

The 2nd Survey of Japanese Family Households Report

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1 Introduction

1 Overview

Japanese families have changed in many ways in recent years. Changes in demographic characteristics which include the aging of the population and the declining birth rate, a growth in the proportion of single households or households married-couple-only, as well as an increase in the labor force participation rate for married women, are considered to be some of the contributing factors to these changes. These changes in families have some impacts on fertility patterns and child rearing, along with the problems related to a rise in the proportion of the elderly who need special care, and they are beginning to take their toll on the Japanese society as a whole. In the face of an ever-increasing elderly population, it is becoming more and more important to get the complete picture of the factors behind these changes in the family functions. In this context, the National Institute of Population and Social Security Research conducted the Second National Survey on Family in Japan in June 1998, following the First survey in 1993. The survey includes questionnaires such as fertility, child rearing, conditions of the elderly who need special care, relationships between family members, and attitudes toward the family.

2 Survey Method

The main respondents of the survey are married women (wives) in all households in Japan. When households include no married women, the heads of the houses were requested to fill out the questionnaires in these cases. 300 localities were randomly selected from 5,240 localities that had been selected as a stratified sample for the Kokumin Seikatsu Kiso Chosa in 1998.

Out of all 13,630 cases, 12,398 completed questionnaires that is, 91.0 percent of all. After excluding questionnaires that did not answer important questions on the form (those responses were 447), the 12,434 cases (87.7 percent of all) were for analysis and estimations. In general, individuals with different marital statuses are considered to have different attitudes to the institution of family. For this reason, we divided women into four categories of married, unmarried, divorced, and widowed. The analysis of this report is based on the responses from married women in 1998 (8,186 people). In case one household contained more than one married women, we chose the youngest married women in households (7,578 people) as we did in 1993.

Table 1 Sample Size of The Survey

Age of married women	Number of the sample	
	(1)	(2)
29 years old and under	615 (7.5%)	615 (8.1%)
30 to 34 years old	769 (9.4)	769 (10.1)
35 to 39 years old	886 (10.8)	886 (11.7)
40 to 44 years old	989 (12.1)	987 (13.0)
45 to 49 years old	1,145 (14.0)	1,134 (15.0)
50 to 54 years old	974 (11.9)	945 (12.5)
55 to 59 years old	839 (10.2)	767 (10.1)
60 years old and over	1,969 (24.1)	1,475 (19.5)
Total	8,186 (100.0)	7,578 (100.0)

Note (1) All Married women

(2) the youngest married women in households

2 Living arrangements with parents

1 Parents as human resources for child rearing

Among married women 39 years and under, the majority had at least one of their mothers or their mothers-in-law alive.

In general, parents and parents-in-law of married women with young children are thought to be the most likely candidates for helping them look after their children. With the purpose of looking at the availability of help in rearing children, we asked married women in their reproductive lives (married women under the age of 49) about the existence of their parents and parents-in-law. Among married women 39 years and under, 90 percent had both of their own mothers and their mothers-in-law present. Among married women 44 years and under, about 100 percent had either of their own mothers or their mothers-in-law alive. The proportion of married women whose mothers or mothers-in-law are alive increased slightly compared with those from the previous survey in 1993.

Table 2 The proportion of married women who had their parents (parents-in-law) alive

Age of married women	Total population	Own parents		Parents-in-law		Either own mothers or mothers-in-law	
		Fathers	Mothers	Fathers-in-law	Mothers-in-law	The 1998 Survey	The 1993 Survey
29 years old and under	615	88.1%	96.2%	88.5%	96.1%	99.8%	99.3%
30 to 34 years old	769	84.1	93.9	80.5	92.2	99.9	99.4
35 to 39 years old	886	74.8	91.8	72.3	88.0	98.3	97.8
40 to 44 years old	987	64.2	85.6	56.7	81.5	97.6	95.0
45 to 49 years old	1,134	44.5	73.0	37.1	71.4	91.5	84.3

Although living separately from their parents and parents-in-law was the most common type of living arrangement among married women, the proportion of married women 45 to 49 years old who lived either with their parents or with their parents-in-law increased at the same time.

The proportion of married women who lived with their mothers or mothers-in-law, as well as the percentage share of married women who lived with at least one of their parents or parents-in-law, increased with age, followed by a decline among those 45 to 49 years old. On the contrary, the proportion of married women who lived separately from their parents and parents-in-law declined with age, peaking at more than 80 percent among those in their twenties. The proportion of married women 40 to 44 years old who lived separately from their parents and parents-in-law increased, compared to the estimates from the previous survey. Although the proportion of married women who lived with their parents or parents-in-law peaked at the age group of 35 to 39 year old in 1994, it peaked among those 40 to 44 years old in 1998. The proportion of married women aged 45 to 49 years old who lived with parents or parents-in-law was lower than that of those 40 to 44 years old, but the proportion increased among this age group between 1993 and 1998. It should be noted that most of these people lived with their parents or parents-in-law not because they needed support in raising children, but because their parents or parents-in-law needed caretakers.

Table 3 The proportion of married women who lived with their parents/parents-in-law by age group

Age of married women	Total population	Lived with their own parents	Lived with their parents-in-law	Lived either with their own mothers or with mothers-in-law	Lived with at least one of their parents and parents-in-law	Lived apart from their parents and parents-in-law	
						The 1998 Survey	The 1993 Survey
29 years old and under	615	3.7%	13.5%	16.1%	17.2%	82.8%	78.2%
30 to 34 years old	769	4.5	16.9	18.4	20.8	79.2	68.6
35 to 39 years old	886	6.3	21.2	23.5	26.0	74.0	64.9
40 to 44 years old	987	7.9	27.3	29.1	31.5	68.5	67.6
45 to 49 years old	1,134	8.8	28.7	28.5	30.4	69.6	70.5

Less than 20 percent of married women who lived in regions with high population density lived with their parents or parents-in-law. However, rural areas with low population density experienced a decline in the proportion of those who lived with parents or parents-in-law as well, though the proportion of co-residence with their parents in rural area was higher than the one in cities.

In looking at variations in living arrangements between different parts of the country, married women in rural areas were more likely to live with their parents-in-law than their counterparts in cities. More than 40 percent of married women in rural areas were lived either with their own parents or with their parents-in-law, whereas only 20 percent of the same population in cities did so. Although married women in different areas did have different kinds of relationships with their parents/parents-in-law, the proportion of those who lived with parents/parents-in-law declined not only in cities but also in rural areas. A more rapid decline was witnessed in rural areas than in cities.

Table 4 The proportion of married women who lived with parents or parents-in-law by age and area

Age of married women	Total population	Lived with their own parents	Lived with their parents-in-law	Lived either with their own mothers or with mothers-in-law	Lived with at least one of their parents and parents-in-law	Lived apart from their parents and parents-in-law	
						The 1998 Survey	The 1993 Survey
Nationwide	4,115	6.5%	22.2%	24.0%	26.2%	73.8%	69.4%
Areas with low population density	1,475	10.3	35.2	38.4	41.6	58.4	53.2
Areas with high population density	2,640	4.3	14.9	16.0	17.5	82.5	78.5

Younger married women were more likely to live close to their parents or parents-in-law than their older counterparts.

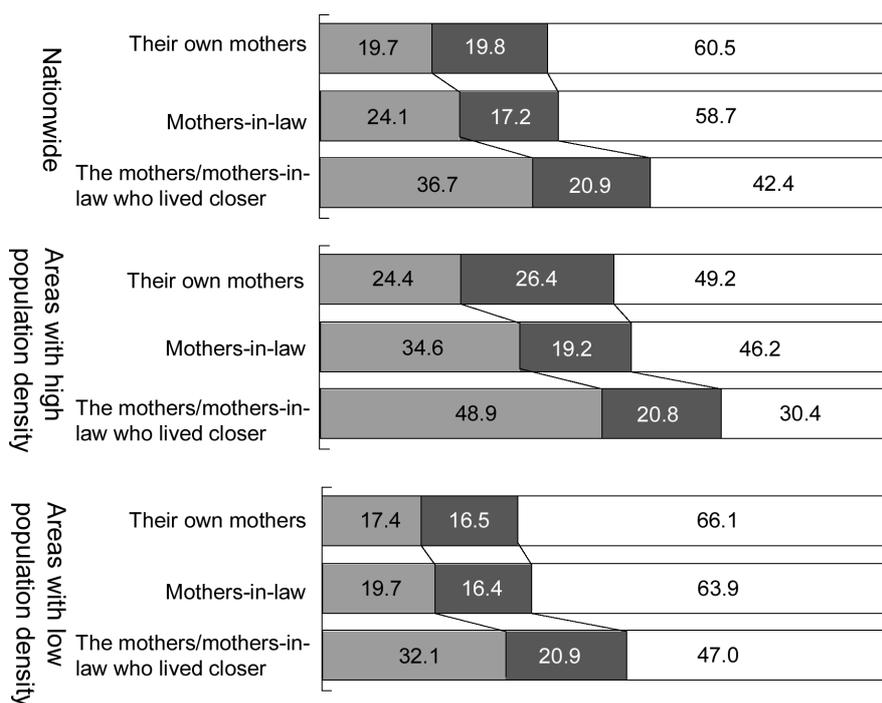
Generally, those who live close to their parents tend to receive more support from their parents than those who live far from their parents. Although young married women were more likely to live in separate households from their parents/parents-in-law than their older counterparts, they were more likely to live close to their parent or parents-in-law than older generation. More than 40 percent of married women aged 34 years and under who lived in separate households from their parents or parents-in-law lived within 15 minutes from their parents or parents-in-law, when those lived in different houses on the same property as their parents' or parents'-in-law were included. The proportion of married women who lived more than 60-minutes far from their parents or parents-in-law increased as they aged. Overall, it was observed that young married women were likely to live close to their parents or parents-in-law, even when they lived separately from their parents or parents-in-law.

