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Women's Working Pattern and the Support to Working Mothers
in Contemporary Japan

Sawako Shirahase

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National Institute of Population
and Social Security Research

2-2-3 Uchisaiwai-cho, Chiyoda-ku,
Tokyo, Japan

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1. Introduction

Drastic changes in the demographic structure in Japan, that is, the decline in the fertility rate and the growth in the aged population, and their possible consequences have been seriously discussed by scholars, policy makers, and the media. The continuous decline of the fertility rate raised people's concern over the reduction in the productive labor force and the potential imbalance in the future between contributions and benefits of the social security. The ratio of young workers to the retired population has been declining rapidly, and the support of the elderly is becoming the burden of the working-age population.

Fertility rate declined sharply in the 1950s, and there is a gradual decline in the 1980s. The drop from 1.66 in 1988 to 1.57 in 1989 attracted public attention as it was called "1.57 shock." In response to this decline of fertility rate in the late 1980s, the Japanese government took specific actions. Based on the agreement among four Japanese ministries, that is, the Ministries of Education, Health and Welfare, Labor, and Construction, the government formulated in 1994 the Angel plan which laid out the basic direction for future child-rearing support in Japan. There has been, however, no clear indication so far of improving fertility rate. The total fertility rate in 2000 was reported to be 1.35 in Japan.

Historically the Japanese social security system paid attention to older people as exemplified in the old age pension and medical care. However, government has been aware of the importance of supporting families with small children, more precisely assisting mothers, since there was no sign of significant improvement in the total fertility rates recently. The main reason for the continuously low fertility rate is largely due to the low rate of marriage among the younger generation since the overall rate of the fertility among married women has not declined substantially (NIPSSR 1998). In Japan where the rate of the out-of-wed birth is very low, delaying marriage and remaining as a single would directly lead to lowering the fertility rate. The marriage and childbirth are very closely related in contemporary Japan (Atoh 2000;

Shirahase 1999).

Siaroff (1994) explored three types of welfare regimes advocated by Esping-Andersen (1990) and classified Japan as "a late female mobilization welfare state" (p.99), similar to Switzerland. Siaroff argued that Japan is one of the least family-friendly societies with poor working conditions for women. Gauthier (1996) also claimed that Japan is located at the lower end of the level of family support by the government, based on the amount of family allowance, the length and benefit of maternity and parental leave. However, their analyses did not include an in-depth investigation of the case of Japan.

In this paper, I would like to explore the possible impacts of the government policies on the individual decision-making about the subsequent work life, focusing on the work trajectory of the married women and the childcare support that they received. Japan has been characterized by the least favorable work setting for women, particularly mothers, as exemplified by the discontinuous pattern of work among mothers, the large extent of wage gap between men and women, and the very low proportion of women holding managerial positions. I attempt to examine how married women determine their work profile, and how their decision is affected by the current support system available to them, through analyzing the micro data.

2. Trend in the fertility rate and the female labor force participation rate in Japan

Figure 1 shows the female labor force participation rate and the total fertility rate since 1965. The rate of the female labor force participation has not constantly increased in Japan since the end of World War II, unlike American and European societies. The decline in the female labor force participation rate until 1975 derived mainly from the fact that less and less married women worked as unpaid family workers in the farming sector. The increase in the female labor force participation rate after 1975 is due to the fact that the influx of women as employees in the secondary and tertiary sectors surpassed the decline in the farming sector. The overall participation rate in Japan has declined in post-war Japan hitting the bottom in 1975, increased thereafter reaching 50% in 1990, and slightly declined to 49.3% in 1999.

Although the overall rate of female labor force participation has not strikingly increased, some significant changes took place if we examined the economic activity of women more in detail. One of them is the growth of women's entry into the labor force as employees. As seen in Figure 2, the distribution of employment status among the female labor force has largely changed since 1960. In 1960, about 60 percent of them were self-employed or family workers, but 40 years later, family workers who were mostly unpaid declined dramatically. In 2000, more than 80 percent of working women were employees. Thus, the way women worked has changed in Japan, while the overall level of economic activity has not largely changed over 40 years. Women used to work on the family farms while taking care of the domestic duties, but the separation of work place from family made them more difficult to reconcile work with family responsibilities. The double-peaked pattern of Japanese women's economic activity by age group has emerged in the 1960s and has remained basically the same in the 1990s, as shown in Figure 3, although the extent of drop in the participation rate among the 25-29 group has become less dramatic from 1975 to 1995.

The total fertility rate has continuously declined since 1965, as shown in Figure 1. Whereas more and more women entered the labor market as employees, the fertility rate has declined. The labor force participation of mothers with small children is still limited in Japan. Among mothers who have children aged three or younger, only 28% are engaged in employment, including part-time work. Among mothers who have children aged between four and six, the percent of those who work jumps to 50%, but 45% of them work part-time (Statistics Bureau 1997). When the mothers work on the full-time basis, 42% of the mothers with children less than four years old rely on the kinship ties for child-care while 49% of the mothers enroll their children in day-care facilities in 1993 (Fujin Shonen Kyokai 1994).

