CLASSLESSNESS AND STATUS DIFFERENCE: THE 'TATEMAE' AND 'HONNE' OF HOME-OWNERSHIP IN JAPAN

RITSUKO OZAKI*

1. *Introduction*

1.1. Introduction: A house as reflection of social values

The main argument of this paper is that Japanese people[1] have a strong class/status consciousness despite the fact that the vast majority believes or claims to believe that they belong to the middle stratum as their standard of living keeps up with others. This awareness of status differences is particularly revealed in people's attitudes towards housing and their perception of social class/status through housing.

A house is not only a physical space in which people live, but also a space where social interactions take place; the layout and structure of a house, its location and the use of space express the meaning of the home as a social unit (Saunders 1990; Williams 1987). A house, therefore, is a representation of social order, reflecting the underlying social values and norms (Clark 1973; Mumford 1970; Williams 1990). A house is also, for many people, their most important purchase, which is largely dependent on their income, or economic status. Thus, a house may express the 'status order' to which people allocate themselves and others.

The existing research results show that there are clear divisions among people who have acquired a house in terms of its size, quality, and location. These data are the result of research conducted by *Kokumin Seikatsu Centre* in the 1970s. Although these studies are relatively old, no other extensive research regarding housing and social stratification has been undertaken in Japan, so this is still the most recent published research related to this particular topic. I will discuss this Kokumin Seikatsu Centre's research, then I will introduce the recent research that I have conducted, which highlights a contradiction between people's statements about class/status and their actual perception of social status through housing. Finally I will discuss the ideology and the reality of Japanese people's perception of class/status.

[1] More accurately, Japanese people in the area from which my samples were taken. These findings should be generalised with caution; the same may not apply in other parts of Japan.

1.2. Illusion of a middle-class society

There are still many people who claim that Japan is essentially a classless society (e.g. Murakami's (1984)'new middle mass' thesis), and that social class is not an appropriate unit for the analysis of Japanese society (Befu 1980: 34).

In Japan, over 80 per cent of people think that their livelihood is in the middle level (Table 1), responding to the survey question, *'Which category do you think your family's level of living* belongs to, upper, upper-middle, middle-middle, lower-middle or lower?' (ibid.: 155). This is a consequence of a rise in income and consumption levels since the period of post-war high economic growth in the late 1950s (Fukutake 1989: 155, 170).

However, when the following question is asked, *'If you were to divide the nation into the working class, the middle property-owing class[2], and the capitalist class, which would you say you belong to?'* (ibid.: 157), only a quarter of people regard themselves as middle class and two-thirds think of themselves as working class (Table 2).

TABLE 1. SUBJECTIVE PERCEPTIONS OF SOCIAL STRATA MEMBERSHIP

	upper		middle		lower
		upper-middle	middle-middle	lower-middle	
1958	11%	(3%)	72% (37%)	(32%)	17%
1965	5	(7)	87 (50)	(30)	8
1975	5	(7)	89 (59)	(23)	5
1985	0.2	(6)	87 (52)	(29)	9

(ibid.: 156, Table 27; source: Prime Minister Office, Survey of People's Livelihood)

TABLE 2. SENSE OF CLASS MEMBERSHIP

	capitalist class	middle class	working class
1955	1.4%	23.1	75.5
1969	3.4	31.4	65.2
1975	4.9	24.1	71.0
1985	4.7	28.5	66.8

(ibid.: 156, Table 28; source: Tominaga 1979, Stratification System in Japan, National Committee for Research on Social Stratification and Mobility)

This means that many of those who see themselves as working class from the viewpoint of possession of assets and 'security of life', think that they belong to the middle stratum in terms of living standard. In other words, their sense of being in the middle level of Japanese society depends on a 'subjective perception' that reflects their

---

[2] This is the translation of 'Chusan Kaisyu' by R. P. Dore, meaning those who have assets and a certain amount of security to overcome unexpected misfortunes (Fukutake 1989: 157).

relatively recent prosperity (ibid.:155); they used to be poor, but they are not now. However they know they are not among the richest, so they see themselves, in the main, as being in the middle group. This seems to have led to the general belief that Japan is a classless society, which consists of a highly cohesive group, where the massive majority are middle class (Eccleston 1989: 209).

However, this argument has two flaws. Firstly, 'middle-classness' is not the same as classlessness. In fact, the so-called middle class try to improve or retain their current position by working long hours in a firm and relying on women working in various types of temporary employment to bolster household incomes (ibid.: 209-10), so that they are able to send their children to better schools or higher educational institutions and pay for the mortgage on their house. Without an awareness of differences in class or status, people would not have to invest so much effort in trying to maintain or improve their social position.

Furthermore, the majority of Japanese people prefer to ignore the existence of minorities and the underclass (ibid.: 198). This is quite different from not being able to perceive it. The assertion that Japan is classless is dubious and oversimplified (Befu 1992: 34). Befu (ibid.: 34) points out that the Japanese have 'a wide variety of native concepts referring to social classes, such as *joryu shakai, chukan kaikyu, kaso shakai or shakai no teihen.*' He emphasises that the existence of those words indicates that the Japanese conceive of their society as consisting of horizontal strata, which are in effect social classes[3]

Secondly, there seems to be some confusion about the definition of 'class' and 'status' among those who proclaim Japan's classlessness; therefore, it is important to define the terms at this point. Here, I would like to employ Max Weber's notion of 'class' and 'status'. In the Weberian tradition, 'class' is a function of 'market power', and the term 'class' refers to any group of people who have common 'life chances' in the market. These 'life chances' are created not only by material property holdings from which one can earn profit, but also by one's position in the labour market, i.e. skills or abilities, through which one can command high wages (Gerth et al. 1991: 181-3; Saunders 1990: 22-23).

'Status', on the other hand, is expressed by 'life style' (Gerth et al. 1991: 186). Status groups conserve 'conventions' and 'styles of life', which create 'closure' of status circle (ibid.: 191). Thus, a status group is 'amorphous kind' of community; i.e. people who belong to the same group get a sense of community. To quote; '"classes" are stratified according to their relations to the production and acquisition of goods;whereas "status groups" are stratified according to the principles of their consumption of goods as represented by special "styles of life"' (ibid.: 187). Seen this way, people's vague idea that 'they are doing all right' based on relative consumption levels and the subjective judgement of what they see as an improved living standard does not necessarily support the total picture of a classless society.

---

[3] See also Nakane (1970) and Ohnuki-Tierney (1987) with reference to Japanese people's perception of status difference and hierarchy.