The proportion of married women who lived separately but within a 15- or 30-minute apart from their parents/parents-in-law were found more in rural areas. 50 percent of those in rural areas lived within 30 minutes from both their parents and their parents-in-law, and 70 percent lived within 30 minutes from either their parents or their parents-in-law, even among those who lived separately from their parents. In areas with high population density, approximately one third of those who lived separately from their parents/parents-in-law lived within 30 minutes from both their mothers and their mothers-in-law, and about half of them lived within 30 minutes from either their mothers or their mothers-in-law. Married women in areas with high population density were less likely to have physical support from their parents or parents-in-law than their counterparts in rural areas, as can be observed from the lower proportions of those who lived with their parents or parents-in-law and of those who lived close to their parents or parents-in-law

Table 5 Distance from parents in separate households, by age group

Age of married women	Total population	Lived in different houses on the same property	Within 15-minutes	Within 30-minutes	Within 60-minutes	More than 60-minutes
29 years old and under	436	3.9%	43.1%	22.7%	13.5%	16.7%
30 to 34 years old	516	7.2	32.9	21.3	14.3	24.2
35 to 39 years old	516	5.7	27.1	22.5	13.4	31.4
40 to 44 years old	465	7.9	27.6	20.0	12.0	32.5
45 to 49 years old	381	5.3	26.5	16.5	13.7	38.1

Figure 1 Distance from parents living separately, by areas



2 Living arrangements of parents in separate households

Living arrangements of parents in separate households were different depending on the age of married women.

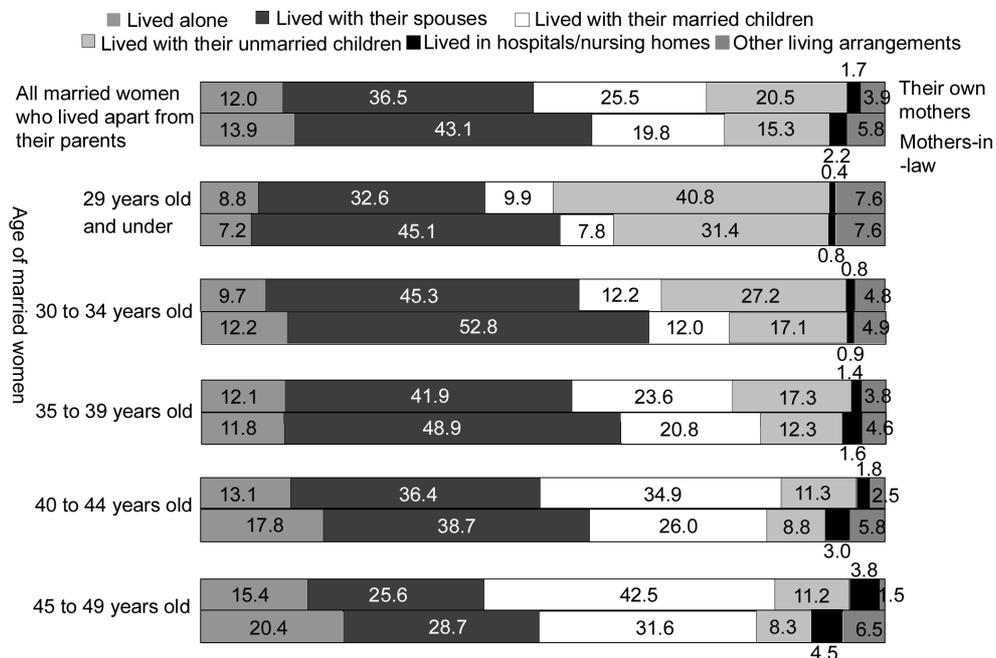
Parents of young married women in separate households were most likely to live with their unmarried children. Among the same population, those who lived alone with their spouses represented the second largest proportion. As married women aged, the proportion of their parents who lived with their other married children, as well as the percentage share of those who lived alone, increased. In general, as married women age, the living arrangements of their parents changed. However, the proportion of those parents of married women who lived with their other married children decreased between 1993 and 1998, increasing the percentage share of those who lived with their unmarried children instead. The overall proportion of those who lived alone or lived with only their spouses increased as well, but about half of all mothers of married women 49 years and under lived with their unmarried children. It would reflect the trend in delaying marriage and childbirth among young adults. Married women whose parents live with their unmarried children are less likely to have immediate support from their mothers.

Those married women who lived apart from their parents were likely not to take care of their parents in need of special care.

Six to eight percent of parents who lived separately from their children needed special care. 1 percent of those who need special care could not do anything at all without help from others. In this context, about 10 percent of married women who lived separately from their parents or parents-in-law were involved in caring for their parents or parents-in-law at least to some extent, although those who took care of their fathers-in-law accounted for the smallest proportion. In any case, married women who lived in separate households from their parents were likely not to be the primary person to take care of their parents in need of special care. However, one out of every three married women in separate households from their parents or parents-in-law assumed the role of secondary caretakers of their own parents, whereas those who provided secondary care to their mothers-in-law, as well as those who looked after their fathers-in-law as secondary caretakers; their proportion are just above 10 percent and about 20 percent, respectively. Then, who were the primary caretakers? When their own fathers needed special care, it was most likely that their mothers were the primary caretakers of them (50 percent), followed by the wives of their brothers (10 percent) and their own sisters (10 percent).

When their own mothers needed special care, there was a 20 percent chance the primary caretakers were their own fathers (the spouses of their own mothers). However, when their mothers-in-law needed special care, the chance that their fathers-in-law was to be the primary caretakers was only 10 percent. In case their mothers or mothers-in-law needed special care, their fathers or fathers-in-law, their sister or sisters-in-law, their brother or brothers-in-law, other relatives, along with themselves, were involved in the caring of those mothers or mothers-in-law. It was rarely the case that non-family members such as social workers were involved in the care of their parents or parents-in-law.

Figure 2 Living arrangements of mothers of married women, by age group



3 Relationships between generations

1 Grown-up children of married women

Among all grown-up children aged 25 to 49 years old, 30 percent of men, compared with 40 percent of women, were getting economic support from their parents in 1998.

Delays in marriage and a rise in the proportion of unmarried adults could make different relationships between grown-up children and their parents. We asked married women what kind of relationships they had with their grown-up children.

Among unmarried children, women had more conversations with their parents than men. Three out of every four unmarried women talked to their parents every day, while 60 percent of unmarried men spoke with their parents every day. Those who talked to their parents only once or twice a month consisted 20 percent of unmarried men. On the contrary, among married children, those who talked to their parents everyday, are more likely to be men than women. Married male children talked to their parents 3 to 4 times a week on average, while married female children spoke to their parents once to twice a week on average. Although a sizable proportion of married daughters lived with their parents-in-law, as reflected in the larger proportion of married sons who talked to their own parents every day, grown-up daughters tended to have very close relationships with their own mothers.

Table 6 Communication with grown-up children, by frequency, marital status, sex and age group

Marital status of grown-up children	Total population	Everyday	3 to 4 times a week	Once to twice a week	Once to twice a month	Rarely
Unmarried Sons	1,488	60.9%	6.0%	9.1%	18.5%	5.5%
24 years and under	665	62.4	5.4	10.1	18.6	3.5
25 to 29 years old	503	60.2	6.0	9.9	18.7	5.2
30 to 49 years old	320	58.8	7.2	5.9	17.8	10.3
Unmarried Daughters	1,174	75.6	6.1	9.8	6.7	1.7
24 years and under	593	76.4	6.2	9.9	6.4	1.0
25 to 29 years old	376	75.8	5.9	9.6	6.9	1.9
30 to 49 years old	205	73.2	6.3	9.8	7.3	3.4
Married Sons	733	35.7	10.0	22.5	26.2	5.6
29 years old and under	240	22.9	11.3	31.7	27.9	6.3
30 to 39 years old	298	37.2	11.1	20.5	27.5	3.7
40 to 49 years old	195	49.2	6.7	14.4	22.1	7.7
Married Daughters	1,167	20.3	21.1	30.4	23.2	5.0
29 years old and under	302	23.2	26.5	30.1	17.5	2.6
30 to 39 years old	583	19.7	20.9	32.8	22.3	4.3
40 to 49 years old	282	18.4	15.6	25.9	31.2	8.9

A large proportion of unmarried children in their early or mature adulthood were looked after by their parents. For example, more than 70 percent of unmarried grown-up daughters were taken care of by their parents. The proportion of grown-up children who sought the advice of their mothers about their worries was larger for women than for men by 30 percent. Economic support from parents was given to 40 percent of unmarried grown-up daughters, as well as to 30 percent of unmarried grown-up sons. Even among those in their thirties, 15 percent of sons and a little less than 20 percent of daughters received economic assistance from their parents. On the other hand, married daughters were likely to receive their parents' support in other forms. For instance, 70 percent of married women received help from their parents at their childbirth and child rearing. Daughters were likely have close relationships with their mothers throughout their lives, for almost all occasions, and their mothers continued to be an important source of support for most of married daughters before and after their marriage. Overall, as much as 45 percent of grown-up children received economic assistance from their parents, though the proportion declined among men as they aged. Whereas economic

assistance was the most common type of support grown-up sons received from their parents, grown-up daughters were likely to receive more of physical (help in child rearing) and psychological(advice on their worries) support.

