

any particular pattern. There is also a complex association between inequality between classes and inequality within the class. This obscure and elusive pattern of change in economic inequality leads to confused perceptions about inequality among the public.

#### 4. Economic Inequality within the Household

It is not easy to identify the causes of economic inequality. Aging of society is one of the important factors in explaining the recent expansion of income inequality. Ohtake (1994) was one of the researchers who pointed out the relation between demographic changes of aging and the increase in economic inequality using large-scale empirical data. Compared with other age groups, the extent of income inequality is greater among the households with elderly members (Genda 1994; Ohtake and Saito 1999; Shirahase 2002; Seike and Yamada 2003; Otake 2005), and for the elderly, the extent of economic inequality within the generation is greater than the one between generations (Iwamoto 2000; Otake 2005). The increase in the proportion of the elderly with a large extent of income inequality resulted in widening the overall economic gap of the whole society. However, aging is not the only one reason to explain the expansion of the extent of income inequality during recent years. In fact, more and more attention has recently been paid to economic disadvantage among the youth, and Genda (2002) claimed that the lifetime earnings young people is declining compared with that of the retired generation. It is obvious that the widening economic inequality among the youth is closely related to the increase in the number of the youth who are not in regular employment or who are unemployed (Ohta 2005; Higuchi 2004).

The focus on the different extents of income inequality among the youth and the elderly can help our examination of the detailed mechanism generating economic inequality. This study focuses on the household structure in order to explore complicated mechanism of income inequality. Inequality in our society is not formed on the basis of the neutral and abstract individuals. The household is the basic unit of people's consumption, and it is within the household where the dynamism among members who perform different family roles is found. In this study, I will examine the extent of income inequality, by taking into account multidimensional interactions among individuals, households and families, communities, and society. I attempt to identify where the extent of income inequality was expanded the most and which

aspect of society contributed the most to the recent increase in income inequality.

There have been active discussions about the validity of the household as a unit of the social security system and the stratification structure (Acker 1973 and 1980; Goldthorpe 1983 and 1984; Hara and Seiyama 1999; Mari Osawa 2002; Shakai Hoken Kenkyujo 2002; Shirahase 2004). In response to the increased entry of women into the labor market and the change in their lifestyles, there was a question about whether the conventional practice of treating the household as a unit of class analysis is appropriate. The position of married women used to be determined by the male head of the household under the assumption of uniformity of class position among household members. As long as the household is supported by a single earner (usually the husband) or it is run by a family business, there is not much of a problem. More importantly, it is implicitly assumed that all members of the household share the same social and economic status. However, when a wife gets a job and begins to work outside the home, and the kind of job the wife has differs from that of her husband, it casts doubt on the assumption of the uniformity of class position within the household. Of course, single-person household constitutes one kind of the household type, and I do not ignore its existence. In fact, one of the important changes in the household structure in recent years is the increase in single-person households.

In this study, household structure, such as the couple-only household and the nuclear-family household, is constructed based on the composition of the members in the household. The household is the place where individuals spend most of their time and around which their lives revolve. The core question of this study is how the change in the household structure is associated with the change in the extent of income inequality.

Moreover, household structures are not static but dynamic over the life course. For instance, a person may leave his or her parental home after graduating from college (a single-person household); may get married and live with a spouse (a couple-only household); and later the couple may have children (a nuclear-family household). This person will experience three different household types. Thus, changes in the household changes depend on the life course and the family stage. We cannot observe the change in the household type over the life course for the same individual using cross-sectional data, since the data captures the household type at one point of time in the life course. However, it is possible to investigate the effect of the household type

by taking into account the age of the household head as a proxy of the family stage.

The dataset used in this study is the Basic Survey of People's Living (Kokumin Seikatsu Kiso Chosa) conducted by the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare in 1986, 1995, and 2001.<sup>4</sup> These data are one of the most accurate national surveys on income and are also valuable because of considerable sample size. It should be noted that the interval between three surveys are not even, but I would like to examine the changes from 1980s to the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Household income is the main variable analyzed in this study. Another important variable is the household structure, and it is divided into six categories: (1) single-person household, (2) couple-only household, (3) nuclear-family household (parents and unmarried child(ren)), (4) one-parent household (one parent and unmarried child(ren)), (5) three-generation household, and (6) other types of household (all types of households not included in (1) to (5)). In some analyses reported below, the one-parent household is included either in the nuclear-family household or three-generation household.