In order to encourage women to pursue their careers despite their family responsibilities, Japanese government launched parental leave policies. Beginning in 1995, every employee is entitled to take child-care leave in order to take care of a child who is younger than the age of one, thanks to the Parental Leave Act. Following the amendment to the Employment Insurance Law, insured persons who take child-care

leave are paid 25% of her/his wage before leave¹. In 1996, 44% of female workers who worked in firms which had child-care leave policy took child-care leave while less than 1% of men did (Ministry of Labor 1996). Workers who take child-care leave are overwhelmingly women.

3. Working profile of mothers

In this section, I would like to analyze the micro data to examine the work trajectory of mothers and its determinants. The data sets that are used in this study are the 1995 Social Stratification and Mobility Survey (hereafter, the 1995 SSM)² and the 1998 National Family Survey (hereafter, the 1998 NFS). The SSM surveys, which are national representative surveys, have been conducted by Japanese social scientists every ten years since 1955, and female respondents have been included in the survey since 1985. The data on work history were gathered in the retrospective way in the SSM surveys. The 1998 NFS in Japan was conducted by the National Institute of Population and Social Security Research, and it was a nationally representative survey on family in Japan. I will focus on married women with child(ren) in our analysis for both data-sets.

While in most industrial societies, including the United States, women and men show a similar working pattern, Japan shows significantly different patterns of work between men and women: women are more likely to show discontinuous work trajectory. In fact, more than 70 percent of mothers stopped working at the time of giving birth to their first child, according to the 1998 NFS. Table 1 shows the real and the ideal patterns of work by mothers, and about a half of them state that the temporal withdrawal from the labor market when the children are small is the ideal way of work by mothers. Respondents who think that the continuous pattern of work by mothers is ideal are less than 20 percent.

As far as married women are concerned, the belief in which mothers had better

¹ The increase of the wage compensation rate from 25 percent to 40 percent during the parental leave was proposed to the diet in 2000.

² I am grateful to the 1995 SSM committee for allowing me to use the 1995 SSM survey.

stay at home and take care of small children is still predominant even in the late 1990s. A national attitudes survey conducted in 2000³ asked the respondents what would be the ideal work pattern for mothers whose youngest child has not reached the school age. The responses of the respondents who were in their twenties were the following: full-time work (6.8%), part-time work (24.8%), no work (43.2%), and don't know (25.2%). Therefore, even among the younger generation, the conservative attitudes towards the mother's work is dominant in contemporary Japan.

When women withdraw from the labor market, more than 80 percent of them reported personal reasons for quitting their job (Somucho 1997). Among those who were in their 20s and 30s, women who stopped working because of marriage and childbearing were 42.8 percent and 37.7 percent, respectively (Table 2). Thus, among the younger generation of the 20s and 30s, marriage and childbearing are the main reasons for being out of the labor market.

Table 3 shows the results of logit analysis of whether respondents stayed in the labor market or not at the time of the birth of the first child, based on the 1998 NFS. The analysis is restricted to the respondents who were married and had child(ren). The explanatory variables in the analysis are the age of the respondents, the respondent's educational levels represented by years of education, her husband's education measured by years of schooling, the urban area dummy, three dummy variables representing the occupation of the respondent before the first childbirth⁴, a dummy variable representing the respondent's job before the first childbirth was in the government sector. Variables that show statistically significant effects are the age of the respondent, the husband's education, the urban dummy, the self-employed dummy, the white-collar dummy, and the government sector dummy. The older the respondents, the more likely they are to stay in the labor market at the time of their

³ The data come from the National Survey of Welfare and Attitudes conducted by a group of sociologists (headed by Professor Shogo Takegawa, University of Tokyo) in April 2000.

⁴ I constructed three occupational dummy variables with "blue-collar occupation" as the reference. They were self-employed dummy including family workers, professional dummy, and white-collar occupation dummy such as clerical and sales.

first childbirth. The net positive effect of age on the chances of continuing work probably derives from the fact that women who were married and had children in their 20s are more likely to hold conservative attitudes toward work and childrearing than young unmarried women in their 20s, who tend to delay their marriage, as well as married women in their 30s and 40s. In other words, the positive effect of age on work continuity at the time of the first childbirth is probably due to the greater tendency of withdrawal from the labor market among the young mothers in their 20s. The husband's education has a negative effect on continuing their work, while women's own education does not show any significant effect; The higher the husband's educational attainment, the less likely their wives are to stay in the labor market. Since the socio-economic status of the husband was not included in the survey, the educational level of the husband can be regarded as a proxy for the husband's socio-economic status. The wife's decision about whether to stay in the labor force at the time of childbearing is more associated with the husband's socio-economic status, rather than their own, and this finding suggests that women's decision appears to be based on the family strategy, rather than women's individual choice.

