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Chapter 3

Current Labor and Income Conditions

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Introduction

For Ainu people, the improvement of living standards has been an important issue for many years. The draft Law for the Promotion of the Ainu Culture and for the Dissemination and Advocacy for the Traditions of the Ainu and the Ainu Culture compiled in 1984 by the Hokkaido Utari Association (now known as the Ainu Association of Hokkaido) included the following recognition of everyday issues faced by Ainu people in those days (Hokkaido Utari Association 1984):

Several tens of thousands of Ainu people are said to be living in Hokkaido in addition to several thousand outside the prefecture. Many of them are not afforded equal opportunities in employment due to racial prejudice and discrimination and are kept out of modern businesses, forming a hidden group of unemployed people who lead a constantly precarious existence. With discrimination spreading poverty, which in turn breeds further discrimination, gaps are also widening in terms of living environments, higher-level education, and more.

In 2008, the Japanese Government established the Advisory Council for the Future Ainu Policy, in which Ainu Association of Hokkaido Executive Director Tadashi Kato, one of the members, insisted on the need for new comprehensive policy measures for the Ainu by legislating for the provision of educational support, support for business establishments not directly related to culture, vocational training for middle-aged workers, livelihood support for the elderly, financial assistance for low-income households and households receiving public assistance, and programs for Ainu people living outside Hokkaido (Prime Minister's Official Residence 2008). The Report on the 2006 Hokkaido Ainu Living Conditions Survey, issued by the Hokkaido Government's Department of Environment and Lifestyle, stated that the percentage of Ainu households with annual incomes of less than 1 million yen had increased, and that the ratio of public assistance recipients among the Ainu was higher than the corresponding figure for Hokkaido as a whole (Department of Environment and Lifestyle, Hokkaido Government 2007).

The need for livelihood and employment support pointed out by Kato is closely related to poverty. Work with stable income is necessary to avoid poverty, and when people face livelihood issues, such as becoming ill or old, the possibility of avoiding poverty is higher if adequate welfare programs are available.

This chapter and later ones aim to shed light on the characteristics of the present working and living conditions of Ainu people based on the employment conditions, occupations, annual incomes, ratios of public assistance recipients, and other factors revealed through this survey (referred to hereinafter as the Hokkaido University survey). We also studied the factors underlying these characteristics by age group, gender, and region.

Characteristics of Labor and Annual Income

Characteristics of Employment Condition and Occupation

Here, we explore the characteristics of employment conditions among individuals belonging to Ainu households as revealed by the Hokkaido University survey in comparison with three sets of data: data from Hokkaido (referred to hereinafter as Hokkaido data) collected in the 2005 Population Census (Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications of Japan 2006); data from the Report on the Tokyo Utari Living Conditions Survey, conducted in 1989 for Ainu people living in Tokyo (Investigation Division of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government's Office of Policy Planning 1989) (referred to hereinafter as the Tokyo Metropolitan Government survey); and data from Tokyo (referred to hereinafter as Tokyo data) gathered in the 1985 Population Census (Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications of Japan 1986).

In the Hokkaido University survey, regular employees accounted for the highest percentage distribution (33.4%) among all employment conditions. However, this figure was approximately half the corresponding figure for the Hokkaido data, the Tokyo Metropolitan Government survey data and the Tokyo data (all making up more than 60%). On the other hand, the percentage of part-time workers, temporary workers, contract employees, and seasonal workers (referred to hereinafter as part-time and temporary workers, 30.4%) in the Hokkaido University survey significantly exceeded that in the other surveys (12.5%-15.4%). The percentages of self-employed workers and family employees (paid or unpaid staff who engage in businesses operated by family members) were also high (Table 3-1).

Table 3-1 Employment condition in Hokkaido University survey data, Hokkaido data, Tokyo Metropolitan Government survey data, and Tokyo data
Units: No. of people, 1,000 people (Tokyo), %

	Proprietors and executives of establishments	Regular employees	Part-time and temporary workers	Self-employed workers	Family employees	Other	Total
Hokkaido University survey	162 4.5	1,212 33.4	1,106 30.4	634 17.5	469 12.9	50 1.4	3,633 100.0
Hokkaido data	146,443 5.6	1,675,206 64.3	399,900 15.4	239,557 9.2	140,020 5.4	2,913 0.1	2,604,039 100.0
Tokyo Metropolitan Government survey	10 2.6	268 69.3	52 13.4	33 8.5	24 6.2	— —	387 100.0
Tokyo data	577 9.3	3,756 60.5	779 12.5	760 12.2	340 5.5	— —	6,212 100.0

Notes:

1. Hokkaido University survey data exclude those without employment, students, and those indicating no response.
2. Hokkaido data were based on the 2005 Population Census (Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications of Japan 2006).
3. Tokyo Metropolitan Government survey data were based on the Report on the Tokyo Utari Living Conditions Survey (Investigation Division of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government's Office of Policy Planning 1989).
4. Tokyo data were based on the 1985 Population Census Report (Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications of Japan 1986).
5. The percentage distribution columns show rounded figures and may not total 100.0 (The same applies hereinafter).

By occupation, the largest proportion of respondents (27.5%) was engaged in agriculture, forestry, and fisheries in the Hokkaido University survey, followed by craftspeople, manufacturing workers, and other related workers (24.5%). White-collar workers (meaning clerical workers, salespeople, specialist and technical workers, and administrative and managerial workers) made up less than 10% in all these categories. On the other hand, agriculture, forestry, and fisheries workers made up less than 10% in Hokkaido data, Tokyo Metropolitan Government survey data, and Tokyo data. In Hokkaido and Tokyo data, white-collar workers excluding administrative and managerial staff exceeded 10%. In the Tokyo Metropolitan Government survey, only the percentage of those engaged in security work surpassed 10% (Table 3-2).

As for the Ainu workforce by industry, the percentages of Ainu workers in primary industries have been higher

than those for all municipalities with Ainu residents while the percentages in secondary and tertiary industries have been lower since 1972, when the Hokkaido Government started the Hokkaido Utari (Ainu) Living Conditions Surveys, as shown in Table 3-3. The percentages of those engaged in primary industries have significantly decreased as the number of surveys has increased. While the figure for those in secondary industries has increased only slightly, the percentage for those in tertiary industries has seen a significant increase.

Table 3-2 Present occupation (Hokkaido University survey data, Hokkaido data, Tokyo Metropolitan Government survey data, and Tokyo data)

Units: No. of people, 1,000 people (Tokyo), %

	Clerical work	Security work	Salespeople	Craftspeople, manufacturing workers, and other related work	Transport and communication work	Specialist and technical work	Administrative and managerial work	Agriculture, forestry, and fisheries work	Service work	Other work/ work not classifiable by occupation	Total
Hokkaido University survey	302 8.7	40 1.1	266 7.6	854 24.5	256 7.3	244 7.0	50 1.4	957 27.5	454 13.0	60 1.7	3,483 100.0
Hokkaido data	457,257 17.6	81,532 3.1	376,846 14.5	655,082 25.2	110,102 4.2	332,551 12.8	66,675 2.6	191,795 7.4	283,118 10.9	49,313 1.9	2,604,271 100.0
Tokyo Metropolitan Government survey	25 6.5	4 1.0	43 11.3	104 27.2	63 16.5	32 8.4	15 3.9	5 1.3	88 23.0	3 0.8	382 100.0
Tokyo data	1388.1 23.1	71.4 1.2	1030.6 17.2	1494.6 24.9	211.8 3.5	835.5 13.9	343.5 5.7	36.9 0.6	556.8 9.3	36.3 0.6	6005.5 100.0

Notes:

1. Hokkaido University survey data show the present occupations of respondents, excluding those without employment, students, and those indicating no response.

2. Hokkaido data were based on the 2005 Population Census (Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications of Japan 2006).

3. Tokyo Metropolitan Government survey data were based on the Report on the Tokyo Utari Living Conditions Survey

(Investigation Division of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government's Office of Policy Planning 1989).

4. Tokyo data were based on the 1985 Population Census Report (Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications of Japan 1986).