Table 7 Kinds of support given to grown-up children, by their marital status, sex and age.

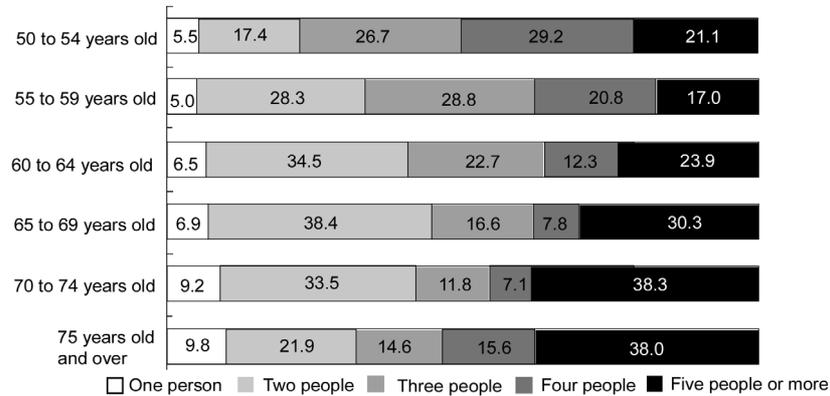
Grown-up children by type	Total population	Looking after them	Helping childbirth of children and taking care of grandchildren	Taking care them during illness	Advice on problems	Economic support	No support
Unmarrie Sons	2,011	51.8%	0.6%	11.8%	12.3%	29.7%	8.2%
24 years and under	964	50.9	0.8	13.4	13.8	40.9	5.6
25 to 29 years old	646	52.9	0.5	10.8	11.9	22.0	9.6
30 to 49 years old	401	51.9	0.5	9.7	9.2	15.2	12.2
Daughters	1,185	73.1	1.4	18.1	30.5	39.8	8.4
24 years and under	677	72.7	0.9	18.9	32.2	49.6	5.5
25 to 29 years old	334	79.9	1.5	16.8	29.6	30.5	8.1
30 to 49 years old	174	61.5	2.9	17.2	25.3	19.5	20.1
Married Sons	921	23.0	49.7	13.5	16.1	45.3	20.1
29 years old and under	218	24.8	38.5	9.6	16.5	58.7	15.6
30 to 39 years old	454	22.7	51.5	14.1	15.2	44.7	20.3
40 to 49 years old	249	22.1	56.2	15.7	17.3	34.5	23.7
Daughters	1,117	24.2	66.1	20.5	37.0	28.0	14.0
29 years old and under	293	25.9	51.2	16.4	40.6	29.0	15.4
30 to 39 years old	557	24.4	73.6	22.1	37.3	29.4	12.0
40 to 49 years old	267	21.7	66.7	21.7	32.2	24.0	16.5

2 Health of parents and their need for special care

The size of households with the elderly increased as they aged.

Living arrangements of the elderly population in industrialized countries have gone through many changes in recent years, due mainly to their growth in proportion and the commercialization of nursing care. In Japan, the proportion of the elderly living alone or living alone with their spouses have rapidly increased. In contrast, the proportion of three-generational households in all households has decreased, and the size of Japanese households are getting smaller and smaller. In this survey, we asked respondents what kind of households individuals in their late adulthood belong. Overall, an increase in the proportion of 60-year olds and over who lived in households containing more than four people was observed. Furthermore, about 40 percent of those aged 70-year olds and over lived in households with more than five people. Among the population 75 years old and over, more than half lived in households containing more than four people, while about 70 percent of the same population lived in households containing more than three people. It is true that more and more Japanese people have come to prefer living separately from their parents/children in recent years. Nevertheless, at the same time, there has been observed a noticeable difference between living arrangements of Japanese elderly and those of the elderly in other industrialized countries in the West. To put it simply, Japanese elderly were most likely to be taken care of by their children or other relatives, reflecting the continued importance of family institutions in the caretaking of the Japanese elderly. Can we stay like this? Facing the rapid increase in the elderly population, we have to find the better way of utilization of nursing care.

Figure 3 Types of households for the elderly



The proportion of married women who looked after both their children and their parents was low.

In general, parents cannot help their married daughters look after their small children if they are not healthy enough. In the worst situation, it is possible that parents need to be looked after by their married daughters with children, putting these women into very difficult situations. Among young married women under the age of 40, it was not common at all to have parents in need of special care. Only one percent of those 29 years old and under, along with only 2 percent of those in their thirties, looked after their parents/parents-in-law in need of nursing. However, in contrast, a sizable proportion of married women in their fifties and over had parents/parents-in-law in need of special care.

Table 8

Age of married women	Their own parents						Parents-in-law					
	Fathers			Mothers			Fathers			Mothers		
	Total population	In health	In need of special care	Total population	In health	In need of special care	Total population	In health	In need of special care	Total population	In health	In need of special care
29 years old and under	520	98.7%	1.3%	567	98.4%	1.6%	516	98.4%	1.6%	512	99.0%	1.0%
30 to 39 years old	1,248	94.6	5.4	1,467	97.8	2.2	1,190	14.9	5.1	1,292	97.3	2.7
40 to 49 years old	1,069	91.1	8.9	1,575	93.9	6.1	925	92.0	8.0	1,388	92.7	7.3
50 to 59 years old	298	79.5	20.5	736	82.6	17.4	228	87.3	12.7	695	83.7	16.3
60 years old and over	47	76.6	23.4	221	78.3	21.7	28	78.6	21.4	159	74.8	25.2

Children who live apart from their parents tend to be estranged from the opportunity to take care of their parents.

Then, we discuss the care of parents in separate households. There are not many data on parents who live with their children, we do not mention the details of family caretaker. Only frequency of care is shown.

Parents need to be assisted or cared are 6 to 8 percent of all the parents in separate households. Also, parents who need full assistance are approximately 1 percent. Wife's involvement in the assistance or care as a caretaker varies slightly depending on the family situation, but approximately 10 percent of all the wives are engaged in the assistance or care of their parents. Proportion of wife as the caretaker for husband's father is the lowest in family caretakers for the parents. In any case, the situation shows that it is difficult for any wife to assist or care the parents in separate households. One third of all the wives take care of their fathers and mothers, whether as primary caretaker or as auxiliary caretaker. On the other hand, a little over 10 percent of the wives take care their fathers-in-law and approximately 20 percent of them take care their mothers-in-law. That is, the difference between taking care of their parents and that of their parents-in-law is observed. Who

does play a role as primary caretaker, except wife? Whether wife's father or husband's father, primary caretaker of father is his wife (spouse) and the proportion of the wife as the primary caretaker of husband is over 50 percent of all the primary caretaker of the father. The primary caretaker of wife's father is his son's wife and his daughter and both make up a little over 10 percent of all the primary caretaker of the father. The primary caretaker of husband's father is his son's wife and the proportion is approximately 15 percent. In this case of husband's father, the proportion of his daughter as the primary caretaker is lower than that of his son.

In case of husband's mother, the proportion of her husband (spouse of husband's mother) who takes care of her is a little over 10 percent. On the other hand, in case of wife's mother, the proportion of her husband (spouse of wife's mother) who takes care of her is a little less than 20 percent. The proportion of daughter-in-law who takes care of her mother-in-law, that of so who takes care of his mother and that of daughter who takes care of her mother are approximately 20 percent. Any other family member is included "Others" in the tables shown below and the details are undefined. However, external service such as home helper or housekeeper is not used so frequently and family takes care of its member mainly.

Family member in separate households is not received nursing care so much and any other member can play a role of just secondary caretakers. For a family that has a member requiring long-term care, it is very difficult to get cooperation in nursing care from any other family member in separate households

Table 9 Health condition of parents or parents-in-law of married women living separately

Relationship to married women	Condition of health				
	Total population	In health	In need of occasional help	Partly in need of special care	In need of special care
Father	3,079	92.3%	5.3%	1.5%	0.9%
Mother	4,361	93.3	4.5	1.3	0.9
Father-in-law	2,308	93.6	3.6	1.6	1.2
Mother-in-law	3,384	92.9	4.4	1.7	1.0

Table 10 The primary caretakers of married women's parents or parents-in-law living separately

Relationship to married women	Total population	Spouses of those receiving care	Daughters of those receiving care	Sons of the cared	Daughters-in-law of the cared	External caretakers	Others
Father	185	53.5%	12.4%	8.1%	13.5%	3.2%	9.2%
Mother	202	18.8	21.3	18.8	17.8	4.5	18.8
Father-in-law	122	58.2	3.3	5.7	15.6	0.8	16.4
Mother-in-law	173	11.6	19.1	15.6	18.5	5.2	30.1

Married women are included either in 'Daughters' or in 'Daughters-in-law'.

Table 11 The extent of responsibilities which married women had for their parents or parents-in-law who needed special care, living separately

Relationship to married women	Total population	Married women were the primary caretakers	Married women were not the primary caretakers
Father	209	10.0%	90.0%
Mother	235	12.8	87.2
Father-in-law	134	7.5	92.5
Mother-in-law	200	12.5	87.5

Relationship to married women	Total population	Married women were involved in care giving	Married women were not involved in care giving
Father	174	33.3%	66.7%
Mother	195	32.8	67.2
Father-in-law	117	12.8	87.2
Mother-in-law	164	21.3	78.7

Married women talked to their own mothers more often than to their mothers-in-law, when they lived separately from their parents or parents-in-law. Over half of them talked to their own mothers in separate households more than once to twice a week.