In addition to the husband's situation, their own employment is also a critical factor in making the decision about their subsequent work trajectory. Women who worked as the self-employed or family workers before the first childbirth are more likely to stay in the labor force, compared with those who were blue-collar workers. Being self-employed or family workers is positively associated with the continuous work profile, and it is consistent with the claim that the growth of employees among the female labor force leads to a discontinuous working trajectory. In fact, respondents who worked as white-collar employees are more likely to withdraw from the labor market after the childbirth than those who worked as blue-collar employees. White-collar work, which has expanded along with industrialization, is closely related to the discontinuous work profile.

The work experience in the government sector increases the chances of mothers to stay in their job after the childbirth, and this effect is probably associated with better fringe benefits related to childbearing. The government sector is

considered to be one of the most favorable places for women to work due to gender equality in employment policies. About 50 percent of those who worked in the government sector before the birth of their first child managed to stay in their job, and this retention rate is exceptionally high in Japan. When we examine women who worked in the private sector prior to giving birth to their first child, the firm size is negatively associated with the proportion of those who stayed in the labor market after their childbearing: the larger the firm size, the lower the proportion of those who continued to work (Figure 4). Nowadays, more policy makers and managers are becoming aware of the importance of family-friendly employment policy, and some large firms have family-friendly work environment (Josei rodo kyokai 1999). Nevertheless, at the macro level, it is difficult to see the effect of policy on the mothers' work behaviors.

4. Support for mothers with small children in order for them to continue work

Figure 5 shows the kinds of support that working mothers received at the time of first childbearing. The respondents who continued work after they gave birth to the first child were asked to report up to two kinds of support that were essential in continuing their work. We confirm that the assistance offered by family members constitutes the main resource. Sixty four percent of those who managed to stay in the labor force after the first childbearing received help from the family⁵. The next highest item was day-care center, that is, 24.5 percent. The respondents who took a parental leave at the time of survey were only 17.7 percent.

In order to examine the detailed labor market characteristics of these mothers who took advantage of the parental leave policy, Figure 6 shows the proportion of those taking the parental leave by occupation and firm size. Professionals are by far the most likely to take parental leave: about forty percent of the professional respondents who continued work after the first childbirth used leave policy. The larger the firm size

⁵ The survey did not ask to specify who exactly was the family member supporting the respondent, but the overwhelming majority probably received assistance from their mothers, either their own mothers or mothers-in-law.

where the respondents worked before giving birth of their first child, the more likely they are to take parental leave in order to stay in the labor market. However, as we already discussed above, the proportion of those who remained in the labor force was smallest among those worked in large firm. In other words, women who worked in large firms were less likely to keep their employment after their childbearing, but once they decided to stay, they were more likely to take advantage of generally better fringe benefits (including parental leave arrangements) offered in large-scaled companies.

I classified various kinds of support that were offered to the respondents into four groups; (1) assistance by the family, (2) support through the parental leave policy, (3) support through day-care center⁶, and (4) other assistance such as understanding at the workplace and change in the content of the job⁷. Figure 6 and 7 present the proportion of those who used each type of support by occupation and by the size of the firm. Regarding the variation by occupation, the self-employed are more likely to receive assistance from the family than employees. The relationship between the proportion of receiving family help and the firm size is not linear. Respondents who continued to work in large firms showed the smallest proportion of receiving family help, while those who continued to work in the government sector showed the highest proportion of having family help. As discussed above, women workers in the government sector are more likely to continue their work after giving birth than those in other sectors primarily because they benefit from the most gender-equal policies. However, it is interesting to observe that the continuation of work among government employees was enabled by utilizing both family resources and formal institutional support. In other words, the institutional childcare support is not sufficient for pursuing their career even among government workers, and family support is as important as formal support for them.

⁶ The distinction between public and private of daycare centers cannot be made from the questionnaire. This category also includes child-care facilities at the workplace and the extension of time in the day-care center.

⁷ The last category of support includes shortening of work time, change in the content of job, and understanding of the boss and colleagues. It is closely related to the discretion of the workplace.

The proportion of women workers who utilized support through the parental leave and day-care center increases as the size of firm gets larger. It appears that large firms provide some childcare support to their employees, but the support does not seem to encourage women employees to continue their work because the proportion of those who continue to work decreases as the firm size becomes larger.

Table 4 reports the results of the logit analysis examining who received support from the family. The variables which show significant effects are three occupational dummies. Since the reference category for the occupational variables is "self-employed and family workers," women who were self-employed or family workers before they gave birth to their first child are more likely to receive assistance from the family in order to continue their work, compared with employees who were engaged in professional, white-collar or blue-collar work. In other words, the continuation of self-employment was made possible largely by obtaining family support. Physical closeness between the workplace and family, which often characterizes self-employment business, helps mothers keep working during the family formation. However, since the majority of the Japanese female labor force has become employees, the female employees no longer have the privilege of physical closeness and are often subject to the conflict between work and the family. Getting a white-collar job such as a clerical work would make women's work profile more discontinuous (Shirahase 1997), because there is a clear gender division within the clerical occupation. While holding the same clerical occupational title, women are more likely to be engaged in the dead-end job, while men are more likely to be allocated to a career track, eventually reaching managerial positions (Shirahase and Ishida 1994). It is an irony that the increased labor force participation among women meant the increase in female employees, not female self-employed and family workers.

