

# White Paper

## Taxes Lost due to Suicide in Japan 1998-2020

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# Taxes Lost due to Suicide in Japan – 1998-2020

## Executive Summary

- When a suicide dies he/she no longer pays taxes. The lost taxes are especially large in the case of young people's deaths. This study calculates the lost revenue to the Japanese government 1998-2020.
- Over the 23-year period of the study, the cumulative loss to the Japanese government due to suicide was approx. ¥ 7tr (\$53bn).
- Government data on suicide numbers are not consistent.
- The government has still not been able to introduce an easy-to-remember single phone number for a nationwide helpline. The USA uses a 3-digit number 988 similar to the number for an ambulance.
- The 660,000 people who took their own lives over the study period exceed the total population of Funabashi city.
- On the positive side, the government action of involving prefectures in suicide prevention programs seems to be successful.
- The fact that children and youths under 20-years old still die in the hundreds every year (778 in 2020) is a regrettable situation.
- Life Management NPO suggests introducing a textbook discussing suicide and the signs of suicide into the junior-high school Social Science curriculum.

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<http://life-management.org>

## Suicide numbers by age group in Japan 1998-2020 (reevaluated)

	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Age										
0-19	725	680	603	591	507	618	594	612	628	551
20-29	3498	3504	3328	3121	3042	3379	3271	3430	3417	3326
30-39	3644	3829	3715	3651	3962	4632	4359	4629	4521	4795
40-49	5407	5415	4917	4691	4857	5467	5145	5246	5048	5128
50-59	7968	8363	8316	7952	8526	8683	7835	7586	7304	7089
60-69	5468	5286	5252	5224	4331	5529	5276	5237	5339	5710
70-79	3749	3615	3587	3549	3622	3756	3580	3544	3618	3909
80+	2355	2260	2238	2194	2238	2320	2207	2174	2226	2488
TTL	32,814	32,952	31,956	30,973	31,085	34,384	32,267	32,458	32,101	32,996
	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Age										
0-19	614	568	554	624	589	549	539	556	520	568
20-29	3456	3488	3255	3319	3013	2810	2691	2361	2242	2217
30-39	4880	4824	4621	4480	3802	3721	3424	3099	2833	2705
40-49	5005	5296	5194	5082	4640	4607	4246	4098	3750	3676
50-59	6410	6538	5998	5414	4701	4509	4198	4008	3642	3601
60-69	5770	5993	5937	5576	4000	4734	4337	4002	3637	3347
70-79	3717	3691	3690	3702	3675	3795	3515	3463	2992	2932
80+	2371	2415	2410	2438	2419	2538	2461	2467	2268	2260
TTL	32,223	32,813	31,659	30,635	26,839	27,263	25,411	24,054	21,884	21,306
	2018	2019	2020	23yr TTL	%age					
Age										
0-19	600	660	778	13,828	2.1%					
20-29	2156	2121	2525	68,970	10.4%					
30-39	2603	2532	2616	87,877	13.3%					
40-49	3506	3434	3576	107,431	16.3%					
50-59	3583	3443	3433	139,100	21.1%					
60-69	3087	2910	2803	108,785	16.5%					
70-79	3004	2923	3032	80,660	12.2%					
80+	2294	2138	2309	53,488	8.1%					
TTL	20,833	20,161	21,072	660,139						

Suicide data Refs:

<https://www8.cao.go.jp/jisatsutaisaku/toukei/h20.html>

[https://www.npa.go.jp/safetylife/seianki/jisatsu/H19/H19\\_jisatunogaiyou.pdf](https://www.npa.go.jp/safetylife/seianki/jisatsu/H19/H19_jisatunogaiyou.pdf)

<https://nsearch.cao.go.jp/cao/search.x?page=1&ie=utf8&ref=www.cao.go.jp>

<https://www.mhlw.go.jp/content/r1h-s5.pdf>

## Notes to suicide numbers by age group in Japan 1998-2020 (reevaluated)

1. Data sources are not compatible. The National Police Agency (NPA) data does not include figures for youths 0-19 or suicides aged 60 and older before 1998, secondly the data the NPA provided to the MHLW is different from that published on its own website.