Table 3-3 Percentage distribution of Ainu workers in Hokkaido by industry (%)

Category/Survey year		Municipalities (1970)	Ainu people (1972)	All of Hokkaido (1975)	Ainu people (1979)	Municipalities (1980)	Ainu people (1986)	Municipalities (1990)	Ainu people (1993)	Municipalities (1995)	Ainu people (1999)	Municipalities (2005)	Ainu people (2006)
Primary industries	Agriculture	13.6	38.5	6.7	20.3	5.9	15.5	4.9	9.4	3.9	8.4	4.2	7.6
	Forestry	1.8	7.5	0.9	3.3	0.8	3.5	0.4	3.0	0.3	1.8	0.2	0.9
	Fisheries	1.9	17.2	1.8	19.4	1.9	23.3	1.6	22.2	1.3	19.3	1.1	20.1
	Subtotal	17.3	63.2	9.4	43.0	8.6	42.3	6.9	34.6	5.5	29.5	5.5	28.6
Secondary industries	Mining	1.1	0.5	0.4	0.8	0.4	0.5	0.3	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.3
	Construction	10.8	15.1	12.9	22.0	13.5	22.7	12.3	22.3	12.9	19.0	10.5	18.0
	Manufacturing	14.1	4.4	12.8	7.5	11.1	6.4	10.2	9.7	10.0	8.5	8.1	9.4
	Subtotal	26.0	20.0	26.1	30.3	25.0	29.6	22.8	32.4	23.1	27.8	18.7	27.7
Tertiary industries	Electricity, gas, heat supply, and water	0.5	0.3	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.6	25.5	0.9	0.6	1.2	0.5	1.1
	Information and communications, transport	8.9	4.1	8.8	5.6	8.4	5.3	3.3	5.8	7.3	7.4	8.0	7.3
	Wholesale and retail trade, eating and drinking establishments, accommodations	21.3	4.8	25.4	8.5	26.1	8.8	1.2	8.6	25.2	10.5	25.3	11.7
	Finance and insurance	1.9	0.1	2.7	0.4	2.9	0.4	7.4	0.7	3.1	0.8	2.3	1.2
	Real estate	0.5	0.1	1.1	0.1	1.0	0.1	0.6	0.1	1.1	0.1	1.4	0.2
	Medical, health care and welfare, education, learning support	17.4	4.7	19.6	8.8	21.4	9.9	26.3	13.1	28.2	12.3	14.5	3.1
	Compound services, services											16.4	14.0
	Government	6.0	1.3	6.1	2.6	5.8	2.6	5.6	2.8	5.2	3.1	5.2	2.5
	Subtotal	56.5	15.4	64.3	26.6	66.3	27.7	69.9	32.0	70.7	35.4	73.6	41.1
Industries not classifiable		0.1	1.4	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.4	0.4	1.0	0.7	7.3	2.2	2.6
Total		99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: Based on the Reports on the Survey on the Hokkaido Utari Living Conditions issued by the Hokkaido Government's Department of Livelihood in 1973, 1979 and 1986, by the Hokkaido Government's Department of Policy and Welfare in 1994 and the Hokkaido Government's Department of Environment and Lifestyle in 2000 and the Hokkaido Ainu Living Conditions Survey issued by the Hokkaido Government's Department of Environment and Lifestyle in 2007

Japan maintained certain numbers of farm households and farmers until around 1960. However, these numbers have shown a marked reduction since 1970 due to the nation's high rate of economic growth, which triggered a period of rapid disorganization and restructuring in agriculture. In particular, since Hokkaido was not highly industrialized and offered limited opportunities for farmers to engage in side businesses, small-scale farm householders retired from agriculture at a high rate. Changes in the employment status of Ainu people by industry are considered to have been caused by developments to the industrial structure in Japan, including Hokkaido.

In the Hokkaido University survey data, the trends of the Ainu workforce by industry are considered to relate to the percentage distribution of age groups by region. In the whole of Hokkaido, the percentage of those under 40 (i.e., those under 30 plus those aged 30-39) totaled 28.6%, and that of individuals aged 60 or over (i.e., those aged 60-69 plus those aged 70 or over) totaled 27.6%—a very similar figure. Among them, those under 40 years of age accounted for 39.9% and those aged 60 or over made up 20.3% in Ishikari Subprefecture, while the percentage for the younger age group was slightly higher. On the other hand, in areas other than Ishikari, the figure for those aged under 40 either slightly exceeded or remained below that for individuals aged 60 or over (Table 3-4).

These differences may have been caused by young people moving from such areas as Iburi and Hidaka to Ishikari, which includes Sapporo and other urban districts. The Report on the Living Conditions Survey on Utari Living in Sapporo (Hokkaido Utari Association 1976) and the Report on the Living Conditions Survey on Utari Living in Tokyo (Investigation Division of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government's Office of Policy Planning 1989) indicated that a large number of Ainu people in various parts of Hokkaido had moved to Sapporo and Tokyo to work or study since around 1960 when the nation's period of rapid economic growth began.

However, the Ainu population did not simply move from farming and fishing villages to urban areas, and population increases/decreases differed from region to region. For instance, the Ainu population of Ishikari Subprefecture—a place with many urban workers—increased by 1,336 from 1979 to 2006. On the other hand, that of Iburi increased by 123, while that of Hidaka decreased by 4,028 (Table 3-5).

Furthermore, it can be hypothesized that in addition to population changes due to births, deaths, and changes of residence, a number of factors may have affected the tabulation of the Ainu population as shown in the Survey on the Hokkaido Utari Living Conditions and the Report on the Hokkaido Ainu Living Conditions Survey, on which Table 3-5 was based (Department of livelihood, Hokkaido Government 1973, 1979, 1986; Department of Policy and Welfare, Hokkaido Government 1994; Department of Environment and Lifestyle, Hokkaido Government 2000, 2007). One such factor is related to the circumstances of the surveying bodies. By way of example, improvement of the Hokkaido Government's system to conduct surveys of actual conditions led to the identification of many eligible individuals not included in previous surveys. Conversely, the ability to implement surveys deteriorated due to changes in surveying staff and for other reasons, resulting in increased omissions of survey subjects. There may also be cases in which Ainu individuals who had previously refused to disclose their heritage for fear of discrimination and prejudice started to reveal it to surveyors as anti-discrimination awareness grew in society. Conversely, there may also have been cases in which those who had revealed their Ainu heritage in past surveys subsequently began to conceal it.

Table 3-4 Percentage distribution of respondents based on age group by region
Units: No. of people, %

	Under 40	40 – 59	60 or over	Total
Ishikari Subprefecture	287 39.9	287 39.9	146 20.3	720 100.0
Oshima Subprefecture	111 28.9	180 46.9	93 24.2	384 100.0
Kamikawa, Soya, and Abashiri Subprefectures	26 28.6	32 35.2	33 36.3	91 100.0
Tokachi Subprefecture	115 32.3	144 40.4	97 27.3	356 100.0
Iburi Subprefecture	552 28.0	896 45.4	524 26.6	1,972 100.0
Hidaka Subprefecture	402 25.7	662 42.2	502 32.1	1,566 100.0
Kushiro and Nemuro Subprefectures	90 19.1	231 49.0	150 31.9	471 100.0
Areas where the Hokkaido Utari Association has no branches	23 46.9	22 44.9	4 8.2	49 100.0
Total	1,606 28.6	2,454 43.8	1,549 27.6	5,609 100.0

Table 3-5 Ainu population by region (7 regions)

Unit: No. of people

Survey year	Ishikari	Oshima	Kamikawa, Soya, and Abashiri	Tokachi	Iburi	Hidaka	Kushiro and Nemuro
1979	1,408	383	691	873	6,499	11,558	2,547
1986	1,934	587	624	980	6,587	10,392	3,261
1993	2,176	633	531	896	7,330	9,299	2,919
1999	2,424	661	672	988	6,886	8,965	3,136
2006	2,744	732	2,002	917	6,622	7,530	3,204

Note:

1. Based on the same data as Table 3-3
2. Excluding those indicating no response

Characteristics of Annual Income

The average annual income of Ainu households was 3.558 million yen, and the figure excluding those without annual incomes was 3.692 million. The classification in million-yen increments shows that the largest number of households had incomes of at least 2 million and under 3 million yen (Table 3-6). The average annual income (4.406 million yen) and the highest percentage distribution of income (at least 3 million and under 4 million yen) in Hokkaido data exceeded those in the Hokkaido University survey data. The nation's average annual income (5.668 million yen) and the highest percentage distribution of income (at least 3 million and under 4 million yen) also surpassed those in the Hokkaido University survey data (Table 3-7).

Also as for individual annual income, many respondents in the Hokkaido University survey were low-income earners. The average annual income was 1.975 million yen, rising to 2.419 million yen if individuals without annual incomes were excluded from the calculations. The largest number of respondents (18.9%) earned at least 1 million yen and below 2 million yen annually. Those without annual incomes and those with incomes under 2 million yen (considered low-income earners in this chapter) made up 53.2% (Table 3-8).

A look at employment conditions for those without individual annual incomes and those with incomes under 2 million yen shows that part-time and temporary workers accounted for the highest percentage (76.4%). More than 70% of part-time and temporary workers and family employees (72.5%) earned less than 2 million yen. The number of low-income earners was relatively small among regular employees (27.0%).

By occupation, the percentage of low-income earners was high among service workers (76.4%), salespeople (69.0%), and clerical workers (53.7%). Many low-income earners were also included among agriculture, forestry, and fisheries workers (44.0%) as well as craftspeople, manufacturing workers, and other related workers (31.5%), who showed a high percentage distribution among Ainu people.

In this way, the number of low-income earners was relatively high in Ainu households overall because the primary employment conditions and occupations among Ainu individuals and households included many low-income earners.

