

Becoming Homeless at Tokyo: Status Downslide in the Lower Society

We, four members of Tokyo Team, made intensive interview with twenty-five of Tokyo's homeless between March 17th and May 2nd in 2003. The interviewees consists of thirteen homeless who went on in the open air (three at Ueno, San'ya and Sumida River in eastern Tokyo and ten at Shinjyuku, Ikebukuro and Shibuya in western Tokyo) and twelve homeless who were in the shelters runned by the Metropolis of Tokyo and the aid organizations.

In chapter 2 we analyze the survey data by focusing on the jobs and residences which they had before becoming homeless. Through this study we make clear their **status downslide in the lower society**, that is, the **processes of downward shift of employment status and residential one *within* the lower society**. And the final point of status downslide is homelessness. Five factors are analyzed in detail here: family condition, kind of job, employment status, residential status and work place. By these analyses we think we can shed light on some characteristics of twenty-five of Tokyo's homeless. And we believe we can get important clues to infer the total picture of Tokyo's homelessness situation.

1. Family Condition

We think that family condition is an important determinant of job career of child. That is, the parent's job decides the family income, which decides the educational career of child, and the latter decides the opportunity which child can select a desired job after graduation from school. At first see **Table 1**. It shows jobs of twenty-five interviewees' parents. As we can see, parents who worked in the primary industry such as farmer, fisher and coal miner are most in number (twelve interviewees). Second in number are factory laborers (four interviewees). On the contrary parents who did white collar jobs (business owner, manager and clerical worker) are few in number (five interviewees). Parents' status in the job hierarchy was rather low on the whole. There was included even a parent who was the nightclub receptionist.

As a result the family income level of interviewees is inferred to have been low and rather poor in social status, at least never high. This family condition is believed to have brought the poor educational opportunity to their children, not only because of monetary disability but also because of low motivation with regards to

educational achievement. Finally, the poor educational achievement is inferred to have limited the opportunity which the interviewees could select a desired job after graduation from school.

Table 2 shows the educational achievement of the interviewees. Two findings are indicated here. First, the interviewees had poor educational achievement on the whole. Junior high school graduate occupied more than half among the twenty-five interviewees, and almost all interviewees reached only to the level of compulsory education (elementary school and junior high school). Their level of educational achievement is much lower than one of the ordinary Japanese because 47.2 percent of ordinary Japanese were the graduates from universities and graduate school already in 1990 in Japan according to the census. There were only two university graduates in our survey.

* There were 14.7 junior high school graduates, 7.6 senior high school graduates and 1.3 university graduates among every twenty-five respondents according to the survey about 1,028 homeless at Tokyo in 1999 (SGUL 2001: 15, recalculated by Aoki). There were 15.0 junior high school graduates, 8.7 senior high school graduates and 1.2 university graduates among every twenty-five respondents according to the survey of about 827 homeless at Tokyo in 2003 (Kitagawa 2003, recalculated by Aoki). Both surveys show that the respondents had almost same educational achievement to the interviewees of our survey.

Second, the interviewees on the whole tended manual jobs just after graduation from school. There were only five interviewees who came from the white collar job and the salesman among twenty-five interviewees. On the contrary there were fifteen manual laborers and three service workers.

One more finding has to be indicated about the interviewee's family condition. Some interviewees, especially the younger ones, had come from a background with poor family relationships according to our interview survey. One was an orphan, two came from fatherless families, and one was brought up by the grandparents. Moreover there were some other interviewees who had poor family relationships even though they had lived with both of their parents. The poor family relationships are inferred to have caused the low motivation with regards to educational achievements, as well as the low morale concerning job selection.

We can summarize the interviewees' family condition as follows. The low family income and the poor family relationship led to the poor educational achievement,

and the latter brought the poor opportunity of job selection. As a result so many interviewees became manual laborers just after their graduation from school. We can see the starting point of interviewee's status downslide in their career here.