2. For the missing NPA data, linear approximation was used to estimate the missing data. The data were correlated with data from CAO and MHLW to find more reliable numbers. The difference between the three data sets was as many as 1,000 suicide victims (平成 26 年 2014). The only year that the NPA data were accurate was in 令和 2 年 2020.

3. In 1998 there was a sudden increase in suicides, as much as 35% on the year before.

Ref 1: <https://hgpi.org/wp-content/uploads/Suicide%20Issue%20HGPI%20English%20v2.pdf>.

Ref 2: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24721397>

4. The start year of the study was chosen as 1998 due to the sudden increase in deaths, and the end year 2020 because this was the final year for data from NPA, CAO and MHLW, which are at least two years late in producing data.

## Government tax revenues lost to suicide 1998-2020

Yen/ Billions	1998	1999	2000	2001
Total tax revenue	¥ 135,025	131,527	136,236	134,667
Individual Tax on income	¥ 26,516	24,761	28,677	27,538
Employees Social Security (SSC)	¥ 19,734	19,440	19,830	20,244
Taxes on property	¥ 14,886	14,787	14,294	14,158
Taxes on production, sale, transfer, etc	¥ 22,293	22,738	21,990	21,838
Taxes on use of goods and perform activities	¥ 2,964	3,018	3,047	3,062
Total Individual tax revenue W/O suicide contrib.	¥ 86,394	84,745	87,838	86,840
Percentage of total	% 64%	64%	64%	64%
Total population (000s)	人 126,400	126,631	126,843	127,149
Total suicides	人 32,814	32,952	31,956	30,973
Suicides as % of population	% 0.026%	0.026%	0.025%	0.024%
Non-suicide population %ge	% 99.97%	99.97%	99.97%	99.98%
Total taxes INCLUDING missing suicide contrib	¥ 86,416	84,767	87,860	86,861
Total taxes NOT paid by Suicides TTL	¥ 22.43	22.06	22.13	21.16
Total taxes and SSC NOT paid by a Suicide (¥1)	¥ 683,672	669,402	692,671	683,143

2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
128,270	127,007	131,137	137,943	143,005	146,248	139,621	127,754
23,620	22,239	23,295	25,222	26,375	28,600	27,790	25,518
20,111	20,099	20,353	20,982	21,580	21,975	23,252	22,486
13,837	13,119	13,104	13,327	12,990	13,138	13,111	12,949
21,638	21,632	22,158	22,672	22,609	22,322	21,203	20,643
3,062	3,060	3,006	3,064	3,009	3,015	2,949	2,803
82,268	80,149	81,915	85,267	86,561	89,050	88,305	84,400
64%	63%	62%	62%	61%	61%	63%	66%
127,445	127,718	127,761	127,773	127,854	128,001	128,063	128,047
31,085	34,384	32,267	32,458	32,101	32,996	32,223	32,813
0.024%	0.027%	0.025%	0.025%	0.025%	0.026%	0.025%	0.026%
99.98%	99.97%	99.97%	99.97%	99.97%	99.97%	99.97%	99.97%
82,288	80,171	81,936	85,289	86,583	89,073	88,327	84,422
20.07	21.58	20.69	21.67	21.74	22.96	22.22	21.63
645,678	627,718	641,320	667,503	677,204	695,875	689,718	659,301

Refs:

Jp Population data: World Bank, <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.TOTL?locations=JP>

Government revenue data: <https://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=REVJPN>

Individual tax breakdown: [https://www.mof.go.jp/tax\\_policy/summary/condition/a01.htm](https://www.mof.go.jp/tax_policy/summary/condition/a01.htm)

Taxes per individual [https://www.soumu.go.jp/main\\_content/000795494.pdf](https://www.soumu.go.jp/main_content/000795494.pdf)