2. *Housing Acquisition and Social Stratification*

2.1. **Differences in abilities to acquire a house**

The increase in home-ownership was due to the huge gap in quality between rented accommodation and owned accommodation and the fact that the rise of living standards has made people unsatisfied with the quality of their rented accommodation (Miyake 1980: 1), also to the change in the government policy shifting responsibility for 'social security' from society to individuals. Nevertheless, it is a fact that not everyone lives in owner-occupied accommodation. As Miyake (ibid.: 5) puts it, high-income groups own a house (or a flat), whereas low-income groups still submit themselves to living in rented accommodation. Among those who reside in rented accommodation, there is another division, that is, higher income groups live in a house owned by a company or the Housing Co-operation; the upper-middle stratum typically rent a flat in a building made of concrete with steel frames, and the lower-middle stratum in a flat in a wooden building or a municipal flat. The lowest income group reside in a flat in a wooden building without a private bathroom or toilet (and sometimes, without a kitchen).

Table 3 and Figure 1 illustrate the fact that the more one earns the more likely one is to own a house[4] The value for the correlation coefficient shows a strong relationship between income and home-ownership rates ($r = .8989$; $p < .001$)[5].

TABLE 3. INCOME AND TENURE OF DWELLINGS

Household annual income (yen)	Tenure			
	owner-occupier	privately rented	municipal housing	others
average	57.5%	8.7	33.0	0.8
under 2 million	23.8	8.8	67.5	0.0
2.0-2.49 m.	27.6	8.6	63.8	0.0
2.5-2.99 m.	25.7	8.6	65.7	0.0
3.0-3.49 m.	35.2	11.4	52.4	1.0
3.5-3.99 m.	50.6	9.4	36.5	3.5
4.0-4.99 m.	60.0	9.3	28.6	2.1
5.0-5.99 m.	77.2	7.9	14.9	0.0
6.0-7.99 m.	89.1	5.5	4.5	0.9
8.0-9.99 m.	85.0	8.3	6.7	0.0
over 9.99 m.	89.1	7.8	3.1	0.0

(Fujimori 1981:61, Table 7; source Kokumin Seikatsu Centre, Survey in Setagaya Ward, Tokyo, 1977)

---

[4] The data shown here were collected in 1979, therefore the actual household income is smaller than at present. However, it is still valid as an illustration that high-income earners are more likely to be able to buy a house and are less likely to live in rented accommodation.

[5] This was done by Kendall Correlation Coefficients, for there are only a few valuables, and the valuables for income are not raw data, but class marks taken from Table 3.

FIGURE 1. INCOME AND TENURE OF DWELLINGS
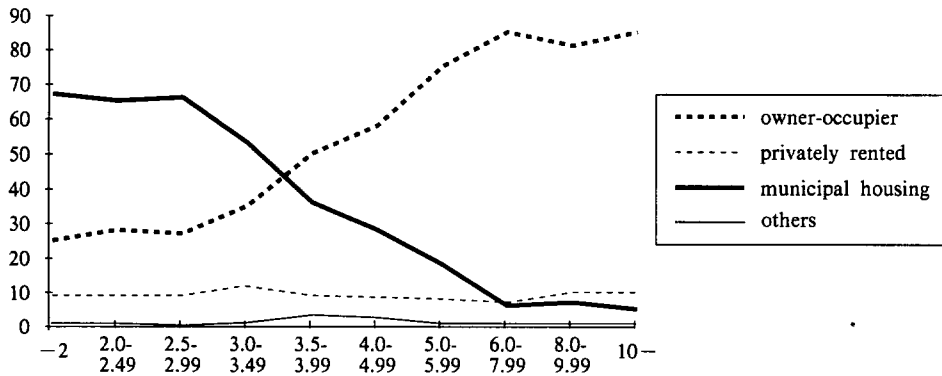
(derived from Fujimori 1981: 61, Table 7; source Kokumin Seikatsu Centre, Survey in Setagaya Ward, Tokyo, 1977) [unit = million yen]

TABLE 4. ECONMIC CONDITIONS OF HOME-OWNERSHIP

	Household annual income (on the first time purchase)	Household income (on the second time purchase)
Total	4.29 million (yen)	5.36 million (yen)
on own account	3.90 m.	4.42 m.
managers/proprietors	7.01 m.	8.40 m.
professional/administrative in large firms?	6.28 m.	6.17 m.
professional/administrative in small firms?	4.22 m.	5.83 m.
clerical/technical in large firms	3.99 m.	4.55 m.
clerical/technical in small firms	3.35 m.	3.93 m.
manual workers in large firms	3.47 m.	3.92 m.
manual workers in small firms	2.96 m.	2.78 m.
sales/service	3.28 m.	3.24 m.
no occupation	2.09 m.	2.95 m.

* involves large enterprises (more than 1,000 persons) and governmental offices.
* involves small (30-99 persons) and middle-sized (100-999 persons) enterprises.
(Kobayashi 1980: 26, Table 9; source Kokumin Seikatsu Centre, Survey on Housing Acquisition in Outskirts of Large Cities, 1977-8)

There is an equally clear hierarchy in the types and quality of owner-occupied houses. Those who have higher-grade occupations have higher income, and therefore, greater economic capacity, while those who have lower-status occupations have less income, and so, have less to spend. These income differences create a grading system for standards of owner-occupied houses (Kobayashi 1980:20). Table 4 shows different income levels on their purchase of a house. The annual income of the manager/proprietors class is more than twice as much as that of workers in small firms and sales/service workers. This gap, no doubt, determines the quality of housing that people are able to obtain.

2.2. Differences in the view about home-ownership

The issue here is whether or not everyone in society has the same view about owning a house under the circumstances of the unequal income distribution.

Kobayashi (1979; 1980) describes four types of attitudes in her studies of views of home-ownership on the first and the second time acquisitions of a house. They are:first, security and protection of life; second, traditional views that an adult (*ichinin-mae no ningen*) ought to own a house, that an owner-occupied house is better when one lives with his parents or children's household[6], and that one should own a house as an anchor of the family; three, comfort; and four, economy in terms of property-holding and investment (Kobayashi 1980: 77).

She points out that those who work on their own account (i.e. freelance) and manual workers regard home-ownership as 'protection of life', a view of which becomes more intense in relation to second time acquisition. Meanwhile professional and administrative workers in middle-sized and small enterprises and clerical and technical workers in large firms emphasise economy as first-time buyers and then comfort when making their second purchase. Professional and administrative workers in large firms consistently stress comfort of the home, and on their second time purchase they put more emphasis on it. Lastly, managers and proprietors have a strong traditional view regarding the family, but put more importance on comfort when making their second time acquisition. Roughly classified, they are of four categories as above. However, considering the transformation of their views from the first to the second time purchase, these four categories become two large groups: a view emphasising security and life protection, and a view emphasising comfort (ibid.: 31).

It is clear that there is a difference in attitudes towards housing according to occupational groups. That is, people in blue-collar work tend to see home-ownership as a means of life protection and maintenance of security, whereas those who have white-collar occupations are inclined to support the view that comfort is the major reason for home-ownership. Clear polarisation between occupations, then, can be found even at the very first stage of home-ownership where one thinks why one wants to buy a house (Kobayashi 1970: 80).