Married women talked to their mothers regardless of distance between them, although it becomes difficult for them to see their parents as they live far away. Over half of married women talked to their own parents more than once or twice a week, while the corresponding numbers of those who talked to their mothers-in-law one third of all. Married women in areas with low population density spoke to their mothers-in-law more often than their counterparts in areas with high population density, though married women in both areas talked to their own mothers with the same frequency. It was also observed that in areas with high population density, married women talked to their own parents much more often than to their parents-in-law. About 30 percent of married women who lived apart from their parents or parents-in-law talked to their parents-in-law less than a few times a year, when about 15 percent of the same population talked to their own parents with that low frequency. Overall, married women talked to their own parents (either in person or over the phone) more often than to their parents-in-law, and the difference was more obvious among those who lived in areas with high population density.

Figure 4 Frequency of communication of married women with their mothers or mothers-in-law living separately, by age group

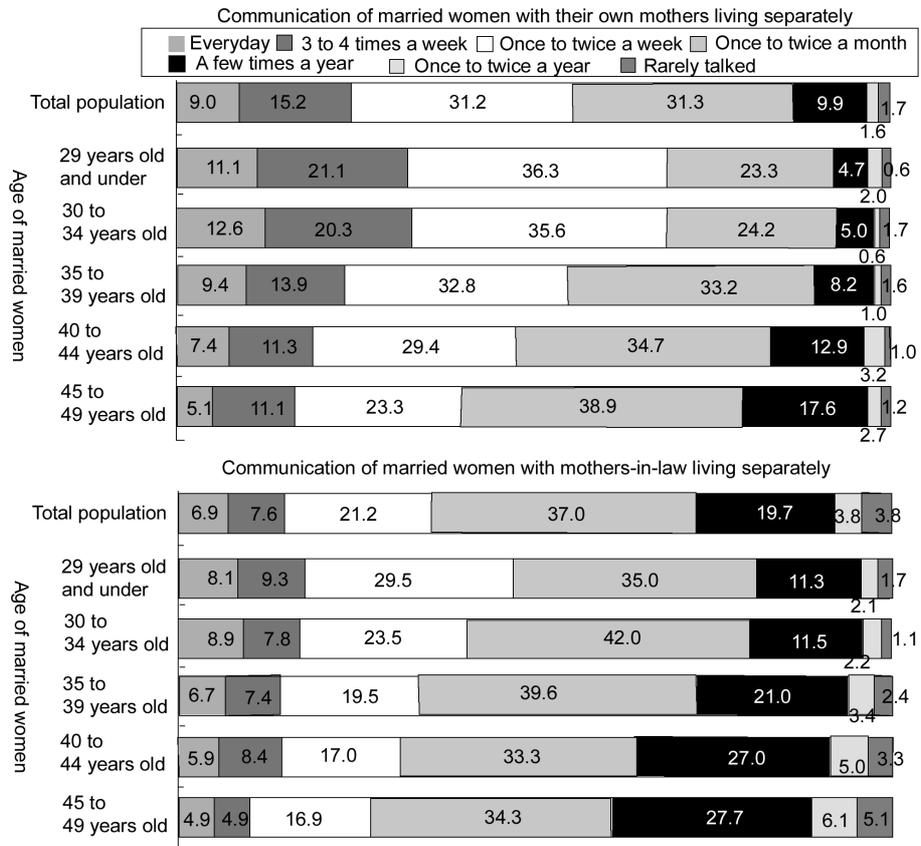
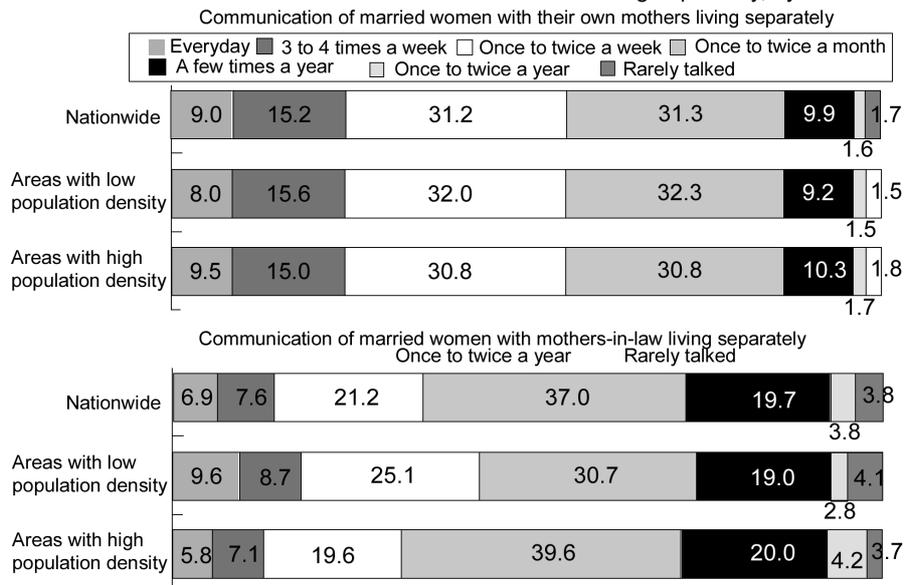


Figure 5 Frequency communication of married women with their mothers or mothers-in-law living separately, by areas



4 Sharing of family responsibilities between husband and wife

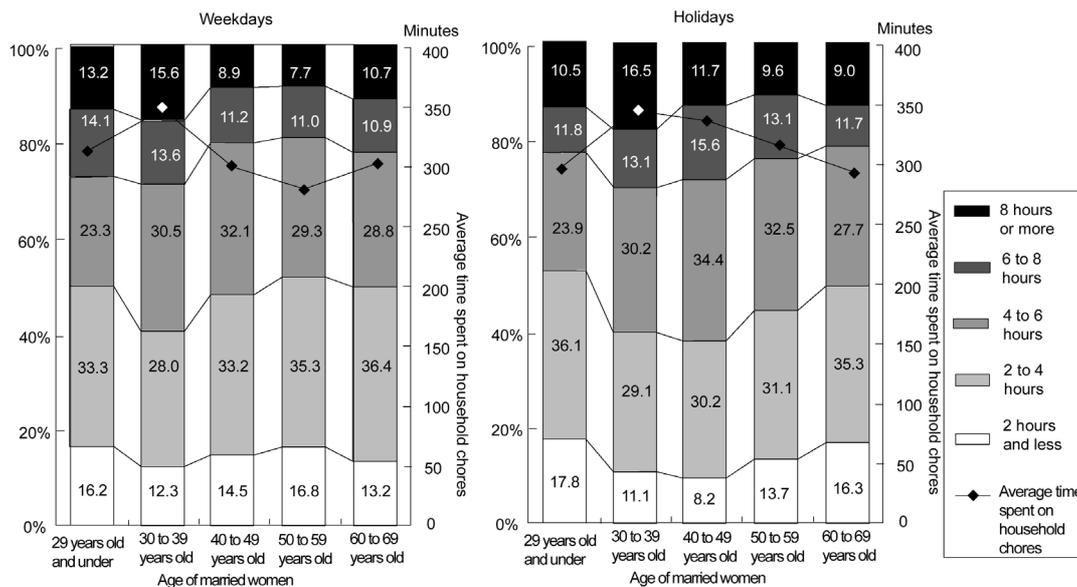
For married women who do not have other help in doing their household chores and taking care of their children, their husbands' cooperation is important. The husbands' participation in family responsibilities is an important issue, not only in a sense that it can decrease the workload of wives, but also because it reflects gender relationships in households. Even today, taking family responsibilities in Japanese households continues to be based on the conventional norms of gender relationships. Here, we will look at husbands' contribution to household work, such as their participation in household chores and child rearing.

1 How much time did married women spend on household chores? How cooperative were their husbands?

The time spent on household chores was relatively shorter among those who were married to husbands who came home before 8 pm than those whose husbands did after 8 pm.

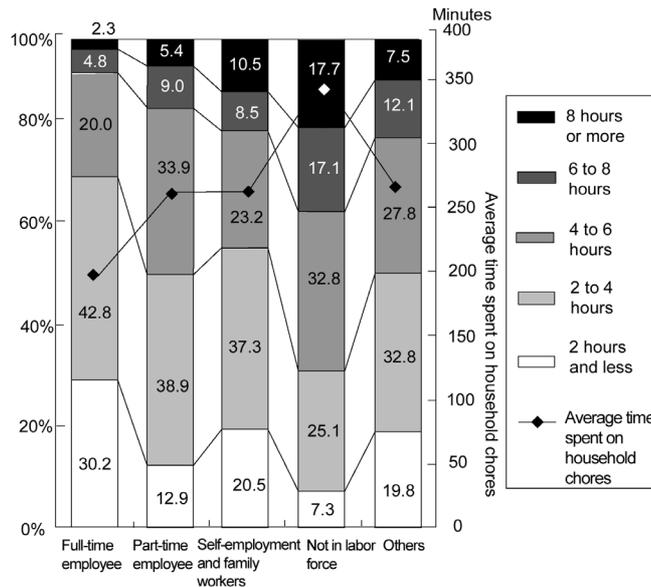
We asked married women how many hours on average they spent on their household chores. On weekdays, married women who spent more than 6 hours on household chores represented about 30 percent of those in their thirties and twenties, and the corresponding figures among older generation are smaller. The same trend was observed for the average hours spent on household chores. For example, the average time married women in their thirties spent on their household chores were 60 minutes longer than the average time married women in their fifties spent on their household chores. The gap between generations could be explained by the larger proportion of those with small children among married women in their twenties and thirties. On holidays, 30 percent of married women in their thirties spent more than 6 hours on household chores, when about 20 percent of those in their twenties, forties, and fifties did so. Married women in their twenties and sixties spent less time on household chores on holidays, while those in their forties and fifties spent more time on household chores on holidays. The majority of married women in their forties and fifties worked part-time on weekdays, and they are thought to have done all their household chores on holidays, contributing to the relatively long average time spent on household chores among the age groups. On the other hand, married women in their twenties are thought to have spent less time on household chores on holidays because of the help from their husbands.

