also in the United States and Germany.

5. Class and Subjective Social Status

This section focuses on the subjective aspect of social inequality. It examines how people perceive their social standing in the society and how their perception is influenced by social class and other socio-economic resources they possess. To begin with, it is not easy to compare people's subjective perception of their status across nations because each nation has its own way of asking the question of subjective status. In Japan, a typical question used in many opinion surveys about subjective social status is the following:

"If we divide the society into the following five strata, which do you think you belong to: the upper, the upper-middle, the middle-middle, the lower-middle or the lower stratum?"¹⁰

The American GSS asked the respondents the following question:

"If you were asked to use one of four names for your social class, which would you say you belong in: the lower class, the working class, the middle class, or the upper class?"

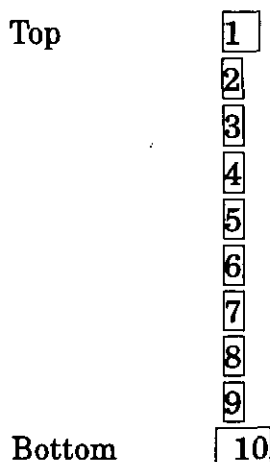
The question asked to German respondents in the ALLBUS was the following:

“There is a lot of talk about social class these days. What class would you describe yourself as belonging to: the upper class, the upper middle-class, the middle class, the working class, the lower class or none of these classes?”

The distributions of the responses are shown in Table 6. As we already know from the question wordings, it is not possible to compare the responses across nations. In Japan the proportion of respondents who choose one of the three “middle” categories adds up to over 90 percent, whereas the proportion of the middle-class in the United States is 45 percent and the proportion of the upper middle-class and the middle-class combined in Germany is 65 percent. However, we do not know how many of those who chose the category of “the working class” in the United States and Germany would respond, had they not been given the choice of “the working class” category. Moreover, the term “stratum” rather than “class” was used in the Japanese survey, creating further complication in the cross-national comparisons.

In order to have a better measure of the subjective social status that can be used in a more cross-nationally comparable fashion, the surveys from the three nations used the following question:

“In our society there are groups which tend to be towards the top and groups which tend to be towards the bottom. Below is a scale that runs from top to bottom. Where do you put yourself on this scale?”



There are several advantages of using this question. First, the respondents did not find this question a difficult one. The proportion of those who did

not answer this question (don't know and no answer) is less than four percent in three societies. Second, the question does not use terms like "the working class" or "the middle class" which might have different connotations in the three societies (Evans et al., 1992; Evans and Kelly 2004). Third, the question does not force the respondents to accept labels, such as "middle class," that are given to the categories. Pre-labeling the categories may affect the respondents' perception of how they place themselves in the status hierarchy (Nakao 2002).

Table 7 presents the distributions of responses to the 10-point scale version of the subjective status question in the three nations for the two time periods. In Table 7 and the following tables, the scoring of the categories is reversed from the question wording. The top category is assigned a score of 10 and the bottom category is assigned a score of 1, for ease of presentation. Several important findings can be drawn from this table. First, the distributions of responses are very similar across the three nations and across two time periods. In Japan, the proportions of the two lowest categories (1 and 2) are slightly larger, and, in the United, the proportions of the two highest categories (10 and 9) are slightly larger than those in the other nations. However, the differences are minor. Second, since the respondents are asked to pick one number among the ranking of 1 to 10, there are two middle numbers – 5 and 6. The proportion of respondents who selected either 5 or 6 is shown at the bottom of the table. In Japan and Germany, the figures are almost the same: just over 50 percent. In the United States, the figures are slightly lower at 48 and 44 percent. If we assume that the values 5 and 6 represent "the middle categories" or the "middle status," there is no clear difference in the proportion of respondents who identify themselves as "the middle" in the three societies. In other words, there is no empirical evidence that "the middle-class consciousness" is prevalent only in Japan. About the majority of the people perceive themselves as belonging to the middle in all three societies.