Therefore, even in the 1990s, the continuation of women's work is closely related to the type of occupation and heavily relies on childcare support from their families, particularly mothers. However, just offering childcare support would not be enough for mothers to continue their employment. Married women consider their subsequent career chances not only with their job characteristics but also with their

husband's socio-economic status. The consideration of costs and benefits related to their work profile involves the assessment of subsequent chances of career development, and if there is no hope in developing their careers, they would not take a chance of staying in the labor force, struggling with motherhood.

5. Timing of withdrawal from the labor market

The M-shaped curve of the pattern of female labor force participation rate by age group dominated since the 1960s and 1970s (Shirahase 1997; Manabe 1998; Obuchi 1995; Ochiai 1996), and this discontinuous working pattern of women is still valid in contemporary Japan. However, we can witness the change in the timing of withdrawal from the labor market. Imada (1995) claims that more women stayed in the labor market at the time of marriage than before, and Nagase (1999) reports the decline in leaving the labor force at the time of marriage among the younger generation. Manabe (1998) claims that the timing of the transition out of the labor market shifts from marriage to childbearing, while there is no significant increase in those who show a continuous working pattern before the age of 30. Table 5 shows various working patterns of women by age groups at the time of the survey. These patterns are created by taking into account whether the respondents had interruption in their work career and whether interruption occurred before or after marriage or before or after the birth of the first child⁸. Respondents who got married and had children were included in this table. The working patterns among women in their 20s should be interpreted cautiously because we have to bear in mind that those who got married and had children are not the majority, particularly in the early 20s. Women who got married and had children in their 20s show a particularly high proportion of leaving the labor force at the time of marriage, that is 41.3 percent, but they may be regarded as a

⁸ The continuous workers mean that respondents did not experience any withdrawal from the labor market since their first job. Among the respondents who withdrew from the labor market, I match the timing of the first withdrawal with the time of marriage and childbearing in order to determine whether the withdrawal took place before or after the marriage and the birth of the first child. The unit of work history record is year, so even if the year of marriage and the year of leaving from the labor market are the same, there may be some gap in the timing of event occurrence.

deviant group considering the current trend in delaying marriage. These young mothers are probably more conservative and have less career-oriented attitudes than single women in the same age group. The proportions of those staying in the labor market throughout their life are not particularly low among the 50s and 60s, since some of them are self-employed and family workers. We confirm again in this table that the increase of women working as employees does not necessarily imply that these employees have uninterrupted career commitment.

Another interesting observation which can be drawn from Table 5 pertains to the timing of the departure from the labor market. If we compare the proportion of those who quit work before or at marriage and the proportion of those who quit work before or at childbirth, there is a trend of delayed departure across age groups⁹. Younger married women are more likely to withdraw around childbirth than older married women, although the great majority in all age groups withdrew from the labor market around marriage.

Table 6 shows the working patterns divided into the three categories, that is, continuous workers, leavers at marriage ("leave before marriage" and "leave at marriage" categories combined), and leavers at childbirth ("leave before childbirth" and "leave at childbirth" categories combined), by educational level. The higher the educational credentials, the less likely they were to leave their work at the time of marriage and the more likely they were to leave at the time of childbirth. Among highly-educated women, there is a delay in the timing of the departure from the labor market.

Table 7 presents the kinds of childcare support that mothers hope for by the timing of departure from the labor market. There is no clear difference in the distribution of the childcare support that they believed to be most important between these two groups. However, there are some small differences. Those who stopped working at the time of marriage, are more likely to consider the guarantee of returning

⁹ The category of "leave after childbirth" is excluded in the computation because this category contains people who retired from work permanently especially in the older age groups.

to an equivalent job and the extension of care hours at day care centers as the critical support, compared with those who stopped working at the time of childbirth. Those who delayed their withdrawal from the labor market until the childbearing stage report more work-related support to be important than those who stopped working at the time of marriage. This suggests that those who left their work at the time of childbearing might have remained in the labor market if better work-related supports were provided to them.

In summary, there appears to be delay in the timing of departure from the labor force, although the fact that many working women quit their work due to family reasons still remains. Women who decided to leave the labor market after waiting until the birth of their first child are more likely to show their hopes for improving the work-related childcare resources which may increase their chances of continuing their work.