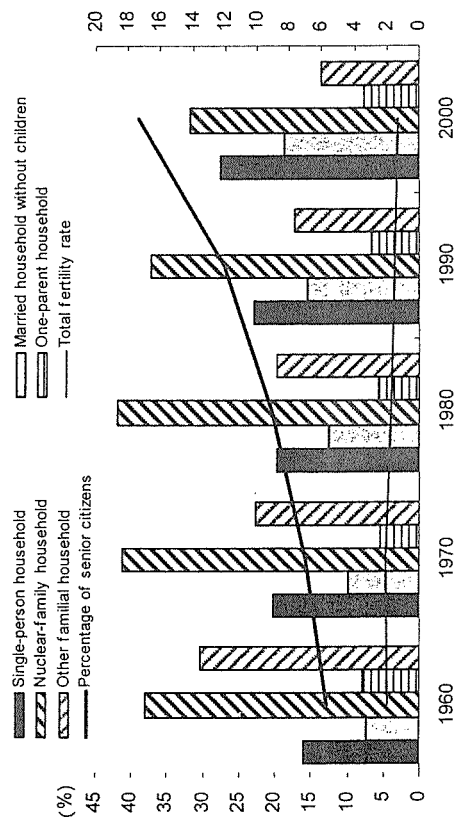
Figure 1 shows the changes in the distribution of the household structure since 1960, as well as the proportion of the elderly aged 65 and over, and the total fertility rate. Aging and the decline in the fertility rate accelerated from the latter half of the 1980s. In particular, the proportion of the elderly aged 65 and over rose sharply in the 1990s. These trends are accompanied by changes in the household structure. It is clear that from the 1980s, the proportion of single-person households and couple-only households increased, while that of nuclear-family households and other households including three-generation households decreased. Within the single-person household, however, the economic situation may vary depending on whether the head of the household is young in their 20s or elderly in their 70s.

Figure 2 shows the distribution of the age of the household head and the Gini coefficient<sup>5</sup> by year. From 1986 to 2001, the extent of income inequality

<sup>4</sup> The analysis is part of the project, "International Comparative Study on Socio-economic Inequalities in an Aging Society with a Declining Fertility Rate" (2004-2005), funded by the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare's scientific research grants.

<sup>5</sup> 
$$Gini = \left( \frac{2}{\mu n^2} \cdot \sum_k k W_k \right) - \frac{n+1}{n} = \frac{2 \operatorname{cov} \left( W_k, \frac{k}{n} \right)}{\mu} = \frac{2}{\mu} \frac{\sum_k \left( W_k - \mu \right) \cdot \left( \frac{k}{n} - \frac{1}{n} \right)}{\sum_k \left( \frac{k}{n} - \frac{1}{n} \right)^2}$$
 where  $W_k$  is the equivalent disposable income per person of household  $k$  and can be

Figure 1: Changes in the Distribution of Household Structures, the Proportion of the Aged and the Fertility Rate

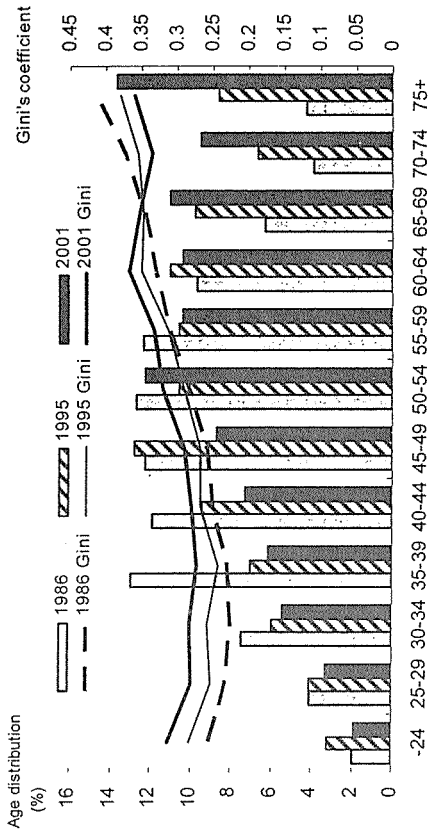


Source: Population Census Shirahase, Sawako. "Fubyodo-ka Nippon no Nakami" (The Contents of the Increasing Extent of Income Inequality in Japan), Shirahase, Sawako (ed.) *Henkasuru Shakai no Fubyodo* (Inequality in a Changing Society), University of Tokyo Press, p.55, figure 1.