2. Career

One characteristic common to all the twenty-five respondents is that they have had experienced being homeless at least the second time around, that is, having once been homeless, then regained residential status after having entered another job, and ultimately forced to being homeless again after losing such job. In this sense, the case of homelessness of our twenty-five respondents is attributed to the termination of their jobs. We shall then examine the interviewees' shifting of jobs into four career stages; 1) First Job, 2) Longest Job, 3) previous job before entering his first experience of homelessness (JBFH), and 4) previous job before entering his latest taste of homelessness (JBLH).

Based on the result of the interview, majority of the respondents tended to have settled for manual jobs just after their graduation from school. There were only five interviewees who had either office or sales work for their first job. On the contrary, there were fifteen manual laborers and three service workers.

Table 3 shows the various work shifts of twenty-five interviewees by four stages of their career. Two findings are indicated here. First, more than half interviewees started their career with manual jobs such as factory laborer, construction laborer and other general manual jobs. However, the interview indicates that experiences as salesmen and service workers were almost same to the laborers in the actual conditions: the instability of employment status, hard work and poor payment. Second, the First Job seems to make a big impact to the interviewee's selection of the succeeding job, especially the Longest Job. As we can see, jobs which the interviewees had were shifted to the more manual kinds of job gradually through the four career stages. This finding is explained in detail as follows. The manual laborer (factory laborer, construction laborer and general manual laborer) was most in number among twenty-five interviewees in every stage of career. Moreover, there are other findings concerning the manual laborers. First, the factory laborers decreased drastically from ten at the stage of the First Job to two at the stage of the Longest Job. There is only one interviewee who qualified from being a factory laborer from the stage of his First Job to the stage of his Longest Job (from ten interviewees to two ones). It can be interpreted that the factory laborer was a job status which was higher than

other kinds of manual job. This implies that recently there were not many homeless who came from being factory laborers. It is in opposition to the widely accepted explanation that the factory laborer is the main source of homeless population. This discrepancy may be caused by the sampling bias. Or we may be able to say that it was hard for the unskilled manual laborer to become even a factory laborer, and that he resulted to become earth laborer in the construction industry. Such interpretation seems to be intensified by the finding that the interviewees who were engaged in general manual job and who eventually became earth workers in the construction industry increased after the stage of the Longest Job. At any rate we need more data to explain the discrepancy between the preceding surveys and our survey clearly.

* There were 4.8 construction laborers and 10.0 factory laborers at the stage of the Longest Job among every twenty-five respondents according to the survey of homeless at Tokyo in 1999. (SGUL 2001: 83-8, recalculated by Aoki). There were 5.6 construction laborers and 5.4 factory laborers at the stage of Longest Job among every twenty-five respondents according to the survey about 303 homeless in western Tokyo in 1999 (RCHUR1999: 29, recalculated by Aoki). The construction laborer in our survey is more in number than ones in these two surveys and the factory laborers in our survey is less in number than ones in these two surveys. How we can interpret this discrepancy ?

Second, the construction laborer was most in number among twenty-five interviewees during and after the stage of the Longest Job (nine interviewees). Our findings however indicate that the skilled laborers such as plasterer, carpenter, scaffold constructor, molder, truck driver, crane operator and other apprentices decreased, and that the unskilled laborers gradually increased through the four career stages. **Table 4** shows the shift of sub-categories of construction laborer by these four stages of career. Here we can confirm the downward shift in the job status of the respondents, that is, from the skilled laborer to the unskilled laborer. Third, the general manual laborers increased through the four career stages, especially at the stages of the JBFH and the JBLH (six interviewees and nine ones). This means an aspect of status downslide because the general manual job is more unstable in the employment status and lower in the payment than job in the construction industry in general.

Also, the group of service worker was the second biggest subgroup of interviewees. The service worker consisted of jobs such as hotel attendant, cook, as well as restaurant, noodle shop, pachinko parlor, mahjong parlor, cabaret and club

employees. Our interview reveals that these are jobs with unstable employment status, and, like manual labor, requires hard physical work. Other answers consisted of two other kinds of laborer: laborer who transferred from one job to another frequently, and laborer who was unemployed or jobless.

All these findings make us know that the interviewees' opportunity of job selection was limited to manual job in general.

