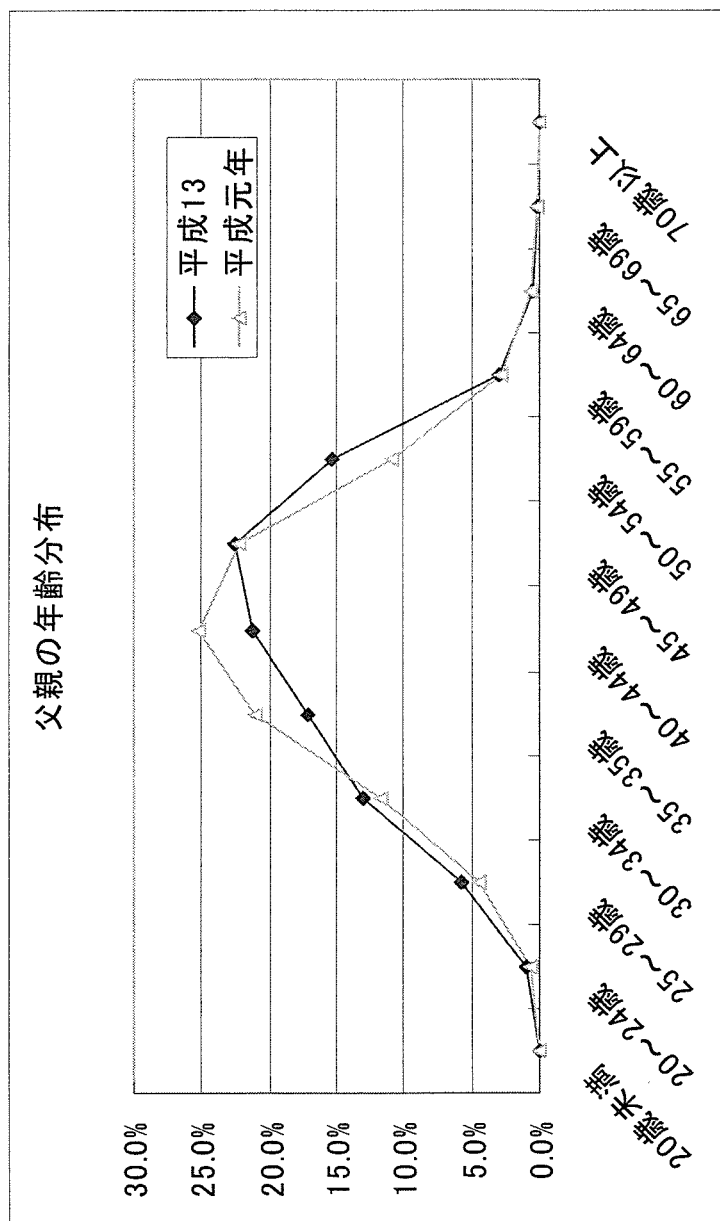
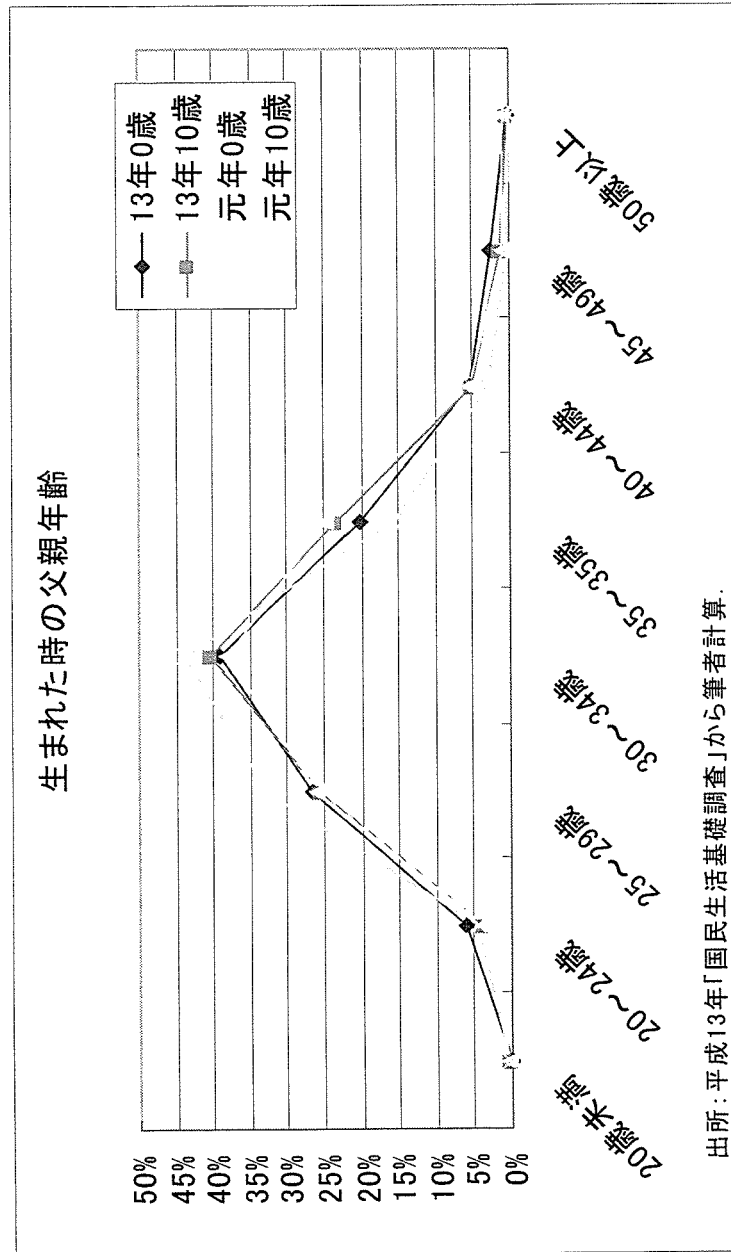