2.3. Differences in the quality standard of the acquired house

The increase in high rise buildings (blocks of flats) in cities and towns, and in houses in small suburban estates, together with an expansion of the availability of housing loans, have enabled the middle-income strata to buy their own accommodation (Miyake 1980: 5). It is reasonable to assume that within this overall increase in home-

---

[6] That an adult should have his/her own house and that an owner-occupied house is better for living with parents' or children's household can be clearly distinguished from the viewpoint of individualistic cultures such as the UK and the USA. Yet, Kobayashi regards a Japanese tradition that children should take care of their ageing parents as part of family obligations for an adult person. For her, these two notions should be categorised in the same group that deals with family (or 'ie').

TABLE 5. AMENITY STANDARDS

	The first time purchase				The second time purchase			
	plot size	no. of rooms	total floor space	WC rate[†]	plot size	no. of rooms	total floor space	WC rate[†]
Total	129.1 (m²)	3.9	73.0 (m²)	68.9 (%)	163.5 (m²)	4.7	89.6 (m²)	88.5 (%)
on own account	122.0	3.8	71.4	61.7	157.2	4.4	86.2	100.0
managers/ proprietors	167.8	4.8	92.3	86.2	204.0	5.5	109.4	100.0
professional/ administrative in large firms	169.5	4.7	95.4	94.8	181.4	5.2	96.7	100.0
professional/ administrative in small firms	137.0	4.0	68.9	81.2	177.3	5.1	92.9	91.2
clerical/technical in large firms	135.1	3.9	72.7	78.4	154.9	4.4	84.7	87.7
clerical/technical in small firms	105.3	3.4	63.8	62.1	135.3	4.0	75.8	81.8
manual workers in large firms	115.4	3.4	66.1	48.6	134.6	3.8	71.5	50.0
manual workers in small firms	97.1	3.2	58.6	39.6	107.7	3.7	70.0	62.5
sales/service	100.8	3.4	61.7	46.0	121.7	3.6	69.3	69.2
no occupation	92.0	3.6	55.2	66.7	148.1	4.3	88.3	78.6

[†] the rate of the installation of water closets Note: On the second time acquisition, people are able to buy a relatively more expensive house due to the sales of the previous home and accumulated funds (ibid.: 26).

(Kobayashi 1980: 23, Table 8;source: Kokumin Seikatsu Centre, Survey on Housing Acquisition in Outskirts of Large Cities, 1977-8)

ownership, there is a grading system relating the quality of housing to the income differences, and indeed, this is the case.

A significant gap across occupational groups exists in the size and quality of houses, including the size of the land plot, the total floor space, facilities and living environment (Kobayashi 1979: 69). Clearly, only people who are on upper income levels are able to get high quality housing. Table 5 shows differences in quality of housing that one can acquire according to occupations; for example, the manager/proprietors class and the higher white-collar workers' class tend to acquire larger than average living space and better than average facilities.

Furthermore, a different estate consists of houses of different standards and people of different classes. People on a high income are often found in a high-grade estate built by a large developer (Table 6). The main strata who buy a house in a medium-grade estate, on the other hand, are those of medium social standing, such as clerical and technical workers in large or small firms and professional and administrative workers in small firms. More manual workers, sales and service workers, and clerical and technical workers in small firms can be found among home-owners within the low-grade estates. The whole picture of each estate is very different.

TABLE 6. SOCIAL STRATIFICATION BASED ON OCCUPATIONS WITHIN ESTATES

		high-grade estates [†]	medium-grade estates [†]	low-grade estates [†]
Total	(1,085) 100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
on own account	(63) 5.8	4.0	5.9	7.3
managers/proprietors	(149) 13.7	27.9	8.4	4.0
professional/administrative in large firms	(174) 16.0	33.8	11.4	2.9
professional/administrative in small firms	(82) 7.6	7.9	12.9	5.0
clerical/technical in large firms	(205) 18.9	18.3	23.3	17.6
clerical/technical in small firms	(147) 13.5	4.4	15.8	20.3
manual workers in large firms	(45) 4.2	0.5	6.4	6.3
manual workers in small firms	(134) 12.4	0.5	9.9	23.4
sales/service	(63) 5.8	0.5	5.0	10.7
no occupation	(23) 2.1	2.2	1.0	2.5
average plot size		183.2 (m^2)	166.0 (m^2)	88.3 (m^2)
average total floor space		100.7 (m^2)	68.0 (m^2)	64.3 (m^2)
number of habitable rooms		5.2	3.8	3.4
habitable space per person		14.19 (m^2)	9.41 (m^2)	9.08 (m^2)
average price (yen)		21.5million	9.84million	9million

[†] The high-grade estates are large-scale developments by large private railway companies with the total arrangement of neighbourhood environment, therefore houses are expensive. In this survey, two developments in Yokohama City along two Tokyu Lines have been chosen as samples.

The medium-grade estates have been developed by builders/developers of medium standing in areas at a considerable distance from the town centre, but with an infrastructure system arranged. The quality of houses is medium-grade, and so is the price. The sample area is along Tobu Tojo Line. The low-grade estates are called 'mini-development', built by small developers. The quality of houses, the size of plots and the facilities of the area are poor, and therefore the price of houses is low. The samples are two developments along two Tobu Lines (Kobayashi 1980: 19-20; Yamazaki 1981:143).

(Kobayashi 1979: 90, Table 8; source:Kokumin Seikatsu Centre, Survey on Housing Acquisition in Outskirts of Large Cities, 1977-8; also calculated from Yamazaki 1981: 146, Table II-3-4)

Table 7 shows the proportion of residents on three estates within each social stratum. It is clear that more than three-quarters of the managerial class and the professional/administrative workers' (in large enterprises and governmental offices) class have chosen to live in a high-grade estate. Meanwhile, two-thirds of the clerical/technical workers' (in small enterprises) class and the manual worker's (in large firms) class, and more than 80 per cent of the manual workers' (in small firms) class and the sales/service class have bought a house in a low-grade estate. The different location of a house and the quality that they get from the house is significant.

Kokumin Seikatsu Centre also investigated the extent to which people feel satisfied or dissatisfied with the houses they have purchased (ibid.: 91). 85.4 per cent of residents in high-grade estates expressed their satisfaction, and even 68.4 per cent in medium-grade estates and 54.4 per cent in low-grade estates also felt content with their houses. When asked about the quality and standards of the house in detail, however, most people express some dissatisfaction, but each estate group has different types of complaint.