We next examine what kinds of factors explain the difference in people's perception of status. Table 8 presents the average and the spread (measured by the coefficient of variation) of the subjective status scores (1 as the lowest and 10 as the highest).¹¹ The first sub-table (the section labeled "social class") shows the difference by social class categories. As can be seen from the difference in the average scores, people occupying different class positions perceive differently their location in the status hierarchy. In all three societies, the professional-managerial class has the highest subjective

status score, and the non-skilled manual working class has the lowest score. There are, nonetheless, subtle differences across three nations. In Germany, the petty bourgeoisie show an average score as high as the professional-managerial class. This is probably related to the fact that the German petty bourgeoisie tend to have high average income and academic and vocational credentials, as already shown in Table 1. In Japan, the average score for the professional-managerial class appears to be lower than those in the United States and Germany. However, this should not be too surprising because the overall average is lower for the Japanese respondents. Indeed, it may be pointed out that the Japanese respondents are more "modest" in reporting their status scores than those in the United States and Germany, since the overall average score in Japan (5.469) is lower than those in the United States (5.981) and Germany (5.969). Nonetheless, it should be emphasized that the pattern of the difference in average scores across class categories is very similar in three nations.

Table 8 also reports the relationship between the subjective status and education, occupational prestige, and income. Regarding the difference by educational level, we find that the higher the educational attainment, the higher the subjective scores. In Japan, the difference between high school graduates and those who completed junior college and technical college is not as large as in other two nations. In the United States and Germany, there is a clear difference in the average subjective status scores by all four levels of education. Similarly, when the difference by four groups of occupational prestige is examined, there seems to be a linear pattern in all three societies: the higher the occupational prestige, the higher the subjective status. The pattern of income difference in subjective status scores is similar in Japan and Germany; the average scores for the richest (the top 25 percent of income group) stand out. In the United States, a large difference in the subjective score is found between the bottom half and the top half, in addition to between the top 25 percent and the top 50 percent. In summary, the subjective status scores differ not only by social class but also by education, occupational prestige, and income.

Which of these four factors is the most important determinant of subjective social status? Furthermore, does the relative importance of these factors vary across nations? In order to answer these questions, we conduct a multiple regression analysis of the determinants of subjective status. The results are shown in Table 9.¹² Column (1) presents the effect of each factor after we control for the effect of age and sex of the respondent, and column

(2) presents the effect after we control for age, sex, and social background (the father's and the mother's education and the father's class) of the respondent. The figures represent the changes in the coefficient of determination (R-squared) when each factor is added to the regression equation. In other words, these figures measure the effect of each factor, net of all the influence of the variables already in the equation. For example, the figure for class in Japan (column (1) 0.0727) shows that when we control for the effect of the respondent's age and sex, the class of the respondent explains 7.27 percent of variance in the subjective status scores.

Rather than rehearsing the details in these figures, we turn to the major findings of the regression analysis. In Japan and Germany, social class explains greater variation in people's perception of status than does either education or occupational prestige or income. This picture does not change when we control for sex and age only, or if we control for social background as well. In other words, class appears to be the most important determinant of subjective social status in Japan and Germany. On the other hand, in the United States, education exerts the strongest influence, and social class is the second most important factor. This pattern holds for different controls (column [1] and [2]). Because the United States has achieved mass higher education, with the highest proportion among the three nations of people advancing to institutions of higher education, the social stigma attached to high school dropouts might be particularly strong and have accordingly reduced their subjective status scores. At the same time, the socio-economic returns to a college and graduate school degree tend to be higher in the United States than in Japan and Germany (Ishida 1999; Ishida and Yoshikawa 2002), so university graduates might have given relatively high subjective scores.

When we compare the magnitude of R-squares across nations, the values of R-squares are generally larger in Germany than in Japan and the United States. This finding suggests that subjective perception of status is more likely to be determined by socio-economic factors, including class, in Germany than in Japan and the United States. In summary, in all three societies, social class plays an important role in explaining how people perceive their social standing. Although people also take into account education, occupation and income in evaluating their standing in the society, social class is one of the most significant factors when people place themselves subjectively in a status hierarchy.

6. Conclusions

The primary objective of this study has been to examine whether social class is an intellectually useful concept in understanding contemporary Japanese society. In order to achieve this objective, the paper presented three sets of empirical analyses. First, we examined whether socio-economic resources are differentially distributed by social class. With respect to all three dimensions of socio-economic resources — that is, education, occupational prestige, and income — there are clear differences among class categories. The professional-managerial class is the most advantaged, and the non-skilled manual working class is located towards the bottom of the socio-economic hierarchy. Most crucial in our analyses is that this pattern of the distribution of socio-economic resources by class is largely similar across three nations for both men and women. There is no empirical evidence to suggest that the distribution of socio-economic resources is less related to social class in Japan than in other nations.