3. Employment Status

The low job status is closely linked to the unstable employment in general. **Table 5** shows the shift of employment status of twenty-five interviewees through the four career stages. Some findings are indicated here. First, the interviewees engaged in regular employment were most in number at the stages of the First (fifteen interviewees) and the Longest Job (fifteen interviewees), but they decreased afterward drastically. On the contrary, those engaged in the daily based employment increased gradually, especially at the stage of the JBLH (seventeen interviewees). "Others" in **Table 5** consisted of jobs such as construction apprentice and family business assistant, that is, jobs which do not have the modern employer-employee relationships.

In a word we can confirm about the employment status of interviewee that the stable employment decreased and that the unstable employment increased through the four career stages.

* There were 14.5 regular laborers at the stage of the Longest Job, and 7.4 just before becoming homeless among every twenty-five respondents according to the survey by SGUL which we referred to above (SGUL 1999: 66, 83-4, recalculated by Aoki). There were 13.9 regular laborers at the stage of the Longest Job, and 6.7 just before becoming homeless among every twenty-five respondents according to the survey by RCHUR which we also referred to above (RCHUR 1999: 30, recalculated by Aoki). These findings seem to correspond to ones in our survey.

This finding is examined in more detail by **Table 6**. It consisted of shift of subgroups classified by kind of job and employment status in four career stages. As we can see, the jobs with regular employment consisted of office worker, factory laborer, construction laborer and general laborer and service worker. Most of them were manual jobs. Moreover we can indicate that there were many routes to becoming a construction laborer with the employment on the daily basis, and that the construction

industry functioned as a pool of laborers who were pushed toward the unstable jobs. The 'regular' employment did not always mean the 'stable' employment actually in this context. Most regular laborers are paid on the monthly basis nominally, but on the daily basis actually, especially in the case of construction industry. We can reconfirm this indication by taking into consideration that the regular employment decreased by almost half between the Longest Job and the JBFH career stages (from fifteen interviewees to seven ones). And the interviewees who were engaged in general manual jobs with casual and the daily based employment appeared at the stages of the JBFH (five interviewees) and increased at the stage of the JBLH (seven interviewees). In summary we can confirm the clear shift from the factory laborer with the regular employment to the construction laborer with the daily based employment, and at the same time to the general manual laborer with the daily based employment.

All the findings make us know that there was a status downslide of the employment through four career stages before each interviewee entered into his current homeless state. They were destined to becoming homeless.

4. Yoseba Experience

The idea that **yoseba** is the biggest resource of homeless in Japan has been a widely accepted fact. Refer to Chapter 1 about the definition and background of yoseba. Among the twenty-five interviewees, only six of them had experienced to get jobs at the yoseba, especially San'ya in Tokyo. This finding indicates that the yoseba was not the only route to homelessness, but there were also other routes in the general labor market, and that the homeless who came from service worker and the general manual laborer were more in number than the laborer who came from yoseba. We will be back to this point later in the discussion of residential status of the interviewees before becoming homeless.

* There were 10.4 laborers who had experience to get jobs at the yoseba among every twenty-five respondents in 1999 according to the survey at Tokyo in 1999 (SGUL 2001: 95, recalculated by Aoki). It is more in number than the one in our survey. It may reflect the fact that, recently, the main place of job arrangement for the construction laborer has changed from inside the yoseba to the laborer's lodging outside of yoseba.

5. Residential Status

By the way how were the residential conditions of interviewees before

becoming homeless ? **Table 7** shows the shift of residential status of twenty-five interviewees through four career stages. These findings draw a picture of the respondents' changes in living condition before becoming homeless. Some findings are indicated here. First, many of the interviewees commuted to the work places from their parents' houses at the stage of First Job (eleven interviewees). This implies that they had restricted moving spatial range between the places to live and the work places, and that they were in the low status in the job hierarchy because of limited option of job selection. Second, the interviewees with stable residential status (owned and self-paid house, parents' house, apartment) decreased, and consequently the interviewees who had the unstable residential status (tea shop and sauna, street, etc.) increased. Stable residence steadily had a downward trend through the four career stages. Another finding vital for discussion is that the interviewees who lived in the flophouse in yoseba were very few (one interviewee). On the contrary, the interviewees who lived in the laborer's lodging increased. These findings seem to have reflected the diversification of the way which the construction laborer got a job, that is, from inside yoseba to outside of yoseba. Moreover, the interviewees who lived in the dormitory, rooming-in, and apartment houses arranged by the employer and the daily paid apartment houses, which were classified as Others(2), decreased drastically. That is, the semi-stable residence decreased and the more unstable one increased through the four job stages.