有子世帯は若年化？高齢化？

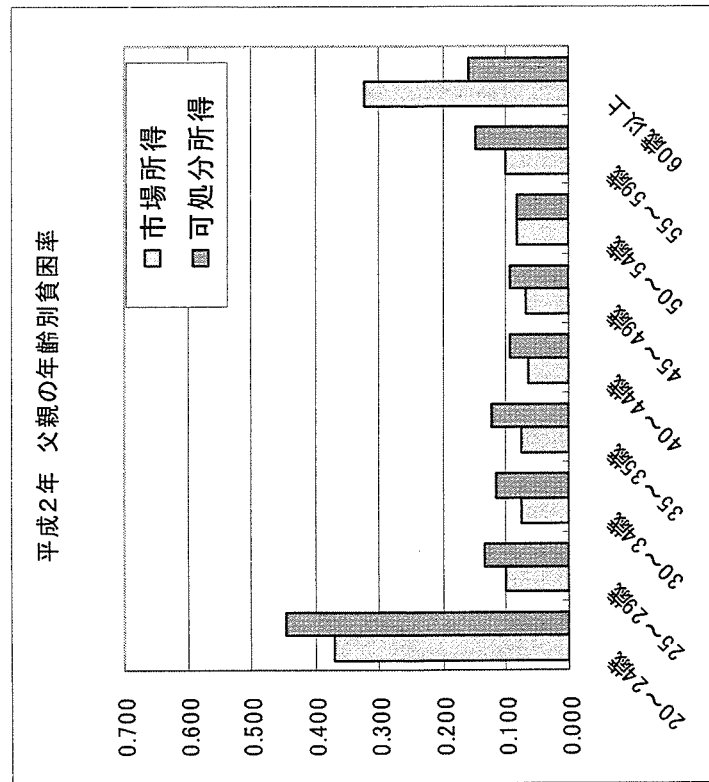
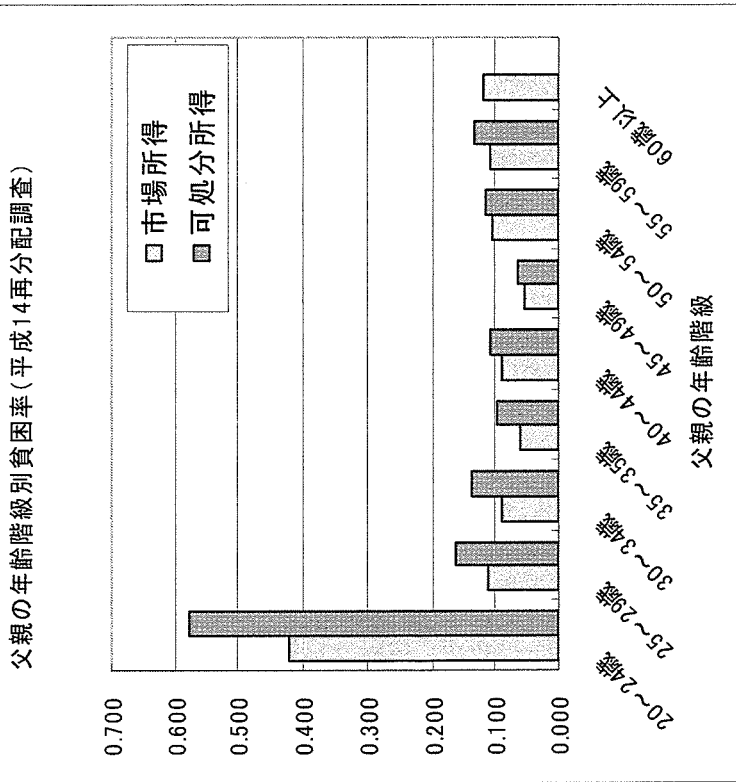


生まれてきた子供の数の影響によると思われるが、子ども全体で見ると父親の年齢は非均一化。元年はかなりきれいなベルカーブだったのに、今は、ピークが5歳後退、若年層と高齢層が若干増えている。