has expanded mostly in the age groups of 20s and 30s, while it has declined in the age groups of 65 and over. In examining the extent of income inequality, I focus on disposable income which is calculated by subtracting tax and social insurance payments from the total gross income. I use disposable income with the equivalent scale of elasticity 0.5. I assume that there is no difference in equivalence of elasticity between working adults and children or retired elderly. It is supposed that all household members share the economic well-being of the household almost equally. Since the basic unit of consumption is the household, I believe that this assumption is a reasonable one in contemporary capitalist society.

expressed as  $W_k = D_k / S_k^\epsilon$  (where  $D_k$  is the disposable income of household  $k$ ,  $S_k$  is the number of persons in household  $k$ , while  $\epsilon$  is called the equivalent elasticity and takes the value of 0.5 in this study);  $n$  is the total number of households; and  $\mu$  is the mean disposable income.

**Figure 2: Changes in the Distribution of the Age of the Household Head and Gini Coefficient**



Source: Basic Survey of People's Living (each year) Shirahase, Sawako. "Fubyodo-ka Nippon no Nakami" (The Contents of the Increasing Extent of Income Inequality in Japan), Shirahase, Sawako (ed.) *Henkassuru Shakai no Fubyodo* (Inequalities in a Changing Society), University of Tokyo Press, p.59, figure 2.

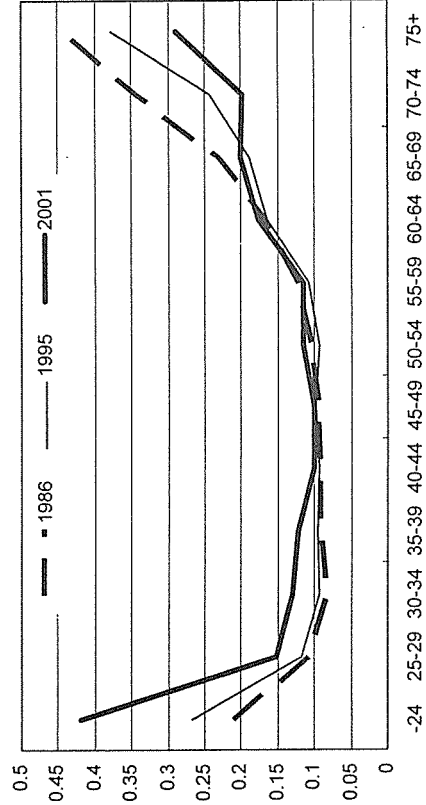
To broadly summarize the main findings in Figure 2, we can see that in recent years the economic gap is increasing among young households whose size is decreasing. However, as the number of the households with a young head is shrinking, associated with the declining fertility rate, their effect on the overall economic inequality is not as large as the effect of elderly households. On the other hand, the degree of inequality is declining among households with elderly heads, whose number is increasing. The economic gap widened among those of young heads, whose number is dropping, and declined among those with an elderly head whose number is on the increase. Changing number of the households by the age of the head and changing degree of income inequality, thus, are not consistent, and such inconsistency between the quantitative change (the number of the household) and qualitative change (the extent of income inequality) might have caused confusion in people's perception toward inequality. The tendency for young people to feel strongly that there is inequality and to anticipate further increase in the degree of economic inequality in the future (Ohtake 2005; Shirahase 2005a) is the

reflection of the reality in which the extent of income inequality is expanding among young people. Nevertheless, the rising pattern of Gini coefficient with age up to early 60s is still observed in 2001.

The decline of the extent of economic inequality from 1986 to 2001 among the elderly, however, does not simply imply that the economic status of the elderly as a whole has improved. If most elderly are in the low-income group, then, the extent of income inequality is small, but they are in a high economic risk group. In this study, those whose income is less than 50 percent of the median household income of the whole sample are considered as low-income households, which may be at high economic risk.