6. Discussion

In this study, I examined the work profile of married women and the childcare support for mothers in the late 1990s in Japan. The discontinuous work profile has remained dominant pattern among married women. Particularly, the growth of employees working outside the family resulted in the physical separation of work and family and led to an emergence of a discontinuous work profile beginning in the 1960s. Getting a white-collar job in clerical and sales occupation discourages women to stay in the labor market, because of the limited prospects for career advancement.

Looking at the work profile of mothers at the time of the birth of the first child, more than 70% of married women stopped working. The probability of quitting their job becomes higher if they worked as a clerical worker or worked in the non-government sector. Married women who were employed in large firms with more than 1,000 employees are more likely to stop working than those who were employed in small-scaled firms. Even in the late 1990s, the majority of married women showed a discontinuous pattern of work profile due to their family responsibilities.

Focusing on women who stayed in the labor force after the first child was born,

we confirm again the importance of the assistance provided by kin in maintaining a continuous work profile throughout the life course. In 1998, 24.5 percent of those who managed to stay in their job after the birth of the first child used day-care centers and 17.7 percent of them used parental leave, but about a half of those using day-care center and about two thirds of those using the parental leave simultaneously received help from their families for childrearing. It appears that having support from the relatives is critical for mothers to continue their work. However, not every working mother can enjoy the support of the relatives for childrearing. In order to receive support, the residence of the two families must be close enough, and the care givers, mostly grandmothers of the newly born, should be healthy enough to take care of their grandchildren. As a result, work continuation throughout their life course is often possible only for those who are lucky enough to satisfy these conditions. Family support is not substitution for the institutional childcare arrangement or family-friendly policies in the firms. However, inadequacy in formal resources was supplemented by the assistance offered by the family members even for those working in the government sector.

Women, particularly those who stayed at work until their childbearing, expect better work-related support for childrearing, and those who worked in large-scaled firms enjoyed more formal childcare support than those who worked in small-sized firms. However, the proportion of those who continued to work even after childbearing is lower in large firms. Therefore, given the employment system based on the male-dominant way of work in which long working hours are required and employees are relocated without taking into account family concerns, having family-friendly policies does not seem to be sufficient to encourage mother to stay at work. Even if men and women share the same occupational title such as clerical work, there is significant discrepancy in the prospects for career development between them. If the career prospects for women continue to be limited, it is difficult to see how women choose to stay at work, paying high economic and emotional costs of childrearing, while they work outside home. As long as the incentives for them to continue their work remains minimal, even if better childcare support is provided to them, women may still

choose to withdraw from the labor market.

Under the current work setting in many Japanese firms, there is no assumption that family responsibilities are shared by both the husband and the wife. A strong male-breadwinner model of employment has been firmly established since the high growth economic era (Ochiai 1993; Ueno 1990; Osawa 1993). The very important point which tends to be missed in the argument of family-friendly policies is how to make it possible for fathers as well as mothers to be involved in childrearing and caring for other family members. It is very difficult for fathers to share family responsibilities under the extremely long working hours. In fact, one of the significant factors in explaining the extent of the husband's participation in household chores is his work time. The longer the husband's working hours, the less likely he is to do family chore (Shirahase 2000). Therefore, making the workplace more family-friendly could be accomplished by making the employment system more flexible for men and women. Because the continuous work of long working hours has been the basis of employment practices in Japan, the discontinuous pattern of work becomes a disadvantage. If a more flexible way of work, particularly during the early stage of family formation, is available for not only women but also men, the temporal withdrawal or temporal shift to part-time work will probably not have detrimental effect on the career. Building a family-friendly welfare state requires reconstruction of the fundamental employment system, more than simply providing childcare support services to women workers.