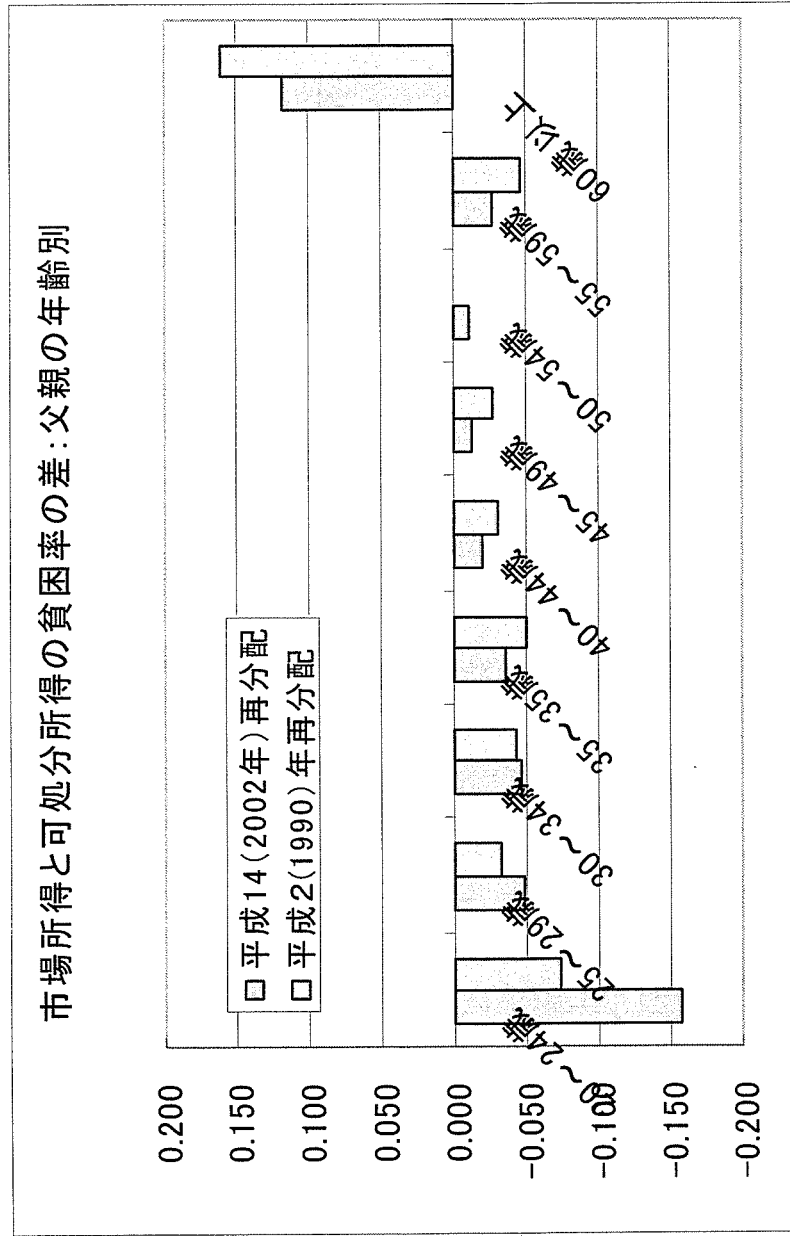
生まれた時の父親の年齢分布



父親の年齢別：当初所得と可処分所得の貧困率



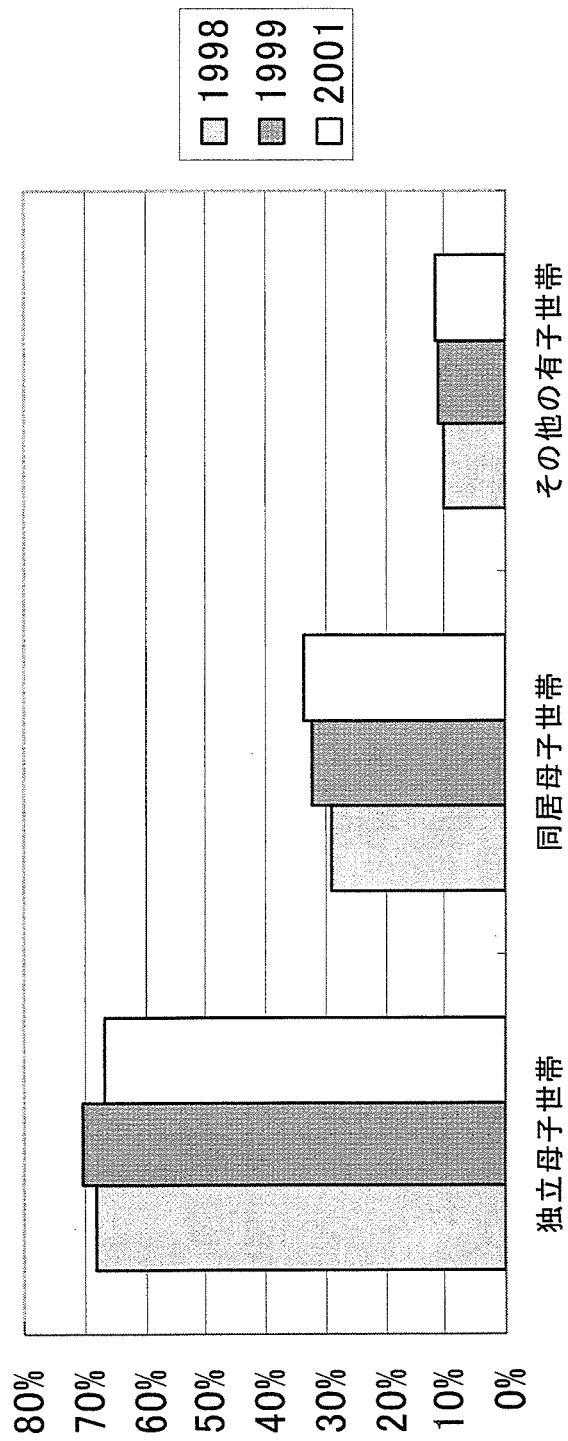
父親の年齢が若いほど、貧困率への影響が多い



再分配政策というよりも、所得分布によるものか？→若いほど、貧困線ギリギリの世帯が多い

世帯類型別：母子世帯

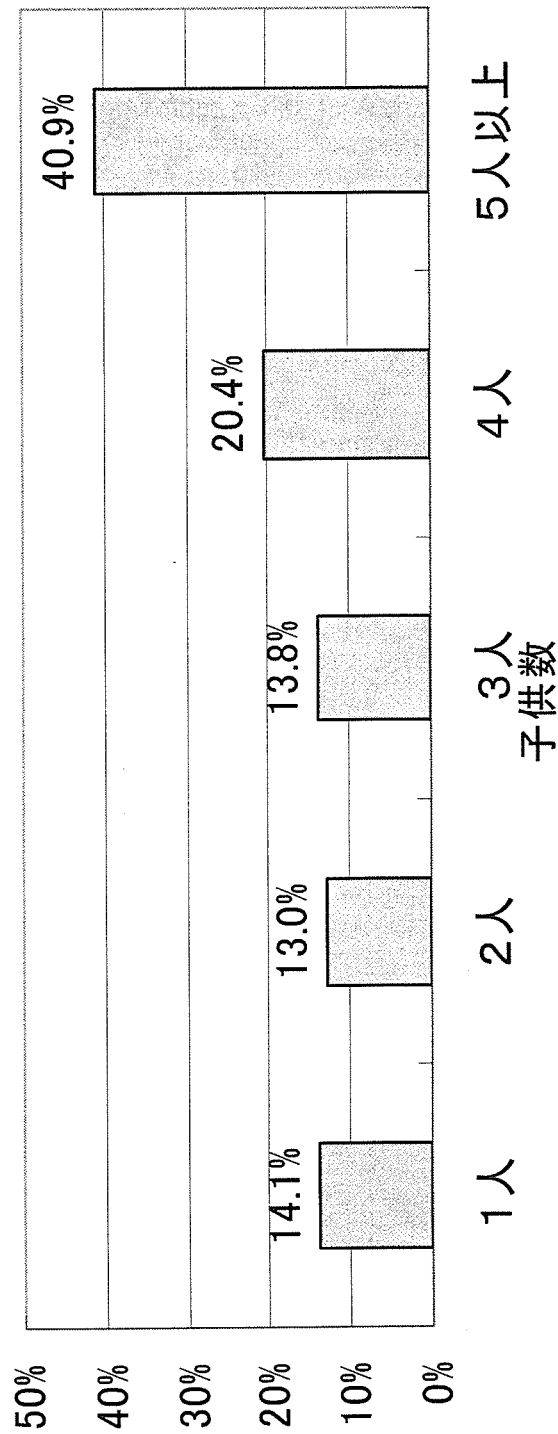
図3 世帯類型別の子供の貧困率



出典：『国民生活基礎調査』より筆者計算。

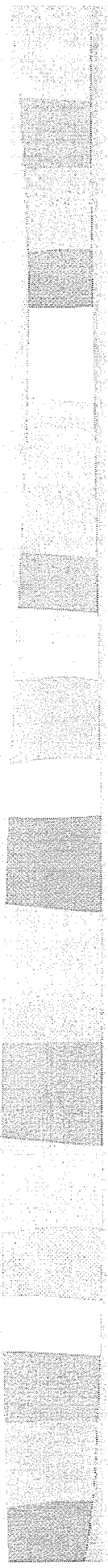
子ども数別 貧困率

図5 子供数別貧困率



出典：H13『国民生活基礎調査』より筆者計算。

子どもの相対的剥奪(deprivation)・
子育て世帯の社会的排除(social
exclusion)



- いくつかのデータの提示
- 分析の方向と問題点

子どもに関する剥奪項目

	n	持っている	持っていない(欲しい)	持っていない(経済的に持てない)	無回答
スポーツ用品・ゲーム機などの玩具	361	84.5	10	5.5	0
子ども部屋	361	62	13	24.4	0
ヘッドホンステレオ等	361	30.2	52.9	16.1	0.8
自転車・三輪車	361	87.3	8.3	4.4	0
本・絵本	361	97.8	0.8	1.4	0
毎月のお小遣い	361	30.2	52.6	14.7	2.5
毎年、新しい服・靴	361	87.5	4.7	7.5	0.3
お稽古ごと	361	53.2	24.7	19.9	2.2
塾	361	26.9	49.6	20.8	2.8
クリスマスのプレゼント	361	90.9	5	3.6	0.6
子どもの学校行事への親の参加	361	86.7	9.1	2.5	1.7
高校までの教育	361	93.4	0.6	2.5	3.6
短大・高専・専門学校までの教育	361	70.6	3.9	20.5	5
大学までの教育	361	65.1	5.3	26.9	2.8

出所：平成15年「社会生活調査」

属性別の分析(所得、親の年齢、子の年齢、子どもの数→可能、

世帯類型→困難か?)