2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
132,484	135,671	139,598	146,405	156,886	163,533	164,970	171,805
24,663	24,951	25,946	28,150	29,655	30,847	30,670	32,325
23,593	24,432	25,192	25,984	27,168	28,224	29,312	30,348
12,878	13,100	12,716	12,940	13,306	13,400	13,772	14,073
21,229	21,485	21,648	22,378	27,663	30,937	30,306	32,623
2,570	2,557	2,464	2,431	2,404	2,416	2,457	2,450
84,932	86,525	87,966	91,882	100,195	105,824	106,516	111,818
64%	64%	63%	63%	64%	65%	65%	65%
128,070	127,833	127,629	127,445	127,276	127,141	127,076	126,972
31,659	30,635	26,839	27,263	25,411	24,054	21,884	21,306
0.025%	0.024%	0.021%	0.021%	0.020%	0.019%	0.017%	0.017%
99.98%	99.98%	99.98%	99.98%	99.98%	99.98%	99.98%	99.98%
84,953	86,546	87,985	91,902	100,215	105,844	106,534	111,837
21.00	20.74	18.50	19.66	20.01	20.02	18.35	18.77
663,333	677,020	689,381	721,112	787,387	832,490	838,350	880,801

2018	2019	2020
175,564	175,380	178,000
33,492	32,947	32,321
31,243	31,954	32,000
14,196	14,340	14,119
30,809	31,143	32,694
2,498	2,553	2,585
112,238	112,937	113,719
64%	64%	64%
126,811	126,633	126,262
20,833	20,161	21,072
0.016%	0.016%	0.017%
99.98%	99.98%	99.98%
112,256	112,955	113,738
18.44	17.98	18.98
885,223	891,983	900,812

660,139 = Total suicides over 23 yrs

## Notes to government tax revenues lost to suicide 1998-2020

### Notes:

1. Total Tax Revenue is for individual payers, without contributions from suicides
2. Income tax includes prefectural and municipal inhabitants' taxes
3. Recurrent taxes on immovable property includes prefectural property tax, municipal property tax, City planning tax and land value tax
4. Taxes on financial and capital transactions includes securities transactions, Bank of Japan note issue tax, stamp revenues and property acquisition taxes
5. Taxes on specific goods and services includes excise duty on liquor, local gasoline tax, LPG tax, national gasoline tax, prefectural tobacco tax, municipal tobacco tax, electricity and gas tax, vehicle acquisition tax, special tobacco tax, customs and import duties, golf course utilization tax and bathing facility tax. Diesel oil tax is excluded as it is seen to be a business charge rather than an individual one.
6. Taxes on use of goods and perform activities includes Recurrent taxes such as Automobile tax, Light vehicle tax and Motor vehicle tonnage tax
7. Taxes on specific goods and services are unspecified.
8. Nursing Care Tax (Kaigo Hoken ) introduced April 1 2000
9. 1997, Value Added Tax (consumption tax ) was raised to 5%, in 2014 it was increased to 8%, in October of 2019 was raised to the current rate of 10%.
10. 2014 to 2037 additional per capita tax, 1,000 yen is imposed as a Special Reconstruction Tax.
11. 2020 Data for total tax revenue and Employees Social Security had to be estimated as the actual figure had not been reported as of date of publication
12. Average salary in Japan (2015) =¥4,140,00. Total deductions = SSC (Insurance+Pension) ¥610,920, Income Tax ¥222,000, Resident Tax ¥314,900: total taxes = ¥1,147,820 (27.7%) ref. <https://japantaxcalculator.com>
13. The reason why the per person taxes LOST pa (¥683,672 from 1998 onwards) looks low compared to the national average of taxes paid is because the number is diluted by the number of not-working youths, the elderly and that 30% of suicides are by women, many of whom are NEET status. Accounting for these results in a similar figure to the yearly one.
14. Total deaths 1998-2020 exceed the population of Funabashi City, which was 644,682 in 2021. Ref: [https://uub.jp/rnk/cktv\\_j.html](https://uub.jp/rnk/cktv_j.html)
15. Exchange rate as of 13 June 2022 (1 USD = 135.00 JPY)