We also examined the extent to which social class is correlated with other socio-economic resources. The pattern of the correlations among class, education, occupational prestige, and income shows similarity across three nations. Social class showed strong correlations with other socio-economic resources in all three societies. In previous work on status consistency and inconsistency in Japan (Imada and Hara 1979; Tominaga 1988), the majority of the respondents belonged to the status-inconsistent clusters, leading these scholars to conclude that status inconsistency characterizes Japanese society. Our analyses are not consistent with this conclusion. If we assume that the correlations among class, education, occupational prestige, and income are indicators of the degree of status consistency, the Japanese coefficients were by no means lower than American and German ones. In other words, Japanese society does not exhibit any higher tendency of status inconsistency than do the United States and Germany.

The second set of empirical analyses focused on the movement of people within the class structure between two generations. Two conclusions may be derived from these analyses of intergenerational mobility. First, with regard to the pattern of intergenerational stability and self-recruitment, Japan shows some distinctive patterns. In comparison to American and German manual working classes, the Japanese skilled and non-skilled manual working class is characterized by a low level of intergenerational stability and a low level of self-recruitment. In Japan, the children of the

manual working class are more likely to be found in other classes, and the manual working class is more extensively recruited, especially from the petty bourgeoisie and the farming class, than are their German and American counterparts. This finding primarily derives from the rapidly changing shape of class structure in postwar Japan. In particular, due to the late and rapid economic growth beginning in the late 1950s, Japanese class structure underwent substantial transformation: the rapid contraction of the farming class occurred almost at the same time as the expansion of the blue-collar working class and the white-collar sector. Consequently, the class structure of the father's generation and that of the children's generation differed to a much greater extent than in many other industrial nations, producing distinctive outflow and inflow patterns. In addition, among Japanese women, the professional-managerial class exhibited a distinctively low intergenerational stability, reflecting gender segregation in the Japanese labor market. Because women are much less likely to be found in the professional-managerial class in Japan than in the United States and Germany, a much smaller proportion of the daughters of the professional-managerial class ended up in the professional-managerial class in Japan than in the other nations.

Secondly, however, when we examine the intergenerational movement of people net of these changes of class structure, a different picture emerges. The pattern of class inheritance — that is, the relative chances of inheriting the same class position — is very similar across the three nations for both men and women. If we equate the pattern of relative immobility chances with the indicator of closeness of the class structure, the Japanese class structure is neither more nor less closed than the American or Germany class structures. In other words, class origins affect people's life chances (at least intergenerational mobility chances) in a very similar manner in the three societies.

Our class analysis points out some distinguishing features of the Japanese class structure, in particular, with regard to the Japanese manual working class and professional-managerial class. Because we used comparable class schema for three nations, we were able to identify some crucial cross-national differences. And these differences may be explained in large part by the Japanese path of late but rapid industrialization and the extent of gender segregation in the Japanese class structure. At the same time, our class analysis discloses a pattern of class inheritance and reproduction that is common to all three societies. There is a tendency for

class positions to be passed on from one generation to the next, and class background continues to shape people's prospects of mobility not only in Japan but also in the United States.

The third set of empirical analyses took up the issue of people's subjective perception of status. By using a cross-nationally comparable survey question about subjective perception of status, we found that the distribution of subjective status scores is similar across three nations, with approximately the majority of respondents selecting the middle scores. When we examined the determinants of subjective status, social class, along with education, occupational prestige, and income, are found to affect subjective social status in three societies. Among these four factors, class is the most important factor in Japan and Germany and the second most important factor following education in the United States. These findings suggest that social class continues to influence how people perceive their position in the rank ordering of the society. Social class is related not only to objective allocation of resources but also to subjective evaluation of their standing in the society.

In summary, these conclusions highlight the usefulness of a class analytic perspective. If class categories of any kind, including those used in this study, are meaningless and do not function in Japanese society, it is hard to explain why there is cross-national similarity in the distribution of socio-economic resources along class lines, why there is similarity in the effects of class origin on mobility chances, and why social class plays an important role in explaining people's perception of status in all three societies. Class functions in a very similar manner in Japan and other nations. Social class continues to shape and re-shape people's life chances and perception in contemporary Japanese society.