Figure 6 Time of household chores done by married women by age: Comparison at weekdays and holidays



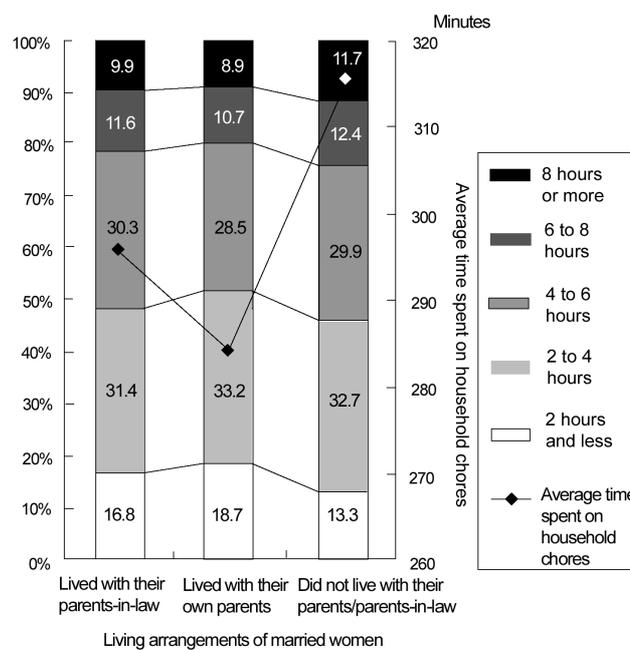
The average time married women spent on household chores differed more depending on different employment status than on different age groups. Married women who worked full time spent one hour less time on household chores than those who worked part time. Compared to married women who were not employed at all, the time those with full-time jobs spent on households chores was shorter by more than 150 minutes. However, at the same time, about 30 percent of married women with full-time jobs spent more than 4 hours on households chores on weekdays. Furthermore, these people were likely to do most of their household chores on holidays, spending on average 100 minutes more time on household chores on holidays than on weekdays.

Figure 7 Time of household chores done by married women by employment status



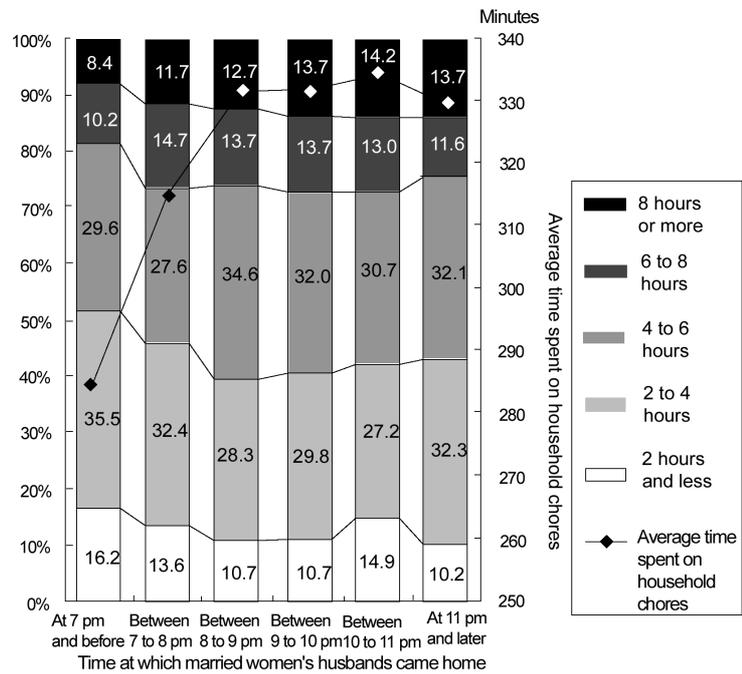
Married women who lived with their parents or parents-in-law were likely to spend more time on household chores on holidays than those who did not live with their parents/parents-in-law. However, those who lived with their parents/parents-in-law spent less time on household chores on weekdays. Especially, married women who lived with their own parents spent less time on household chores than those who lived with their parents-in-law.

Figure 8 Time of household chores done by married women by living arrangement



Married women whose husbands came home before 8 pm spent 30 minutes less time on household chores than those married women whose husbands came home after 8 pm. Working hours of husbands was one of the important factors to explain the length of time married women spent on their household chores.

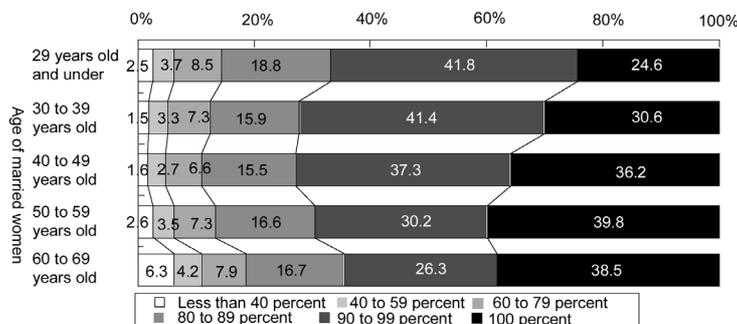
Figure 9 Time of household chores done by married women by time when their husbands came home



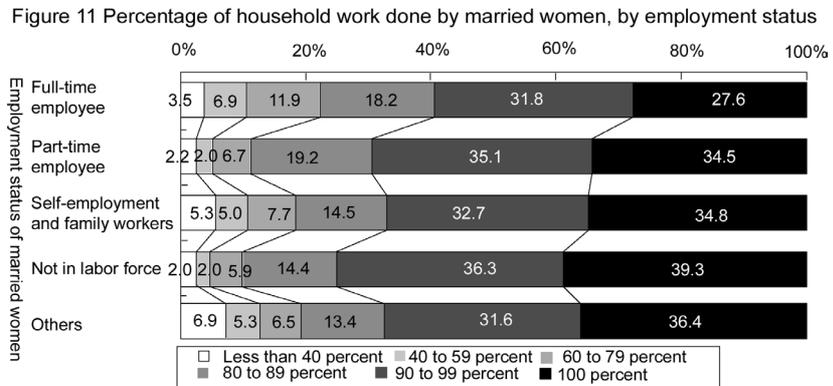
Even among the husbands of married women with full-time jobs, as much as 30 percent did not do their share of household chores.

The extent to which household chores are shared between husband and wife is important not only in affecting the length of time married women spent for household chores, but also in reflecting gender relationships in family households. We asked married women in different age groups to what extent they share the household chores. In every age group, over 80 percent of married women did more than 80 percent of household chores. Among the married women in their forties, 90 percent did more than 80 percent of their household chores. Married women whose husbands did not do their household chores at all constituted 40 percent among those in their forties, fifties and sixties. Although the proportion of married women who did 100 percent of their household chores was relatively lower among those in their twenties and thirties, as many as one out of four married women in their twenties were married to husbands who did not do their share of household chores at all. However, among married women in their sixties, those whose husbands did more household chores than themselves are 6.3 percent, while 4.2 percent shared the equal amount of household chores with their husband. It seemed that husbands were likely to do more household chores as they aged.

Figure 10 Percentage of household work done by married women, by age



We also asked the same question to married women with different employment statuses, but there was not a dramatic difference. Approximately 80 percent of married women with full-time jobs did more than 80 percent of their household chores, while about 90 percent of married women without jobs did more than 80 percent of their household chores. About 40 percent of married women without jobs, compared with about 30 percent of married women with full-time jobs, did 100 percent of their household chores. Even among married women with full-time jobs, those whose husbands did an equal amount of household work as themselves were only 10 percent.

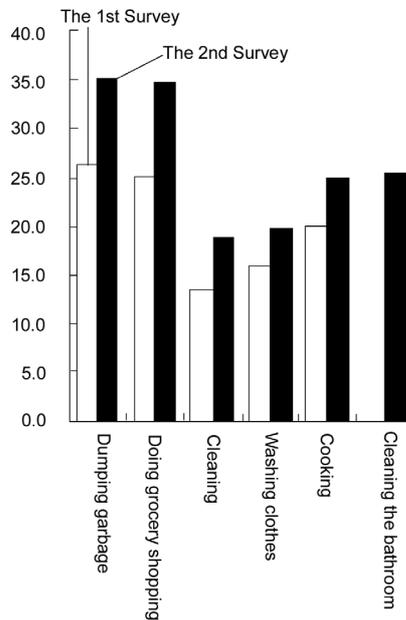


2 Trends in husbands' share of household work

The overall proportion of those husbands who participated in household work increased slightly. However, husbands in the middle age continued to be the least likely to be involved in family responsibilities.