TABLE 7. CHOICE OF ESTATES ACCORDING TO SOCIAL STRATIFICATION BASED ON OCCUPATIONS

	Total (1,085)	high-grade estates	medium-grade estates	low-grade estates
on own account	(63) 100%	25.4%	19.0%	55.6%
managers/proprietors	(149) 100	75.8	11.4	12.8
professional/adminis trative in large firms	(174) 100	78.7	13.2	8.0
professional/administrative in small firms	(82) 100	39.0	31.7	29.3
clerical/technical in large firms	(205) 100	36.1	22.9	41.0
clerical/technical in small firms	(147) 100	12.2	21.8	66.0
manual workers in large firms	(45) 100	4.4	28.9	66.7
manual workers in small firms	(134) 100	1.5	14.9	83.6
sales/service	(63) 100	3.2	15.9	81.0
no occupation	(23) 100	39.1	8.7	52.2

	plot size	total floor size	no. of habitable rooms	habitable space per person	price (millionyen)
on own account	129.7 (m²)	74.9 (m²)	3.9	9.74 (m²)	12.11
managers/proprietors	184.5	100.4	5.1	14.0	18.59
professional/adminis trative in large firms	174.8	96.0	4.9	13.3	19.44
professional/administrative in small firms	153.7	79.0	4.5	11.2 ·	14.14
clerical/technical in large firms	140.6	76.1	4.0	11.0	14.11
clerical/technical in small firms	114.3	67.4	3.6	9.4	10.38
manual workers in large firms	118.9	67.3	3.5	8.4	9.82
manual workers in small firms	96.6	60.6	3.2	7.8	8.07
sales/service	105.1	63.2	3.4	9.7	10.04
no occupation	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

(calculated from Kobayashi 1979: 90, Table 8; also calculated from Yamazaki 1981: 144-5, Table II-3-3)

Regarding the size of the house, people in high-grade estates tend to complain about the lack of storage space, and the lack of a study/work space. On the other hand, those living in medium-grade estates tend to also mention the lack of a children's room and the lack of space for letting guests stay over. Those in low-grade estates, in addition to the points mentioned by other two groups, are inclined to complain that it is impossible to separate the sleeping space from the living space and to have an independent husband and wife's room. People in the middle- and low-grade estates also have complaints about facilities like no water closet (low-grade estates), and bad environment such as poor accessibility to local shops and hospitals, long distance to work (medium-grade estates), and crowded areas (low-grade estates). To sum up, people live in high-grade estates seek for more extra space and greater comfort, whereas those living in lower-grade estates have to think about obtaining basic and necessary conditions, such as space, facilities and living environment (ibid.: 91, 93). Differences in the quality and standards of houses have been created by differences in abilities to buy a house and differences in the view about

home-ownership; clearly, income differences, which leads to consumption differences, are strong factors in causing a gap in standards of quality of housing.

2.4. Consciousness about the location

We have seen people who belong to the different strata have different capacity to buy a house, different views about owing a house, and different quality housing. We have also seen that people with higher-grade

occupations tend to choose to live in a high-grade estate. This reflects a consciousness about the location and of the images of particular areas, as well as on the actual houses.

According to a research into the trend of attitudes of those who recently bought a house, the most important point that they took into account when making their choice was the area where they had wanted to live, followed by the layout and the number of rooms, and the distance from the nearest station (Recruit Corp. 1996:14).

A survey conducted by *Jutaku Kinyu Koko* reveals that more than two-thirds of people who live along two Tokyu Railway Lines (Den'en Toshi Line and Toyoko Line) had given a high priority to (what my English respondents would call) a 'good' estate. A good estate in this sense refers not just to the physical layout but also the reputation and status or overall image of the development. By contrast, most home-owners living along two Tobu Lines (Tojo Line and Isezaki Line) had not taken this into account (Table 8).

As mentioned in the note of Table 6, the high-grade estate samples of the survey of Kokumin Seikatsu Centre have been taken from one area along Tokyu Den'en Toshi Line and another along Tokyu Toyoko Line, both of which are part of Yokohama City, Kanagawa Prefecture, south of Tokyo. The medium-grade estate samples have been taken from one area along Tobu Tojo Line, and the low-grade estate samples are from one area

TABLE 8. THE DEGREE OF CONSIDERATION OF THE IMEGE OF RAILWAY LINE

	highly considered	somewhat considered	not so considered	not considered	n/a	N
Tokyo Den'en-Toshi	24.2%	46.1	18.8	7.8	3.1	128
Tokyu Toyoko	22.1	46.2	25.0	4.8	1.9	104
Tobu Tojo	0.7	12.8	45.1	40.1	1/3	297
Tobu Isezaki	2.5	9.9	47.5	37.6	2.5	322

(Jutaku Kinyu Koko 1995: 32, Table 13)

TABLE 9. LAND PRICE IN SOME RESIDENTIAL AREAS FROM 30-35 KM FROM TOKYO (Land Agency 1996: 765)

railway lines	stations	land price per 1 m² (yen)
Tokyu Den'en Toshi Line	Nagatsuda	355,000
Tokyu Toyoko Line	Yokohama	381,000
Tobu Tojo Line	Kami-fukuoka	284,000
Tobu Isezaki Line	Kasukabe	190,000

along Tobu Tojo Line and another along Tobu Isezaki Line. Funo (1989: 200) points out that there is a gap in the image of residential areas, which is to be shown in differences in land prices (Table 9).

It is now clear that those who have bought a house in a high-grade estate had taken the overall image of residential areas along particular railway lines into account. Considering the fact that people living along Tobu Lines did not really think about the image of the area they live in, together with the fact that those in the higher strata aspire after better environment and those in the lower strata want to secure necessary space at least, people who belong to higher strata do seek for a better image of their house and of its location.

2.5. Concluding remarks on the available literature

Lastly, Kanomata (1992: 363) argues that the division between the white collar and the blue collar is the main factor that determines differences in annual income and quality of property.

Table 10 shows that there is a huge gap in the size and income between the white-collar and the blue-collar workers, within which the secondary division between the types of employment, such as self-employed, employed in a large or small firm, is made. The reason for high standing of the self-employed white collar stratum is that their answer to the plot and floor size may include the shop, office and factory that people own. Also it apparently reflects the brisk economic activities of this class since this survey has been conducted in the area 30km from central Tokyo. He concludes that social stratification based on occupations has close relations with differences in income and house property (ibid.:363).

TABLE 10. SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AND DIFFERENCES IN PROPERTY

	land plot size	total floor size	household annual income
professional	138.6 (m²)	150.2 (m²)	9.65 (millionyen)
white collar in large enterprises	117.8	138.9	8.29
white collar in small enterprises†	88.1	137.9	7.64
white collar on own account	157.1	161.0	11.13
blue collar on own account	108.9	128.0	6.92
blue collar in large enterprises	72.6	112.5	6.26
blue collar in small enterprises	64.4	85.1	5.41
total	118.8	132	7.84

† includes small and middle-sized enterprises.
(calculated from Kanomata 1992: 363, Table 3;source: CPSS Survey 1987)

In the surveys I referred to initially (see page 62), the Japanese people subjectively consider themselves to be middle class on the basis of relative affluence. Nevertheless, a high rate of durable consumer goods holdings does not necessarily mean that many people are able to buy a good quality house in a good estate;further, there are many different grades between owner-occupied houses, as illustrated above.