Figure 3 shows the proportion of low-income households by the age of the household head. From 1986 to 2001, the proportion of low-income households increased sharply among those aged 20s, while it decreased significantly among those aged 65 and over. Overall, the proportion of low income households by the age of the household head is U-shaped, and it is clear that low-income households are mainly found among young and elderly households. However, after the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century there has been a growing tendency

**Figure 3: Proportion of Low-Income Households by the Age of the Household Head**



Source: Basic Survey of People's Living (each year) Shirahase, Sawako. "Fubyodo-ka Nippon no Nakami" (The Contents of the Increasing Extent of Income Inequality in Japan), Shirahase, Sawako. (ed.) *Henkassuru Shakai no Fubyodo* (Inequality in a Changing Society), University of Tokyo Press, p.61, figure 3.

for the proportion of low-income households to increase among young households: among households with the head aged 24 and younger rose from 21 percent in 1986 to 42 percent in 2001. On the other hand, although the highest proportion of low-income households in 1986 was found among households whose head was aged 75 and over, its proportion fell substantially from 44 percent in 1986 to 29 percent in 2001. This decline in the proportion of low-income households among the elderly households is attributable in most part to improvement in the social security system including public pension. As already mentioned by many researchers (Genda 2002; Higuchi 2004; Kosugi 2005), the rise in the proportion of low-income households among young households is related to the increase in the number of the youths who are not in regular employment or who are unemployed.

Shirahase (2005b) attempted to analyze the change in inequality among the elderly aged 65 and over, by decomposing the overall inequality into the one within the household and the one between household types. According to the results, the extent of contribution of inequality between household types increased from 20.5 percent in 1986 to 23.3 percent in 1989, but it remained stable over the 1990s. The extent of contribution to the overall extent of income inequality of inequality within the household type is larger than that between household types. In addition, Shirahase (2002) showed that the degree of income inequality among households with elderly members declined from the mid-1980s to the late 1990s, and that the extent of income inequality by household type among those with elderly members were on the whole narrowing and converging. Therefore, because the changing patterns in the extent of income inequality and its magnitudes themselves are different by the household type, it is important to take into account other household types, such as single-person households and three-generation households, when examining income inequality.

By taking into account the age of the household head as an indicator of its family stage, Table 3 shows the changes in the degree of income inequality by the age of the household head and the household type.<sup>6</sup> Among those heads

<sup>6</sup> The degree of income inequality is high among "other types of households" in all age groups. The category of "other types of households," which includes all households other than single-person households, couple-only households, nuclear-family households, and three-generation households, is the most heterogeneous category. Therefore,

**Table 3: Changes in the Degree of Income Inequality by the Age of the Household Head and by Household Type**

	20s			30s			40s		
	1986	1995	2001	1986	1995	2001	1986	1995	2001
Single-person hshld.	0.2148	0.2410	0.3054	0.2764	0.2800	0.2702	0.3461	0.3288	0.3512
Married hshld. w/o child	0.2109	0.2595	0.2637	0.2317	0.2301	0.2537	0.2744	0.3075	0.3100
Nuclear-family hshld.	0.2190	0.2157	0.2530	0.2188	0.2346	0.2647	0.2387	0.2652	0.2780
Three-generation hshld.	0.2104	0.2467	0.1912	0.2312	0.2376	0.2515	0.2870	0.2562	0.2817
Others	0.2443	0.3036	0.3744	0.3165	0.2941	0.3027	0.3042	0.3092	0.3439
	50s			60s			70s		
	1986	1995	2001	1986	1995	2001	1986	1995	2001
Single-person hshld.	0.4143	0.3984	0.4052	0.4215	0.4119	0.4309	0.3920	0.3826	0.3660
Married hshld. w/o child	0.3360	0.3243	0.3597	0.3847	0.3775	0.3711	0.4303	0.3549	0.3200
Nuclear-family hshld.	0.2882	0.2939	0.3215	0.3319	0.3462	0.3621	0.3714	0.3834	0.3269
Three-generation hshld.	0.2822	0.2878	0.2911	0.2877	0.2949	0.3161	0.2935	0.2930	0.3053
Others	0.3012	0.3308	0.3513	0.3279	0.3456	0.3490	0.4193	0.3490	0.3713

Note: The degree of inequality is indicated by Gini coefficient

Source: Basic Survey of People's Living (each year)

Shirahase, Sawako. "Fubyodo-ka Nippon no Nakami" (The Contents of Increasing extent of Income Inequality in Japan), Shirahase, Sawako. (ed.) *Henkassuru Shakai no Fubyodo* (Inequality in a Changing Society), University of Tokyo Press, p.63, table 2

aged in their 20s, the extent of income inequality is widening in all types of households except for the three-generation households. The high extent of income inequality among single-person households is particularly apparent. The change commonly found among the household heads in their 30s to 50s is the increase in the extent of income inequality among the nuclear-family households, and it is noteworthy that the extent of economic inequality has increased among the households with child(ren). It is part of the reason why the government started to build the social support to family with child(ren). Among the household heads in their 30s, the extent of income inequality increased among the couple-only households as well as among three-generation households. For those in their 40s, the extent of income inequality has been more or less stable over time, while the increase in the extent of income inequality among nuclear-family households cannot be overlooked.