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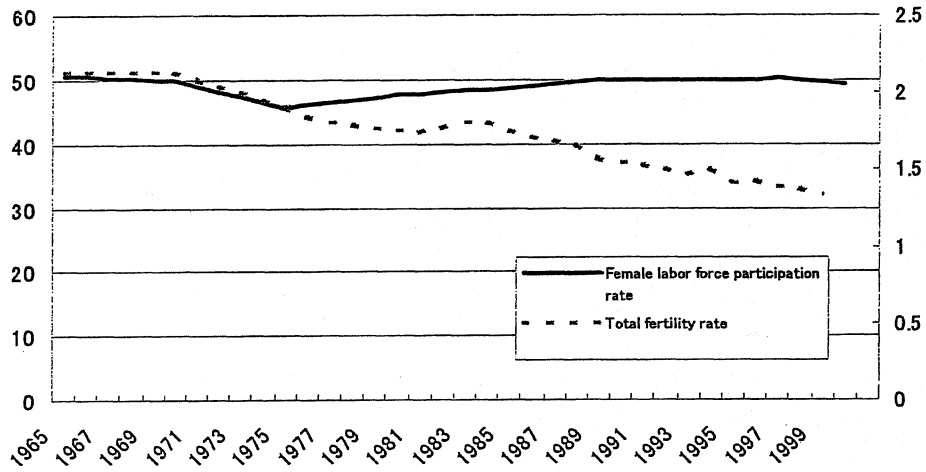
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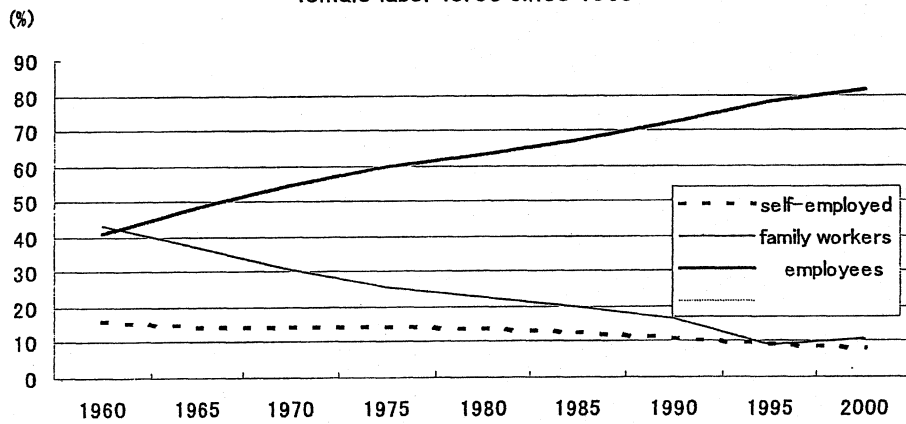
Figure 1 Trend in female labor force participation rate and total fertility rate since 1965



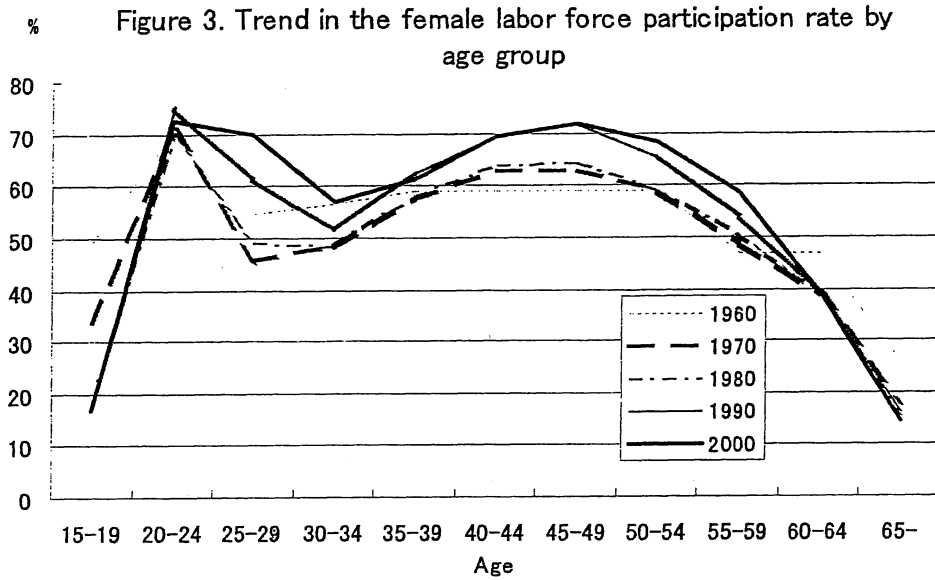
Source: Labor Force Survey, Japan Ministry of Labor, various years

National Institute of Population and Social Security Research 2000

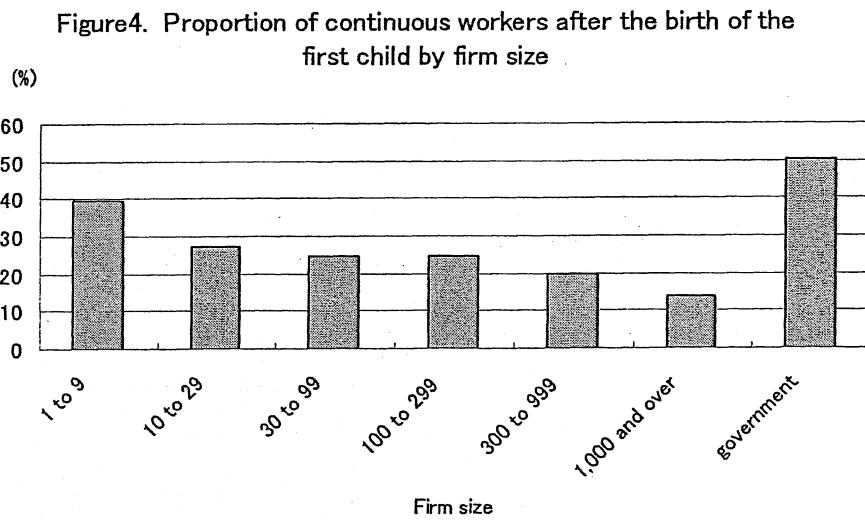
Figure 2 Trend in the distribution of employment status among the female labor force since 1960