* There was only one resident who lived in the flophouse before becoming homeless, and 9.5 residents who lived in the laborer's lodging among every twenty-five respondents according to the survey by RCHUR which we referred to above (RCHUR 1999: 25, recalculated by Aoki). These findings seem to correspond to the ones in our survey.

The interviewees who lived in the facility not for sleep such as tea shop and sauna increased from the stage of the JBFH, and those who slept on the streets began to appear at the stage of the JBLH. The interviewee's way to live was diversified and the residential status went downward at the stage of the JBLH.

These findings can be summarized in two points. First, the interviewees who lived in the houses arranged by the employers increased on the whole. It implies that when they were fired, they were forced to leave from their residential places and transfer to other houses at the same time. Second, the way where they take sleep at night was diversified especially at the stage of the JBLH. And the interviewees who

moved the place to live day to day increased too. They were destined to become homeless.

6. Status Shift of Subgroups by Employment and Residence

The employment status of laborer influences his/her residential one. Therefore we have to understand the shift of employment status in connection with one of residential status. **Table 8** shows the shift of subgroups classified by employment and residential status through four career stages. Some findings are indicated here. First, the interviewees who had both stable job and residence (Group 1) decreased gradually. On the contrary the interviewees who had both unstable job and residence (Group 4) increased. We have to keep in mind that most stable jobs of Group 1 and 2 (fifteen interviewees) were composed of jobs which were rather unstable in actual although they were classified in the 'regular' jobs as mentioned above. Among nine interviewees who lived in the stable residential place in Group 1 at the stage of the First Job, seven of them lived in their parents' houses. The increase of unstable job and residential status in Group 4 at the stage of the JBFH and the JBLH reflected the increase of casual and the daily based employment. Moreover the whole instability of employment status and residential one of interviewees is intensified by the findings that the interviewees of Group 2 and Group 3 decreased and that the movers from Group 2 and Group 3 went to Group 4.

7. Work Place

Finally we analyze the work place of interviewees before becoming homeless in order to see his geographical range of job shift. **Table 9** shows the shift of interviewees' work places through four job stages. The work place was classified in eight subgroups. We can indicate here that the interviewees had experiences getting a job within the Tokyo Metropolitan Area (TMA) before becoming homeless, except in two cases. The exceptional cases were the interviewees of Group 1 who became homeless just after coming to TMA from non-TMA. The sole interviewee in Group 2 became homeless after running away from his parents' house and coming to TMA when he was still young. The interviewees of Group 4 went to non-TMA through TMA. The lone interviewee in Group 6 stayed at San'ya in Tokyo at the stage of the Longest Job, shifted to Kamagasaki, Osaka's big yoseba, and came back to TMA. Group 7 contained two interviewees who were born in TMA and seven interviewees who came to TMA at the stage of the First Job. The lone interviewee in Group 8 came from TMA originally. We can indicate that there were very few interviewees who had been born

in TMA. **Table 10** shows the summary of shift of work place through four job stages. As we can see, the interviewees who worked at non-TMA decreased and the interviewees who worked at TMA increased gradually.

* There were 9.8 respondents who worked at Tokyo at the stage of the First Job and 18.8 respondents who worked at Tokyo at the stage of the Longest Job among every twenty-five respondents according to the survey by SGUL (SGUL 1999: 23, 33, recalculated by Aoki). These findings seem to correspond to the ones in our survey.

There increased the number of interviewees who worked at TMA at the stage of the Longest Job on the whole. There were twenty interviewees who worked at TMA for more than ten years as we can see by **Table 11**. Our interview tells that most of them came to TMA when they were young. On the contrary, there were only three interviewees who worked at TMA for less than ten years. **Table 10** shows that those interviewees came to TMA for jobs when they were young as a whole.