The employment condition with the highest percentage of high-income earners (with annual incomes of 8 million yen or over) was proprietors and executives of establishments at 12.6%, followed by self-employed workers at 10.9%. Part-time and temporary workers made up the lowest percentage, followed by regular employees, family employees, and the like. By occupation, only administrative and managerial workers exceeded 10% (10.2%). The number of high-income earners was small among service workers, salespeople, clerical workers, and the like (Tables 3-9 and 3-10).

Table 3-6 Annual household income (incl. tax)

Units: No. of households, %

	None	Under 1 million yen	1 million – under 2 million yen	2 million – under 3 million yen	3 million – under 4 million yen	4 million – under 5 million yen	5 million – under 6 million yen	6 million – under 7 million yen
Actual number	92	195	432	567	409	280	177	102
%	3.2	6.7	14.9	19.5	14.1	9.6	6.1	3.5
	7 million – under 8 million yen	8 million – under 9 million yen	9 million – under 10 million yen	10 million yen or over	No response	Total	Average	
Actual number	71	40	60	100	378	2,903	3.558 million yen	
%	2.4	1.4	2.1	3.4	13.0	100.0	3.692 million yen	

Note: The upper row in "average" shows the overall average, and the lower row indicates the average of income earners excluding those without annual incomes.

Table 3-7 Annual household income in the Hokkaido University survey, Hokkaido, and all of Japan

	Hokkaido University survey		Hokkaido		All of Japan	
	No. of households	%	No. of households	%	No. of households	%
Under 1 million yen	195	8.0	27	6.2	618	6.2
1 million – under 2 million yen	432	17.8	72	16.5	1,167	11.7
2 million – under 3 million yen	567	23.3	76	17.4	1,288	12.9
3 million – under 4 million yen	409	16.8	79	18.1	1,317	13.2
4 million – under 5 million yen	280	11.5	49	11.2	1,064	10.6
5 million – under 6 million yen	177	7.3	34	7.8	920	9.2
6 million – under 7 million yen	102	4.2	32	7.3	781	7.8
7 million – under 8 million yen	71	2.9	20	4.6	633	6.3
8 million – under 9 million yen	40	1.6	14	3.2	491	4.9
9 million – under 10 million yen	60	2.5	10	2.3	422	4.2
10 million yen or over	100	4.1	24	5.5	1,303	13.0
Total	2,433	100.0	437	100.0	10,004	100.0
Average income	–	369.2	–	440.6	–	566.8

Notes:

1. The Hokkaido University survey data exclude those without annual incomes and those indicating no response.

2. Figures for Hokkaido and all of Japan were based on the 2007 Comprehensive Survey of Living Conditions (Ministry of Health, Labour, and Welfare of Japan 2008).

Table 3-8 Individual annual income (incl. tax)

Units: No. of people, %

	None	Under 1 million yen	1 million – under 2 million yen	2 million – under 3 million yen	3 million – under 4 million yen	4 million – under 5 million yen	5 million – under 6 million yen	6 million – under 7 million yen
Actual number	930	1,026	1,079	961	468	230	127	72
%	16.3	18.0	18.9	16.9	8.2	4.0	2.2	1.3
	7 million – under 8 million yen	8 million – under 9 million yen	9 million – under 10 million yen	10 million yen or over	No response	Total	Average	
Actual number	51	22	30	75	632	5,703	1.975 million yen	
%	0.9	0.4	0.5	1.3	11.1	100.0	2.419 million yen	

Note: The upper row in "average" shows the overall average, and the lower row indicates the average of income earners excluding those without annual incomes.

Table 3-9 Individual annual income by employment condition

Units: No. of people, %

	No annual income – under 2 million yen	2 million – under 8 million yen	8 million yen or over	Total
Proprietors and executives of establishments	26 16.4	113 71.1	20 12.6	159 100.0
Regular employees in constant employment	319 27.0	855 72.4	7 0.6	1,181 100.0
Part-time workers, temporary workers, contract employees, seasonal workers	818 76.4	252 23.5	1 0.1	1,071 100.0
Self-employed workers	196 32.8	337 56.4	65 10.9	598 100.0
Family employees	301 72.5	102 24.6	12 2.9	415 100.0
Other	32 66.7	14 29.2	2 4.2	48 100.0
Total	1,692 48.7	1,673 48.2	107 3.1	3,472 100.0

Note: Excluding students and those indicating no response

Table 3-10 Individual annual income by occupation

Units: No. of people, %

	No annual income – under 2 million yen	2 million – under 8 million yen	8 million yen or over	Total
Clerical workers	159 53.7	136 45.9	1 0.3	296 100.0
Security workers	14 36.8	23 60.5	1 2.6	38 100.0
Salespeople	178 69.0	79 30.6	1 0.4	258 100.0
Craftspeople, manufacturing workers, and other related workers	262 31.5	558 67.1	11 1.3	831 100.0
Transport and communication workers	63 24.9	188 74.3	2 0.8	253 100.0
Specialist and technical workers	93 39.4	140 59.3	3 1.3	236 100.0
Administrative and managerial workers	14 28.6	30 61.2	5 10.2	49 100.0
Agriculture, forestry, and fisheries workers	388 44.0	413 46.9	80 9.1	881 100.0
Service workers	337 76.4	103 23.4	1 0.2	441 100.0
Other	39 68.4	14 24.6	4 7.0	57 100.0
Total	1,547 46.3	1,684 50.4	109 3.3	3,340 100.0

Note: Excluding those without employment, students, and those indicating no response

Characteristics of Employee Numbers

As for the number of employees, the places of employment of respondents in the Hokkaido University survey included more small-scale establishments than those in Hokkaido data: the number of Ainu people working for businesses with 100 or more employees was small, while that of Ainu people working for small-scale establishments with fewer than 10 employees was relatively large (Table 3-11).

The classification of individual annual incomes based on the number of employees at places of employment shows that low-income earners with incomes of under 1 million yen made up the largest percentage among those working for establishments with one employee (i.e., respondents themselves) and those with two to three employees. Among individuals working for establishments with 1,000 or more employees, those with incomes of at least 1 million and less than 2 million yen accounted for the highest percentage, and among those working for establishments with 500 to 999 employees, individuals with incomes of at least 2 million and less than 3 million yen made up the highest percentage—more people from this group had higher incomes than those working for establishments with one employee and those with two to three employees. However, the percentage of those with zero annual income to less than 2 million yen was high among those working for establishments with 1,000 or more employees and the government. Hence, it can be said that there were basically many low-income earners among the Ainu irrespective of the number of employees at their places of employment (Table 3-12).

To examine the factors underlying these characteristics in the Hokkaido University survey, we further analyze respondents by age group, gender, and region.

Table 3-11 No. of employees at establishments where respondents worked (Hokkaido University survey, Hokkaido data)
Units: No. of people, %

Employee numbers	1 (respondent only) – 4	5 – 9	10 – 49	50 – 99	100 or over	Total
Hokkaido University survey	1,006 28.9	591 17.0	940 27.0	343 9.9	600 17.2	3,480 100.0
Hokkaido data	313,310 13.0	319,373 13.2	904,344 37.4	311,600 12.9	566,342 23.5	2,414,969 100.0

Notes:

1. Excluding those working for the government, those without employment, students and those indicating no response

2. Based on the 2006 Establishment and Enterprise Census (Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications of Japan 2007)

Table 3-12 Individual annual income by employee numbers

Units: No. of people, %

	No annual income	Under 1 million yen	1 million – under 2 million yen	2 million – under 3 million yen	3 million – under 4 million yen	4 million – under 5 million yen	5 million – under 6 million yen	6 million – under 7 million yen	7 million – under 8 million yen	8 million – under 9 million yen	9 million – under 10 million yen	10 million yen or over	Total
1 (respondent only)	30 10.0	60 20.1	48 16.1	58 19.4	32 10.7	21 7.0	16 5.4	14 4.7	6 2.0	5 1.7	5 1.7	4 1.3	299 100.0
2 – 4	52 7.8	169 25.4	144 21.6	144 21.6	67 10.1	24 3.6	16 2.4	7 1.1	8 1.2	4 0.6	8 1.2	23 3.5	666 100.0
5 – 9	26 4.5	119 20.8	143 25.0	128 22.3	75 13.1	29 5.1	15 2.6	7 1.2	7 1.2	2 0.3	6 1.0	16 2.8	573 100.0
10 – 49	23 2.5	144 15.7	241 26.3	270 29.4	131 14.3	54 5.9	16 1.7	16 1.7	10 1.1	2 0.2	2 0.2	8 0.9	917 100.0
50 – 99	7 2.1	57 16.9	89 26.4	84 24.9	56 16.6	25 7.4	13 3.9	4 1.2	2 0.6	0 0.0	0 0.0	0 0.0	337 100.0
100 – 499	3 0.9	51 15.0	106 31.1	81 23.8	45 13.2	28 8.2	12 3.5	9 2.6	0 0.0	4 1.2	0 0.0	2 0.6	341 100.0
500 – 999	1 1.3	13 16.3	20 25.0	22 27.5	12 15.0	6 7.5	3 3.8	2 2.5	0 0.0	0 0.0	1 1.3	0 0.0	80 100.0
1,000 or over	0 0.0	23 13.8	51 30.5	49 29.3	12 7.2	11 6.6	6 3.6	5 3.0	8 4.8	1 0.6	0 0.0	1 0.6	167 100.0
Government	0 0.0	2 4.9	15 36.6	10 24.4	3 7.3	1 2.4	8 19.5	1 2.4	0 0.0	0 0.0	1 2.4	0 0.0	41 100.0
Total	142 4.2	638 18.6	857 25.1	846 24.7	433 12.7	199 5.8	105 3.1	65 1.9	41 1.2	18 0.5	23 0.7	54 1.6	3,421 100.0