## Microcosm cohort 1998/2021 analysis

Population ('000s) 1998								
0-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	80+	Total
26,867	18,991	16,343	18,166	19,443	13,027	9,208	4,446	126,491
21.2%	15.0%	12.9%	14.4%	15.4%	10.3%	7.3%	3.5%	1
Population ('000s) 2021*								
0-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	80+	Total
20,431	11,866	13,591	17,939	16,379	15,523	16,171	11,500	123,399
16.6%	9.6%	11.0%	14.5%	13.3%	12.6%	13.1%	9.3%	1
Suicides (Individuals) 1998								
0-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	80+	Total
725	3,498	3,644	5,407	7,968	5,468	3,749	2,355	32,814
2.2%	10.7%	11.1%	16.5%	24.3%	16.7%	11.4%	7.2%	1

\*Both data for 1998 and 2021 are from the same source, but for 2021 non-Japanese citizens have been excluded - though the 2.2% makes a negligible difference.

Source: [https://www.e-stat.go.jp/en/stat-search?page=1&query=Japanese%20total%20Population%20by%20Age%20\(single%20year\)%202020](https://www.e-stat.go.jp/en/stat-search?page=1&query=Japanese%20total%20Population%20by%20Age%20(single%20year)%202020)

### Notes:

The Japanese population increased 1998-2010 (increase of 1.6mn in 2020) this has now returned to 1998 levels. Youth population 0-19 have decreased 4.6% 1998/2020; at the same time, the number of elderly (70yo+) has doubled.

There is no correlation between 0-19yo suicides and their weight in the population, but as this cadre rarely pays tax, it is not important for this analysis. However other age groups/suicide percentages are compatible.

Suicide is unproportionably high in the 50-59yo group compared to its weight in the total population (24%/15%)

Per policy at Waseda University School of Social Science, ethical review and informed consent were not required because no individual level data were used and no data could be linked to any individual.

### Assumption:

As the ratio of suicide to weight in the population of tax paying individuals is similar, it is reasonable to use the group of suicides as a representative cohort for the population of Japan as a whole. This cohort was used to calculate the financial data.