社会的排除指標

表5 欠如している人々の割合

	n	低所得	BHN	物質的剥奪	住居	主観的貧困
全体	584	0.116	0.209	0.099	0.118	0.180
男性	290	0.117	0.228	0.114	0.114	0.224 **
女性	294	0.116	0.190	0.085	0.122	0.136
20歳代	113	0.137	0.195	0.097	0.168 *	0.106 *
30歳代	105	0.082	0.210	0.124	0.095	0.190
40歳代	87	0.059	0.149	0.069	0.092	0.241
50歳代	100	0.092	0.230	0.110	0.180 *	0.260 *
60歳代	96	0.111	0.271	0.104	0.083	0.177
70歳代	67	0.188	0.224	0.104	0.090	0.119
80歳以上	16	0.357 ***	0.063	0.000	0.000	0.063
高齢者全体	132	0.200 ***	0.242	0.106	0.076 *	0.144
単身高齢女性	12	0.571 ***	0.250	0.000	0.000	0.083
単身高齢男性	11	0.000	0.182	0.273 *	0.182	0.273
単身勤労世代女性	43	0.023	0.093 *	0.163	0.395 ***	0.023 **
単身勤労世代男性	54	0.130	0.407 ***	0.259 ***	0.370 ***	0.222
有子世帯(16歳未満)	121	0.116	0.157	0.083	0.041 ***	0.182
有子世帯(20歳未満)	158	0.120	0.177	0.076	0.063 **	0.234 **
無子世帯	426	0.115	0.221	0.108	0.138	0.160
仕事あり	361	0.069 ***	0.188	0.097	0.122	0.202 *
仕事なし(主婦)	98	0.136	0.214	0.061	0.071	0.102 **
仕事なし(退職)	36	0.083	0.167	0.056	0.028 *	0.174
仕事なし(その他)	86	0.295 ***	0.291 **	0.174 **	0.186 **	0.221

表5 欠如している人々の割合

	制度からの排除	社会関係	社会参加	3つ以上の分野 で排除
全体	0.110	0.108	0.176	0.139
男性	0.093	0.152 ***	0.200	0.162
女性	0.126	0.065	0.153	0.116
20歳代	0.106	0.106	0.097 **	0.089
30歳代	0.105	0.076	0.124	0.143
40歳代	0.080	0.149	0.126	0.138
50歳代	0.080	0.160 *	0.260 **	0.170
60歳代	0.083	0.094	0.188	0.156
70歳代	0.194 **	0.075	0.284 **	0.164
80歳以上	0.313 ***	0.000	0.313	0.063
高齢者全体	0.159 **	0.083	0.258 ***	0.159
単身高齢女性	0.167	0.000	0.083	0.000
単身高齢男性	0.091	0.273 *	0.273	0.273
単身勤労世代女性	0.163	0.047	0.116	0.023
単身勤労世代男性	0.074	0.278 ***	0.222	0.259 ***
有子世帯(16歳未 満)	0.083	0.083	0.107 **	0.107
有子世帯(20歳未 満)	0.070 *	0.101	0.146	
無子世帯	0.124	0.110	0.188	
仕事あり	0.097	0.116	0.158	0.141
仕事なし(主婦)	0.082	0.071	0.133	0.061 **
仕事なし(退職)	0.056	0.000 **	0.194	0.111
仕事なし(その他)	0.209 ***	0.151	0.302 ***	0.221 **

平均剥奪スコア

項目	有子世帯		無子世帯		有子世帯		有子世帯		子ども3人以上
	有子世帯	無子世帯	父親30歳以下	父親30歳以上	出生時父30歳以下	父親30歳以上	母子世帯		
BHN	0.086	0.113	0.000	0.093	0.061	0.061	0.095	0.063	
物質的剥奪	0.012	0.026	0.000	0.010	0.003	0.003	0.071	0.025	
制度からの排除	0.132	0.144	0.140	0.128	0.127	0.127	0.214	0.106	
社会関係	0.066	0.079	0.089	0.070	0.067	0.067	0.032	0.028	
住居	0.045	0.067	0.029	0.045	0.052	0.052	0.082	0.027	
社会参加	0.246	0.247	0.213	0.255	0.280	0.280	0.089	0.203	
主観的貧困	0.247	0.234	0.033	0.258	0.273	0.273	0.476	0.292	
低所得	0.120	0.115	0.100	0.079	0.125	0.125	0.571	0.000	
サンプル数	158	426	10	129	33	33	7	16	

所見:

- 子育て世帯全体で見ると、特に社会的排除が起こる確率が高いという実態は観察されない
- 若年有子世帯においても、特に顕著な傾向はみられない
- サンプル数が少ないため、子育て世帯をさらに分割するのが困難

1. Introduction

In recent years there has been an increasing trend in Japan to interpret the accumulation of social disadvantages, which has traditionally been discussed using terms like “poverty” and “discrimination”, using the concept of social exclusion (Iwata & Nishizawa 2005, Japan Social Inclusion Promotion Conference Ed. 2007, etc.). When the term “social exclusion”, however, is applied to Japan, the fact is that there are still many people who do not fully understand precisely what kind of situation is being referred to. One reason for this is the lack of research into the realities of social exclusion in modern Japanese society, including questions such as what sort of people are excluded, the areas in which they are excluded, the severity of such exclusions and related issues. Although for groups already recognized as socially vulnerable, such as the homeless, the victims of discrimination, single-mother households, disabled persons and others, there have been occasional attempts to reinterpret their situations as social exclusion and explore paths toward social inclusion, there have been very few empirical analyses of social exclusion that include society as a whole in their perspective. The aim of this chapter is to provide an overview of methodologies and practical attempts to scientifically and objectively measure social exclusion in Japan while at the same time drawing on examples of surveys and research conducted in other countries.