Note: Excluding those without employment, students, and those indicating no response

Characteristics by Age Group

Characteristics of Employment Condition and Occupation by Age Group

Employment condition by age group shows that the percentages of regular employees among those aged under 30 and those aged 30-39 were higher than in other age groups. However, compared with the figures for Hokkaido in Table 3-1, the number of regular employees was small and that of part-time and temporary workers was large—a trend that remains unchanged (Table 3-13). Comparison of employment conditions among those aged under 30 between the Hokkaido University survey and Hokkaido data shows that the number of regular employees was smaller in the Hokkaido University survey, while the numbers of part-time and temporary workers, self-employed workers, and family employees surpassed those in Hokkaido data. The percentage of self-employed workers in the Hokkaido University survey was larger than the corresponding figure for Hokkaido data by only 3.2 percentage points, but the percentage of self-employed workers may increase as respondents age because figures for young family employees are considered to include numerous prospective self-employed workers who will take over businesses from their parents in the future (Table 3-14).

If these trends continue, the percentage of regular employees among Ainu households will increase, but the percentages of part-time and temporary workers, self-employed workers, and family employees will remain higher than those for Hokkaido data.

By occupation, the percentage of white-collar workers—particularly clerical workers, salespeople, and specialist and technical workers—was higher among those under 30 than those in the other age groups in the Hokkaido University survey. On the other hand, the percentage of agriculture, forestry, and fisheries workers and that of transport and communication workers was small, while that of craftspeople, manufacturing workers, and other related workers was almost the same as in the other age groups (Table 3-15). Comparison of those under 30 in the Hokkaido University survey and Hokkaido data showed that the percentage distribution in the Hokkaido University survey was close to that of Hokkaido data, with the exception of the high percentage for agriculture, forestry, and fisheries workers as seen in Table 3-16. If this trend continues, the percentage distribution of occupations is expected to become closer to that of Hokkaido data except for the high percentage of agriculture, forestry, and fisheries workers.

Table 3-13 Employment condition by age group

Units: No. of people, %

	Proprietors and executives of establishments	Regular employees in constant employment	Part-time workers, temporary workers, contract employees, seasonal workers	Self-employed workers	Family employees	Other	Total
Under 30	4 0.7	288 51.2	175 31.1	22 3.9	62 11.0	12 2.1	563 100.0
30 – 39	16 3.1	207 40.2	177 34.4	43 8.3	67 13.0	5 1.0	515 100.0
40 – 49	37 4.3	301 35.2	262 30.6	139 16.3	104 12.2	12 1.4	855 100.0
50 – 59	59 6.0	295 30.2	280 28.6	214 21.9	114 11.7	16 1.6	978 100.0
60 – 69	34 6.9	90 18.2	168 34.0	137 27.7	61 12.3	4 0.8	494 100.0
70 or over	9 5.0	16 8.8	35 19.3	63 34.8	57 31.5	1 0.6	181 100.0
Total	159 4.4	1,197 33.4	1,097 30.6	618 17.2	465 13.0	50 1.4	3,586 100.0

Note: Excluding those without employment, students, and those indicating no response

Table 3-14 Employment condition of those aged under 30 (Hokkaido University survey, Hokkaido data)

Units: No. of people, %

	Proprietors and executives of establishments	Regular employees	Part-time and temporary workers	Self-employed workers	Family employees	Total
Hokkaido University survey	4 0.7	288 52.3	175 31.8	22 4.0	62 11.3	551 100.0
Hokkaido data	3,542 1.0	282,630 78.3	67,991 18.8	2,907 0.8	3,807 1.0	360,877 100.0

Notes:

1. Excluding those without employment, students, those indicating no response, and others

2. Based on the 2005 Population Census (Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications of Japan 2006). Excluding others, those without employment, students, and those indicating no response.

Table 3-15 Occupation by age group

Units: No. of people, %

	Clerical workers	Security workers	Salespeople	Craftspeople, manufacturing workers, and other related workers	Transport and communication workers	Specialist and technical workers	Administrative and managerial workers	Agriculture, forestry, and fisheries workers	Service workers	Other	Total
Under 30	76 13.7	9 1.6	57 10.3	139 25.0	12 2.2	72 12.9	1 0.2	91 16.4	95 17.1	4 0.7	556 100.0
30 – 39	71 14.1	9 1.8	41 8.1	133 26.4	38 7.5	32 6.3	3 0.6	85 16.9	74 14.7	18 3.6	504 100.0
40 – 49	76 9.1	11 1.3	56 6.7	186 22.3	81 9.7	61 7.3	7 0.8	224 26.9	115 13.8	17 2.0	834 100.0
50 – 59	56 6.1	6 0.7	73 8.0	229 25.1	72 7.9	58 6.4	19 2.1	271 29.7	114 12.5	13 1.4	911 100.0
60 – 69	18 3.8	3 0.6	32 6.8	131 27.7	46 9.7	16 3.4	13 2.7	166 35.1	41 8.7	7 1.5	473 100.0
70 or over	1 0.6	2 1.2	5 3.0	25 15.2	4 2.4	3 1.8	5 3.0	109 66.5	9 5.5	1 0.6	164 100.0
Total	298 8.7	40 1.2	264 7.7	843 24.5	253 7.4	242 7.0	48 1.4	946 27.5	448 13.0	60 1.7	3,442 100.0

Note: Excluding those without employment, students, and those indicating no response

Table 3-16 Occupations of those aged under 30 (Hokkaido University survey, Hokkaido data)

Units: No. of people, %

	Clerical workers	Security workers	Salespeople	Craftspeople, manufacturing workers, and other related workers	Transport and communication workers	Specialist and technical workers	Administrative and managerial workers	Agriculture, forestry, and fisheries workers	Service workers	Other	Total
Hokkaido University survey	76 13.7	9 1.6	57 10.3	139 25.0	12 2.2	72 12.9	1 0.2	91 16.4	95 17.1	4 0.7	556 100.0
Hokkaido data	92,051 19.3	22,408 4.7	77,276 16.2	101,183 21.3	10,403 2.2	68,817 14.5	529 0.1	17,746 3.7	73,055 15.4	12,270 2.6	475,738 100.0

Note: Figures for Hokkaido data were based on the 2005 Population Census (Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications of Japan 2006). They exclude those without employment, students, and those indicating no response.

Characteristics of Annual Income by Age Group

Comparison of annual household income by age group showed that the number of low-income earners with annual incomes from zero to under 2 million yen was high among younger age groups with heads of household aged under 30, and among elderly age groups with heads of household aged 60 and older (Table 3-17). Among households with heads aged 70 or older in particular, those with annual incomes of under 2 million yen accounted for 56% of the total. Households with annual incomes of less than 2 million yen represented 37% of households

with heads aged 60-69 and 25% of those with heads under 30 years of age. However, they represented nearly 20% among households with actively working heads aged at least 30, and under 60. Many of these households may have financial problems.

Looking at individual annual incomes, the percentages of individuals with annual incomes of zero and less than 2 million yen were high among people younger than 30, and elderly respondents 60 or older. In particular, the percentage of low-income earners was high among older age groups—82.6% of respondents 70 or older had annual incomes from zero to less than 2 million yen. The corresponding figure was 65.1% among those aged 60–69 and 51% among those aged 50–59 (Table 3-18).