When the elderly in their 60s are the head of the households, the extent of income inequality is increasing among the nuclear-family households and the three-generation households. Among the nuclear-family households headed

high degree of economic gaps within this category can be partly derived from high degree of heterogeneity within the category.

by the elderly in their 60s, unmarried adult children are often living with their parents, and they are the ones who are called "parasite singles." The increase in the extent of income inequality among the households with "parasite single" suggests that not all of these households are necessarily rich. Some are rich, but others are not rich enough to provide support to adult children. On the other hand, an increase in the extent of income inequality can also be seen among three-generation households, in which the elderly used to be guaranteed a livelihood by living together with the younger generation. The three-generation household, which used to be a typical way of living for the elderly, decrease in number, while the extent of income inequality within the three-generation household has expanded. It appears that living in a three-generation household is no longer a safeguard against various risks in later life. As people reach the age of mandatory retirement in their 60s, some will choose to find another job while others choose to retire and become a pensioner. As a result, the differences in economic well-being grow larger depending on the working status. Therefore, at a time when the differences in working styles and lifestyles become most marked among those in their 60s, the degree of economic inequality becomes the highest among all age groups.

For those in their 70s and over, the extent of income inequality is declining in almost all types of households. The Gini coefficient among the single-person households went from 0.3920 to 0.3660 and for the couple-only households decreased considerably from 0.4303 to 0.3200. The extent of income inequality among the nuclear-family households is also declining. The households with elderly members in their 70s and over used to be characterized as by high degree of inequality but the extent of inequality has clearly declined. In contrast, the extent of income inequality among the household headed by those in their early 60s has expanded. The improvement in income inequality among those aged 70 and over is largely derived from the maturity of the social security system.

### 5. Economic risk and household structure

The results of my analyses on income inequality taking into account the household structure revealed that the extent of income inequality declined and the share of the low-income households decreased among the households with elderly members. Despite the decline, the rate of low-income households remains higher than that of the young and middle-aged, and the number of the

elderly who face high economic risk is still high. However, it is obvious that the government can no longer maintain the same amount of social welfare services across-the-board toward the elderly as it used to do in the past. The increase in the extent of income inequality and the share of low-income households among the youth, particularly among young single-person households, became apparent. It is time to reconsider the current social security system which has been favoring the elderly in Japan. While it does not mean that the services aimed at the elderly should be automatically reduced, I would like to stress the need for the social security system corresponding to our coming society to be re-structured on the basis of a comprehensive design that takes into account the life paths of various individuals at different life stages.

The social security system in Japan developed mainly for the purpose of providing social services for the elderly. In addition to the elderly, it is necessary to offer support services to the younger generation with or without small children. From a demographic point of view, this implies a turnaround in the principle in allocating social capital focusing on the shrinking young population. The size of the elderly population will continue to increase. If we follow the majority rule, it would not be surprising if priority is given to the interests of the elderly. However, it is not realistic to keep expecting that the young working population, whose number is declining, will continue to support the elderly retired population, that are expanding in number. Therefore, how to build the consensus on the social support toward the shrinking population is an important issue, and greater efforts are thus required to obtain national consensus on public security.

It should be noticed that the validity of the "standard-type household model", that was a cornerstone of the foundation of various social systems, is now declining. In fact, the standard type of households, such as the nuclear-family households and the three-generation households, decreased in number. Despite the change, the infrastructure to support those people who deviated from the standard model of living is not sufficient. Meanwhile, households other than the standard-type, such as single-person households, couple-only households, and one-parent households are increasing. At the same time, one-parent households and single-person households are at an economic disadvantage. The issue is further compounded by the gender gap. Women, particularly older women who live alone, and mothers in one-parent

households, face high economic risk (Shirahase 2006).