Source: Labor Force Survey, Japanese Ministry of Labor, various years

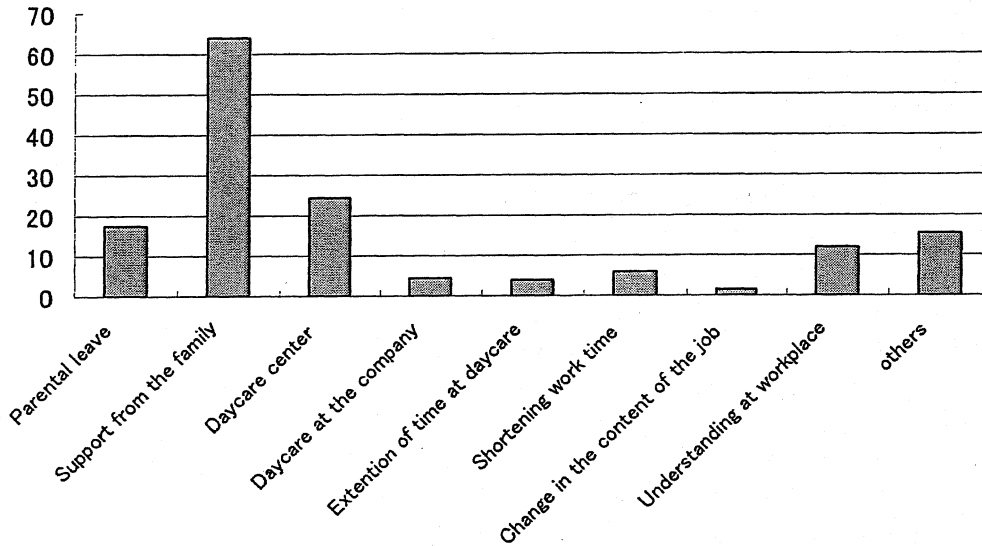


Source: Labor Force Survey, Japan Ministry of Labor, various years

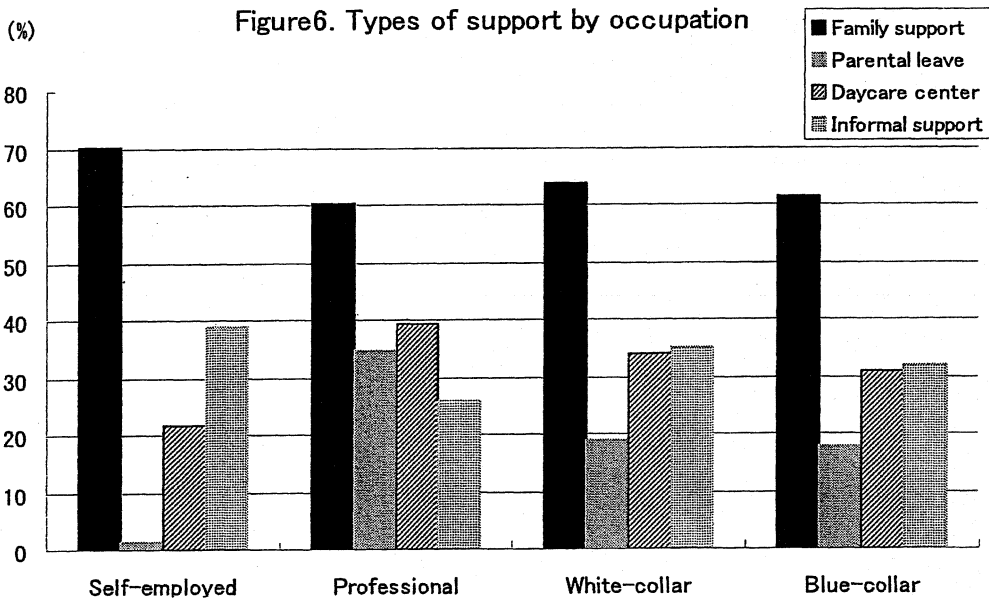


Source: 1998 National Family Survey

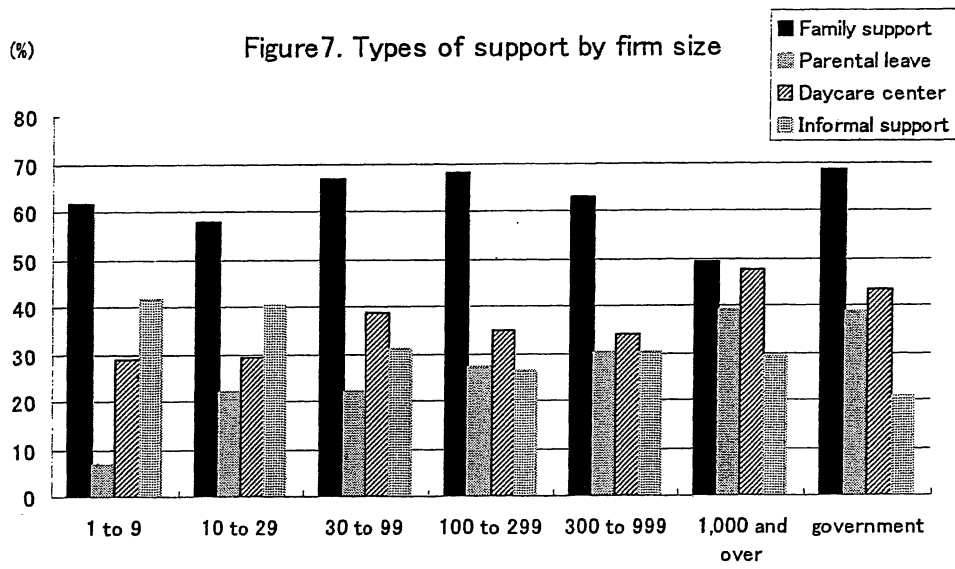
(%) Figure5. Kinds of support received in order for respondents to continue work at the time of childbirth



Source: 1998 National Family Survey



Source: 1998 National Family Survey



Source: 1998 National Family Survey

Table1. Ideal and real working patterns among married women (%)

	Ideal way of work	real way of work
DINKS	1.7	0.6
Continuous work	17.1	22.9
Discontinuous work	51.3	45.5
Housewife	20.7	21.6
other	9.2	9.4

Source: 1998 National Family Survey

Table2. Personal reasons for quitting job (%)

Reasons	Age				
	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+
Temporal job	3.5	3.9	5.3	4	1.6
Low pay	3.3	3.3	4.9	3.1	2.1
Unfavorable working condition	11.7	10.1	11.1	7.5	2.1
Unsuitable job	7.9	5.9	9.1	6.2	1
Family member's job change or	2.6	5.3	7	4.4	1
Illness or Aging	3.5	6.5	17.3	26.9	64.2
Marriage	23.7	13.1	0.8	0.9	0
Childrearing	19.1	24.6	2.9	1.8	0.5
Care for family members	1.1	3	10.7	14.1	7.3
Others	23.2	23.7	29.6	30.4	18.7
Total of personal reason for leave	100	100	100	100	100

Source: *White Paper for Gender Equal Society*, Sorifu, Table 2-2-8 (p. 43)

Table3. Logit analysis of the continuation of work after the birth of first child

	Coefficient	
constant	-1.22	**
Wife's age	0.017	**
Wife's education	0.02	
Husband's education	-0.076	**
Urban dummy	0.695	**
Self-employment dummy	1.257	**
Professional dummy	0.122	
White-collar dummy	-0.406	**
Government dummy	1.106	**
occupation missing dummy	-1.282	**
size missing dummy	0.179	

Note: * significant .05 level, ** significant .01 level

Source: 1998 National Family Survey

Table4. Logit analysis of the determinants of receiving family support

	Coefficient	
Age at the first childbirth	0.012	
Education	0.31	
Professional dummy	-0.7119	**
White-collar dummy	-0.752	**
Blue-collar dummy	-0.6475	*
Government dummy	0.3798	
Parent's age	-0.0114	
constant	0.7115	

Note: * significant .05 level, ** significant .01 level

Source: 1998 National Family Survey

Table5. Working patterns among married women by age group

	20s	30s	40s	50s	60 and over
Continuous worker	19	31.9	33.6	42	39.3
Leave before marriage	11.1	14	21.2	17.6	14.7
Leave at marriage	41.3	27.5	24.4	21.2	11
Leave before childbirth	9.5	9.2	5.2	3.5	5.2
Leave at childbirth	11.1	7.4	8.5	2.4	9.4
Leave after childbirth	7.9	10	7.4	13.3	20.4
Total(N)	100.0(63)	100.0(229)	100.0(307)	100.0(255)	100.0(191)

Source: 1995 SSM Survey

Table6. Working patterns among married women by education

	College	Hish school	Compulsory
continuous worker	43.3	35	50.2
leaving at marriage	41.5	52.2	41.7
leaving at childbirth	15.2	12.7	8.1
total(N)	100.0(164)	100.0(534)	100.0(223)

Source: 1995 SSM survey

Table 7. The most important childcare support that mothers hope for by the timing of departure from the labor market

	Job leavers at marriage	Job leavers at childbirth
Shortening of work time	14	15.3
Income compensation for parental leave	12.6	14
Guarantee of returning to an equivalent job	13.2	11.7
Daycare facilities in the firm	13.3	14.7
Extension of care time at daycare centers	8.1	6.9
Babysitter service	4	2.3
Service for household chore	3	1.5
Counseling service of childrearing	4.8	3.9
Community Volunteer	0.5	0.8
Reduction of fee at daycare centers	12.8	15.1
Child allowance	13	12.7
Others	0.7	1
Total	100	100

Source: 1998 National Family Survey

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