There is an inherent conflict that arises between the concept of social exclusion and attempts to quantitatively measure it (Abe 2002). The reason is that the measuring of social exclusion itself means drawing some kind of artificial line between people who are excluded and people who are not. The act of categorizing and labeling people as “excluded” itself has the potential to constitute social exclusion. What is more, as a practical problem in the work of measuring, there is the fact that it is difficult to grasp our target group, i.e. the people who are socially excluded (“victims of exclusion”) with the methods normally used in social surveys. Ordinary social surveys make use of random extractions and similar methods from the Basic Resident Register to extract bias-free samples. But those who are socially excluded or those who are at risk for social exclusion are precisely the people who tend to fall through the cracks in such methods. Conversely, people whose data are acquired in conventional social surveys are those

¹ This paper is the translated version of a chapter in *Shakai Seisaku no Atarashii Kadai to Chousen: Dai 1-kan Shakai-teki Haijo no Genjou to Shakai Seisaku* (“New Issues and Challenges in Social Policy: Volume I The Current State of Social Exclusion and Social Policy”), Houristu Bunka-sha, to be published soon.

who are not excluded, at least not to a great extent. For example, homeless people or people living in shelters are not listed in the Basic Resident Register, and if one wishes to take surveys of such people, a survey design that specifically targets such people becomes necessary. Originally designed surveys of homeless people or people in facilities are possible because at least their location is known, but “discovering” victims of exclusion who exist latently in society remains an extremely difficult issue. For these reasons, there is a strong possibility that measurements using social surveys underestimate the real magnitude of social exclusion. Even under such constraints, however, measuring the extent of social exclusion is an absolutely necessary process in order to bring the matter into the realm of policy debate as a problem to be overcome. In addition, monitoring is effective for carrying out policy evaluation and making comparisons of social policy with other countries. Quantitative approaches to social problems, despite inherent limitations and constraints, are important tools for supplementing qualitative approaches. From that perspective, the development of indicators to quantify social exclusion are underway in the countries of Europe and the EU as well as in international institutions such as the OECD, and those methods are still being improved upon. Drawing on the achievements of attempts to develop social exclusion indicators in countries overseas, in this chapter the author will attempt to construct social exclusion indicators specifically for Japan and to get an accurate picture of the realities of social exclusion in Japan.

2. An overview of social exclusion in Japan

Attempts in Japan to objectively define and measure social exclusion have just begun.¹ It is preferable that the data to be used in measuring social exclusion is based on original surveys designed specifically for that purpose. The reasons are that not only are social surveys that include items such as deprivations in social relationships and omissions from systems necessary for social exclusion indicators extremely rare, it is also necessary to obtain criteria for judging whether such deprivations or omissions have been imposed or not. The main difference between a simple deprivation and an imposed deprivation, or exclusion, is that there are cases in which the former is elected as a matter of individual preference. To give one simple example, some social surveys in the west include “the consumption of sources of protein such as meat or fish at least once a week” as part of the criteria for a minimum standard of living and treat the lack of that as “deprivation” (Poverty and Social Exclusion Survey in the UK, etc.), but in cases where the respondents are vegetarians and do not eat meat or fish as a matter of individual preference or principle, that deprivation does not indicate a low standard of

living. Simply put, deprivations due to preference do not constitute exclusion. In reality, however, the criteria for judging whether or not a deprivation is imposed are not always clear, and there are some cases in which the very person who is lacking something cannot provide a clear answer as to whether it is by preference or not. For example, the lack of social relationships due to *hikikomori* (the shut-in phenomenon) by an individual raised in an affluent home may be considered a matter of choice by that individual, but there are also cases where that stems from being bullied in adolescence. However, in our attempts to measure the realities of social exclusion, it is necessary to clearly ascertain to the extent that it is possible whether the reasons for deprivations are preference or not and to design questions in a manner that clarifies the reasons.

The data I present below comes from the “Survey of Social Life (2006)”ⁱⁱ designed and conducted with consideration given to the issues discussed above. The targets of this survey were 1,600 adults 20 years or older extracted randomly from the Basic Resident Register of X City, a suburb of Tokyo. The number of respondents was 584 (valid response rate: 36.5%). The design of the survey was based on the concept that social exclusion is equivalent to imposed deprivation. The survey investigated deprivations, omissions, and insufficiencies for items in various dimensions as well as the reasons behind these. Using this data, indicators for social exclusion in Japan were constructed as follows. First of all, following examples from previous research conducted in Europe, eight dimensions that can be considered fundamental axes for social exclusion (basic needs not met, material deprivation, omission from systems, lack of social relationships, unsuitable living environment, lack of social participation, objectively judged economic status, and relative poverty based on income level, i.e. low income) were selected and data related to these were selected from the survey items of this survey. The number of items used was about 50. Here, for analysis purposes, social exclusion is defined by comprehensively determining whether or not these eight dimensions are fulfilled. With the exception of basic items universally judged necessary like “sufficient food” and “necessary clothing”, for nearly all items whether or not the reasons behind deprivations were a matter of preference, e.g. they do not want to use something or have no interest in something, were investigated, and cases judged to be a matter of preference were not counted as a deprivation for the relevant item. In addition, for most items, respondents were asked to choose from among four reasons for item deprivations (economic reasons, physical reasons, reasons related to job or family [or geographical or facility related reasons], and other reasons), but regardless of the reason, the relevant item was treated as an exclusion. In existing research in the west one can see cases taking into consideration only deprivations due to monetary reasons,

but for this survey the author purposefully included other reasons. This is because there are cases in which due to disabilities or old age people are unable to enjoy the use of things that others can (public facilities, for example), or they must work late at night so are incapable of participating in social activities and have weak personal relationships with people outside of the workplace, and these cases can be considered forms of social exclusion as well. Conversely, deprivations due only to monetary reasons are phenomena that can be treated using conventional indicators of poverty, such as levels of income and consumption.