* There were 2.2 respondents who worked less than ten years at Tokyo among every twenty-five respondents according to the survey of SGUL (SGUL 1999: 23, recalculated by Aoki). This finding seems to correspond to the one in our survey.

8. Summary

The analyses of employment statuses, residential ones and work places of the twenty-five interviewees before becoming homeless are summarized in five points. First, many interviewees had poor family conditions originally. Such family conditions led to the low educational achievement, and the latter led to the poor choice of the First Job being low in the job hierarchy. Second, the First Job regulated the whole career. Not only did it decide the low employment status of the Longest Job, but it also brought the downward shift of employment status afterwards. Homelessness was its terminal point. Third, the main resource of homelessness was not the factory laborer but the construction laborer and the service worker. The factory laborer has been believed as the main resource of homelessness in the preceding studies. But the finding in our survey showed the contradictory evidence. It might be caused by the sampling bias partly. At the same time it can be inferred that it was hard for the simple manual laborer to get even job in the factory, and that he was led to become an earth worker in the construction industry.

Fourth, the unstable employment status decided the unstable residential status. Almost half among the twenty-five interviewees lived in the parents' houses at the stage of the First Job. But most of them transferred to the houses arranged by the employers at the stage of the Longest Job. The interviewees who had the unstable employment status almost always were dependent to the houses offered by the parents or the employers. Therefore the loss of job meant the loss of house to live for them. That is, when they were fired from the companies, they were forced to be homeless necessarily if they did not have any safety resource such as families' or friends' monetary help, savings and so on to avoid becoming homeless. Fifth, most of the interviewees had worked in the TMA (Tokyo Metropolitan Area), thus having close connection within TMA at the same time. Most of the interviewees came from outside TMA originally. There were only two interviewees who had been born in TMA. But the most outsiders who worked at TMA for more than ten years became the biggest resource of Tokyo's homeless. The interviewees who became homeless just after coming from non-TMA were very few (two interviewees).

In conclusion *we can summarize all these processes as the status downslide within the lower society.* The main processes are expressed schematically as follow. (A → B means that A defines or decides B.)

main downslide course of employment status

• poor family condition → poor educational achievement → the manual laborer (factory laborer → construction laborer and general manual laborer) → homeless

main downslide course of resident status

• parents' house → house arranged by the employer → laborer's lodging → facility not for sleep → street → homeless

9. Discussion

The findings in our survey are concerning twenty-five homeless whom we interviewed from first to last. We can not generalize our picture of Tokyo's homelessness to the total one carelessly. However, we believe that we got some clues to do so.

The preceding surveys of Tokyo's homelessness did not make us know the family condition and the First Job of homeless. Therefore, we can not know the process of status downslide within the lower society sufficiently. Our survey made us know two new findings. First, homeless in general had the poor family condition

originally and this condition led to the poor choice of the First Job being low in the job hierarchy. Second, the First Job regulated the whole career of homeless.

We cited some data of the preceding surveys of Tokyo's homelessness and compared them to the ones in our survey. As we saw, our data depicted the almost same picture of homelessness to the ones of the preceding surveys as far as concerning the job career and the residence, but except one point. What is the exceptional point is as follows. The preceding surveys revealed that the factory laborer at the stage of Longest Job was a main resource of homelessness. Our survey revealed that the factory laborer at the stage of Longest Job was not any resource of homelessness although there had been many factory laborers at the stage of First Job. Where did this discrepancy come from? It is difficult for us to interpret it because the preceding surveys did not make us know the First Job of homeless, the reasons of job loss at the stages of the First Job and the Longest Job. However, we can interpret the discrepancy temporarily as follows. At first it may be caused by the sampling bias. At the same time it may be interpreted that people could not keep the status of factory laborer up to the stage of Longest Job or that they could not get jobs at the factories more once after they had lost them. If such interpretation is valid, then it becomes clear here that even the factory laborer is a job status which the lower people can not get easily and that some people experience the status downslide irrespective of the condition of manufacturing industry, that is, the economic globalization, and become homeless.