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¹ Nakane's view is often associated with the range of literature called nihonjinron (theories of Japaneseness), which stipulate the uniqueness of the Japanese (Dale 1986; Mouer and Sugimoto 1995; Sugimoto and Mouer 1995; Yoshino 1992).

² I am grateful to the 1995 SSM Research Committee for its permission to use the 1995 SSM Survey. The 2000/2001 JGSS were obtained from the Social Science Japan Data Archive, Information Center for Social Research on Japan, Institute of Social Sciences, University of Tokyo.

³ I have restricted my analysis to (the former) West Germany, since earlier ALLBUS included only West Germany.

⁴ For justification of collapsing the full ten-category version to the six-category version, see Ganzeboom, Luijkx, and Treiman (1989). On the use of more disaggregated tables, see Hout and Hauser (1992).

⁵ The surveys asked the information about the father's employment when the respondent was growing up (about the age of 15), except for the 1995 SSM survey which asked for the information about the father's main employment.

⁶ The German educational system differs from the Japanese and American systems, so it is difficult to construct a comparable measure of education. The four categories in the German survey represent: (1) primary education level, (2) those with Abitur or qualifications to enter polytechnics, (3) polytechnics level, and (4) university and graduate school level. In the analyses of the determinants of subjective social status, I have included vocational qualifications in addition to the above four categories, in order to maximize the effect of education.

⁷ Since social class is a categorical variable having six categories, I compute a multiple correlation coefficient rather than simple correlation coefficient. Correlation coefficients among education, occupational prestige, and income are expressed by simple correlation coefficients.

⁸ The analyses of intergenerational mobility tables are based on the data sets conducted in the 1990s and 2000/2001. In Japan, 1995 SSM and 2000/2001 JGSS data sets are combined. In the United States, 1990, 1991, 1993, 1994, 1996, 1998, and 2000 GSS data sets are used. In Germany, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1994, 1996, and 1998 ALLBUS data sets are used.

⁹ It should be noted that the distribution of class origin does not reflect the distribution of class structure of any particular period. Instead, it represents the class distribution of respondents' fathers.

¹⁰ This question is used by the opinion surveys conducted regularly by the Prime Minister's Office. The 2000/2001 JGSS used the same question, and a number of other surveys have a very similar question. The SSM surveys asked a similar question, but the possible response categories were: the upper, the upper-middle, the lower-middle, the upper-lower, and the lower-lower.

¹¹ The analyses of the determinants of subjective status (Tables 8 and 9) are based on the following data sets: the 2000 and 2001 JGSS for Japan; 1983, 1987, and 2000 GSS for the United States; and 1990, 1991, and 1992 ALLBUS for Germany.

¹² Social class variable is entered into the multiple regression equation as a nine-category rather than six-category variable with the following categories: the upper professional-managerial class (I), the lower professional-managerial class (II), the routine non-manual class (III), the petty bourgeoisie with employees (IVa), the petty bourgeoisie without employees (IVb), the farming class (IVc/VIIb), the supervisor of manual working class (V), the skilled manual working class (VI), and the non-skilled manual working class (VIIa). These categories are entered as dummy variables, with

the exception of the reference category. Education is measured as a five-level variable in Japan and the United States: junior high school, senior high school, junior college/technical college, university, and graduate school. In Germany, we entered the five levels of academic qualifications and three levels of vocational qualifications: primary academic, secondary academic, *Abitur* (including qualifications for entry into polytechnic), polytechnic degree, university degree, manual vocational qualifications, commercial vocational qualifications, and *meister* qualification. Occupational prestige is measured by international occupational prestige scores, and income is represented by the log of annual income. Educational levels of father and mother in Japan and the United States are represented by three levels: junior high school, senior high school, and higher education (including both junior college and university). For Germany, the same categories used for the respondent's education are used for father's and mother's education. Father's class is measured by a six-category version of the EGP class schema. The reason for using these variables with more detailed categories is to maximize the explanatory power of the variables.