Table 3-17 Annual household income by age group of head of household Units: No. of people, %

	No annual income – under 2 million yen	2 million – under 8 million yen	8 million yen or over	Total
Under 30	14 25.0	41 73.2	1 1.8	56 100.0
30 – 39	47 21.1	169 75.8	7 3.1	223 100.0
40 – 49	96 18.3	389 74.1	40 7.6	525 100.0
50 – 59	156 19.8	546 69.5	84 10.7	786 100.0
60 – 69	223 37.0	335 55.6	44 7.3	602 100.0
70 or over	177 56.0	115 36.4	24 7.6	316 100.0
Total	713 28.4	1,595 63.6	200 8.0	2,508 100.0

Note: Excluding those indicating no response

Table 3-18 Individual annual income by age group Units: No. of people, %

	No annual income – under 2 million yen	2 million – under 8 million yen	8 million yen or over	Total
Under 30	560 68.9	249 30.6	4 0.5	813 100.0
30 – 39	352 55.3	278 43.6	7 1.1	637 100.0
40 – 49	522 51.8	454 45.0	32 3.2	1,008 100.0
50 – 59	626 51.0	559 45.6	42 3.4	1,227 100.0
60 – 69	552 65.1	272 32.1	24 2.8	848 100.0
70 or over	393 82.6	68 14.3	15 3.2	476 100.0
Total	3,005 60.0	1,880 37.5	124 2.5	5,009 100.0

Note: Excluding those indicating no response

Characteristics of Employee Numbers by Age Group

As shown in Table 3-19, the number of employees at places of employment with only one employee (i.e., just the respondent) was lower among respondents under 30 (1.5%) and between 30–39 (2.7%) than the average across all age groups (8.9%). The percentage of those under 30 was higher in places of employment with 100–499 employees, 500–999 employees, and 1,000 employees or more. Amongst older groups, those aged 50–59 were most numerous in places of employment with only one employee (just the respondent). The percentage of those aged 60–69 and that of individuals 70 or older were also highest in places of employment with just one employee (the respondent), and those with 2–4 employees. From this data, we can conclude that many Ainu people work in small-scale establishments.

Table 3-19 No. of employees at places of employment by age group

Units: No. of people, %

	1 (respondent only)	2 – 4	5 – 9	10 – 49	50 – 99	100 – 499	500 – 999	1,000 or over	Government	Total
Under 30	9	80	105	161	65	83	31	53	4	591
	1.5	13.5	17.8	27.2	11.0	14.0	5.2	9.0	0.7	100.0
30 – 39	14	98	92	155	54	46	8	31	13	511
	2.7	19.2	18.0	30.3	10.6	9.0	1.6	6.1	2.5	100.0
40 – 49	70	156	138	241	81	78	24	36	10	834
	8.4	18.7	16.5	28.9	9.7	9.4	2.9	4.3	1.2	100.0
50 – 59	127	187	147	221	102	101	11	38	9	943
	13.5	19.8	15.6	23.4	10.8	10.7	1.2	4.0	1.0	100.0
60 – 69	60	110	80	128	32	37	8	6	2	463
	13.0	23.8	17.3	27.6	6.9	8.0	1.7	1.3	0.4	100.0
70 or over	30	52	25	18	5	2	0	0	0	132
	22.7	39.4	18.9	13.6	3.8	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Total	310	683	587	924	339	347	82	164	38	3,474
	8.9	19.7	16.9	26.6	9.8	10.0	2.4	4.7	1.1	100.0

Note: Excluding those without employment, students, and those indicating no response

Characteristics by Gender

Characteristics of Employment Condition and Occupation by Gender

The percentage of female regular employees was only 64.9% of the corresponding figure for male regular employees in the Hokkaido University survey, and conversely, that of female part-time and temporary workers was approximately 2.3 times higher than that of male part-time and temporary workers. The percentage of male self-employed workers was 3.3 times that of female self-employed workers, and the ratio of female family employees was 2.2 times higher than that for males. These numbers indicate that men tend to be the primary breadwinners, while women tend to have supplementary jobs such as part-time/temporary positions and family employee (Table 3-20).

On the other hand, the percentage of male regular employees (40.0%) in the Hokkaido University survey was not only smaller than that of male regular employees (67.9%) in the Hokkaido data but was also below that of female regular employees (59.6%) in the Hokkaido data. The percentage of female part-time and temporary workers in the Hokkaido University survey was twice as high as that in the Hokkaido data. The majority of both men and women in Ainu households were engaged in unstable employment, resulting in many low-income households (Table 3-21).

By occupation, the highest percentage of male respondents in the Hokkaido University survey was made up of craftspeople, manufacturing workers, and other related workers (34.8%), which was 3.3 times as high as that of their female counterparts. The next-highest percentage of male respondents was agriculture, forestry, and fisheries workers (31.5%)—1.4 times as many as their female counterparts in the Hokkaido University survey. On the other hand, many female respondents were engaged in service work (23.6%)—4.5 times as many as their male counterparts, followed by agriculture, forestry, and fisheries work (21.8%) and clerical work (14.9%) (Table 3-22). Many of those in service and clerical work were low-income earners.

The percentage of male craftspeople, manufacturing workers, and other related workers—representing the highest figure—in the Hokkaido University survey did not show a large difference from the corresponding Hokkaido data, at just 4.6 percentage points higher. Rather, it should be noted that the percentage of male agriculture, forestry, and fisheries workers—the second highest figure—was 4.2 times as high as the corresponding Hokkaido data figure (7.5%). The percentage of female agriculture, forestry, and fisheries workers in the Hokkaido University survey (21.8%) was also three times as high as the corresponding Hokkaido data figure (7.2%), and the percentages of both men and women engaged in agriculture, forestry, and fisheries in Ainu households significantly exceeded those in the Hokkaido data. On the other hand, the percentages of both male and female white-collar workers were below the corresponding Hokkaido data figures (Table 3-23).

Table 3-20 Employment condition by gender

Units: No. of people, %

	Proprietors and executives of establishments	Regular employees in constant employment	Part-time workers, temporary workers, contract employees, seasonal workers	Self-employed workers	Family employees	Other	Total
Male	131 6.5	799 39.6	391 19.4	507 25.1	169 8.4	22 1.1	2,019 100.0
Female	30 1.9	413 25.7	712 44.3	124 7.7	300 18.7	28 1.7	1,607 100.0
Total	161 4.4	1,212 33.4	1,103 30.4	631 17.4	469 12.9	50 1.4	3,626 100.0

Note: Excluding those without employment, students, and those indicating no response

Table 3-21 Current employment condition by gender (Hokkaido University survey, Hokkaido data)

Units: No. of people, %

	Proprietors and executives of establishments		Regular employees		Part-time and temporary workers		Self-employed workers		Family employees		Total	
	Hokkaido University survey	Hokkaido data	Hokkaido University survey	Hokkaido data	Hokkaido University survey	Hokkaido data	Hokkaido University survey	Hokkaido data	Hokkaido University survey	Hokkaido data	Hokkaido University survey	Hokkaido data
Male	131 6.6	170,190 11.4	799 40.0	1,012,945 67.9	391 19.6	147,394 9.9	507 25.4	130,340 8.7	169 8.5	31,777 2.1	1,997 100.0	1,492,646 100.0
Female	30 1.9	47,968 4.3	413 26.2	662,261 59.6	712 45.1	252,506 22.7	124 7.9	37,502 3.4	300 19.0	111,156 10.0	1,579 100.0	111,393 100.0
Total	161 4.5	218,158 8.4	1,212 33.9	1,675,206 64.3	1,103 30.8	399,900 15.4	631 17.6	167,842 6.4	469 13.1	142,933 5.5	3,576 100.0	1,604,039 100.0

Notes:

1. Hokkaido University survey data exclude those without employment, students, others, and those indicating no response.

2. Hokkaido data were based on the 2005 Population Census (Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications of Japan 2006).

Table 3-22 Occupation by gender

Units: No. of people, %

	Clerical workers	Security workers	Salespeople	Craftspeople, manufacturing workers, and other related workers	Transport and communication workers	Specialist and technical workers	Administrative and managerial workers	Agriculture, forestry, and fisheries workers	Service workers	Other	Total
Male	82 4.1	36 1.8	80 4.0	697 34.8	225 11.2	89 4.4	39 1.9	631 31.5	105 5.2	19 0.9	2,003 100.0
Female	220 14.9	4 0.3	186 12.6	157 10.7	30 2.0	155 10.5	11 0.7	322 21.8	348 23.6	41 2.8	1,474 100.0
Total	302 8.7	40 1.2	266 7.7	854 24.6	255 7.3	244 7.0	50 1.4	953 27.4	453 13.0	60 1.7	3,477 100.0

Note: Excluding those without employment, students, and those indicating no response

Table 3-23 Occupation by gender (Hokkaido University survey, Hokkaido data)

Units: No. of people, %

	Clerical workers		Security workers		Salespeople		Craftspeople, manufacturing workers, and other related workers		Transport and communication workers		Specialist and technical workers		Administrative and managerial workers		Agriculture, forestry, and fisheries workers		Service workers		Other		Total	
	Hokkaido University survey	Hokkaido data	Hokkaido University survey	Hokkaido data	Hokkaido University survey	Hokkaido data	Hokkaido University survey	Hokkaido data	Hokkaido University survey	Hokkaido data	Hokkaido University survey	Hokkaido data	Hokkaido University survey	Hokkaido data	Hokkaido University survey	Hokkaido data	Hokkaido University survey	Hokkaido data	Hokkaido University survey	Hokkaido data	Hokkaido University survey	Hokkaido data
Male	82 4.1	184,425 12.4	36 1.8	77,600 5.2	80 4.0	222,854 14.9	697 34.8	451,020 30.2	225 11.2	104,188 7.0	89 4.4	164,340 11.0	39 1.9	58,613 3.9	631 31.5	111,254 7.5	105 5.2	89,932 6.0	19 0.9	28,507 1.9	2,003 100.0	1,492,733 100.0
Female	220 14.9	272,832 24.5	4 0.3	3,932 0.4	186 12.6	153,992 13.9	157 10.7	204,062 18.4	30 2.0	5,914 0.5	155 10.5	168,211 15.1	11 0.7	8,062 0.7	322 21.8	80,541 7.2	348 23.6	193,186 17.4	41 2.8	20,806 1.9	1,474 100.0	1,111,538 100.0
Total	302 8.7	457,257 17.6	40 1.2	81,532 3.1	266 7.7	376,846 14.5	854 24.6	655,082 25.2	255 7.3	110,102 4.2	244 7.0	332,551 12.8	50 1.4	66,675 2.6	953 27.4	191,795 7.4	453 13.0	283,118 10.9	60 1.7	49,313 1.9	3,477 100.0	2,604,271 100.0

Notes:

1. Hokkaido University survey data exclude those without employment, students, and those indicating no response.

2. Hokkaido data were based on the 2005 Population Census (Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications of Japan 2006), and exclude those without employment, students, and those indicating no response.