This is a temporary conclusion. We have to get more data about Tokyo's homelessness concerning the job and residential career and depict the total figure of Tokyo's homelessness perfectly.

Reference

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Table 1. Jobs of Interviewees' Parents: person

Farmer & Fisher	11
Coal Miner	1
Business Manager	2
Restaurant Owner	1
Office Worker	1
Teacher	1
Factory Laborer	4
Nightclub Receptionist	1
Soldier	1
Orphan	1
Total	24

*Unknown is removed.

Table 2. Educational Status by Job: person

Edu. Status / Kind of Job	manual laborer							Total
	office work	sales	service	factory	construction	general	other	
Junior High School Graduate		2	2	6	3	1		14
Senior High School Graduate	1	1		4	1		1	8
University Graduate	1		1					2
Total	2	3	3	10	4	1	1	24

*Unknown is removed.

*Classification of twenty-five interviewees' jobs

Business contains publisher and employee of realty business.

Office Work contains bank employee and shrine's front desk.

Sales contains salesman of antique shop, meat shop and gas station and co-op's staff

Service contains hotel attendant, cook, employee of restaurant, noodle shop, pachinko parlor, mahjongg parlor, cabaret and club.

Factory contains factory laborer of cake, gum product, brick, gas lighter, phone switcher, computer, microwave oven, cloths, lacquer ware, machine and iron.

Construction contains the skilled laborer such as wiring laborer, plasterer, carpenter, scaffold constructor, mold laborer, driver of truck and crane and earth worker.

General contains traffic guard, deliveryman of vegetables, rice, bicycle and petrol, laborer of moving house, maintenance laborer of skating rink and warehouse keeper, sorter of trash and goods, cleaner and coal miner.

Other includes the respondent who always changed job.

Table 3. Shift of Job by Career / person

<u>Kind of Job / Career</u>	<u>First Job</u>	<u>→ Longest Job</u>	<u>→ JBFH</u>	<u>→ JBLH</u>
Business		1	1	1
Deskwork	2			
Sales	3	2		
Service	3	7	5	4
Factory	10	2	1	
Construction	4	9	10	10
General	1	3	6	9
Subtotal	15	14	17	19
Others	1	1	1	1
Total	24	25	25	25

*Unknown is removed.

* First Job means job which homeless engaged in after the graduation of school.

Longest Job means job which homeless engaged in for the longest term in his life.

JBFH means job which homeless had just before he entered in the first homeless life.

JBLH means job which homeless had just before he entered in the last homeless life.

Others include the respondents who always changed job and who was jobless.

Table 4. Shift of Skill Level of Construction Laborer by Career / person

<u>Skill Level/ Career</u>	<u>First Job</u>	<u>→ Longest Job</u>	<u>→ JBFH</u>	<u>→ JBLH</u>
Skilled Laborer	4	5	3	2
Unskilled Laborer		4	7	8
Total	4	9	10	10

Table 5. Shift of Employment Status by Career / person

<u>Emp. Status / Career</u>	<u>First Job</u>	<u>→ Longest Job</u>	<u>→ JBFH</u>	<u>→ JBLH</u>
Self-Employment		2	2	2
<u>Regular Employment</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>3</u>
Casual Employment	1	1	2	1
<u>Daily Employment</u>		<u>7</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>17</u>
<u>Subtotal</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>18</u>
Others	6			
<u>Non-Correspondence</u>			<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	22	25	25	24

* Unknown is removed.

* Regular employment means the employment for more than one year or with no concrete term.

Casual employment means the employment for less than one year.

Daily employment means the employment in daily basis.

Non-correspondence means the unemployment or the joblessness.

Table 6. Shift of Main Job and Main Employment Status by Career / person

<u>Job-Emp. Status / Career</u>	<u>First Job</u>	<u>→ Longest Job</u>	<u>→ JBFH</u>	<u>→ JBLH</u>
Office-Regular	2	2	1	
Factory-Regular	9	2	1	
Construction-Regular	1	2		
General-Regular	1	3	1	1
<u>Service-Regular</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>
<u>Subtotal</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>3</u>
Construction-Daily Employment		7	10	10
<u>General-Daily Employment</u>			<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>
<u>Subtotal</u>		<u>7</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>17</u>
<u>Other Subgroups</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	22	25	25	24

* Unknown is removed.