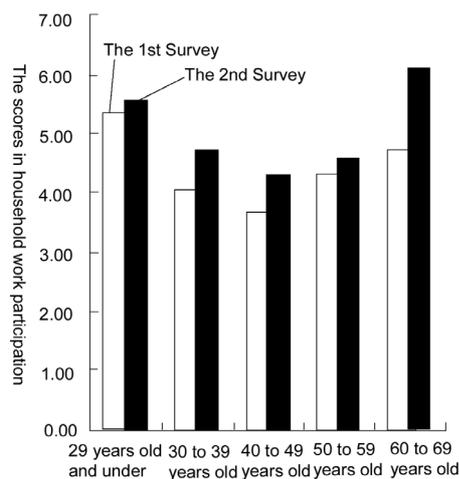
We asked married women how they shared six different kinds of household work with their husbands. The six kinds of household work included: dumping garbage, doing grocery shopping, cleaning, washing clothes, cooking, and cleaning the bathroom. In any item, the proportion of those husbands who did the work once to twice a week did not exceed 40 percent, although the overall proportion of those husbands who were involved in household work slightly increased. However, most of those husbands participated in a rather easier part of household work, such as doing grocery shopping or dumping garbage. Those husbands who participated in those kinds of household work which needed more commitment, such as cleaning, washing clothes or cooking, continued to be a small proportion. In conclusion, 70 to 80 percent of husbands had never or rarely participated in these more complicated parts of household work.

Figure 12 Proportion of husbands who participated in household work more than once to twice a week.



Comparing the husbands' level of participation in household work between 1993 and 1998, husbands of married women in all ages scored higher points in its level in 1998 than 1993. It could be noted that husbands of married women in their forties continued to be less cooperative in household work than their counterparts in other age groups, and this could be attributed to their increased responsibilities at work. On the other hand, husbands of married women in their sixties participated more in household work probably because they had retired from work or because their responsibilities at work reduced. The noticeable difference among husbands of married women in their sixties was that a clear line was drawn between those who participated in household work and those who did not at all. Health of their wives and themselves seemed to be an important factor behind this trend.

Figure 13 The scores in household work participation of husbands by age group



Note: The figure was the sum of the household-work scores, that we assigned them one for once to twice a month, two for once to twice a week, three for three to four times a week, and four for every day in each item

Husbands who lived with their parents/parents-in-law were more likely not to participate in household work.

Husbands with small children were more cooperative in household work than those with older children or those without children. Husbands were rather cooperative in household work when their youngest children were under the age 12. The younger the children, the more cooperative they were.

Husbands who lived with their parents or parents-in-law were less likely to participate in household work than their counterparts who did not live with their parents or parents-in-law. This difference was apparent in every item of household work in 1998, as it had been in 1993. It could be assumed that they did not have to participate in household work as their parents or parents-in-law did household work. However, from another point of view, it could be considered that their parents' participation in household work discouraged them from doing their share of their household work.

Husbands with job participated more in every category of household work except grocery shopping, than those without job. The gap was wider between husbands with full-time job and those without job. However, at the same time, more than 80 percent of husbands with job did not participate at all in household work such as cleaning, washing clothes and cooking, though husbands who came home earlier than 8 pm were more cooperative than the rest of them. Overall, most of household work continued to be done by married women in 1998.

Table 12 Husbands' participation in household work by type of household chore

Age of married women; Age of the youngest children; Living arrangements; Employment status of married women	Dumping garbage		Grocery shopping		Cleaning		Washing clothes		Cooking		Cleaning the bathroom The 2 nd Survey
	The 1 st Survey	The 2 nd Survey									
Total in proportion	26.5%	34.9%	25.2%	34.7%	13.4%	18.7%	15.7%	19.7%	20.1%	24.9%	25.4%
Age of married women											
29 years old and under	43.3	47.6	38.2	42.1	14.6	15.3	17.9	21.3	26.5	27.2	32.9
30 to 39 years old	25.2	36.5	25.5	36.3	11.5	15.5	12.5	16.5	18.3	25.4	24.8
40 to 49 years old	19.8	28.6	21.9	32.3	11.3	16.3	12.8	16.4	17.3	21.4	21.3
50 to 59 years old	27.3	32.7	23.0	30.8	15.8	19.6	19.8	20.7	22.1	24.2	24.3
60 to 69 years old	32.9	41.4	25.4	38.9	19.8	32.7	23.4	31.6	23.2	32.3	33.8
Age of the youngest children											
Under 1 years	45.2	50.9	35.6	52.0	11.4	17.1	17.4	16.6	23.3	32.0	36.6
Under 3 years	37.4	42.4	31.1	38.6	12.3	16.1	12.3	17.6	17.9	24.4	32.0
Under 6 years	21.8	34.9	24.6	32.4	12.3	15.3	11.4	17.1	17.4	24.1	21.1
Under 12 years	18.6	27.9	22.8	33.7	12.8	13.6	12.2	12.0	16.3	20.9	20.1
Under 18 years	19.0	27.9	21.6	31.4	10.6	15.3	12.5	16.8	18.2	20.7	19.7
18 years and over	26.7	32.5	22.8	31.4	15.0	21.7	19.8	21.7	21.3	24.0	26.2
Living arrangements											
Lived with their parents-in-law	16.4	23.0	20.3	31.0	9.9	16.3	10.2	14.5	15.4	18.8	19.3
Lived with their own parents	18.6	22.0	21.5	30.8	10.9	16.3	11.7	13.2	18.6	19.0	19.7
Did not live with their parents/parents-in-law	29.4	37.8	26.7	35.2	13.3	17.1	15.8	19.4	20.9	25.6	26.0
Occupation status of married women											
Full-time employee	31.3	41.4	24.5	34.0	19.5	21.8	23.1	28.1	27.0	30.9	30.8
Part-time employee	22.9	29.0	20.8	30.3	11.9	14.1	15.0	16.2	20.5	23.0	21.5
Owned their own business ; helped family business	23.0	35.3	18.4	30.9	10.9	19.6	11.4	20.7	17.0	24.2	22.9
Not in labor force	25.8	34.8	27.5	37.5	9.7	17.8	10.8	16.8	15.4	22.5	26.7

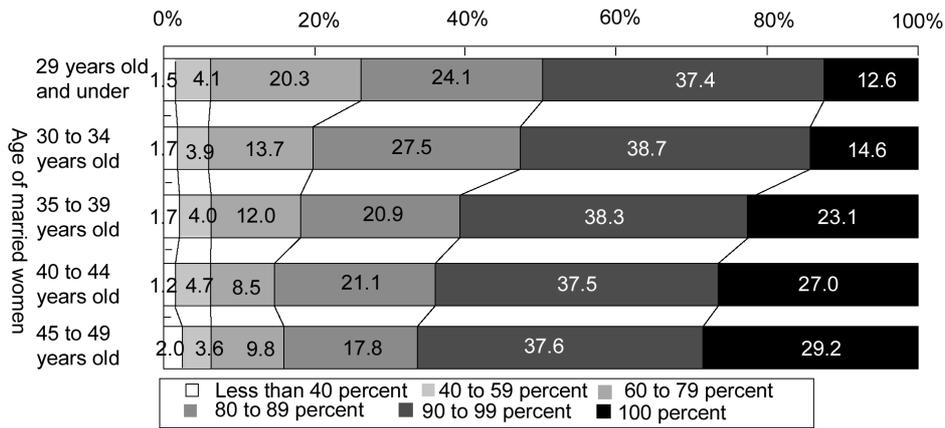
3 Sharing of responsibility for child rearing

About 10 percent of husbands with children under the age of one did not participate in the rearing of the children at all.

Among married women with children in their thirties and forties, over 80 percent were responsible for more than 80 percent of childrearing. Even among married women with children in their twenties,

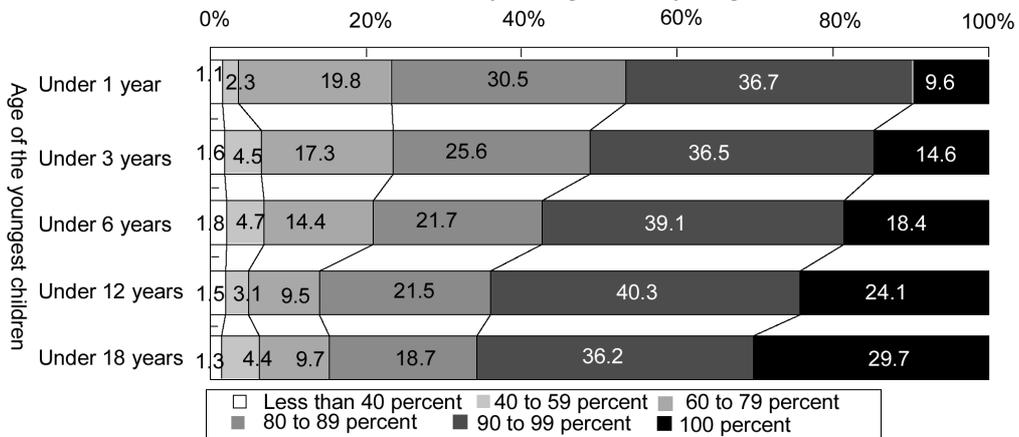
three out of every four did 80 percent of childrearing. Furthermore, about 30 percent of married women aged between 45 to 49 years with children did 100 percent of childrearing. The proportion of those who did all the childrearing by themselves was lower among younger married women, but even among those in their twenties, 10 percent were 100 percent responsible for the rearing of their children. Among married women with children in their twenties, 20 percent did 60 to 79 percent of childrearing, and those whose husbands shared the equal amount of childrearing responsibility were only 5.6 percent.