## Suicide Prevention in Japan - Background data

- Mental health consultation phone number, times vary by prefecture 0570-064-556. In the USA "988" is the three-digit, nationwide phone number to connect directly to the 988 Suicide and Crisis Lifeline. Calling or texting 988, connects with mental health professionals.
- Suicide in Japan is 50% more than the rate of USA and 2.5 times higher than the UK. (2015 data)
- Suicide is the leading cause of death for all age groups under 35yo (except the 0-19yo age group where it ranks 2nd.) [https://ova-japan.org/?page\\_id=7222](https://ova-japan.org/?page_id=7222)
- To work out how many more people died 1998-2020, we modeled all deaths over the period and subtracted a baseline of expected deaths which resulted in estimated excess death rates - meaning the increase in mortality above expected levels. The result is that by 2020, using the 1990-1997 parameters with a suicide rate of 18:100,000, the baseline of deaths ought to be 22,726 which is above the actual figure of 21,072. Which suggests that the government suicide prevention policy is working. <https://www.thelancet.com/journals/lancet/article/PIIS0140-6736%2811%2961130-6/fulltext>
- List of major items in the FY2020 Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare budget proposal; Part 6 Community development and securing of peace of mind for living toward the realization of a community-based society: 5 Promotion of comprehensive suicide countermeasures ¥3,299,000,000 <https://www.mhlw.go.jp/wp/yosan/yosan/20syokanyosan/dl/01-07.pdf>
- 270 million yen was allocated to expand support systems such as SNS consultations by private organizations and telephone consultations by prefectures. 870 million yen was appropriated for support for environmental improvement such as maintenance and isolation of consultation booths. ref: Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare, Social Affairs and Relief Bureau, General Affairs Division; Suicide Countermeasure Promotion Office; [https://www.shugiin.go.jp/internet/itdb\\_gian.nsf/html/gian/gian\\_hokoku/20211102jisatsugaiyo.pdf/\\$File/20211102jisatsugaiyo.pdf](https://www.shugiin.go.jp/internet/itdb_gian.nsf/html/gian/gian_hokoku/20211102jisatsugaiyo.pdf/$File/20211102jisatsugaiyo.pdf) cf. House of Representatives Nov. 2021
- In the Cabinet Office budget for 2020, suicide is not listed. "Cabinet Office Head Office, budget request summary etc. FY2020" [https://www.cao.go.jp/yosan/soshiki/r02/gaiyou\\_r02.pdf](https://www.cao.go.jp/yosan/soshiki/r02/gaiyou_r02.pdf)
- A 1996 Canadian study, each suicide cost \$850,000 (yen 91,800,000 @1996 \$/Y108) in costs to hospital and burials, and secondary issues such as work related problems. Given that the MHLW has reported that as many as 35,156 (2020) people a year attempt suicide, this is an enormous cost to society and the government. <https://www.mhlw.go.jp/content/r2h-1-8.pdf>. Ref: Chronic Diseases in Canada, Vol 20, No3 - 2000; The Public Health Agency of Canada (PHAC) The Cost of Suicide Mortality in New Brunswick, 1996 <https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/10455041>
- Research by the Nippon Foundation shows that as many as 500,000 contemplated suicide in 2015 and the World Happiness Index (2021) ranks UK 17th, USA 19th but Japan 55th. <https://worldpopulationreview.com/country-rankings/happiest-countries-in-the-world>; <https://www.nippon-foundation.or.jp/en/news/articles/2016/20160915-21072.html>
- Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) reported that 479 teens died by suicide in 2020 which was the highest ever recorded since 1978 (actual deaths were 778, which excludes 0-10yo children). [https://ova-japan.org/?page\\_id=7222](https://ova-japan.org/?page_id=7222)

# Final Calculations of Taxes lost to the Japanese government 1998-2020 (see next page)

Two calculations are important to understand the problem of tax loss due to suicide: compounded growth and cohort degradation.

1) Compounded growth. A single point in time does not adequately show the total taxes lost. A man committing suicide aged fifty will not pay taxes until his planned retirement in fifteen years' time. Moreover, a youth committing suicide at 20 does not pay the next 45 years' worth of tax. So, the taxes lost in 1998 include those of suicides in 1997, 1996 and all the way back to 1955, but due to poor quality data, we started our calculations in 1965.

2) Cohort degradation. We calculated the life expectancy of the cohort, for example in 1998, 32,814 people died of suicide, the very young and very elderly do not contribute much in way of taxes. The remainder we call the Life Earning Expectancy (LEE). In the first five years, this cohort diminishes as the elderly leave the group (die), at the same time, those in the 0-20 age group enter the workforce. The result is still a large negative number. The cohorts 1965-1997 are the Inherited Tax Loss Burden (ABCD), and those in the group being studied, 1998-2020, are the New Tax Loss Burden (BDEF).

We made a statistical model to calculate the 1,215 data points. The model illustrates the decline in taxpayers in the cohort over time. In years 1-5, 80% of the cohort should have paid taxes, years 6-15 = 48%, 16-25 = 40%, 26 -35 = 24% and finally years 36-45 = 12%.

Among the variables accounted for in this calculation are changes in national population, government policy such as changes in VAT, growth of tax and SSC revenue, at the same time the decline in the cohorts are shown as the Inherited Tax Loss Burden. Many variables have not been accounted for such as unemployment and NEET status, but this is reflected in the National Tax and Social Security Income.

The lower part of the table has both a larger and older cohort, whereas the upper right of the table represents the smaller number of youth suicides, resulting in less tax loss overall. However, these suicides still represent part of the Inherited Tax Loss Burden. The cohort is in 8 age groups, which leads to uneven calculations, but the granular details are not that important as it is the scale of the problem which is important.

Assumption: retirement age is 65yo.