To sum up, these Kokumin Seikatsu Centre studies provide a useful starting point in demonstrating that there are clear distinctions between occupational groups, and that these differences affect housing acquisition activities. Income differences, which are a result of occupational differences, determine the quality and the location of the house that one can afford and create a significant gap in standards between the top range and the bottom range. However, these studies have limitations, showing only raw data about the relationship between occupations and quality of housing, i.e. people with high income are likely to obtain better housing, and do not indicate whether this correlation is really an expression of underlying 'class' or 'status' consciousness. For this purpose, in the following section, I try to analyse deeper and put more interpretation to the evidence that I have derived from my own work, and to establish that people's perception about housing is an expression of class/status.

3. *Survey on Perception of Social Status*

3.1. Methodology

The aim of this survey is to investigate people's attitudes towards their own accommodation, and local people's perception about social status through housing within their local area ('local status system'[7]).

The survey I am going to present here is only a part of a larger project comparing housing in England and Japan, focusing on modern housing[8]. In order to obtain modern housing samples, I have chosen a new town, called Bracknell, west of London, which has undergone considerable economic expansion since the 1960s with high technology industries concentrated in the area. For a cross-cultural study, a Japanese sample has to be comparable to an English sample in terms of housing. Yokohama Kohoku New Town is a close equivalent of Bracknell in terms of its location, its population, the similar composition of residents' occupations, its main industries, and its history of development; despite the fact that the development of Kohoku area is slightly more recent than that of Bracknell (see Child Hill & Fujita 1993; Edgington 1991; 1994a; 1994b; Obayashi 1993).

Kohoku New Town lies, in fact, between Tokyu Toyoko Line and Tokyu Den'en

---

[7] According to the definitions above, my own research into housing, which is to be introduced in Chapter 3, is a study about 'status', for I have investigated how local residents see different houses based on perception of occupational differences.

[8] Old houses, especially in England, have been transformed over years according to different owners' personal preference and needs, and do not represent a society when they were built.

Toshi Line, which are the sample areas for the high-grade estates of Kokumin Seikatsu Centre's data. In other words, the residents in Kohoku area are those who have higher social standing with higher-grade occupations, and to whom the image of the area they live in is a relatively high priority.

The questionnaire that I used (see Appendix), after having done a pilot study, was divided into four sections. The first part requires descriptive answers about people's likes and dislikes about their own house and their ideal home. The second section is comprised of sixteen attitude statements to which respondents state agreement/ disagreement on a five point scale (agree/strongly agree, disagree/strongly disagree, or neither agree nor disagree). Two of these statements are related to social class/status.

The next part is a measure of people's perception of other people's houses within the framework of social status (i.e. 'who lives in a house like this?'). There are five photographs of different houses within the study area and five occupations, and the respondents are asked to match each house with its most likely occupant. Contemporary social psychologists argue that 'material possessions are important means of constructing, maintaining and expressing both personal and social identity', in terms of what social group they belong to, social position, and relative wealth and status. In this context, as a particularly significant 'material possession', an owner-occupied house is an 'informative source of impression' (Dittmar 1992: 380). The houses and occupations shown to informants have been carefully selected. Five houses have been chosen from the estate agents' details. Two houses are relatively cheap (38/40 million yen)[9], and another two are priced just below the top of the range within the area (90/95 million yen); and one house is priced between these low-priced and high-priced houses (58 million yen).

Five occupations have been chosen which are comparable in Japan and the UK. This was done with reference to *The Social Grading of Occupations* (Goldthorpe and Hope 1974), *Basic Survey on Wage Structure* (Ministry of Labour 1994), and *Japan Statistical Yearbook* (Management and Coordination Agency 1996)[10]. Two average-income occupations (a supervisor in a department store and a foreman in a manufacturing firm), two occupations from highest income groups (a senior civil servant and a company director), and one occupation with an intermediate income (a secondary school teacher) have been listed on the questionnaire[11] (Table 11). The choice of two high, two low and one intermediate income groups corresponds to the range of house prices. Finally, respondents are also asked for personal information, such as age bands[12], sex and occupation.

---

[9] The average house price in Japan is 45.3 million yen and that of large city areas is 49.9 million yen (Jutaku Sangyo Joho Service 1996). These figures include the house price in central and inner Tokyo, of which average land price is 1.5 times more expensive than that in Kanagawa Prefecture where the study area is (Land Agency 1995). Furthermore, the land price of the target area is a lowest one within Yokohama City (Land Agency 1996; Yokohama City 1996). Bearing these in mind, it is appropriate to think the house price between 40 million and 45 million is the average of the study area.

[10] As I could find no equivalent *of The Social Grading of Occupations, Basic Survey on Wage Structure* and *Japan Statistical Yearbook* have been referred, although social grading in the UK and wage grading in Japan can be different.

[11] The lowest income groups are not included, because, in the main, they are not home-owners.

[12] As a result of some pilot studies conducted in England, I have found some women did not like to give their exact age. Consequently, I have decided to use the age bands, such as 31-40, 41-50, and so on.

TABLE 11. SAMPLE HOUSES AND SAMPLE OCCUPATION

	rank order of grading of occupation[†]	wage ranking[‡] (thousand yen)	house	price (thousand yen)
senior civil servant	2/12	714.9~795.4	1: new, large, western-style	95,000
company director	4/7	789.0	2: fairly new, terraced	40,000
secondary school teacher	38	455.2	3: fairly new, large, pure Japanese-style	90,000
supervisor in a department store	72	396.5	4: modern, smallish, semi-traditional	38,000
foreman in a manufacturing firm	78	362.3~389.8	5: modern, mid-sized, semi-traditional	58,000

[†] by *The Social Grading of Occupations* (Goldthorpe and Hope 1974), Table 6.4.
[‡] by *Basic Survey on Wage Structure* (Ministry of Labour 1994), Table 5; and *Japan Statistical Yearbook* (Management and Coordination Agency 1996), Table 3-34.

The actual survey was conducted in March and April 1997. The target of this whole research is houses, not flats, as flats in England are usually the least desirable accommodation, most often rented (Saunders 1990: 249). Hence, for this study I did not include the areas with blocks of flats, farm houses, shrines and temples that take up large areas. The Information Centre of Tsuzuki Ward Council, which covers the Kohoku New Town, provided information about the areas in which mainly houses stood. Having obtained letters of introduction from local residents' association presidents, I visited one in every three houses in randomly selected blocks and streets within the target area. I eventually collected 58 questionnaire (55 valid responses). The composition of the respondents is as follows (Table 12).