Characteristics of Annual Income by Gender

Comparison of household income by gender of head of household shows that female-headed households without annual incomes and those with annual incomes of less than 2 million yen made up 68.3% of the total. This was 3.6 times as high as the corresponding figure for male-headed households (18.9%) (Table 3-24). As will be discussed later, low incomes among female-headed households gave rise to a higher ratio of public assistance recipients among such households than the figure for male-headed households. The Plan to Promote the Economic Self-reliance of Single-parent and Other Households in Hokkaido (2004), established by the Office for the Advancement of Child Development and Welfare in the Hokkaido government's Department of Health and Welfare, showed that 55.4% of single-parent households in Hokkaido had annual incomes of less than 2 million yen. Although this figure defies outright comparison with data in the Hokkaido University survey due to the latter's inclusion of female one-person households, it can be said that many female-headed Ainu households face dire financial constraints even in comparison with other single-parent households in Hokkaido.

A related issue is the problem of low female incomes in Ainu households, with 86.2% having no annual income, or income of less than 2 million yen (Table 3-25). This includes cases in which male heads of household earn the primary income and women's incomes supplement family finances. However, if these low-income women become one-person or single-parent households, it will be difficult for them to remain financially stable on their incomes alone. Among men too, 33.4% of respondents had no annual income or less than 2 million yen. Many of these households are financially insecure even when the incomes earned by female household members are included.

Table 3-24 Annual household income by gender of head of household

Units: No. of households, %

	No annual income – under 2 million yen	2 million – under 8 million yen	8 million yen or over	Total
Male	378 18.9	1,432 71.5	192 9.6	2,002 100.0
Female	315 68.3	142 30.8	4 0.9	461 100.0
Total	693 28.1	1,574 63.9	196 8.0	2,463 100.0

Note: Excluding those indicating no response

Table 3-25 Individual annual income by gender

Units: No. of people, %

	No annual income – under 2 million yen	2 million – under 8 million yen	8 million yen or over	Total
Male	844 33.4	1,562 61.8	121 4.8	2,527 100.0
Female	2,186 86.2	345 13.6	6 0.2	2,537 100.0
Total	3,030 59.8	1,907 37.3	127 2.5	5,064 100.0

Note: Excluding those indicating no response

Characteristics of Employee Numbers by Gender

Table 3-26 compares the number of employees at Ainu people's places of employment by gender. The percentage of male respondents working for establishments with only one employee (i.e., the respondent) or fewer than 50 employees was slightly higher than that for females, and the percentage of men working for relatively large establishments with 50 or more employees was small. As stated above, however, since the percentage of women without employment or engaged in part-time/temporary work was high, it cannot be said that women had more favorable working conditions.

Table 3-26 Employee numbers at places of employment by gender

Units: No. of people, %

	1 (respondent only)	2 – 4	5 – 9	10 – 49	50 – 99	100 – 499	500 – 999	1,000 or over	Government	Total
Male	210 10.6	394 19.8	350 17.6	565 28.4	164 8.3	162 8.2	42 2.1	75 3.8	24 1.2	1,986 100.0
Female	102 6.7	298 19.5	240 15.7	374 24.4	178 11.6	187 12.2	41 2.7	93 6.1	17 1.1	1,530 100.0
Total	312 8.9	692 19.7	590 16.8	939 26.7	342 9.7	349 9.9	83 2.4	168 4.8	41 1.2	3,516 100.0

Note: Excluding those without employment, students, and those indicating no response

Characteristics by Region

Characteristics of Employment Condition and Occupation by Region

As for employment condition and occupation by region, the survey results from the four regions of Iburi Subprefecture; Hidaka Subprefecture; Kushiro and Nemuro Subprefectures; and Kamikawa, Soya, and Abashiri Subprefectures showed a similar trend to those for the whole of Hokkaido (referred to below as the Ainu throughout Hokkaido) (Tables 3-27, 28, and 29).

In these regions, the percentages of regular employees were not very high at 28.6% to 40.9%, but those of part-time and temporary workers (27.8-32.9%), self-employed workers (13.3-27.8%), and family employees (3.7-16.8%) were high. As for occupation, the percentages of agriculture, forestry, and fisheries workers (19.7-38.7%) and service workers (9.5-18.3%) were high, but those of specialist and technical workers (4.3-7.7%) were low.

In contrast, Ishikari Subprefecture had many urban workers, with high percentages of service staff, and clerical and salespeople among white-collar employees. Few were engaged in agriculture, forestry, and fisheries. By employment condition, the percentage of part-time and temporary workers was high at 42.1%—higher than the corresponding figure for the Ainu throughout Hokkaido (30.4%). The percentages of self-employed workers and family employees were also low.

Tokachi Subprefecture is characterized by figures midway between those of Ishikari Subprefecture and the whole of Hokkaido. The region had a certain number of urban workers because it includes Obihiro City and resembles Ishikari in that it has more service and salespeople than the average for the whole of Hokkaido. By employment condition, the subprefecture had a high percentage of part-time and temporary workers (50.5%) and low percentages of self-employed and family employees, as seen in Ishikari. On the other hand, Tokachi had a higher percentage of agriculture, forestry, and fisheries workers (15.8%) than Ishikari, although the corresponding figure for the whole of Hokkaido (27.5%) was higher. Tokachi also had many craftspeople, manufacturing workers, and other related workers.

Oshima Subprefecture demonstrated a low number of regular employees (11.4%) compared with the Ainu throughout Hokkaido, and had many self-employed workers (33.6%) and family employees (42.3%). The ratio of those engaged in agriculture, forestry, and fisheries accounted for 74.4% of the total.

In this way, employment conditions and occupations were roughly divided into four regional categories. Individual questionnaires showed that the combined total of respondents living in Iburi and Hidaka was 63.1% (Table 3-30). This corresponds to the high percentage distribution of the Ainu population in these subprefectures as shown by the Report on the Hokkaido Ainu Living Conditions Survey (Hokkaido government survey). Unlike Hokkaido data from population censuses, which shows population concentration in Sapporo, the characteristics of settlements were strongly reflected in the details of employment condition and occupation for the Ainu throughout Hokkaido.

Table 3-27 Employment condition by region

Units: No. of people, %

	Proprietors and executives of establishments	Regular employees in constant employment	Part-time workers, temporary workers, contract employees, seasonal workers	Self-employed workers	Family employees	Other	Total
Ishikari Subprefecture	14 3.3	174 40.5	181 42.1	46 10.7	6 1.4	9 2.1	430 100.0
Oshima Subprefecture	11 3.7	34 11.4	22 7.4	100 33.6	126 42.3	5 1.7	298 100.0
Kamikawa, Soya, and Abashiri Subprefectures	3 5.6	19 35.2	15 27.8	15 27.8	2 3.7	0 0.0	54 100.0
Tokachi Subprefecture	16 7.4	67 31.0	109 50.5	16 7.4	4 1.9	4 1.9	216 100.0
Iburi Subprefecture	52 4.1	513 40.9	382 30.5	167 13.3	130 10.4	10 0.8	1,254 100.0
Hidaka Subprefecture	40 3.8	302 28.6	295 28.0	226 21.4	177 16.8	15 1.4	1,055 100.0
Kushiro and Nemuro Subprefectures	23 7.8	85 28.8	97 32.9	62 21.0	24 8.1	4 1.4	295 100.0
Areas where the Hokkaido Utari Association has no branches	3 9.7	18 58.1	5 16.1	2 6.5	0 0.0	3 9.7	31 100.0
Total	162 4.5	1,212 33.4	1,106 30.4	634 17.5	469 12.9	50 1.4	3,633 100.0

Note: Excluding those without employment, students, and those indicating no response