<Table 3: Social exclusion indicators – from “Survey of Social Life”>

Table 3 indicates item content, the relevant deprivation rate,ⁱⁱⁱ and the distribution of reasons for deprivations when asked (multiple responses possible). From the table it is clear that there are more than a few people for whom these items have not been fulfilled. That ratio is broad, ranging from less than one percent to several tens of percentage points. The items with the lowest deprivation rates were durable goods, from 0.5% (televisions, refrigerators) to 3.6% (stereos). These rates are low compared to the OECD average and indicate that Japan is a materially affluent society. However, when one looks comprehensively at the 10 items for durable goods, the ratio of those who cannot “afford economically” one or more items is roughly 10%. In addition, concerning medical care, only about 2.2% responded that they could not see a doctor when necessary for economic reasons, which attests to the positive achievements of the Japanese medical system (the average for OECD countries in response to a similar question is 10%; Boarini, & Mira d’Ercole 2006). On the other hand, considering that the stated principle of the Japanese medical system is to have every citizen enrolled in health insurance, the fact that 2.2% of people cannot receive medical treatment when they need it is a problem that deserves concern. On the other end of the spectrum, the items with the highest rates of deprivation were those in the category of “social activities”. For social activities, 49.1% of respondents were interested in participating in voluntary and other social service activities but were unable to, and for community organizations such as neighborhood associations and the PTA this figure was 38.6%. Among the six items in social activities, 66.1% of respondents, or a clear majority, are excluded from one item or more. Also, high ratios of respondents were not fulfilled in terms of their wishes to “take overnight trips with their families” (35.1%) and “eating out as a family” (37.4%), items which are almost always included in similar surveys conducted in the west. A high ratio

of respondents also indicated that for public facilities they “wanted to use them but couldn’t” (libraries: 25.4%; sports facilities: 32.4%, etc.). When all public facility items are seen together, it seems clear that nearly half (45.2%) of all respondents are excluded from one or more public facilities.

What is most surprising is that even in modern Japanese society, there is a certain percentage of people whose basic needs are not being fulfilled, as indicated by the responses such as they “cannot buy food that the family needs” or “cannot buy clothes that the family needs”. When asked about the frequency of this situation occurring in the past year, those who answered “often”, “sometimes”, or “occasionally” accounted for 10.3% of respondents for food and 19.4% for clothing, which are levels that are roughly equal or slightly higher than OECD averages. Needless to say, depending upon what respondents consider “food (or clothing) necessary for the family” the meaning of responses for these items varies, but a subjective degree of hardship as perceived by respondents is an important indicator to supplement objective indicators (van Prague 1967), and it is worth noting that there are many people that claim adversity with regard to these items.

Next we shall examine the reasons for deprivations for these items. In the five dimensions of “basic needs”, “material deprivation”, “housing”, “subjective poverty”, and “low income”, economic restrictions can be thought of as the main reasons for deprivations,^{iv} hence the questions in the questionnaire were designed as such. One example of that is the question “In your household in the past year, have you ever been unable to buy food necessary for your family for monetary reasons?” Deprivations in such items are caused by monetary restrictions, and there exists the unspoken assumption that these problems can be solved with money. On the other hand, there exist items for which deprivations are difficult to resolve with (only) money. Many items included in “exclusion from systems”, “lack of social relationships”, and “leisure and social activities” fall into this category. For these items, reasons other than economic ones can be thought of as factors behind deprivations. To address this, the questionnaire was also designed to ascertain from respondents non-economic reasons for deprivations.

When one looks at the actual data, the reasons for deprivations are unmistakably divided according to category. For public facilities and services (libraries, sports facilities, administrative offices, health centers, public lecture halls, parks, commuting services, etc.), almost no respondents gave economic reasons for deprivations thereof. Many answers instead consisted of “work or family circumstances” and “other circumstances”, with several percent of respondents giving “circumstances related to health” as reasons for deprivations. A similar trend in deprivations can be seen for

social activities (participation in community organizations like the neighborhood associations, volunteer or community service activities, hobbies/sports, participation in religious groups, political parties, and labor unions), but for these items more than a few respondents gave economic reasons for deprivations. This suggests that not all phenomena of social exclusion can be expressed by monetary indicators. I will examine this issue further in Section 7.