Table 1 Distribution of Education, Occupational Prestige, and Income by Class Categories for Men and Women in Japan, the United States and Germany

	Education			Occupational Prestige			Income					
	Men			Women			Men			Women		
	Mean	C. V.	Mean	C. V.	Mean	C. V.	Mean	C. V.	Mean	C. V.	Mean	C. V.
Japan	0.506	0.990	0.311	1.490	51.160	0.225	54.062	0.138	11.095	0.051303	10.103	0.098
Prof-managerial	0.353	1.356	0.108	2.873	39.607	0.169	39.308	0.150	10.472	0.066452	9.679	0.082
Routine non-man	0.159	2.307	0.073	3.586	40.492	0.220	38.980	0.240	10.833	0.065099	10.040	0.103
Petty bourgeoisie	0.031	5.649	0.000	0.000	36.208	0.168	37.723	0.128	10.365	0.104006	9.520	0.103
Farming	0.077	3.471	0.021	6.820	36.700	0.143	34.778	0.133	10.570	0.056528	9.442	0.084
Skilled manual	0.083	3.337	0.025	6.286	27.855	0.244	23.935	0.274	10.324	0.068092	9.229	0.083
Non-skilled manual	0.279	1.608	0.112	2.815	41.374	0.291	38.337	0.297	10.737	0.067558	9.655	0.093
Total												
U.S.A.												
Prof-managerial	0.527	0.948	0.442	1.125	57.315	0.154	56.131	0.128	10.569	0.076822	9.840	0.096
Routine non-man	0.206	1.975	0.076	3.498	33.579	0.228	38.661	0.269	9.837	0.101412	9.302	0.102
Petty bourgeoisie	0.205	1.995	0.067	3.771	35.000	0.251	28.917	0.347	9.896	0.091653	9.102	0.140
Farming	0.030	5.746	0.083	3.466	33.182	0.283	29.154	0.289	9.829	0.099816	8.999	0.152
Skilled manual	0.028	5.924	0.013	8.769	38.866	0.150	37.091	0.155	10.181	0.066788	9.556	0.080
Non-skilled manual	0.046	4.552	0.019	7.119	27.202	0.296	27.162	0.293	9.652	0.11082	9.167	0.115
Total	0.249	1.737	0.198	2.015	42.211	0.356	42.762	0.327	10.151	0.095441	9.505	0.107
Germany												
Prof-managerial	0.482	1.038	0.340	1.394	53.776	0.226	51.048	0.212	10.315	0.039921	9.749	0.052
Routine non-man	0.070	3.670	0.030	5.661	40.479	0.268	38.849	0.191	9.995	0.03755	9.388	0.053
Petty bourgeoisie	0.127	2.633	0.125	2.674	41.930	0.214	43.490	0.205	10.330	0.048633	9.797	0.062
Farming	0.000	0.000	0.087	3.311	39.476	0.277	37.991	0.274	9.742	0.0499	8.799	0.072
Skilled manual	0.008	11.138	0.023	6.552	38.394	0.176	37.473	0.260	9.927	0.032358	9.369	0.056
Non-skilled manual	0.014	8.390	0.008	10.952	31.032	0.232	28.053	0.326	9.858	0.02671	9.205	0.047
Total	0.208	1.955	0.170	2.212	44.217	0.285	42.947	0.291	10.101	0.042374	9.530	0.058

Note: C.V. indicates the coefficient of variation.

Table 2 Correlations among Class, Education, Occupational Prestige, and Income by Gender and by Nation

	Japan			U.S.A.			Germany		
	Education	Occupation	Income	Education	Occupation	Income	Education	Occupation	Income
Class	0.330	0.826	0.357	0.482	0.818	0.296	0.507	0.728	0.447
Income	0.151	0.325	-	0.185	0.307	-	0.338	0.444	-
Occupation	0.356	-	0.361	0.414	-	0.441	0.540	-	0.423
Education	-	0.412	0.216	-	0.485	0.284	-	0.634	0.356
Class									
Income									
Occupation									
Education									

Note: Figures above the main diagonal are men and below are women.