Table 3-28 Occupation by region

Units: No. of people, %

	Clerical workers	Security workers	Salespeople	Craftspeople, manufacturing workers, and other related workers	Transport and communication workers	Specialist and technical workers	Administrative and managerial workers	Agriculture, forestry, and fisheries workers	Service workers	Other	Total
Ishikari Subprefecture	61 14.8	11 2.7	53 12.9	92 22.4	48 11.7	44 10.7	7 1.7	2 0.5	82 20.0	11 2.7	411 100.0
Oshima Subprefecture	7 2.4	0 0.0	9 3.1	25 8.7	4 1.4	7 2.4	0 0.0	215 74.4	18 6.2	4 1.4	289 100.0
Kamikawa, Soya, and Abashiri Subprefectures	8 15.7	2 3.9	7 13.7	9 17.6	1 2.0	3 5.9	1 2.0	13 25.5	7 13.7	0 0.0	51 100.0
Tokachi Subprefecture	11 5.4	2 1.0	25 12.4	65 32.2	12 5.9	15 7.4	2 1.0	32 15.8	32 15.8	6 3.0	202 100.0
Iburi Subprefecture	106 8.7	15 1.2	80 6.5	368 30.1	117 9.6	94 7.7	21 1.7	241 19.7	165 13.5	17 1.4	1,224 100.0
Hidaka Subprefecture	80 8.1	6 0.6	50 5.0	227 22.9	60 6.0	62 6.2	14 1.4	384 38.7	94 9.5	16 1.6	993 100.0
Kushiro and Nemuro Subprefectures	27 9.7	3 1.1	39 14.0	55 19.7	11 3.9	12 4.3	5 1.8	70 25.1	51 18.3	6 2.2	279 100.0
Areas where the Hokkaido Utari Association has no branches	2 5.9	1 2.9	3 8.8	13 38.2	3 8.8	7 20.6	0 0.0	0 0.0	5 14.7	0 0.0	34 100.0
Total	302 8.7	40 1.1	266 7.6	854 24.5	256 7.3	244 7.0	50 1.4	957 27.5	454 13.0	60 1.7	3,483 100.0

Note: Excluding those without employment, students, and those indicating no response

Table 3-29 Characteristics of employment condition and occupation by four regions

Units: No. of people, %

	Regular employees	Part-time and temporary workers	Self-employed workers	Family employees	Agriculture, forestry, and fisheries workers	Service workers
Iburi, Hidaka, Kushiro/ Nemuro, and Kamikawa/ Soya/Abashiri	28.6~40.9	27.8~32.9	13.3~27.8	3.7~16.8	19.7~38.7	9.5~18.3
Ishikari	40.5	42.1	10.7	1.4	0.5	20.0
Tokachi	31.0	50.5	7.4	1.9	15.8	15.8
Oshima	11.4	7.4	33.6	42.3	74.4	6.2
Ainu throughout Hokkaido	33.4	30.4	17.5	12.9	27.5	13.0

Note: Excluding those without employment, students, and those indicating no response

Table 3-30 Places of respondents' residence

Units: No. of people, %

Ishikari Subprefecture	Oshima Subprefecture	Kamikawa, Soya, and Abashiri Subprefectures	Tokachi Subprefecture	Iburi Subprefecture	Hidaka Subprefecture	Kushiro and Nemuro Subprefectures	Areas where the Hokkaido Utari Association has no branches	Total
728	390	93	367	2,010	1,592	474	49	5,703
12.8	6.8	1.6	6.4	35.2	27.9	8.3	0.9	100.0

Note: Excluding those indicating no response

Characteristics of Annual Income by Region

Tables 3-31 and 3-32 show individual and annual household incomes by region, indicating the percentage distribution of Ainu people in three income groups: from zero to less than 2 million yen, from 2 million to less than 8 million yen, and 8 million yen and over.

Tokachi Subprefecture, which ranks between Ishikari Subprefecture and the whole of Hokkaido in terms of employment condition and occupation, and Ishikari Subprefecture, which had many urban workers, had a higher percentage of low-income households (with annual incomes of less than 2 million yen) than the whole of Hokkaido in terms of both individual and household incomes. The percentage of high-income households (8 million yen or more) was low in both prefectures. Conversely, in Oshima Subprefecture, which has many agriculture, forestry, and fisheries workers, the percentage of low-income earners was lower than the figure for the whole of Hokkaido in terms of both household and individual incomes, and that of high-income earners was high. While 5.8% had annual household incomes of less than 2 million yen, those with annual individual incomes of less than 2 million yen amounted to as many as 47.2%. It seems that many households consisted of self-employed men with relatively high incomes and female family employees with low incomes.

Hidaka Subprefecture had a similar percentage distribution to that for the whole of Hokkaido in terms of employment condition and occupation, and also had similar distribution to the whole of Hokkaido in three income groups: less than 2 million yen, at least 2 million but less than 8 million yen, and 8 million yen and over. The percentage distributions of annual incomes in the remaining regions were not as similar to the figures for the whole of Hokkaido as that of Hidaka.

Table 3-31 Annual household income by region

Units: No. of households, %

	No annual income – under 2 million yen	2 million – under 8 million yen	8 million yen or over	Total
Ishikari Subprefecture	107 32.1	215 64.6	11 3.3	333 100.0
Oshima Subprefecture	8 5.8	74 54.0	55 40.1	137 100.0
Kamikawa, Soya, and Abashiri Subprefectures	17 33.3	31 60.8	3 5.9	51 100.0
Tokachi Subprefecture	85 47.5	91 50.8	3 1.7	179 100.0
Iburi Subprefecture	218 26.3	559 67.4	52 6.3	829 100.0
Hidaka Subprefecture	207 28.5	464 63.8	56 7.7	727 100.0
Kushiro and Nemuro Subprefectures	74 29.6	157 62.8	19 7.6	250 100.0
Areas where the Hokkaido Utari Association has no branches	3 15.8	15 78.9	1 5.3	19 100.0
Total	719 28.5	1,606 63.6	200 7.9	2,525 100.0

Note: Excluding those indicating no response

Table 3-32 Individual annual income by region

Units: No. of people, %

	No annual income – under 2 million yen	2 million – under 8 million yen	8 million yen or over	Total
Ishikari Subprefecture	433 65.9	218 33.2	6 0.9	657 100.0
Oshima Subprefecture	160 47.2	144 42.5	35 10.3	339 100.0
Kamikawa, Soya, and Abashiri Subprefectures	43 53.8	34 42.5	3 3.8	80 100.0
Tokachi Subprefecture	218 65.5	113 33.9	2 0.6	333 100.0
Iburi Subprefecture	1,062 59.9	682 38.5	29 1.6	1,773 100.0
Hidaka Subprefecture	829 59.0	541 38.5	35 2.5	1,405 100.0
Kushiro and Nemuro Subprefectures	267 61.1	153 35.0	17 3.9	437 100.0
Areas where the Hokkaido Utari Association has no branches	23 48.9	24 51.1	0 0.0	47 100.0
Total	3,035 59.9	1,909 37.6	127 2.5	5,071 100.0

Note: Excluding those indicating no response

Characteristics of Employee Numbers by Region

As for the results of the Hokkaido University survey in terms of the size of establishments where respondents were employed, the percentage of those working for small businesses was higher than that in the Hokkaido data. By age group, the percentage of respondents working for small-scale establishments was low among people

under 30 and between 30 and 39. In particular, the percentage of those under 30 years of age was as small as the corresponding figure in the Hokkaido data. By region, there was no significant difference among areas, except that a conspicuously large number of respondents worked for establishments with fewer than 10 employees in Oshima Subprefecture. This means that other than in Oshima Subprefecture, many respondents worked for small businesses irrespective of employment condition and occupation (Table 3-33).

Table 3-33 Number of employees at places of employment by region

Units: No. of people, %

	1 (respondent only)	2 – 4	5 – 9	10 – 49	50 – 99	100 – 499	500 – 999	1,000 or over	Government	Total
Ishikari Subprefecture	34 7.5	43 9.5	73 16.1	123 27.1	46 10.1	71 15.6	19 4.2	34 7.5	11 2.4	454 100.0
Oshima Subprefecture	13 6.1	99 46.5	58 27.2	26 12.2	3 1.4	11 5.2	0 0.0	3 1.4	0 0.0	213 100.0
Kamikawa, Soya, and Abashiri Subprefectures	5 10.4	7 14.6	9 18.8	11 22.9	3 6.3	2 4.2	5 10.4	5 10.4	1 2.1	48 100.0
Tokachi Subprefecture	9 4.2	22 10.2	37 17.1	79 36.6	33 15.3	17 7.9	7 3.2	10 4.6	2 0.9	216 100.0
Iburi Subprefecture	89 6.9	259 20.0	175 13.5	338 26.1	160 12.4	152 11.8	34 2.6	71 5.5	15 1.2	1,293 100.0
Hidaka Subprefecture	133 14.0	184 19.4	168 17.7	281 29.6	72 7.6	62 6.5	11 1.2	29 3.1	10 1.1	950 100.0
Kushiro and Nemuro Subprefectures	29 9.3	75 24.1	66 21.2	78 25.1	22 7.1	24 7.7	4 1.3	12 3.9	1 0.3	311 100.0
Areas where the Hokkaido Utari Association has no branches	2 5.6	3 8.3	5 13.9	4 11.1	4 11.1	10 27.8	3 8.3	4 11.1	1 2.8	36 100.0
Total	314 8.9	692 19.7	591 16.8	940 26.7	343 9.7	349 9.9	83 2.4	168 4.8	41 1.2	3,521 100.0

Note: Excluding those without employment, students, and those indicating no response

Relationship to Ainu Heritage

In this survey, 65.9% of respondents whose age group was known said they had Ainu heritage and 29.2% said they did not, with the remaining 4.9% replying that they had no idea. The age group having the lowest percentage of individuals without Ainu heritage (16.1%) was made up of those under 30 years old, and the group with the highest percentage was those between 50 and 59, at 34.9%—a difference of 18.8 percentage points. Many of the survey subjects without Ainu heritage were spouses of Ainu people. Since the number of married individuals was relatively small among those under 30 years of age, the percentage of those without Ainu heritage was also small among them (Table 3-34).

By gender, male respondents accounted for 52.5% of those with Ainu heritage—5 percentage points higher than the figure for females (47.5%). In this survey, the number of male respondents with Ainu heritage was relatively large (Table 3-35). By region, more than half of respondents were without Ainu blood only in Oshima Subprefecture (53.1%) (Table 3-36).

By employment condition, the ratio of family employees without Ainu heritage (16.3%) was 9.9 percentage points higher than the figure for those with (6.4%), and the ratio of full-time workers without Ainu heritage (24.1%) was 4 percentage points lower than the figure for those with (28.1%). The percentage of family employees was high among those without Ainu heritage for a number of reasons. First of all, women's employment characteristics were a factor. The number of women without Ainu heritage was relatively large, and the percentage of female

family employees was relatively high. Consequently, these characteristics must have affected the characteristics of Ainu heritage. Secondly, the percentage of those without Ainu heritage was high in Oshima Subprefecture. This region also has the characteristic of having a high percentage of family employees (Table 3-37).

Data on present occupations of respondents showed that the ratio of craftspeople, manufacturing workers, and other related workers without Ainu heritage was 6.5 percentage points lower than the figure for those with, and that the ratio of those working in agriculture, forestry, and fisheries without Ainu heritage was 5 percentage points higher than the figure for those of Ainu descent. The lower number of craftspeople, manufacturing workers, and other related workers was gender-related, while the higher number of agriculture, forestry, and fisheries workers was affected by regional characteristics (Table 3-38). When individual annual incomes were below 2 million yen, the ratio of those without Ainu heritage (63.2%) was 4.3 percentage points higher than the figure for those with (58.9%). This was related to the high percentage of men among those with Ainu heritage (Table 3-39). Although there were differences in employment condition, occupation, and annual income between those with and without Ainu heritage, the differences were due to the age, gender, and regional characteristics examined so far, rather than heritage.

Table 3-34 Ainu heritage status by age group Units: No. of people, %

	With Ainu heritage	Without Ainu heritage	Don't know	Total
Under 30	708	143	37	888
	79. 7	16. 1	4. 2	100. 0
30 – 39	460	186	32	678
	67. 8	27. 4	4. 7	100. 0
40 – 49	666	338	61	1, 065
	62. 5	31. 7	5. 7	100. 0
50 – 59	801	464	64	1, 329
	60. 3	34. 9	4. 8	100. 0
60 – 69	605	298	44	947
	63. 9	31. 5	4. 6	100. 0
70 or over	354	163	31	548
	64. 6	29. 7	5. 7	100. 0
Total	3, 594	1, 592	269	5, 455
	65. 9	29. 2	4. 9	100. 0

Note: Excluding those indicating no response

Table 3-35 Percentage distribution of gender based on Ainu heritage status Units: No. of people, %

	Male	Female	Total
With Ainu heritage	1, 906	1, 726	3, 632
	52. 5	47. 5	100. 0
Without Ainu heritage	674	943	1, 617
	41. 7	58. 3	100. 0
Don't know	142	128	270
	52. 6	47. 4	100. 0
Total	2, 722	2, 797	5, 519
	49. 3	50. 7	100. 0

Note: Excluding those indicating no response

Table 3-36 Ainu heritage status by region

Units: No. of people, %

	With Ainu heritage	Without Ainu heritage	Don't know	Total
Ishikari Subprefecture	503 70. 7	186 26. 2	22 3. 1	711 100. 0
Oshima Subprefecture	115 31. 2	196 53. 1	58 15. 7	369 100. 0
Kamikawa, Soya, and Abashiri Subprefectures	57 64. 0	30 33. 7	2 2. 2	89 100. 0
Tokachi Subprefecture	260 74. 3	83 23. 7	7 2. 0	350 100. 0
Iburi Subprefecture	1, 355 69. 3	574 29. 4	25 1. 3	1, 954 100. 0
Hidaka Subprefecture	1, 042 67. 4	406 26. 2	99 6. 4	1, 547 100. 0
Kushiro and Nemuro Subprefectures	271 59. 0	132 28. 8	56 12. 2	459 100. 0
Areas where the Hokkaido Utari Association has no branches	35 71. 4	13 26. 5	1 2. 0	49 100. 0
Total	3, 638 65. 8	1, 620 29. 3	270 4. 9	5, 528 100. 0

Note: Excluding those indicating no response

Table 3-37 Employment condition by Ainu heritage status

Units: No. of people, %

	Proprietors and executives of establishments	Regular employees in constant employment	Part-time workers, temporary workers, contract employees, seasonal workers	Self-employed workers	Family employees	Other	Unemployed	Students (attending)	Total
With Ainu heritage	117 3. 9	854 28. 1	769 25. 3	420 13. 8	195 6. 4	31 1. 0	582 19. 2	69 2. 3	3, 037 100. 0
Without Ainu heritage	38 2. 9	314 24. 1	281 21. 5	147 11. 3	213 16. 3	16 1. 2	288 22. 1	7 0. 5	1, 304 100. 0
Don't know	6 2. 8	37 17. 1	35 16. 2	58 26. 9	45 20. 8	3 1. 4	27 12. 5	5 2. 3	216 100. 0
Total	161 3. 5	1, 205 26. 4	1, 085 23. 8	625 13. 7	453 9. 9	50 1. 1	897 19. 7	81 1. 8	4, 557 100. 0

Note: Excluding those indicating no response

Table 3-38 Occupation by Ainu heritage status

Units: No. of people, %

	Clerical workers	Security workers	Salespeople	Craftspeople, manufacturing workers, and other related workers	Transport and communication workers	Specialist and technical workers	Administrative and managerial workers	Agriculture, forestry, and fisheries workers	Service workers	Other	Unemployed	Students (attending)	Total
With Ainu heritage	194 6. 6	22 0. 7	174 5. 9	637 21. 6	189 6. 4	155 5. 3	35 1. 2	541 18. 4	316 10. 7	36 1. 2	579 19. 7	67 2. 3	2, 945 100. 0
Without Ainu heritage	94 7. 5	16 1. 3	75 6. 0	188 15. 1	60 4. 8	77 6. 2	11 0. 9	291 23. 4	118 9. 5	20 1. 6	290 23. 3	6 0. 5	1, 246 100. 0
Don't know	10 4. 7	2 0. 9	14 6. 5	19 8. 9	4 1. 9	7 3. 3	4 1. 9	106 49. 5	14 6. 5	2 0. 9	27 12. 6	5 2. 3	214 100. 0
Total	298 6. 8	40 0. 9	263 6. 0	844 19. 2	253 5. 7	239 5. 4	50 1. 1	938 21. 3	448 10. 2	58 1. 3	896 20. 3	78 1. 8	4, 405 100. 0

Note: Excluding those indicating no response

Table 3-39 Individual income by Ainu heritage status

Units: No. of people, %

	No annual income	Under 1 million yen	1 million – under 2 million yen	2 million – under 3 million yen	3 million – under 4 million yen	4 million – under 5 million yen	5 million – under 6 million yen	6 million – under 7 million yen	7 million – under 8 million yen	8 million – under 9 million yen	9 million – under 10 million yen	10 million yen or over	Total
With Ainu heritage	569 17.1	644 19.3	750 22.5	686 20.6	309 9.3	153 4.6	78 2.3	40 1.2	37 1.1	16 0.5	17 0.5	38 1.1	3,337 100.0
Without Ainu heritage	308 21.7	316 22.3	273 19.2	222 15.6	131 9.2	60 4.2	37 2.6	24 1.7	12 0.8	6 0.4	7 0.5	24 1.7	1,420 100.0
Don't know	41 17.7	42 18.2	38 16.5	38 16.5	25 10.8	13 5.6	10 4.3	7 3.0	1 0.4	0 0.0	3 1.3	13 5.6	231 100.0
Total	918 18.4	1,002 20.1	1,061 21.3	946 19.0	465 9.3	226 4.5	125 2.5	71 1.4	50 1.0	22 0.4	27 0.5	75 1.5	4,988 100.0

Note: Excluding those indicating no response

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