3.2. Results and analysis

The below results are based on T-tests, measuring the differences in means between the Japanese samples and English samples, taken from the attitude statements questions about status consciousness. The two questionnaire items which address status consciousness are: (1) *'My house is a symbol of what I have achieved in life';* and (2) *'People could not tell from looking at my house what kind of status I have in society'.*

The mean of the Japanese samples is significantly lower than that of the English, that is, Japanese people report weaker awareness at this sign of social status. The English are more likely to acknowledge seeing their house as part of their social status. As Saunders (1990: 256) puts it, in England, 'housing carries clear symbolic meaning as regards the attribution of status'. The Japanese, on the other hand, do not appear to see a house as a representation of their status in society as much as the English do. They are more inclined to follow the ideas of egalitarianism and homogeneity within their society, consonant with the Japanese ideology (Cummings 1980; Fukutake 1989).

TABLE 12. AGE, SEX AND OCCUPATION OF INFORMANTS

Age:			Sex:		
under 21	0	0.0%	male	21	38.2%
21-30	3	5.5	female	34	61.8
31-40	24	43.6	total	55	100.0
41-50	14	25.5			
51-60	9	16.4			
61-70	4	7.3			
over 70	1	1.8			

Social class based on occupations[†]:		
I professional	7	12.7%
II managerial/technical	15	27.3
III clerical, routine white collar	12	21.8
IV sales	3	5.5
V skilled manual	1	1.8
VI semi-skilled manual	1	1.8
VII unskilled manual	0	0.0
others (retired, no occupation)	16	29.1
total	55	100.0

[†] by SSM Survey categories.

TABLE 13. MEANS

	N	Mean	mean (m)	mean (f)	SD	t-value	df	Sig.
Japanese	55	2.6909	2.7619	2.6471	.723			
English	56	3.0714	3.0000	3.1429	.670			
						-2.88	109	p<.01

However, as shown below, the Japanese respondents seem to have an acute awareness about differences in occupational status by looking at housing.

There was 100 per cent agreement that a *company director* (with a monthly salary about twice higher than that of sales supervisors and foremen) is most likely to live in one of the most expensive houses of the choices, although the respondents did not know the price of the houses. For a *senior civil servant* (with about the same salary as above), 96.2 per cent have picked one of the most expensive two and 3.8 per cent have chosen the middle-ranged house.

Regarding a *sales supervisor in a department store* and a *foreman in a manufacturing firm* (whose salary is the lowest of the five), one of the cheapest two houses have been chosen by 86.5% and 80.8% of the samples respectively, and the middle-ranged one has been picked by 13.5% and 19.2% of the samples. No one has taken the most expensive ones for these two occupations.

Lastly, for a *secondary school teacher* (whose salary is between these two groups, but closer to that of the lower one), 63.5% of the samples have chosen the middle-ranged house, whereas 32.7% have picked one of the cheapest two and 3.8% the most expensive one. This occupation seems to be the most difficult one to judge, as one-third of the samples thought a secondary school teacher would live in a cheaper house than a person with a lower occupational ranking.

TABLE 14. PERCENTAGES OF HOUSE TYPES, MATCHED WITH OCCUPATIONS

	House 1	Hous 3	House 5	House 2	House 4	total
Senior civil servant	21.2%	75.0	3.8	0.0	0.0	100.0
		96.2%	3.8%	0.0%		100.0%
Company director	21.2	78.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
		100.0%	0.0%	0.0%		100.0%
Secondary school teacher	0.0%	3.8	63.5	11.5	21.2	100.0
		3.8%	63.5%	32.7%		100.0%
Sales supervisor in a department store	0.0	0.0	13.5	67.3	19.2	100.0
		0.0%	13.5%	86.5%		100.0%
Foreman in a manufacturing firm	0.0%	0.0	19.2	21.2	59.6	100.0
		0.0%	19.2%	80.8%		100.0%

House 1   new, large, western style (¥ 95,000,000)
House 2   fairly new, terraced (¥ 42,000,000)
House 3   fairly new, large, pure Japanese style (¥ 90,000,000)
House 4   modern, smallish, semi-traditional style (¥ 40,000,000)
House 5   modern, mid-sized, semi-traditional style (¥ 58,000,000)

FIGURE 2. RATIO OF HOUSE TYPES FOR EACH OCCUPATION IN JAPANESE SAMPLES
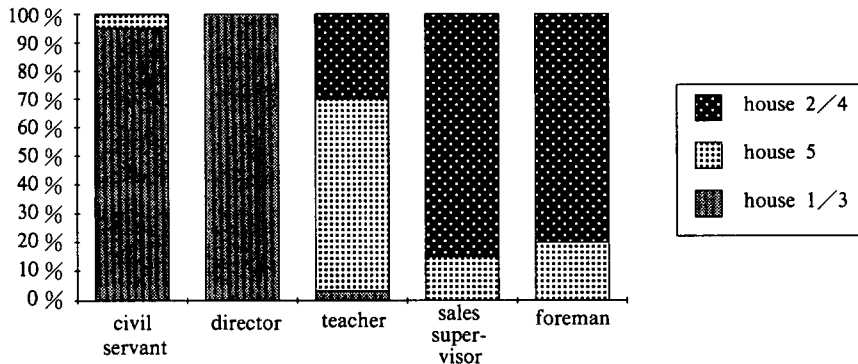
Overall, though, it is clear that people's view about grading of housing and occupations is quite consistent, especially with reference to high-grade occupations, and that people perceive status differences, and by and large agree on these perceptions, and can match them to likely houses. English samples also show an extremely high

[13] 98.2% of people have chosen one of the most expensive houses for a company director and a senior civil servant. On the other hand, more than 80% of people have picked one of the cheapest two for a sales supervisor and a foreman, and the rest the middle-range house, except that one person having chosen one of

FIGURE 3. RATIO OF HOUSE TYPES FOR EACH OCCUPATION IN ENGLISH SAMPLES
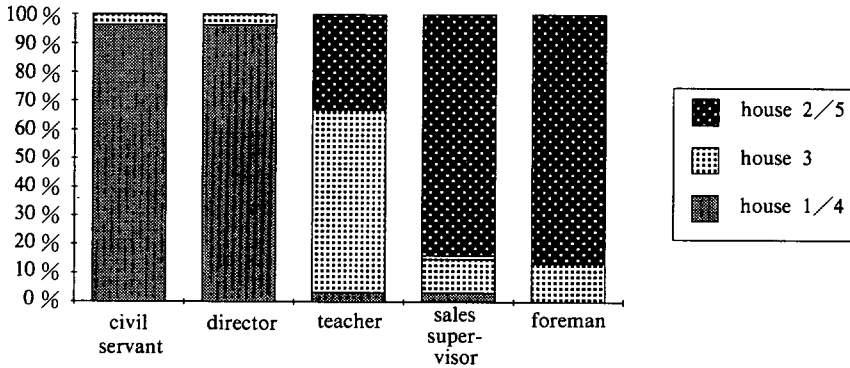
agreement (Figure 3)[13]. The consistency of their answers is as high as the Japanese samples, in other words, the Japanese and the English have a similar level of perception of social status within the local area.