Although much has been said about the diversification of people's lifestyles, support for those who have taken a different path from the "standard" is still insufficient. In an aging society with the declining fertility rate, the question of how to support those who are outside the standard model and those who have made different choices from the majority will become increasingly important. The rule of majority decision is no longer suited to the principle of distribution in the aging society with the declining fertility rate. A new principle of distribution is needed to fully take into consideration the interests of the minorities. A major challenge in the design of this society is the breakup of the vested interests given to specific "standard models" and the redistribution of support to where it is really needed. In an aging society with a declining birthrate, diversified life security needs to be designed to make diverse lifestyles possible.

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### やさしい経済学

「格差」という言葉はなぜこれほど人々の関心を引くのか。本シリーズでは人々の生き様から経済格差という観点から格差の実態を明らかにし、格差が何を意味するのかを議論する。格差は不平等と密接に関係した概念だが、同意語ではない。どうして不平等でなく、格差なのか。不平等を良いとはいえないが、格差は悪いとはかりはいえない。事実、「世の中に格差がなくなってしまうと人々は一生懸命働かなくなる」と、動機付けとしての格差を認める意見は多い。努力の結果としての格差なら仕方がないと受け止める人も少なくない。

格差があっても何が悪い、と格差には反論しうる余地がある。だが、格差が拡大している、と評価の良しあしに裁量の余地があまりない不平等より、格差という言葉が好まれるのだろう。格差は不平等よりも実証性を強調した概念である。その一方、どの程度の格差が許容されるのか定量的にのみ結論づけることはできない。したがってこれまでが許容されるのかの答えは、我々自身が見つけ出さなければならぬ。

最近の格差論の重要な論点の一つに、格差拡大の是非がある。全国調査のデータからシニ係数(一に近づくと不平等度が高い)ことを示す算出してみると、格差の程度は確かに上昇傾向にある。ところがそうした変化に対し多くの人は格差が意外と大きくならないことに戸惑いと驚きを述べる。最近格差が大きき社会問題となつて

### 再考・日本の格差



東京大学助教授 白波瀬 佐和子

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いるのは、格差が拡大しているというより、むしろ全体の格差の中身が多様化したことの影響という側面のほうが大きいと言えよう。日本が格差社会になったという近年の議論は、二十年前の「億総中流社会論」と似通っており、ある意味復古的でもある。内容そのものは正反對だが、両者に共通するのは社会全体が一樣に一つの方向へ向かって変化した、変化し始めた(中流化、あるいは格差化)という人々の認識だ。もっとも、今までなかった格差が急に浮上したわけではないし、世の中全体が一律に同じ方向に向かって変化しているわけでもない。本シリーズでは、若年層から高年齢層までのライフステージごとに経済格差の現実とその解釈について考えていこう。

#### 1 イメージと現実

「しらはせ・さわこ」58年生まれ。専門は人口社会学、階層・格差論。

### やさしい経済学

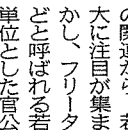
世帯に着眼して格差をみる。経済格差には大きく二つの指標がある。代表的な物差しであるシニ係数ともつとつは低所得率である。後者は全世界の所得中央値の五割に満たない所得水準にある世帯の割合をさす。この値は経済学を中心に貧困率とよばれるが、相対的な指標で、しかも貧困一般を測る指標として検討すべき余地もあると考え

ここでは低所得率と呼ぶことにしたい。若年未婚者がいる世帯は本〇・二五から〇・三四へと上昇している。さらに低所得率も八六年の三三%から〇一年の四四%へと上昇した。一方、核家族世帯のシニ係数は〇・二八から〇・三二と上昇したが、一人暮らし世帯ほどではない。

フリーターやニートといった議論では若者個人に焦点が当たってきた。その結果、若者と親や親族との関係は若年の経済状況を議論する上で十分考慮されてこなかった。彼らの多くは親と同居して生活している。それが即、経済的な保障になるとばかりはいえないが、親と同居する若者は一人暮らしに比べ経済的に恵まれている。若者の格差を議論する時、彼らの生活の場である世帯の形態や、別々に暮らす親子間の関係(仕送りの有無など)を視野に入れることが大切である。

### 再考・日本の格差

東京大学助教授 白波瀬 佐和子



無業者の増大、非正規雇用の増加といった労働市場との関連から、若年層の格差拡大に注目が集まっている。しかし、フリーターやニートなどと呼ばれる若者は、世帯を単位とした官公庁統計に直接表れることは少ない。彼らの多くは親・親族と同居し、四代後半から五世代世帯主世帯の中で生活している。今回は十八歳から二十九歳以下の若年未婚者のいる世帯に着目して格差をみる。