Table 3 Distribution of Class Origin and Class Destination by Nation

	Class origin			Class destination		
	Japan	U.S.A.	Germany	Japan	U.S.A.	Germany
Male						
Professional-mangerial	21.0	30.9	21.4	34.7	40.1	35.9
Routine non-manual	7.8	6.3	3.6	14.0	9.3	5.0
Self-employed	23.9	9.0	10.8	14.4	4.3	8.2
Farm	25.8	12.6	12.9	4.7	3.2	4.0
Skilled manual	11.5	19.3	38.7	17.1	18.6	37.3
Unskilled manual	10.1	22.0	12.6	15.2	24.4	9.6
Female						
Professional-mangerial	21.1	28.5	25.3	19.0	42.8	44.2
Routine non-manual	10.2	6.6	3.8	38.5	30.8	25.9
Self-employed	23.2	9.7	10.6	6.2	4.4	6.2
Farm	26.0	12.2	13	5.0	0.7	2.5
Skilled manual	11.1	18.6	36.1	12.5	5.5	9.3
Unskilled manual	8.3	24.4	11.1	18.8	15.8	12.0

Table 4 Outflow Rates and Inflow Rates by Nation

	Outflow (intergenerational stability)			Inflow (self-recruitment)		
	Japan	U.S.A.	Germany	Japan	U.S.A.	Germany
Male						
Professional-mangerial	57.9	57.8	63.4	35.1	44.5	37.7
Routine non-manual	24.0	17.6	11.7	11.9	11.9	8.5
Self-employed	28.4	8.2	24.3	42.6	17.1	31.8
Farm	17.4	15.9	25.0	89.2	61.7	81.6
Skilled manual	29.1	24.6	50.5	18.7	25.5	52.4
Unskilled manual	19.2	34.4	20.2	12.6	31.0	26.5
Female						
Professional-mangerial	28.0	57.1	65.2	35.1	38.0	37.3
Routine non-manual	42.0	32.4	44.6	8.7	6.9	6.6
Self-employed	11.3	6.3	17.4	39.2	13.9	30.0
Farm	18.6	2.8	13.7	79.7	48.8	72.2
Skilled manual	15.8	6.4	10.8	12.4	21.8	42.2
Unskilled manual	21.8	21.9	28.0	10.8	33.8	25.7

Table 5 Relative Chances of Class Inheritance by Nation

	Japan	U.S.A.	Germany
Male			
Professional-mangerial	1.233	1.058	1.472
Routine non-manual	0.916	0.805	0.985
Self-employed	0.954	0.775	1.562
Farm	3.279	2.574	3.672
Skilled manual	0.766	0.452	0.917
Unskilled manual	0.494	0.646	1.059
Female			
Professional-mangerial	0.852	0.813	1.159
Routine non-manual	0.189	0.075	0.876
Self-employed	0.768	0.432	1.422
Farm	2.577	1.947	2.991
Skilled manual	0.116	0.212	0.283
Unskilled manual	0.314	0.562	1.246

Table 6 Distribution of Subjective Social Status with Differing Questions in Three Nations

Japan		USA		Germany	
Upper stratum	0.6	Upper class	3.8	Upper class	1.2
Upper-middle stratum	10.3	Middle class	45.2	Upper middle class	10.3
Middle-middle stratum	47.8	Working class	45.4	Middle class	54.8
Lower-middle stratum	33.3	Lower class	5.0	Working class	30.3
Lower stratum	6.4			Lower class	2.1
Don't know, No answer	1.7	Don't know, No answer	0.1	None of these	1.3

Table 7 Distribution of Subjective Social Status by Nation

	Japan		U.S.A.		Germany	
	2000,01	1995	2000	1983,87	2000	1990,91,92
10 (top)	0.7	0.4	3.1	4.6	1.3	0.6
9	1.7	1.0	2.8	3.9	1.4	1.7
8	6.8	5.4	11.0	12.7	6.2	10.1
7	10.2	12.0	15.3	15.2	10.6	19.3
6	41.6	29.8	31.6	30.1	21.8	33.3
5	14.8	22.6	16.3	13.6	34.7	17.8
4	11.5	17.1	10.8	9.6	15.6	9.9
3	7.5	8.2	5.6	5.9	6.5	4.8
2	2.4	2.0	1.7	1.8	1.7	1.7
1 (bottom)	2.8	1.6	1.7	2.6	0.1	0.8
Proportion of 5 and 6	56.4	52.4	47.9	43.7	56.5	51.1
Year	2000,01	1995	2000	1983,87	2000	1990,91,92

Table 8 Subjective Social Status Scores by Class, Education, Occupation and Income