## SUMMARY

- In total between 1998 to 2020, 7 trillion yen's worth of taxes (\$53bn) was lost to suicide.
- In 2020, though the nominal loss was ¥ 15bn (\$112mn) , when the Inherited Tax Loss Burden is included, the loss was ¥ 400bn (\$3bn). (13<sup>th</sup> June 2022 exchange rate used \$/¥ 135)

suicide data for 1965-1997 based on MHLW ref: <https://www.mhlw.go.jp/content/s2.pdf>

## Multi-cohort study of compounded tax losses to

UNITS = (1mn)	COHORT	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	
<b>A</b>	1965	14,440	2,369	2,320	2,401	1,184	1,119	1,088	1,111	1,157	1,173	1,206	1,195
	1966	15,050	2,469	2,418	2,502	2,468	1,166	1,134	1,158	1,206	1,223	1,257	1,246
	1967	14,121	2,317	2,269	2,347	2,315	2,188	1,064	1,087	1,131	1,148	1,179	1,169
	1968	14,601	2,396	2,346	2,427	2,394	2,263	2,200	1,124	1,170	1,187	1,219	1,208
	1969	14,844	2,436	2,385	2,468	2,434	2,300	2,236	2,285	1,189	1,206	1,240	1,229
	1970	15,728	2,581	2,527	2,615	2,579	2,437	2,369	2,421	2,520	1,278	1,313	1,302
	1971	16,239	2,665	2,609	2,700	2,662	2,516	2,446	2,499	2,601	2,639	1,356	1,344
	1972	18,015	2,956	2,894	2,995	2,954	2,792	2,714	2,773	2,886	2,928	3,009	1,491
	1973	18,859	5,157	3,030	3,135	3,092	2,922	2,841	2,903	3,021	3,065	3,150	3,122
	1974	19,105	5,225	5,116	3,176	3,132	2,961	2,878	2,941	3,061	3,105	3,191	3,162
	1975	19,975	5,463	5,349	5,534	3,275	3,095	3,009	3,074	3,200	3,247	3,336	3,307
	1976	19,786	5,411	5,298	5,482	5,407	3,066	2,981	3,045	3,170	3,216	3,304	3,275
	1977	20,269	5,543	5,427	5,616	5,539	5,235	3,054	3,120	3,247	3,294	3,385	3,355
	1978	20,199	5,524	5,408	5,597	5,520	5,217	5,072	3,109	3,236	3,283	3,373	3,344
	1979	20,823	5,694	5,576	5,769	5,690	5,378	5,228	5,342	3,336	3,384	3,478	3,447
	1980	20,542	5,618	5,500	5,692	5,613	5,305	5,158	5,270	5,485	3,339	3,431	3,400
	1981	20,096	5,496	5,381	5,568	5,491	5,190	5,046	5,155	5,366	5,444	3,356	3,327
	1982	20,668	5,652	5,534	5,726	5,648	5,338	5,189	5,302	5,518	5,599	5,753	3,421
	1983	24,985	8,199	6,690	6,923	6,827	6,453	6,273	6,409	6,671	6,768	6,955	6,893
	1984	24,344	7,989	7,822	6,745	6,652	6,287	6,112	6,245	6,500	6,594	6,776	6,716
	1985	23,383	7,673	7,513	7,774	6,390	6,039	5,871	5,998	6,243	6,334	6,509	6,451
	1986	25,667	8,423	8,247	8,534	8,416	6,629	6,445	6,584	6,853	6,953	7,144	7,081
	1987	23,831	7,820	7,657	7,923	7,814	7,386	5,984	6,113	6,363	6,455	6,633	6,575
	1988	22,795	7,480	7,324	7,579	7,475	7,065	6,868	5,848	6,086	6,175	6,345	6,289
	1989	21,125	6,932	6,788	7,024	6,927	6,547	6,365	6,503	5,640	5,722	5,880	5,828
	1990	20,088	6,592	6,455	6,679	6,587	6,226	6,053	6,184	6,436	5,441	5,591	5,542
	1991	19,875	6,522	6,386	6,608	6,517	6,160	5,988	6,118	6,368	6,461	5,532	5,483
	1992	20,893	6,856	6,713	6,947	6,851	6,475	6,295	6,432	6,694	6,791	6,979	5,764
	1993	20,516	11,221	6,592	6,821	6,727	6,358	6,182	6,316	6,573	6,669	6,853	6,792
	1994	20,923	11,444	11,205	6,957	6,861	6,485	6,304	6,441	6,704	6,801	6,989	6,927
	1995	21,420	11,715	11,471	11,870	7,024	6,639	6,454	6,594	6,863	6,963	7,155	7,091
	1996	22,138	12,108	11,855	12,267	12,099	6,861	6,670	6,815	7,093	7,196	7,395	7,329
	<b>B</b>	1997	23,494	12,850	12,582	13,019	12,840	12,136	7,079	7,232	7,528	7,637	7,847
1998		32,814	17,947	17,573	18,183	17,933	16,950	16,478	10,101	10,514	10,666	10,961	10,864
1999		32,952		17,646	18,260	18,009	17,021	16,548	16,906	10,558	10,711	11,007	10,909
2000		31,956			17,708	17,464	16,507	16,047	16,395	17,065	10,388	10,674	10,580
2001		30,973				16,927	15,999	15,554	15,891	16,540	16,780	10,346	10,254
2002		31,085					16,057	15,610	15,948	16,599	16,841	17,305	10,291
2003		34,384						17,267	17,641	18,361	18,628	19,142	18,972
2004		32,267							16,555	17,231	17,481	17,963	17,804
2005		32,458								17,333	17,585	18,069	17,909
2006		32,101									17,391	17,871	17,713
2007		32,996										18,369	18,206
2008		32,223											17,780
2009		32,813											
2010		31,659											
2011		30,635											
2012	26,839												
2013	27,263												
2014	25,411												
2015	24,054												
2016	21,884												
2017	21,306												
2018	20,833												
2019	20,161												
2020	21,072												
	1,318,976	226,743	231,904	249,570	253,737	246,768	248,155	258,987	275,314	285,189	299,824	303,165	

**E**

# the Japanese government from suicide 1998-2020

2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	
1,142	1,149											
1,191	1,198	1,223										
1,117	1,124	1,147	1,168									
1,155	1,162	1,186	1,208	1,263								
1,174	1,182	1,206	1,228	1,285	1,403							
1,244	1,252	1,278	1,301	1,361	1,486	1,571						
1,285	1,293	1,319	1,343	1,405	1,534	1,622	1,634					
1,425	1,434	1,464	1,490	1,559	1,702	1,800	1,812	1,904				
1,492	1,501	1,532	1,560	1,632	1,782	1,884	1,897	1,993	2,003			
3,023	1,521	1,552	1,580	1,653	1,805	1,909	1,922	2,019	2,029	2,045		
3,161	3,180	1,623	1,652	1,729	1,887	1,995	2,010	2,111	2,122	2,138	2,159	
3,131	3,150	3,215	1,637	1,712	1,870	1,977	1,991	2,091	2,102	2,118	2,139	
3,207	3,227	3,293	3,354	1,754	1,915	2,025	2,039	2,142	2,153	2,170	2,191	
3,196	3,216	3,282	3,342	3,496	1,909	2,018	2,032	2,135	2,146	2,162	2,183	
3,295	3,315	3,383	3,445	3,604	3,935	2,080	2,095	2,201	2,212	2,229	2,251	
3,250	3,270	3,338	3,399	3,555	3,882	4,104	2,067	2,171	2,182	2,199	2,221	
3,180	3,199	3,265	3,325	3,478	3,798	4,015	4,043	2,124	2,135	2,151	2,172	
3,270	3,290	3,358	3,420	3,577	3,906	4,129	4,158	4,369	2,195	2,212	2,234	
3,953	3,978	4,060	4,134	4,324	4,721	4,992	5,027	5,282	5,308	2,674	2,701	
6,420	3,876	3,956	4,028	4,213	4,600	4,864	4,898	5,146	5,172	5,211	2,632	
6,167	6,204	3,799	3,869	4,047	4,419	4,672	4,705	4,943	4,968	5,006	5,055	
6,769	6,810	6,951	4,247	4,442	4,850	5,128	5,164	5,426	5,453	5,495	5,549	
6,285	6,323	6,454	6,571	4,124	4,503	4,761	4,795	5,038	5,063	5,102	5,152	
6,012	6,048	6,173	6,286	6,575	4,308	4,554	4,586	4,819	4,843	4,880	4,928	
5,571	5,605	5,721	5,825	6,093	6,653	4,221	4,250	4,466	4,488	4,522	4,567	
5,298	5,330	5,440	5,539	5,794	6,327	6,689	4,042	4,246	4,268	4,300	4,343	
5,241	5,273	5,382	5,481	5,733	6,260	6,618	6,665	4,201	4,223	4,255	4,297	
5,510	5,544	5,658	5,761	6,026	6,580	6,957	7,006	7,361	4,439	4,473	4,517	
5,410	5,444	5,556	5,657	5,918	6,462	6,832	6,880	7,228	7,264	4,392	4,435	
6,621	5,552	5,666	5,770	6,035	6,590	6,967	7,016	7,372	7,409	7,465	4,523	
6,779	6,820	5,801	5,907	6,178	6,746	7,133	7,183	7,547	7,585	7,643	7,718	
7,006	7,049	7,194	6,105	6,386	6,972	7,372	7,424	7,800	7,839	7,899	7,977	
7,435	7,480	7,635	7,774	6,777	7,400	7,823	7,878	8,277	8,319	8,382	8,465	
10,384	10,448	10,664	10,858	11,358	10,335	10,927	11,004	11,561	11,619	11,708	11,824	
10,428	10,492	10,708	10,904	11,406	12,454	10,973	11,050	11,610	11,668	11,757	11,873	
10,113	10,175	10,385	10,574	11,061	12,078	12,769	10,716	11,259	11,315	11,402	11,515	
9,802	9,862	10,065	10,249	10,721	11,706	12,377	12,464	10,912	10,967	11,051	11,160	
9,837	9,897	10,102	10,286	10,760	11,748	12,421	12,509	13,142	11,007	11,091	11,201	
10,881	10,948	11,174	11,378	11,901	12,995	13,740	13,836	14,537	14,610	12,268	12,389	
17,019	10,274	10,486	10,677	11,169	12,195	12,894	12,984	13,642	13,710	13,815	11,627	
17,120	17,224	10,548	10,740	11,235	12,267	12,970	13,061	13,723	13,792	13,897	14,035	
16,931	17,035	17,386	10,622	11,111	12,132	12,827	12,918	13,572	13,640	13,744	13,880	
17,403	17,510	17,871	18,197	11,421	12,471	13,185	13,278	13,950	14,020	14,127	14,267	
16,996	17,100	17,453	17,771	18,589	12,179	12,876	12,967	13,623	13,692	13,796	13,933	
17,307	17,413	17,772	18,097	18,929	20,669	13,112	13,204	13,873	13,942	14,049	14,188	
	16,800	17,147	17,460	18,264	19,942	21,085	12,740	13,385	13,452	13,555	13,689	
		16,592	16,895	17,673	19,297	20,403	20,546	12,952	13,017	13,116	13,246	
			14,802	15,483	16,906	17,875	18,000	18,912	11,404	11,491	11,605	
				15,728	17,173	18,157	18,285	19,211	19,307	11,673	11,788	
					16,007	16,924	17,043	17,906	17,996	18,133	10,987	
						16,020	16,133	16,949	17,035	17,165	17,335	
							14,677	15,420	15,498	15,616	15,771	
								15,013	15,088	15,204	15,354	
									14,753	14,866	15,013	
										14,387	14,529	
											15,186	
294,638	301,177	310,463	316,917	332,537	362,760	382,247	382,635	399,565	399,452	399,033	400,805	TOTAL = 7,161,395mn

C

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