若年未婚者がいる世帯は本〇・二五から〇・三四へと上昇している。さらに低所得率も八六年の三三%から〇一年の四四%へと上昇した。一方、核家族世帯のシニ係数は〇・二八から〇・三二と上昇したが、一人暮らし世帯ほどではない。

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#### 2 若年未婚者

「しらはせ・さわこ」58年生まれ。専門は人口社会学、階層・格差論。





### やさしい経済学

### 再考・日本の格差

東京大学助教授 白波瀬 佐和子

母親あるいは父親のどちらか一人子どもを育てる世帯(以降、一人親世帯)が増え続けている。二〇〇三年の「全国母子世帯等調査」(厚生労働省)によると母子世帯は百二十万世帯、父子世帯は十七万世帯にのぼった。全世帯に占める一人親世帯の割合は三〇%程度とまだ少ないが、子どもがいる世帯の格差問題を考えるに際し、一人親世帯を見落とすことができないの

は確かだ。一人親世帯といっても一人親と子どものみで世帯と、親族と同居する世帯の二つがある。若年者の多くは親との同居を避けて経済的リスクへの防波堤を形成していた。一人親世帯も同様で、親族と同居することで、子育てや経済的な支援を受けることができている。母子世帯のうち、母子世帯のみで世帯は〇三年に

六三%で、その割合は減少傾向にある。母子世帯の絶対数が増えるにつれ、親元で暮らすケースが増えているからだ。厚生労働省の「国民生活基礎調査」によると、二人親世帯の可処分所得を一〇〇とする、母子世帯の可処分所得は一九八六年の五四が〇一年に五〇となった。母子世帯の所得水準は半分で、しかも二

#### 5 一人親世帯

一人親世帯との格差がますます広がっている。一方、父子世帯の可処分所得は八六年、〇一年ともに八八とあまり変化はない。低所得率についても、父子世帯は〇一年が二二%だったのに対して、母子世帯は四八%と際立って高かった。一人親世帯の中でも特に母子世帯が経済的に恵まれていないことが読み取れる。

どうしてこれほどまでに母子世帯の経済状況が悪いのか。母子世帯は子育てのために働くことができないのだから。答えは否である。母子世帯の所得構成をみてみると、雇用所得の割合は八六年の六八%から〇一年の七七%へと上昇している。半面、世帯所得に占める児童扶養手当をはじめとする社会保障給付費の割合は八六年の一三%から〇一年には九%へと低下した。

母子世帯の多くが就労によって生計を立てている。にもかかわらず、低所得率は近年上昇しており、所得水準も二人親世帯の半分程度と低い。まさにシングルマザーは「ワキンクプア」そのものである。日本の母子家庭の就労率は欧米に比べて高いにもかかわらず、シングルマザーの就労が貧困から抜け出す手立てになっていない状況は、社会として真摯(しんしん)に受け止めるべきである。

### やさしい経済学

### 再考・日本の格差

東京大学助教授 白波瀬 佐和子

日本の高齢化はその速度が速い点に特徴がある。六十五歳以上の人口割合が七%から倍になるのに要した時間は最も緩やかに高齢化が進行したフランスが百十五年だったのに対し、日本はわずか二十四年だった。高齢化は単に高齢者割合の増加を意味するだけでなく、彼らが生活する場

でなく、彼らが生活する場が変化する運動も伴っている。これまで高齢者は息子家族の若年世代と同居することで、高齢期の生活保障を享受する場面が多かった。一九七〇年代半ばにおいても高齢者のいる世帯の過半数はいわゆる三世帯世帯だった。しかし、その後この割合は減り、〇四年時点で二割程度となった。それに代わって一人暮らし世帯や夫婦のみ世帯の割合が大きく増加した。日本と欧米を比べると、六十五歳以上高齢者のいる世帯

#### 6 構造変化と高齢化

は息子家族の若年世代と同居することで、高齢期の生活保障を享受する場面が多かった。一九七〇年代半ばにおいても高齢者のいる世帯の過半数はいわゆる三世帯世帯だった。しかし、その後この割合は減り、〇四年時点で二割程度となった。それに代わって一人暮らし世帯や夫婦のみ世帯の割合が大きく増加した。日本と欧米を比べると、六十五歳以上高齢者のいる世帯

の格差が日本は大きい。欧

米の高齢者は一人暮らしであるいは夫婦のみ世帯で生活する場がほとんどである。一方、日本では未婚子と同居する核家族世帯や既婚子家族と同居する三世帯世帯など高齢者の世帯構成が多様である。この多様な形態が高齢者間の経済格差と結びついている。三世帯世帯に暮らす高齢者は経済的リスクも低く格差は経済的リスクも低く格差

は男女を問わず高い経済リスクを伴う。しかし、社会保障制度充実の結果、高齢者の経済格差や低所得率は次第に改善されてきた。厚生労働省の「国民生活基礎調査」によると、六十代の単身女性の低所得率は八六年の五八%から〇一年の四四%へ、六十代単身男性の低所得率は八六年の四七%から〇一年の三〇%へと低下した。それでも、社会全体から考えると、高齢者、特に一人暮らし高齢者の経済リスクは高い。多様な高齢者の経済状況に伴う多様なニーズにどこまで公のレベルで対処し、どこから各個人の自己責任に委ねるのか、緊急の政策課題である。

### やさしい経済学

三世帯世帯といえども、高齢者の位置づけは世帯主であるか否かによって大きく異なる。家計を支える中心的な役割を期待されるのが世帯主である。

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### 再考・日本の格差

東京大学助教授 白波瀬 佐和子

厚生労働省

前回、六十五歳以上高齢者の間で一人暮らしや夫婦のみ世帯が増えたことを述べた。

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#### 7 世帯内の高齢者

保障を享受でき

保障を享受でき

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### やさしい経済学

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### 再考・日本の格差

東京大学助教授 白波瀬 佐和子

世帯にも揺ら

人々のライフコースにそって経済格差をみてきた。そこで明らかになったのは、格差といってもその中身は多様で、どこに注目するかによって、程度もその時系列的な変化も一様ではない点である。

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#### 8 基幹層の揺らぎ

若年

若年

若年

## 研究成果の刊行に関する一覧表レイアウト

## 書籍

著者氏名	論文タイトル名	書籍全体の編集者名	書籍名	出版社名	出版地	出版年	ページ
白波瀬佐和子	序章「少子高齢化にひそむ格差」 第2章「不平等化に本の中身」 第8章「変化する社会の不平等」	白波瀬佐和子編著	『変化する社会の不平等少子高齢化にひそむ格差』	東京大学出版会	東京	2006年	1～15 47～78 219～231
佐藤俊樹	爆発する不平等感	白波瀬佐和子編著	『変化する社会の不平等少子高齢化にひそむ格差』	東京大学出版会	東京	2006年	17～46
玄田有史	中高年齢無業者からみた格差問題	白波瀬佐和子編著	『変化する社会の不平等少子高齢化にひそむ格差』	東京大学出版会	東京	2006年	79～104
荻谷剛彦	少子高齢化時代における教育格差の将来像	白波瀬佐和子編著	『変化する社会の不平等少子高齢化にひそむ格差』	東京大学出版会	東京	2006年	105～135
石田浩	健康と格差	白波瀬佐和子編著	『変化する社会の不平等少子高齢化にひそむ格差』	東京大学出版会	東京	2006年	137～163
松浦克己	遺産、年金、出産・子育てが生む格差	白波瀬佐和子編著	『変化する社会の不平等少子高齢化にひそむ格差』	東京大学出版会	東京	2006年	165～195
宮里尚三	社会保障の個人勘定化がもたらすもの	白波瀬佐和子編著	『変化する社会の不平等少子高齢化にひそむ格差』	東京大学出版会	東京	2006年	197～218
Sawako Shirahase	Women's Economic Status and Fertility: Japan in Cross-national Perspective	Frances McCall Rosenbluth	<i>The Political Economy of Japan's Low Fertility</i>	Stanford University Press	Stanford	2007	37-59

雑誌

発表者氏名	論文タイトル名	発表誌名	巻号	ページ	出版年
白波瀬佐和子	「シニア層の生活実態 ：多様な生き方と経済 格差」	『年金と経済』	第25巻第2号	4～10	2006年
Sawako Shirahase	「Trends in Income I nequality: A Sociolo gical Perspective」	<i>Japan Labor Revie w</i>	Volume 3, No. 4		2006年
白波瀬佐和子	「再考・日本の格差」 8回シリーズ	「やさしい経済学」 『日本経済新聞』	2006年12月8 日～2006年1 2月20日		2006年