This result seems to contradict the results of the attitude statement questions where the views of these two societies significantly differ. However, this contradiction can be explained by the notions of presented feelings (*tatemae*) and real feelings (*honne*). That is to say, the Japanese are likely to present themselves as being less class/status conscious, since they have been taught that everyone should be equal and do not want to accept a less harmonious version of the social order, despite that fact that they are very aware of differences between people. As Befu (1980:30) puts it, to keep group harmony, it is better not to mention any differences in class or status within the group. Yet this is only a presented rule (*tatemae*). People are aware of difference, in fact, are very competitive within their 'group' and seek a better situation than others (ibid.: 31). At least they wish to do no worse than the others. It is my belief that, although the Japanese respondents did not use the expression of 'keeping up with the Joneses', they are as keenly aware of their neighbours' status as are the English.

In her study of Banbury's local class/status system, Stacey (1960: 145) says that 'direct questioning about social class met an initial reticence that amounted to a taboo.' She in fact learned the fact that there were certain rules that 'the existence of status and class differences should be assumed but not spoken about'. It is these rules that make people pretend that the differences do not exist or are less prevalent than it actually is, and it is the existence of these rules that makes the class/status system work. She also points out that those who accept the traditional class system tend to be self-conscious about it and feel less democratic about admitting it (ibid.: 146).

This seems, indeed, the case with my Japanese informants. The result showing that their weak awareness about social status is not sufficient evidence of non-existence of differences in social status amongst themselves. Direct questions like 'what class you

---

the expensive ones for a sales supervisor. A secondary school teacher seems a confusing case among the English samples: 1.8% have chosen the most expensive houses, 63.6% the middle-range house, and 34.6% the cheapest. The ratio of their choice for the five occupations is almost the same of that of the Japanese samples.

think you belong to' and 'if you agree that your house is a status symbol' may bring about reticent responses; people may well answer in a more 'democratic' way, presenting themselves as being an egalitarian.

In fact, three Japanese informants <u>refused</u> to match a house with an occupation, saying that they <u>do not want to</u> judge people from the house they live in. This indicates the existence of this egalitarian ideology and the fact that some people think it is 'not right' to talk about other people's social status. Japanese people in fact see differences within the so-called middle stratum. It is just that they do not speak out about them.

Finally, in the first part of the questionnaire where people are asked to describe their likes and dislikes about their house and their ideal home, only one answer frankly mentioning social status is found[14]. This informant says that he likes his house because it has a high-class sense, which raises his social status. Others never says anything related to class and status. In fact, no English respondents directly mention class or status in their response[15], despite the fact that their answers to the attitude statement questions show that they are more status conscious than the Japanese. This supports the argument that people, in both Japanese and English societies, do not speak out about class and status, although being aware of them.

To conclude, people in the sample area are aware of status difference and differences based on occupations, and yet they do not talk about it, as a consequence of the ideals of egalitarianism and homogeneity. Extensive interviews seems necessary in order to break people's refusal to acknowledge social differences. But the first impressions that people have given in the test where they are asked to match a house with an occupation appear, to some extent, to have revealed their judgements beyond their egalitarian self-presentation.

4. Conclusion

The existence of gaps in income and housing conditions, i.e. differences in affordability, location, quality, and status, is undeniable. The illusion of a middle-class society (or a classless middle-mass society) based on the increase in living standards disguises the fact that Japanese people live in a highly differentiated society. It is probably true that class demarcation based on one's birth or family background only exists to a limited extent; the class system from the feudal period or the pre-war Japan clearly does not exist any more. However, differences based on occupations are prevalent in contemporary Japanese society, and these actually bring about other social differences in people's lives. It is also important to note that the illusion of a middle-class society tends to hide the issue that there is a non-property-owning stratum in Japan, which comprises about 40 per cent of the population (Japan Statistical Yearbook 1996: 595). Acknowledgement of this group would dispel the myth of a classless Japanese society,

---

[14] This informant is a male shop-proprietor in his 40s.

[15] In the samples of both countries, quite a few people talked about their aspiration for good facilities, or even luxurious facilities, and good locations. This might have something to do with social status, but it is not the terminology they use. This needs more analysis.

however both academics and the relatively prosperous Japanese seem fond of maintaining this myth.

Finally, my own research has shown a clear contradiction between people's disagreement with the statement of a house being an expression of status and their awareness of status differences through housing. The finding that although people do not speak about status differences, they do recognise them, with considerable agreement, refutes the argument that Japan is a classless, egalitarian society. This illustrates the principles of 'tatemae', presented feelings, in this sense, endorsement of Japan's egalitarian ideology, and 'honne', real feelings, in this sense, acute awareness of status differences. People regard it as wrong to speak out about social class or social status, although they are well able to judge it, in fact, their entire language forces them to recognise it in every social interaction. They just think that it is better not to mention it. It is more democratic and harmonious not to speak out about it in a purportedly homogeneous, egalitarian society*.

UNIVERSITY OF SUSSEX

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Befu, H. (1980) 'A Critique of the Group Model of Japanese Society', Social Analysis, No.5/6, December 1980, 29-43.

Child Hill, R. and Fujita, K. (1993) 'Japanese Cities in the World Economy', Fujita, K. and Child Hill, R. (eds), Japanese Cities in the World Economy, Temple University Press.

Clark, E. (1973) 'Other in the Atoni House', Needham, R. (ed), Right and Left: Essays in Dual Symbolic Classification, London: The University of Chicago Press.

Cummings, W. (1980) Education and Equality in Japan, Princeton, Princeton University Press.

Dittmar, H. (1992) 'Perceived material wealth and first impressions', British Journal of Social Psychology, 31, 379-391.

Eccleston, B. (1989) State and society in Post-war Japan, Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
Edgington, D. W. (1991) 'Economic Restructuring in Yokohama: From Gateway Port to International Core City', Asian Geographer, Vol.1, No.1, 62-78.

Edgington, D. W. (1994a) 'The Geography of Endaka:Industrial Transformation and Regional Changes in Japan 1986-1991', Regional Studies, Vol.28, No.5, 521-535.
Edgington, D. W. (1994b) 'Industrial Restructuring in Japan: Structural and Spatial Outcomes', unpublished paper.

Fujimori, A. (1981) 'Jutaku Kibo to Taikyu Shohizai no Hoyu Jokyo kara Mita Jukyo Suijun (Housing standards in terms of space and consumer durable goods holdings)', Kokumin Seikatsu Kenkyu (National livelihood studies), Vol.20, No.3, 48-65.
Fukutake, T. (1989) The Japanese Social Structure: Its evolution in the modern century, 2nd ed., Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press.

Funo, S. (1989) 'Sumai e no Yume no Keifu to Jutaku Senso: Jukyo, ijuchi sentaku to kaiso bunka (Housing war and genealogy of housing dream)', Gendai Shiso

(Contemporary thoughts), Vol.17-6, No.5, 196-206.

Gerth, H. H., Wright Mills, C. and Turner, B. S. (eds) (1991) From Max Weber: Essays in sociology, 2nd edition, London: Routledge.