Table 7. Shift of Resident Status by Career / person

<u>Resident Status / Career</u>	<u>First Job</u>	<u>→ Longest Job</u>	<u>→ JBFH</u>	<u>→ JBLH</u>
(Owned and Self-Paid Houses)				
Parents' House	11	3	3	1
Others (1)	2	5	4	3
(House arranged by Company)				
Flophouse (Doya)		1	1	1
Laborer's lodging		4	6	7
Others (2)	10	11	7	5
(Facility Not For Sleep)				
Tea Shop and Sauna			3	3
Street				3
Others (3)	1	1	1	2
Total	24	25	25	25

* Unknown is removed.

* Others (1) contain the owned house, the apartment and the company house for employee's family.

Doya means the flophouse for day laborer.

Others (2) contain the dormitory, the rooming-in, the apartment house arranged by the company and the daily paid apartment house.

Facility Not For Sleep contains tea shop and sauna.

Others (3) contain the public shelter, the relative's house, the often changing place to live.

Table 8. Shift of Subgroups of Employment Status and Resident Status by Career / person

<u>Subgroups / Job Career</u>	<u>First Job</u>	<u>→ Longest Job</u>	<u>→ JBFH</u>	<u>→ JBLH</u>
Group 1. Stable Labor / Stable Residence	9	8	6	3
Group 2. Stable Labor / Unstable Residence	6	9	3	2
Group 3. Unstable Labor / Stable Residence	3		1	1
Group 4. Unstable Labor / Unstable Residence	4	8	14	17
Total	22	25	24	23

* Unknown is removed.

* Classified Subgroup

Stable Labor contains self-employment and regular employment.

Unstable Labor contains casual employment and Daily Employment.

Stable Residence contains parents' house and self-paid house.

Unstable Residence contains hose arranged by the employer, frequent change of house and life on the street.

Table 9. Shift of Work Place by Career / person

Group / Career	First Job	→ Longest Job	→ JBFH	→ JBLH	person
Group 1.	non-TMA	non-TMA	non-TMA	non-TMA	2
Group 2.	non-TMA	non-TMA	non-TMA	TMA	1
Group 3.	non-TMA	non-TMA	TMA	TMA	3
Group 4.	non-TMA	TMA	non-TMA	non-TMA	2
Group 5.	non-TMA	TMA	TMA	TMA	6
Group 6.	TMA	TMA	non-TMA	TMA	1
Group 7.	TMA	TMA	TMA	TMA	9
Group 8.	Various	Various	non-TMA	non-TMA	1
Total					25

*TMA means Tokyo Metropolitan Area which contains Tokyo Metropolis, Kanagawa Prefecture, Saitama Prefecture, and Chiba Prefecture.

non-TMA means all areas in Japan outside of TMA.

Various means the person who always changed the work place.

Table 10. Summary of Shift of Work Place by Career / person

Work Place / Job Stage	First Job	→ Longest Job	→ JBFH	→ JBLH
Non-TMA	14	6	7	5
TMA	10	18	18	20
Always Changing Work Place	1	1		
Total	25	25	25	25

Table 11. Period of Coming to TMA by Age / person

<u>Period / Age</u>	<u>10s</u>	<u>20s</u>	<u>30s</u>	<u>40s</u>	<u>50s</u>	<u>60s</u>	<u>Total</u>
(More than ten years in TMA)							
1940s						2	2
1960s					4	1	5
1970s					2		2
1980s			3	1	2	1	7
<u>First Half of 1990s</u>				1	3		4
<u>Subtotal</u>			3	2	11	4	20
(Less than ten years in TMA)							
Second Half of 1990s						1	1
<u>2000s</u>	1					1	2
<u>Subtotal</u>	1					2	3
<u>Born at TMA</u>		1	1				2
<u>Total</u>	1	1	4	2	11	6	25