4. Construction of social exclusion indicators

From the data comprising more than 50 items in eight dimensions selected in the manner mentioned above I shall construct a social exclusion indicator. The indicator is defined as follows. First, for each dimension, one item is equivalent to one point. A variable is created which has a value of zero when the item is fulfilled, and when it is lacking (with the exception of reasons of preference) the value is one. These are then added up. When that is further normalized by the number of items, that becomes the exclusion indicator for that individual for that dimension. Through normalization, even for dimensions with differing numbers of items, the indicator takes a value ranging from zero (all items are fulfilled) to one (all items are lacking).

$$EX(1,2,3\dots 8)i = \frac{\sum_{j=1}^J dij}{J}$$

$EX(1,2,3\dots 8)i$ =social exclusion indicator for individual i for dimension $(1,2,3\dots 8)$

$J(1,2,3\dots 8)$ =number of items used in dimension $(1,2,3\dots 8)$

$dij=1$ when individual i has item j , and 0 when he/she doesn't

Table 4 shows the basic statistics of eight social exclusion indicators calculated in this manner.

<Table 4: Basic statistics>

The highs and lows of the average values for the eight dimensions are not substantially important. This is determined by which items are included in the indicator for a certain dimension. This is because, for example, by including items which remain unfulfilled for nearly all people in an indicator the average value of the overall sample rises, so the value of the indicator is determined by which items the analyst has arbitrarily selected.

What we should take notice of is the distribution of indicators. If the indicator is distributed in a concentrated manner around the average value of the sample, it is possible to say that the standards for that dimension in society are more or less equal. Conversely, if there is a large ratio of people whose value is clearly higher than the average, this indicates that there is a large ratio (exclusion rate) of people who are far from the average standards for that society (people in a state of social exclusion in that dimension). This manner of interpretation of a social exclusion indicator is based on a relative rather than an absolute concept.^v On the right side of Table 4 is a rough calculation of exclusion rates using this indicator. The exclusion rate is found by drawing an exclusion standard (exclusion line) in much the same way as the poverty line. The problem is where to set exclusion standards. This problem is easier to conceive of when thought of in terms of the conventional standards for poverty based on income, which has been debated in exactly the same manner. In other words, the debate is a matter of how far one has to be away from the norms of society expressed by the average value to be in a state of “poverty”. In terms of poverty standards, the definition that holds that people of an income 50% or below the median value are poor is a commonly used one, but the standard for the EU is 60%, and there is no agreement academically on where to set this standard. For social exclusion, in part due to the paucity of existing research, each analyst must set his or her own standard in a process of trial and error. Gordon et al. (2000), for example, set the lack of two or more items from among 35 as the standard, but this standard was calculated so that the difference in income between the group falling below the standard and the group exceeding would be the largest and the income difference within groups would be the smallest. Also, drawing upon the example of the poverty line, there are cases where 60% or 80% of the median value is used (Apospori & Millar 2003).^{vi} The important thing is, regardless of what standard is used, to debate the issue using a unified standard. This paper analyzes the difference of exclusion rates with differing properties, the overlapping of indicators in the various dimensions and the relationships among them, and if the standard was set too low the vast majority of the sample would be considered “excluded”, making any analysis impossible, so the standard was set so that the exclusion rate would range from 10% to 20% for all indicators.

There are examples of existing studies done in Europe where a method is used that sums indicators for multiple dimensions constructed in this manner and produces one “social exclusion indicator”. This is based on the idea that the degree of severity of exclusion is greater for people that are excluded in multiple dimensions than for people that are excluded in only one dimension, and that true social exclusion is a matter of

composite exclusion in multiple dimensions. Tsakloglou (2003), for example, used indicators in four dimensions (low income, living environment, lack of material necessities, and lack of social relationships), and defined people deficient in two or more dimensions as “at high risk for social exclusion”. Furthermore, there are cases focusing on the dynamic character of social exclusion, holding that it is a gradual process of the accumulation of social disadvantages, and using panel data of not one but multiple points in time, define social exclusion to be the condition in which deprivation continues for multiple years (Tsakloglou & Papadopoulos 2002). This study, drawing on Tsakloglou (2003), defines people in a state of exclusion in three or more dimensions out of eight to be “people at a higher risk for social exclusion”.

5. The characteristics of victims of social exclusion

<Table 5: Risk for exclusion and characteristics>

Now let us look at what kind of people are at a high risk for social exclusion. Table 5 shows the ratio of people (exclusion rate) who are excluded (index exceeding the exclusion standard) from among people of various categories. Cases in which there is a statistically significant difference between people in a certain category and all others are marked with a star. Of the eight dimensions, those for which economic restrictions are thought to be the chief factor behind deprivations (“basic needs”, “material deprivation”, “housing”, “subjective poverty”, and “low income”) are gathered on the left (these will be referred to as the monetary group), and those influenced by factors other than monetary restrictions are gathered on the right (the non-monetary group). When comparing woman against men, men have higher exclusion rates (the ratio of those excluded) in more dimensions, and that difference is statistically significant for social relationships and subjective poverty in particular. Generally speaking, women are often thought to be more socially vulnerable and have poorer economic status than men, but for basic needs, material deprivation, and other dimensions thought to be largely influenced by social restrictions, there was no evidence to suggest that the severity of exclusion was higher for women than men, and on the contrary the results imply that the severity of exclusion is lower for women.

Findings according to age are also quite interesting. When the respondents are divided into age ranges for every ten years, the ratio of those of “low income” is higher for the elderly than for working generations. Specifically, for the elderly overall (65 and above) and for those 80 years or over there were statistically significant differences.