Goldthorpe, J. H. and Hope, K. (1974) The Social Grading of Occupations: A new approach and scale, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Jutaku Kinyu Koko (1995) Chosa Kiho (Quartery bulletin), No.2.

Jutaku Sangyo Joho Service (1996) Jutaku Sangyo Handbook (Housing industry handbook). Kanomata, N. (1992) 'Shakai Kaiso to Shisan Kakusa:Kaiso-teki chii to keizai kakusa no kanren wo megutte (Social stratification and differences in property)', Shakai Hosho Kenkyu (Social Security Studies), Vol.27, No.4, 360-371.

Kobayashi, Y. (1979) 'Mochi-ie Ishiki wo Megutte: Dai-toshi shuhen-bu tateuri jutaku no jittai (Home-ownership consciousness)', Kokumin Seikatsu Kenkyu (National livelihood studies), Vol.19, No.1, 68-97.

Kobayashi, Y. (1980) 'Mochi-i-ka e no Shinten ni Tomonau Kakei Doko to Mochi-ie Shutoku Jittai ('Household income with expansion of home-ownership and reality of acquisition of homes)', Kokumin Seikatsu Kenkyu (National livelihood studies), Vol.19, No.4, 11-34.

Land Agency (1995) To-do-fu-ken Chika Chosa no Jisshi Jokyo oyobi Chika no Jokyo (Prefectural land price survey).

Land Agency (1996) Chika Koji (Public announcement of land price).

Management and Coordination Agency, Japan Statistical Yearbook, 1996.

Ministry of Labour (1994) Basic Survey on Wage Structure.

Miyake, J. (1980) 'Genzai no Mochi-ie Shiko ni tsuite (Current trend of home-ownership)', Kokumin Seikatsu Kenkyu (National livelihood studies), Vol.19, No.4, 1-10.

Mumford, L. (1970) The Culture of Cities, the 1970 ed., Westport: Greenwood Press.

Murakami, Y. (1984) Shin Chukan Taishu no Jidai (New middle mass), Tokyo: Chuo Koronsha.

Obayashi, M. (1993) 'Kanagawa: Japan's Brain Centre', Fujita, K. and Child Hill, R.(eds), Japanese Cities in the World Economy, Temple University Press.

Ohnuki-Tierney, E. (1987) The Monkey as Mirror: Symbolic transformations in Japanese history and ritual, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Recruit Corporation (1996) Shinchiku Ikko-date Konyu-sha Doko Chosa (Trend of new home-owners).

Saunders, P. (1990) A Nation of Home Owners, London: Unwin Hyman.

Saunders, P. (1990) Social Class and Stratification, London: Routledge.

Stacey, M. (1960) Tradition and Change: A study of Banbury, Oxford University Press.

Williams, P. (1987) 'Constituting Class and Gender: A Social History of the Home, 1700-1901', Thrift, N. and Williams, P. (eds), Class and Space: The Making of Urban Society, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Williams, R. (1990) Culture and Society, London: The Hogarth Press.

Yamazaki, K. (1981) 'Jutaku to Hinkon: Daitoshi no Mochi-ie Jutaku Shutoku wo Megutte (Housing and poverty: home-ownership and in large cities)', Eguchi, E. (ed), Shakai Fukushi to Hinkon (Social welfare and poverty), Tokyo: Horitsu Bunkasha.

Yokohama City (1993) Kohoku New Town.

Yokohama City (1996) Yokohama no Chika (Land prices in Yokohama).

APPEXDIX

Home Owner Attitude Survey

1. What first attracted you to this house?
2. What parts or features of the house or property do you like best?
   →Whast is important about this?/ Why is it important to you?
3. What parts or features of the house or property do you like least?
   →How would you change or improve it you could?
4. Could you describe your ideal house?
5. I would like to read a number of statements on how you feel about your house. Could you tell me for each one if you agree/strongly agree, disagree/strongly disagree, or neither?

My house represents a place where I can retreat from all the pressures of the outside world. / I cannot relax at home if my home is not crean. / I need the house I live in to make a distinctive statement about ehat kind person I am. / It is important to me that my house feels cosy and houmely. / My house is a spiritual anchor for my family. / The houme is mainly the woman's domain. / My house is a symbol of what I have achieved in life. / It is important to me that the house I live in should be well equipped with modem facilities. / It does not worry me if I am overlooked by my nevt-door neighbours. / I can move into a plase and feel settled without needing to change it in any way. / It is important that my present or future partner and I share equally in the responsibility of keeping the house running. / My house is simply a place where I go to eat and sleep. / I can be very happy in a house that has no frills but has only the basic essentials. / I do not feel emotional attachment to this house. / People could not tell from looking at my house what kind of status I have in society. / A place that is always spik-and-span does not feel like a real home.

6. Here are five photographs of house and five types of people who might live in them. Please try to match each house with its most likely occupant.

Secondary school teacher /Company director /Sales supervisor in a department store /Senior civil servant /Foreman in a manufacturing flrm
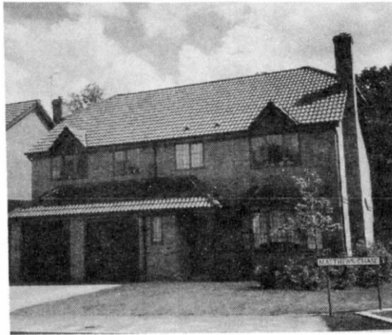
① ②

③ ④ ⑤

7. Could you tell me your age and sex?

Age: under 21 / 21-30 / 31-40 / 41-50 / 51-60 / 61-70 / over 70
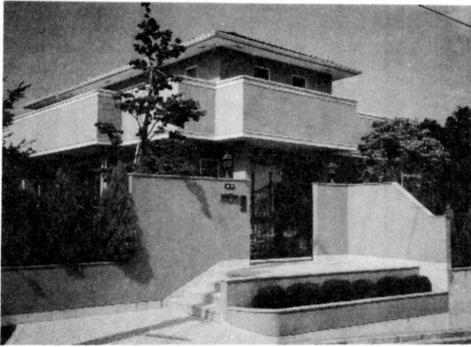
Sex: Male / Female

8. Lastly, could you tell me your occupation in detail?

Occupational title: Type of company(if applicable): Employment status: employer /employee if employer', the number of employees:

6. Here are five photographs of house and five types of people who might live in them. Please try to match each house with its most likely occupant.

Secondary school teacher /Company director /Sales supervisor in a department store /Senior civil servant /Foreman in a manufacturing flrm

①

②

③   ④   ⑤

7. Could you tell me your age and sex?
     Age: under 21 / 21-30 / 31-40 / 41-50 / 51-60 / 61-70 / over 70
     Sex: Male / Female
8. Lastly, could you tell me your occupation in detail?
     Occupational title: Type of company(if applicable): Employment status: employer /employee if employer', the number of employees: