

Current Status and Issues Regarding the Employment of Older Workers

by Tamie Matsuura
Social Improvement and Life Design Research Group
(Research Fellow, Institute of Social Science, University of Tokyo)
matsuura@nli-research.co.jp

1. Introduction

Older persons in Japan¹ are well known even abroad for their strong work motivation and high labor force participation rate. Among advanced economies that provide a public pension system to facilitate retirement, labor force participation rates of Japanese men aged 60-to-64 and 65-or-over² (70.9% and 29.2% respectively in 2006) far exceed those of counterparts in the U.S. (58.6% and 20.3%), U.K. (56.1% and 10.0%), and France (19.5% and 1.6%).³

Moreover, as aging and other demographic trends accelerate the secular decline of the labor force, older workers are increasingly recognized as a critical labor supply for public policy purposes as well as the human resource management of employers.

This paper examines the current employment status and employment conditions of older workers, identifies unresolved issues, and explores solutions.

2. Employment Conditions of Older Workers

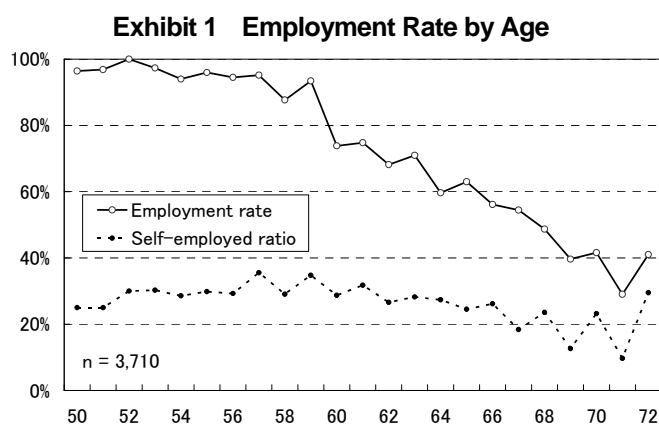
1. The Transition to Retirement

First, we examine the timing (age) and process by which employed persons separate from employment and enter retirement life.

From 1997 to 2005, NLI Research Institute conducted a *Panel Study on the Lifestyle and Life Design of Middle-Aged and Older Japanese Men*, comprised of five biennial surveys of men aged 50 to 64 (as of 1997) throughout Japan.⁴ Full panel data from all five surveys are available for a sample of 742 men. We begin by looking at how their employment rate changes with age.

First, the employment rate remains steady at around 95% from age 50 onward, dipping below 90% for the first time at age 58 (87.7%), and then plummeting to 73.8% at age 60 and 68.2% at age 62. Meanwhile, the proportion of self-employed persons in our sample remains largely unchanged at approximately 30% even around age 60.

These results reveal two points: (1) the dramatic shift in employment rate near age 60 primarily stems from employees' transitions; (2) while the employment rate plunges most dramatically at age 60, a significant shift occurs over the five-year period from age 58 to 63 (Exhibit 1).



Notes: Data was collected in five surveys from 1997 to 2005. Self-employed persons include proprietors (retail, factory farm, etc.), family workers (piecework, etc.), and freelance professionals (doctors, lawyers, writers, tutors, etc.)
Source: NLI Research Institute, *Panel Study of Middle-Aged and Older Men*.

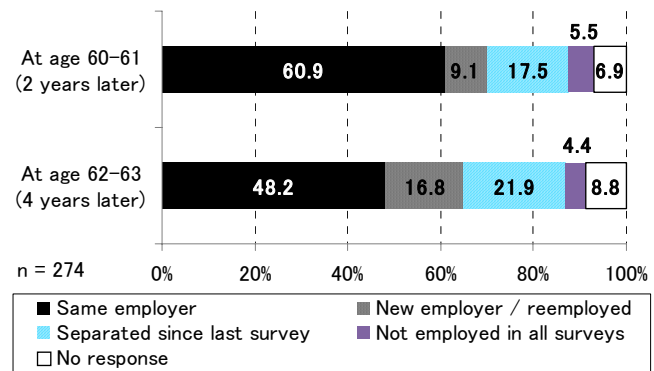
2. Change in Employment Conditions Around Age 60

We next look at how employment conditions change during the five-year age span from age 58 to 63.