	Japan		U.S.A.		Germany	
	Average	Coefficient of Variation	Average	Coefficient of Variation	Average	Coefficient of Variation
Class						
Professional-mangerial	5.957	0.254	6.518	0.255	6.426	0.198
Routine non-manual	5.364	0.292	5.890	0.309	5.969	0.224
Self-employed	5.670	0.315	5.657	0.343	6.364	0.224
Farm	5.479	0.305	5.870	0.351	5.500	0.362
Skilled manual	5.218	0.318	5.758	0.312	5.577	0.254
Unskilled manual	4.931	0.336	5.284	0.379	4.985	0.297
Total	5.469	0.302	5.981	0.312	5.969	0.244
Education						
Middle/Primary Secondary	5.054	0.340	5.195	0.423	5.648	0.266
High school/Abitur	5.423	0.301	5.862	0.298	6.063	0.251
Junior college/Politec	5.573	0.284	6.133	0.278	6.401	0.188
University	5.960	0.258	6.802	0.244	6.847	0.178
Occupational prestige						
First quartile (bottom)	5.118	0.336	5.439	0.347	5.462	0.267
Second quartile	5.314	0.305	5.782	0.332	5.932	0.235
Third quartile	5.605	0.280	6.216	0.284	6.087	0.231
Fourth quartile (top)	5.894	0.270	6.540	0.259	6.515	0.194
Income						
First quartile (bottom)	5.263	0.315	5.672	0.346	5.495	0.315
Second quartile	5.126	0.330	5.774	0.304	5.482	0.273
Third quartile	5.368	0.296	6.139	0.254	5.756	0.243
Fourth quartile (top)	6.223	0.236	6.786	0.213	6.492	0.200

Table 9 Explanatory Power of Class, Education, Occupational Prestige, and Income

	Japan		U.S.A.		Germany	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Class	0.0727	0.0613	0.0608	0.0398	0.1549	0.0989
Education	0.0466	0.0336	0.0940	0.0577	0.1227	0.0670
Occupational prestige	0.0491	0.0397	0.0255	0.0104	0.1141	0.0676
Income	0.0503	0.0433	0.0570	0.0362	0.0910	0.0592

(1) After controlling for gender and age

(2) After controlling for gender, age, and social background (father's education, mother's education, and father's class)

地域格差、職業格差

- 収入における人的資本効果の測定 -

国立社会保障・人口問題研究所 西村幸満

1. はじめに

本研究の目的は、収入の決定における人的資本と組織の効果について、これまでほとんど検討されてこなかった地域労働市場とそこで構成される職業特性の効果について改めて検討を行うことである。

これまで本人が稼得した収入については、さまざまなモデルが構築されている。なかでも人的資本の効果について検証した Jacob Mincer の関数推計が一つの雛型になっている。このモデルを基本的に踏襲しながら、本研究では教育年数と勤続年数の効果についてより詳細に分析を行うとともに、モデルの拡張を行う。

本研究で地域と職業をとりあげる理由は、収入の決定メカニズムの解明というそれ自体の目的に加えて、現代的な問題としては次のようなものである。それは、いま日本社会がこれまで基盤としてきた工業・製造業中心の社会からの移行期（エポック）にあるという事実認識である（神野 2002 など）。工業が衰退するという経済基盤の喪失は、地方都市においてはそのまま商業・サービス業あるいは商店街などの地場産業の弱体化をもたらす。工業・製造業を中心とする地域産業の衰退は、地域の財政だけでなく、地域住民の生活環境の悪化させることになる。こうした傾向は、日本に限らず先進国に共通して生じている問題でありながらその動向には異なった様相がみられるし、また一国の中においても都市と地方ではその動向と対応にラグがあるだろう。日本に限った場合でも、都市と地方において形成される労働市場は、明らかに異なった局面をもっている。けれども、日本社会においては国際比較あるいは世代内・世代間の分析に比べると、地域市場の問題はほとんど考慮されていない。

本研究では、こうした社会のエポックにあるとの認識に加えて、その変化過程において、都市と地域で行われる収入決定メカニズムを明らかにしようというのが第一の目的となっている。さらに、こうした都市と地域の収入決定において重要な役割をはたすと考える職業（と組織）について注目するのである。そして、こうした外在的な要因を考慮した上でも、教育変数と勤続年数の効果が確認できるのかが第二の目的である。

2. データと分析モデル

本研究で使用するデータは、旧日本労働研究機構（現労働政策研究・研修機構）が 1999 年、2000 年、2001 年に実施した「勤労生活に関する調査」である。この調査は、主にこれまで日本社会を支えてきた勤労規範の実態について明らかにしようという意図をもって実