Upon reaching mandatory retirement age, employed persons who wish to keep working face two distinct alternatives: (1) to stay at the same employer (or in the same business if self-employed); (2) to move to a new employer or seek reemployment after a hiatus.

In the sample of 742 men, 274 men participated in three consecutive surveys while they were between the ages of 58 and 63. In other words, they took one of the five biennial surveys at age 58 or 59, another survey at age 60 or 61, and a third survey at age 62 or 63.

Exhibit 2 Change in Employment Status Near Age 60



Note: Shows data for sample of 274 men whose panel data is complete from age 58 to 62, or from age 59 to 63.

Source: NLI Research Institute, *Panel Study of Middle-Aged and Older Men*.

Exhibit 3 Continuity of Employment and Change in Employment Conditions

		(Percent)					
Age 58-59 (first survey)		Age 60-61 (second survey)			Age 62-63 (third survey)		
Employment type (employed persons)		Self-employed	Regular	Non-regular	Self-employed	Regular	Non-regular
At same employer	Self-employed	(n = 76) 96.1	1.3	1.3	(n = 68) 89.7	5.9	1.5
	Regular employee	(n = 73) 2.7	89.0	8.2	(n = 51) 5.9	74.5	9.8
	Non-regular employee	(n = 14) 21.4	14.3	57.1	(n = 10) 20.0	0.0	70.0
	Total	(n = 167) 47.9	40.7	9.0	(n = 132) 51.5	31.8	9.8
New employer/reemployed total		(n = 25) 16.0	24.0	52.0	(n = 46) 17.4	21.7	52.2
Occupation (employees only)		White-collar	Other		White-collar	Other	
At same employer	White-collar	(n = 49) 83.7	12.2		(n = 30) 80.0	13.3	
	Other	(n = 29) 17.2	75.9		(n = 17) 5.9	76.5	
	Total	(n = 80) 58.8	36.3		(n = 49) 53.1	36.7	
New employer/reemployed total		(n = 17) 35.3	64.7		(n = 30) 46.7	53.3	
Executive status (employees only)		Executive	Other		Executive	Other	
At same employer	Executive	(n = 49) 71.4	14.3		(n = 28) 57.1	25.0	
	Other	(n = 24) 4.2	79.2		(n = 15) 0.0	80.0	
	Total	(n = 80) 48.8	33.8		(n = 49) 34.7	46.9	
New employer/reemployed total		(n = 17) 35.3	58.8		(n = 30) 36.7	46.7	
Employer size (employees only)		~299	300~		~299	300~	
At same employer	~299 employees	(n = 51) 80.4	7.8		(n = 35) 80.0	5.7	
	300~ employees (& public sector)	(n = 27) 25.9	74.1		(n = 13) 30.8	69.2	
	Total	(n = 80) 60.0	31.3		(n = 49) 65.3	24.5	
New employer/reemployed total		(n = 17) 64.7	29.4		(n = 30) 70.0	26.7	
Work hours (employed persons)		Full-time	Other		Full-time	Other	
At same employer	Full-time	(n = 110) 77.3	21.8		(n = 84) 76.2	23.8	
	Other	(n = 55) 34.5	63.6		(n = 46) 30.4	69.6	
	Total	(n = 167) 63.5	35.3		(n = 132) 60.6	39.4	
New employer/reemployed total		(n = 25) 52.0	48.0		(n = 46) 45.7	54.3	

Notes: To highlight the change in employment conditions, the above results exclude participants who separated from work or were not employed during the entire four-year period (the same applies to all panel study results below). Totals may not add up to 100% due to incomplete responses. By occupational category, white-collar includes managers, specialists, and technical and clerical workers; other category includes sales and service workers, skilled workers, security workers, transportation workers, communication workers, and others.

Source: NLI Research Institute, *Panel Study of Middle-Aged and Older Men*.

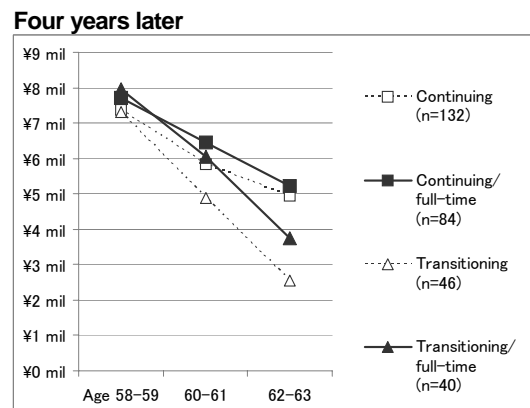
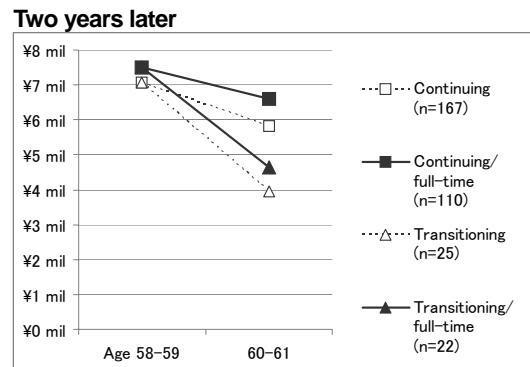
In this sub-sample of 274 men, 60.9% remained at the same employer (or operated the same business if self-employed) at the time of the second survey, declining to 48.2% in the third survey. By comparison, 9.1% had changed employers (or business if self-employed) or else been reemployed in the second survey, rising to 16.8% in the third survey (Exhibit 2).

The decision whether to stay with the same employer or to transition to a new employer is a critical one because it affects employment conditions in the future. To measure this effect, below we compare employment conditions (employment type, occupational category, executive position, employer size, and work hours) of the two groups two years and four years later.

First, continuity of employment appears to strongly affect employment type, as less than 10% of continuing regular workers became non-regular employees four years later, compared to over half of transitioning workers. Continuity also affects occupational category (white-collar or other), as less than 40% of continuing white-collar workers became non-white-collar workers four years later, compared to over half of transitioning white-collar workers. In fact, approximately 80% of continuing workers retain the same occupational category four years later. However, continuity of employment is not a factor in executive position (under 50% of either group retains an executive position four years later), or in employer size (60-70% of both groups work at companies with under 300 employees). Moreover, by work hours, over 60% of continuing workers have full-time status four years later, compared to less than half of their counterparts. As the results clearly show, discontinuity of employment results in more varied employment conditions and flexible work hours (Exhibit 3).

While annual earned income decreases significantly for all participants during the four-year period, continuity of employment appears to affect the amount of decrease. For continuing full-time workers, income declines to approximately 70% of the initial level (from 7.71 million yen to 5.21 million yen), compared to a decrease of over 50% (from 7.96 million yen to 3.75 million yen) for transitioning full-time workers (Exhibit 4).

Exhibit 4 Employment Continuity and Earned Income Near Age 60



Note: Shows earned income in fiscal year prior to survey (in December)
 Source: NLI Research Institute, *Panel Study of Middle-Aged and Older Men*.

3. Background: Japan's Employment System and Public Policy

1. Measures to Secure Employment to Age 65

The dramatic shift of employment conditions around age 60 stems in large part from Japan's employment policies including the mandatory retirement system (Exhibit 5). The retirement age is stipulated in the Law Concerning Stabilization of Employment of Older Persons, Article 8: "In cases where the employer fixes the retirement age of his or her employees, the retirement age shall not be below 60." In fact, approximately 80% of private employers in Japan enforce mandatory retirement at age 60.⁵

Meanwhile, in the 1994 and 1999 public pension reforms, the decision was made to raise the starting age for payment of fixed and compensation-based benefits respectively. This raised the problem of how workers could survive financially from retirement at age 60 to the start of public pension benefits at age 65. Thus in an effort to secure employment to age 65, the employment stabilization law was amended to require that employers implement one of three measures starting in April 2006:

raise the retirement age, abolish the retirement age, or introduce a continuous employment scheme. According to the MHLW, 92.7% of employers have complied with the law, indicating that progress is being made.⁶ However, 85.8% of these employers have implemented continuous employment schemes, while only 2.1% have abolished mandatory retirement and 12.1% have raised the retirement age. In other words, despite the apparent progress, most employers still impose mandatory retirement at age 60.

In a report entitled “Current Status and Issues in Human Resource Management for Continuous Employment of Older Workers” (*JILPT Research Report*, no. 83, April 2007),⁷ the Japan Institute for Labour Policy and Training (JILPT) commends the effect of the amended law: “The amended law has expanded the availability of continuous employment schemes and increased the actual number of continuing employees. In this sense it will help expand job opportunities around age 60.” However, the report also cites unresolved issues including: (1) most companies have adopted continuous employment schemes, in which continuing employees suffer a significant decline in wage and bonus income; (2) few companies have introduced short-work-day and short-work-week work arrangements; and (3) few T&D opportunities are provided after age 50.

2. Employment System Hinders Older Workers

The reason most employers are reluctant to exceed the minimum requirements (that is, mandatory retirement at age 60 and continuous employment scheme to age 65) lies in the peculiarities of Japan’s employment system. First, under the legal doctrine of abuse of right of dismissal, employers are already limited in their power to unfairly dismiss employees.⁸ For example, to dismiss employees for the purpose of reorganization, employers must demonstrate four points: (1) the need to reduce personnel; (2) the need to do so by dismissal, (3) the appropriateness of the selection of personnel to be dismissed; and (4) the appropriateness of the dismissal procedure. Since raising or abolishing the retirement age would further limit their power, employers are understandably reluctant to relinquish the mandatory retirement scheme.

A second factor is the widespread system and practice of seniority-based wages. In general, this pillar of Japanese-style management rewards employees for long service by offering executive posts and wage increases based on seniority. Laws and legal precedents limit the power of employers to arbitrarily reduce existing wages and work conditions.⁹ Under such circumstances, raising or abolishing the retirement age would lead to the retention of high-cost labor and thus interferes with achieving labor cost efficiency.

Exhibit 5 History of Employment Policy for Older Persons

Year	Law	Description of law and policy
1973	Amended Employment Measure Law	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Second basic plan to promote employment (approved by Cabinet in 1973) calls for raising retirement age to 60 ● Calls for national policy to raise retirement age
1976	Amended Law Concerning Promotion of Employment of Older Workers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Third basic plan to promote employment (approved by Cabinet in 1976) calls for re-employment of persons aged 60-64 by re-hiring and extended service ● Law establishes employment rate scheme for older workers
1979	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Employment Council studies legislation to postpone retirement age (1985 proposal calls for duty to strive for retirement age 60) ● Fourth basic plan to promote employment (approved by Cabinet in 1979) calls on employers to strive for retirement age 60
1986	Amended Law Concerning Promotion of Employment of Older Persons	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Stipulates duty to strive for retirement age 60 ● Renamed as Law Concerning Stabilization of Employment of Older Persons
1990	Amended Law Concerning Stabilization of Employment of Older	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Stipulates duty of employers to try to re-employ retirement age workers
1994	Amended Law Concerning Stabilization of Employment of Older	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Stipulates retirement age 60 (enforced April 1998)
1999	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Ninth basic plan to promote employment (approved by Cabinet in 1999) calls for raising retirement age to 65 in next decade
2000	Amended Law Concerning Stabilization of Employment of Older	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Stipulates duty to strive to stabilize employment of older persons by raising retirement age to 65, introducing continuous employment scheme, etc
2001	Amended Employment Measure Law	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Stipulates duty of employers to strive to end age discrimination in recruitment &
2004	Amended Law Concerning Stabilization of Employment of Older Persons	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Stipulates duty to phase in employment stabilization measures for older persons (enforced April 2006) ● Duty to explain reason when limiting age under 65 for recruitment & hiring
2007	Amended Employment Measure Law	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Duty of employer to abolish age discrimination in recruitment & hiring

Sources: Noriomi Soya (1997); MHLW.

3. Effect of Public Entitlements

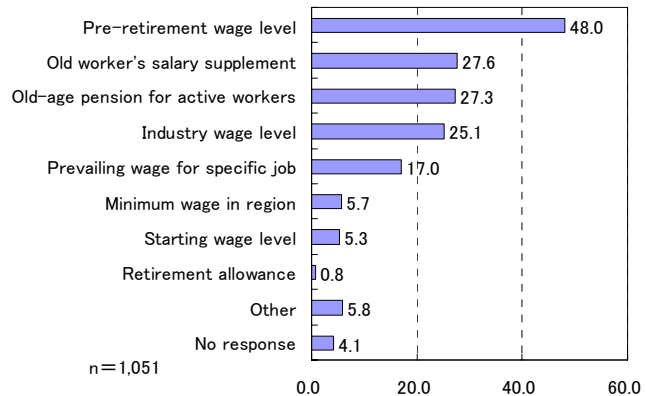
A third factor that affects employment of older workers concerns the rules and benefit levels of the public pension and other entitlements.

Shimizu and Yamada (2004) point out that the public pension tends to limit employment activity through two channels. The first is the pension income effect, which makes retirement a feasible and attractive alternative to employment. The second is the income-cap effect of the old-age pension for active workers, which causes workers to forego employment or limit work hours to protect benefits.

The gradual increase in pensionable age to 65 is found to significantly encourage employment activity. However, the old-age pension benefit for active workers is still observed to impede employment activity despite the 1994 pension reform, which progressively reduced the benefit cut on combined monthly income in excess of 220,000 yen (Shimizu 2006).

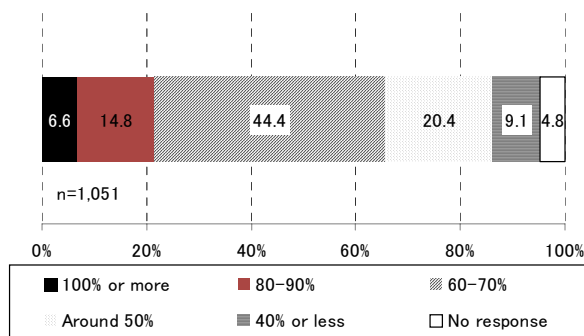
Public entitlements also significantly affect how private employers design terms and conditions of employment for older workers. In the JILPT (2007) survey above, when employers were asked which factors most influenced wage decisions for continuous employees, almost one in four cited the old worker's salary supplement (27.6%) and old-age pension for active workers (27.3%; Exhibit 6). Moreover, 44.4% set the income of continuing employees (inclusive of public benefits) to equal 60-70% of pre-retirement income.

Exhibit 6 Factors That Affect Continuous Employment Wages



Notes: Multiple response. Includes only employers with continuous employment schemes.
Source: JILPT, "Current Status and Issues of Human Resource Management for Continuous Employment of Older Workers."

Exhibit 7 Continuous Employment Wage Level (compared to pre-retirement wage)



Note: Only includes employers with continuous employment schemes.
Source: JILPT, "Current Status and Issues in Human Resource Management for Continuous Employment Schemes"

4. Employment Issues of Older Persons

Finally, we examine the issues concerning employment of older persons and ways to resolve them.

1. Policy Issues

The subcommittee on job and income security (employment and pension) of the National Council on Social Security released an interim report in June 2008, *Vitality of Working Generations is Key to the Financial Health of the Social Security System*, which states that "arrangements are necessary to enable older persons to continue working for as long as they wish." The report advocates the need "to revise functions that excessively limit work such as the mandatory retirement age and old-age pension for active workers, and to consider neutral arrangements." It proposes raising the retirement age to match the increase in pensionable age to 65, and urgently calls for measures to secure employment to at least age 65.

Moreover, the report discusses concrete measures such as revising the prevalent notion in society that old age begins at age 65, drafting an anti-age discrimination law that goes beyond the present law (which covers most recruitment and hiring activities) and applies to general employment.

Another proposed measure that deserves attention is recognizing and rewarding employers who exceed the stipulated ratio of employment of older workers.

Neutralizing the effect of employment policy and public benefits is crucial to preparing the conditions for employment of older persons. Additional employment promotion measures would also be effective in improving the current situation. However, to create a society in which older persons can work just like everyone else, it is necessary to revise the employment system itself. Compared to 1998, when the mandatory retirement age was raised from 55 to 60 over a period of 20 years, the climate for change is somewhat more favorable today due to the labor shortage, but business conditions have deteriorated at the structural level (Exhibit 5). Under these circumstances, further stabilization of employment to age 65 will entail confronting controversial issues such as easing labor regulations and dismantling the seniority-based wage structure.

2. Compensation Systems

Amid the growing labor shortage, employers are increasingly turning to older workers not simply for compliance purposes but as part of their human resource strategy. To truly empower employees of all ages, employers must overhaul the compensation system by deemphasizing seniority in favor of job content, role, and contribution, and by diversifying work arrangements and career paths.

Nippon Keidanren released a policy paper in May 2007, “Basic Approach to the Future Wage System: Constructing a Wage System that Heightens Employee Motivation,” which proposes shifting “from a wage system biased toward age and length of service, to one based on job content, role, and contribution to the company.” Another policy paper, “Toward Constructing and Operating a Wage System Based on Job Content, Role, and Contribution” (May 2008) discusses in detail the design and operation of a wage system that promotes continuous employment to age 65, stating the need to revise the existing wage system to age 60 to one based on job content, role, and contribution. The fact that Keidanren took such a stance on the wage system represents a significant step in promoting employment of older persons.

Surprisingly, however, the paper concludes that “since older persons in general exhibit large individual differences in health and ability, the appropriate job can change before and after age 60.” It goes on to state: “On the other hand, workers re-hired by the same employer after retirement are fixed-term employees who are not expected to serve long-term. Thus even if workers perform the same job as before retirement, the employer can choose to consider future expectations rather than job content, role and contribution and set different wages accordingly for long-term employees and re-hired employees.” This can be interpreted to mean that old age and fixed-term employment are valid factors for wage determination, making it appropriate for wages to decline after age 60. Clearly, this view is not favorable to older workers.

Indeed, if the wage system were genuinely based on job content, role and contribution, then mandatory retirement at age 60 would be meaningless. Despite any large individual differences among older workers, an across-the-board reduction of employment conditions at age 60 is difficult to justify, and can even do serious harm to the work motivation of older workers. With the projected secular decline of the labor force, to survive amid intensifying competition, employers must make optimal use of superior human resources without regard to age or employment type. In this regard, we see much room for improvement in wage and compensation systems.

3. Work Attitude of Older Workers

We next consider how older workers view their own employment situation.

In tandem with the JILPT (2007) survey of employers mentioned earlier, another survey of regular employees aged 57 to 59 was conducted called the *Survey of Continuous Employment and Work Life at Age 60 and Over*.¹⁰ Among employers that enforce retirement at age 60 and offer a continuous employment scheme, 74.4% of employees express a desire to continue working for income after retirement age, and furthermore, 79.7% of these employees wish to remain at the same employer. These results reveal the strong expectations held by older workers for continuous employment schemes (Exhibit 8).

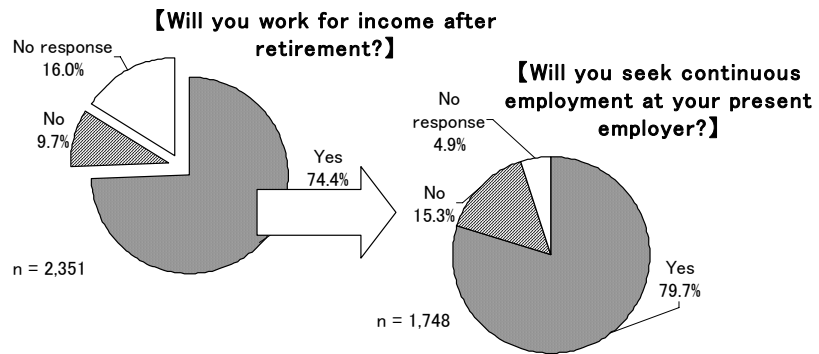
To examine the issues of continuous employment from the perspective of older workers, the survey

asks about their desired changes to the scheme. The three leading responses are “raise wages across the board for continuing workers” (desired or strongly desired by 85.5%), “assign jobs that make optimal use of the worker’s abilities, skills and expertise” (84.4%), and “accept all applicants to continuous employment” (79.8%; Exhibit 9).

In fact, it is not uncommon for continuing workers to be assigned completely different and unfamiliar jobs after age 60. The strong reaction to job mismatching is cause for concern, especially since it benefits neither the employer nor older worker.

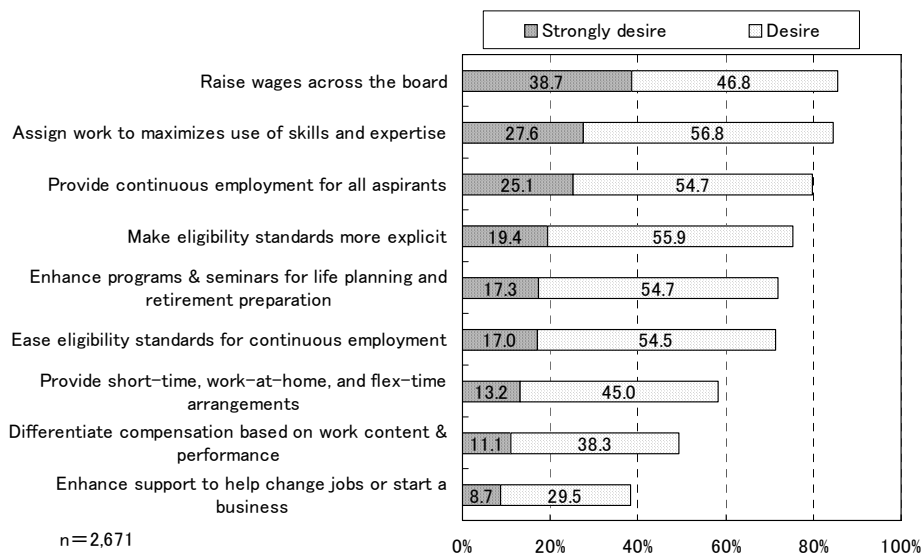
On the other hand, the desires for higher wages across the board and acceptance of all applicants are understandable but not very feasible. As we have seen, while wages are far below the levels extrapolated from seniority-based wages, they still compare quite favorably with wages of discontinuous employment. Considering the recent severity of business conditions, employers are unlikely to align wages to seniority-based wages. A more realistic alternative is to determine the compensation of continuing employees based on job content and performance (49.4%). Amid the financial difficulties facing companies, this way at least some continuing workers could enjoy higher compensation.

Exhibit 8 Employees’ Intentions Regarding Continuous Employment



Notes: Left circle includes all employees offered continuous employment after retirement at 60. In right circle, the 74.4% who intend to keep working remark on the current employer’s continuous employment scheme.
 Source: JILPT, *Survey of Continuous Employment and Work Life from Age 60: Questionnaire Survey of Employees Regarding Continuous Employment*, JILPT Survey Series no. 17.

Exhibit 9 Changes Desired by Employees Regarding the Continuous Employment Scheme



Source: JILPT, *Survey of Continuous Employment and Work Life from Age 60: Questionnaire Survey of Employees Regarding Continuous Employment*, JILPT Survey Series no. 17.

5. Conclusion

Amid the demographic trends of aging and low birth rates, the employment policy for older persons will likely be pursued further. In addition, to remain competitive despite the shrinking labor force, companies must make optimal use of older workers. We predict these trends will lead to the

increasing employment of older workers to age 65.

In addition, if employers and employees alike make the changes described below, employment of older workers can become more meaningful for everyone.

For companies, instead of reducing employment conditions across the board at age 60, they need to create a merit-based compensation system (job content, role, and contribution) that is fair and acceptable to diverse human resources including older workers. It is also important to prepare diverse work arrangements and career paths including opportunities for a second chance in case merit-based wages decline, or to set up periods when merit-based wages are deemphasized in favor of skills development or home life.

By designing such compensation systems, companies can convince their employees that competence is valued as much as age, and that effective competence development will grow in importance in the future. For older workers, while some will earn higher wages under the merit-based system, others will earn less than at present. To be able to participate actively regardless of age, employees must learn to design and manage their long career from an early stage. The result of their career management will be reflected in their work arrangements when they reach old age.

Endnotes

1. Since approximately 80% of employers enforce mandatory retirement at age 60, we define older persons to be at least age 60.
2. Since the vast majority of persons subject to mandatory retirement are men, the panel study focuses on employment conditions of men.
3. Japan Organization for the Employment of the Elderly and Persons with Disabilities (JEED), *Statistical Handbook of the Aging Society 2008*. OECD, *Labour Force Survey*.
4. In the *Panel Study of Middle-Aged and Older Men*, the first survey was conducted on a random sample of men from across Japan who were born between 1933 and 1947 (age 50 to 64 in 1997). Subsequent surveys are intended to track the participants of the first survey. Questionnaires were delivered and collected by hand.
5. According to the MHLW *Comprehensive Survey of Labor Conditions (2007)*, 93.2% of companies have a mandatory retirement age, of which 98.4% apply the rule across the board, and 86.6% of these have adopted the retirement age of 60.
6. MHLW, October 2007, "Employment Situation of Older Persons as of June 1, 2007: With Steady Progress Made in Employment Stabilization Measures for Older Workers to Age 65, the Next Step is to Encourage Companies to Employ Workers to Age 70."
7. The study conducted a questionnaire survey in October 2006 of 5,000 companies nationwide with 300 or more employees, with 1,105 effective responses received (response rate of 22.1%).
8. The Labor Contract Act of 2007, Article 16, stipulates as follows: "A dismissal shall, if it lacks objectively reasonable grounds and is not considered to be appropriate in general societal terms, be treated as an abuse of right and be invalid."
9. The Labor Contract Act of 2007, Article 9, stipulates as follows: "An employer may not, unless agreement has been reached with a worker, change any of the working conditions that constitute the contents of a labor contract in a manner disadvantageous to the worker by changing the rules of employment; provided, however, that this shall not apply to the cases set forth in the following Article." Article 10 then stipulates the following requirements (which were previously established by legal precedent): (1) "if the employer informs the worker of the changed rules of employment," and (2) "if the change to the rules of employment is reasonable in light of the extent of the disadvantage to be incurred by the worker, the need for changing the working conditions, the appropriateness of the contents of the changed rules of employment, the status of negotiations with a labor union or the like."
10. Ten ballots were allotted to 5,000 companies, for a total of 50,000 ballots. Responses were received from 2,671 persons (effective response rate 5.3%).

References in Japanese

- NLI Research Institute. 2002. *Tayo de junan na hataraki-kata wo sentaku dekiru koyo shisutemu no arikata ni kansuru kenkyukai houkokusho* (Report of the study group on employment systems with diverse and flexible work arrangements). Commissioned by the MHLW.
- NLI Research Institute. 2007. *Teinen mae – teinen go* (Before and after retirement). Asahi Shimbun Publications Inc.
- Nippon Keidanren. 2008. *Shigoto yakuwari kokendo wo kijiku to shita chingin seido no kochiku unyo ni mukete* (Toward the construction and operation of a wage system based on job content, role and contribution). Nippon Keidanren Business Services.
- JILPT. 2007. *Koreisha keizoku koyo ni muketa jinji romu kanri no genjo to kadai* (Current status and issues of human resource management for continuous employment of older persons). *Labor Policy Research Report* no. 83.
- JILPT. 2008. *Rokujusai iko no keizoku koyo to shokugyou seikatsu ni kansuru chosa: koreisha keizoku koyo ni kansuru jugyoin anketo chosa* (Survey of continuous employment and work life after age 60: questionnaire survey of employees regarding continuous employment of older persons). *Survey Series* no. 47.
- Matsuura, Tamie. 2007. *Chukonen dansei no shugyo ishiki no naka de no intai: sarariman no teinengo no ikigai keisei ni mukete* (Retirement in the employment awareness of middle-aged and older men: toward creating motivation for salarymen after retirement). *Career Design Research* no. 3. Career Design Institute Japan.
- Seike, Atsushi and Atsuhiko Yamada. 2004. *Koreisha shugyo no keizaigaku* (Economics of the employment of older persons), Nikkei Publishing Inc.
- Seike, Atsushi. 2006. *Eiji-furi shakaiwo ikiru* (Living in an age-free society). NTT Publishing Co.
- Soya, Noriomi. 1997. *Konenreisha koyo taisaku no suishin* (Promotion of employment policy for older persons). Institute of Labor Administration.
- Takeishi, Emiko. 2004. *Koreiki ni okeru shugyo kara no intai katei to seikatsu ishiki* (Retirement process and awareness of daily life in old age). *NLI Research Institute Shoho*. (<http://www.nli-research.co.jp/report/shoho/2003/Vol30/syo031230c.pdf>).

Reference in English

- Takeishi, Emiko and Tamie Matsuura. 2001. Life Course Research of Middle and Old-Aged Persons (Part 3): Panel Study Results on Changes in Employment (1999). *NLI Research*. (<http://www.nli-research.co.jp/english/socioeconomics/2001/li0107a.pdf>).