Figure 14 Variation in extent of responsibility in childrearing of married women by age



Husbands with children at different stages of development are supposed to have different degrees of participation in childrearing. However, those who did more than 80 percent of childrearing represented about the same proportion as even those with small children. Only a small difference was observed for the proportion of married women who were 100 percent responsible for the rearing of their children, when those children were in their earlier developmental stages. Even among married women with children under the age one, those whose husbands shared an equal or greater amount of responsibility for childrearing were only 3.4 percent. Married women with children over the school age (6) were likely to shoulder a greater share of responsibility, and their share of responsibility increased as children aged. As with the case of household work, married women were the ones who were solely or mainly responsible for childrearing. For this reason, women today are thought to be rather reluctant to get married or to have babies.

Figure 15 Extent of responsibility in childrearing of married women by the age of the youngest children



4 The trend in husbands' participation in child rearing

The younger the married women were, the more their husbands participated in childrearing. However, among the husbands of married women in their twenties, the proportion of those who participated in the rearing of their children remained stable.

We asked married women under the age 50 who were raising children at the time of the survey about their husbands' cooperation in childrearing. We divided the work related to childrearing into 6 items: playing with children, bathing children, putting children to sleep, feeding children, changing diapers, and cradling crying children. We examined what proportion of their husbands participated in each of the six items of activities as often as once to twice a week, and compared to the estimates from the first survey.

In every category except 'putting children to sleep', the proportion of husbands who did the work at least once to twice a week increased by 4 to 9 percentage points from 1993 to 1998. The proportion of husbands who put their children to sleep at least once to twice a week remained relatively stable between 1993 and 1998.

To compare the situation in 1998 to that of 1993, we gave husbands of married women with small children points according to their level of participation in childrearing. In every age group except those in their twenties, their husbands are more likely to involve in childrearing in 1998 than in 1993.

Figure 16 The proportion of husbands with small children who participated in raising the children at least once to twice a week, by childrearing items

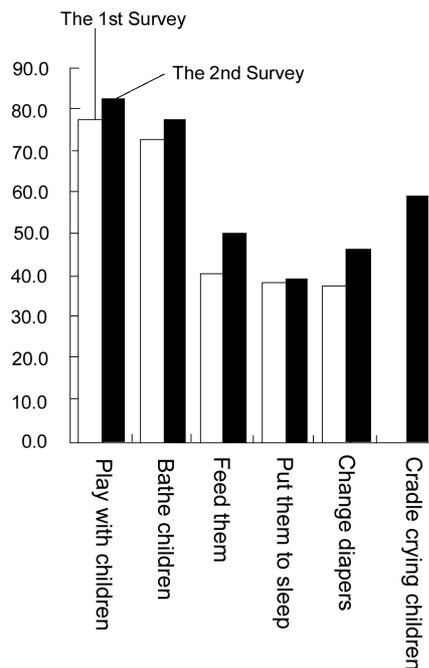
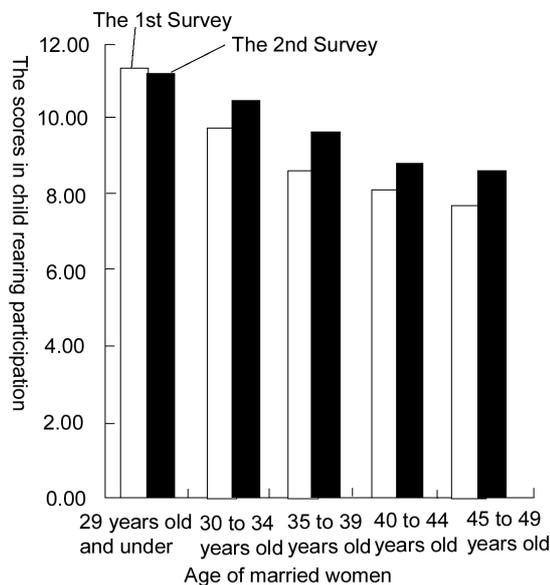


Figure 17 The scores in child rearing participation of husbands by age group



Note: The figure was the sums of childrearing scores, that we assigned there one for one to twice a month, two for once to twice a week, three for three to four times a week, and four for everyday.

60 percent of the husbands having small children did not participate in the more difficult part of childrearing at all.

The proportion of husbands with small children who ‘bathed their children’ once to twice a week, that of those who ‘played with their children’ once to twice a week, both increased to about 80 percent, although the percentage share remained relatively stable for the husbands of married women in their twenties. The proportion of husbands with small children who ‘fed their children’ once to twice a week, and that of those who ‘changed the diapers of their children once to twice a week, increased the most, while half of all husbands with small children did not change diapers so often in 1998. As for the more complicated part of childrearing, less than 40 percent of husbands with small children ‘put their children to sleep’ at least once to twice a week, and the percentage share in 1998 remained almost the same as in 1993. Furthermore, though the proportion of husbands who cooperated in childrearing once to twice a week increased across most age groups, the proportion of the husbands in their twenties who participated in childrearing dropped in three items. However, despite these declines in extent of participating in childrearing, the husbands in their twenties were the most cooperative compared to the other age groups. The extent of participation in childrearing of husbands declined as married women aged, as it was the case in the previous survey in 1993. In the item of ‘cradling crying children’, which we added it to be new in the 1998 survey, the majority of husbands participated at least once to twice a week, ranking as the third most common type of childrearing.

We also examined what proportion of husbands of different types participated in each item of childrearing at least once to twice a week. By the age of the youngest children, the younger the children, the more cooperative husbands were, as was the case with the previous survey. In most items except ‘putting children to sleep’, husbands with children at their age were found to be more cooperative in 1998 than in 1993. However, even among those with children under the age of 3, the proportion of husbands who ‘fed their children’, that of those who ‘put their children to sleep’, along

with that of those who 'changed their diapers', continued to be small proportions. In conclusion, married women continued to be the primary caretakers of their children.

Husbands who lived with their parents or parents-in-law were less likely to participate in any of the six items of childrearing, similar to the 1993 survey. Their relationships with their parents or parents-in-law could be an important factor to the extent of their participation in childrearing.

The husbands whose wives are in full-time work were more cooperative in childrearing than those whose wives were not employed. Among the husbands whose wives are in full-time work, the proportion of those who 'changed diapers', as well as the percentage share of those who 'fed their children', increased by 10 percentage points. Among the same population, even the proportion of those who 'put their children to sleep' increased by 5 percentage points between 1993 and 1998.

In any case, the proportion of husbands with small children who had never or rarely participated in childrearing continued to be the majority in 1998. Similar to household work, married women continued to be responsible for most of childrearing.

Table 13 Husbands' participation in child rearing by socio-economic status of married women

Age of married women; Age of the youngest children; Living arrangements; Employment status of married women	Play with children		Bathe children		Feed children		Put children to sleep		Change diapers		Cradle crying children
	The 1 st Survey	The 2 nd Survey	The 2 nd Survey								
Total in proportion	78.0%	82.3%	72.7%	77.4%	40.9%	49.9%	38.1%	38.8%	37.5%	46.1%	59.1%
Age of married women											
29 years old and under	94.6	93.2	79.8	78.8	55.3	59.4	48.5	45.6	52.6	57.9	71.7
30 to 39 years old	85.4	90.0	77.0	82.5	44.7	58.7	45.2	46.2	47.4	56.5	70.8
40 to 49 years old	78.3	82.0	71.6	78.1	39.3	51.4	39.2	40.2	39.3	47.8	60.8
50 to 59 years old	71.3	77.0	69.6	76.5	34.8	44.7	33.6	33.9	31.0	40.8	53.5
60 to 69 years old	70.5	77.5	70.1	73.6	36.8	43.4	30.7	34.4	27.2	37.5	49.7
Age of the youngest children											
Under 1 years	95.8	96.6	81.2	86.8	51.2	60.9	57.7	56.9	60.1	62.1	87.9
Under 3 years	94.0	93.9	80.4	82.1	56.3	64.5	45.6	45.8	45.4	59.2	70.8
Under 6 years	86.9	83.4	76.1	78.1	40.3	53.0	43.8	44.5	47.3	53.0	62.4
Under 12 years	71.5	79.8	68.5	77.0	36.0	46.3	36.3	37.7	34.6	45.1	56.7
Under 18 years	69.8	76.8	69.3	75.8	35.7	44.6	31.8	31.1	31.3	37.9	51.3
18 years and over	68.9	76.3	69.6	71.8	35.8	43.0	29.2	33.9	24.6	34.1	48.2
Living arrangements											
Lived with their parents-in-law	75.1	82.7	65.4	73.5	35.1	45.1	33.9	37.4	27.9	37.0	55.3
Lived with their own parents	69.9	80.2	67.4	71.8	35.6	47.0	36.4	35.6	32.2	37.1	52.0
Did not live with their parents/parents-in-law	75.8	82.4	71.6	79.1	38.9	51.4	35.6	39.5	36.3	49.4	60.7
Occupation status of married women											
Full-time employee	75.9	84.5	70.8	75.7	43.1	55.2	37.6	43.2	37.8	48.9	61.7
Part-time employee	77.8	81.4	73.8	80.0	38.6	50.3	36.6	36.8	33.7	41.6	56.3
Owned their own business; helped family business	73.6	74.9	67.2	69.0	31.3	41.0	32.2	36.3	28.7	40.1	48.4
Not in labor force	81.4	85.2	74.6	79.7	41.2	50.7	39.7	40.2	41.3	50.0	62.2

The average time at which husbands came home was earlier in 1998 than in 1993

Compared to that in 1993, the extend of participation of husbands both in household work and in childrearing increased slightly in 1998. It is a fact that the role of husbands in family households are affected by various environmental factors, which include the type of their living arrangements and husbands' working hours. Here, we compared the average time at which husbands came home in 1998 to that of 1993. It was observed that, in every age group under the age 60, the proportion of those who came back home before 8 pm, as well as the percentage share of those who came back before 9 pm, increased between 1993 and 1998. It would be possible that the improvement in the participation rate of husbands in household work and childrearing could be partly attributed to this increase in the proportion of husbands who came back home earlier than at the time of the previous survey. However, among the husbands in their twenties, thirties and forties, about 30 percent come

back home later than 9 pm in 1998. Among the husbands in their thirties, those who came home later than 10 pm were 20 percent. The relatively small growth in the proportion of husband who 'put their children to sleep' was possibly caused by the large proportion of husbands who came home late at night. We believe that, for married couples with small children, a high level of communication between husband and wife, as well as a high degree of cooperation between them, are essential. Along with the need for changes in environmental factors, there needs to be a change in the attitudes of husbands and wives, to bring about a fundamental change in gender relationships in Japanese families.

Table 14 The average time when husband came home, by age and employment status of married women

Age of married women; Employment status of married women	Came home before 8 pm		Came home before 9 pm		Came home before 10 pm		Came home later than 10 pm	
	The 1 st Survey	The 2 nd Survey	The 1 st Survey	The 2 nd Survey	The 1 st Survey	The 2 nd Survey	The 1 st Survey	The 2 nd Survey
Total in proportion	47.0%	54.3%	13.5%	18.3%	12.2%	11.7%	27.2%	15.7%
Age of married women								
29 years old and under	36.5	50.7	15.3	19.2	17.5	13.1	30.7	17.0
30 to 39 years old	38.4	43.8	12.8	20.9	14.3	15.1	34.5	20.2
40 to 49 years old	46.2	51.1	13.9	19.8	11.4	13.2	28.5	15.9
50 to 59 years old	62.6	67.8	14.0	14.9	8.3	7.0	15.1	10.3
60 to 69 years old	78.5	77.3	9.4	8.3	5.0	3.0	7.2	11.3
Employment status of married women								
Full-time employment	49.5	62.6	14.2	17.0	11.8	8.6	24.5	11.8
Part-time employment	46.9	53.0	12.8	18.7	11.9	12.5	28.4	15.8
Self-employed and family workers	44.7	53.4	16.6	14.8	15.8	11.2	22.9	20.6
Not in labor force	41.4	51.2	13.8	19.0	12.8	12.9	32.0	16.8

5 The level of married women's appreciation of their husbands' participation in household work and childrearing

Younger housewives were likely to be satisfied with their husbands' cooperation, whereas older housewives were likely not to be satisfied with the level of their husbands' cooperation in household work.

In general, Japanese married women show their appreciation of husbands' cooperation in household work, even though they rarely participate in household work and childrearing. In 1998, the level of their husbands' participation in household work remained low. As we did in the 1993 survey, we asked married women how they felt about the level of their husbands' cooperation in household work and childrearing.

Overall, the proportion of those who were satisfied with their husbands' cooperation, and those who were not, represented an equal proportion in 1998. In 1993, the proportion of those who were satisfied were 60 percent of all married women, and this means an increase in the proportion of those who were not satisfied in 1998. By age, married women aged 29 years old and under were most likely to be satisfied with their husbands' cooperation, as was the case with the previous survey. However, the proportion of those who were satisfied decreased between 1993 and 1998 in every age group. Married women in their forties were most likely not to be satisfied with the level of their husbands' cooperation in household work, reflecting the low level of participation in household work among the husbands in this age group.

By employment status of married women, the proportion of those who were not happy with the level of their husbands' cooperation increased in every group. Even among married women who did not work at all, the group of people who were most likely to be satisfied with the level of their husbands' cooperation, the proportion of those who were not happy with the level of their husbands' participation in household work and childrearing increased by 10 percent between 1993 and 1998.

By types of living arrangements, the proportion of those who were not satisfied with the level of their husbands' participation in household work and child rearing increased in every group, and the most noticeable change was observed among those who lived with their parents or parents-in-law. Among those who lived with their parents or parents-in-law, those who were not satisfied were larger than those who were satisfied in 1998, reversing the situation in 1993. Also by the average time at which their husbands came home, the proportion of those who were not happy increased in every group. The later their husbands came home, the more unsatisfied married women were. It seemed that whether their husbands came home earlier than 8 pm or not made a difference in married women's level of appreciation of their husbands' cooperation. Over 50 percent of married women whose husbands came later than 8 pm were unhappy about the level of their husbands' cooperation in household work. The proportion of those who were 'extremely unhappy' increased as their husbands came home late.

While the proportion of married women who were not happy with the level of their husbands' cooperation in household work and childrearing increased, it should be noted that about half of all married women said they were happy with the level of their husbands' participation in household work. Considering that three out of four married women thought that husbands and wives should share an equal amount of household work and responsibility for childrearing, the large proportion of married women who said that they were satisfied appears inconsistent with their feelings. It could be argued that they expressed their real opinions or desires when asked a general question but repressed their feelings and desires when asked a rather personal question, accepting the traditional role of married women.

Table 15 The level of married women's appreciation to their husbands' extent of participation in household work and childrearing, by socio-economic status of married women

Married women by type	Total population		Satisfied						Unsatisfied					
	The 1 st Survey	The 2 nd Survey	Satisfied		Extremely satisfied		Rather satisfied		Unsatisfied		Rather unsatisfied		Extremely unsatisfied	
			The 1 st Survey	The 2 nd Survey	The 1 st Survey	The 2 nd Survey	The 1 st Survey	The 2 nd Survey	The 1 st Survey	The 2 nd Survey	The 1 st Survey	The 2 nd Survey	The 1 st Survey	The 2 nd Survey
Total in proportion	5,424	6,197	60.6	51.7	10.5	10.1	50.1	41.6	39.4	48.3	29.2	32.4	10.2	15.9%
Age of married women														
29 years old and under	557	562	72.6	63.4	17.8	16.2	54.8	47.2	27.5	36.7	22.3	26.7	5.2	10.0
30 to 39 years old	1,466	1,543	58.1	52.4	11.4	11.8	46.7	40.6	41.9	47.5	32.4	33.2	9.5	14.3
40 to 49 years old	1,740	1,896	56.6	44.8	9.5	8.5	47.1	36.3	43.4	55.2	31.3	36.1	12.1	19.1
50 to 59 years old	1,115	1,410	61.6	52.4	7.8	8.7	53.8	43.7	38.4	47.6	27.3	31.9	11.1	15.7
60 to 69 years old	546	786	65.9	57.3	9.5	8.8	56.4	48.5	34.1	52.7	25.1	36.7	9.0	16.0
Employment status of married women														
Full-time employment	946	925	58.2	52.4	10.3	12.6	47.9	39.8	41.8	47.6	30.0	31.5	11.8	16.1
Part-time employment	989	812	57.5	45.2	9.1	7.3	48.4	37.9	42.4	54.8	31.3	35.8	11.1	19.0
Self-employed and family workers	671	664	57.8	49.1	9.4	8.3	48.4	40.8	42.1	50.9	30.8	33.9	11.3	17.0
Not in labor force	2,425	2,604	63.3	54.7	11.3	10.4	52.0	44.3	36.7	45.3	27.7	31.6	9.0	13.7
Living arrangements														
Lived with parents/parents-in-law	1,177	1,270	57.5	46.7	8.9	9.1	48.6	37.6	42.5	53.4	32.8	36.4	9.7	17.0
Lived with their own parents	901	956	56.5	47.3	9.0	9.1	47.5	38.2	43.5	52.8	33.6	35.7	9.9	17.1
Lived with their parents-in-law	274	306	60.6	43.8	8.8	9.2	51.8	34.6	39.4	56.2	30.3	39.2	9.1	17.0
Living separately from their parents or parents-in-law	3,458	3,872	60.4	52.2	11.4	10.7	49.0	41.5	39.6	47.8	29.0	32.0	10.6	15.8
The average time at which their husbands came home														
Before 8 pm	1,820	2,189	64.5	53.5	12.9	10.9	51.6	42.6	35.5	46.5	27.1	32.6	8.4	13.9
Before 9 pm	527	772	65.1	48.2	10.1	9.6	55.0	38.6	34.9	51.9	27.1	35.4	7.8	16.5
Before 10 pm	478	497	59.6	45.6	7.7	6.6	51.9	39.0	40.4	54.3	33.1	37.0	7.3	17.3
10 pm and later	1,060	661	52.9	43.7	9.5	8.5	43.4	35.2	43.5	56.2	29.5	33.1	14.0	23.1

While the proportion of married women who were not happy with the level of their husbands' cooperation increased, it was also observed that married women valued their husbands' cooperation rather highly, in spite of the low participation rate of husbands in household work and childrearing. In this sense, we asked married women what level of cooperation they expected from their husbands.

Married women in their twenties were most likely to expect a high level of cooperation from their husbands. Among married women in their twenties, those who 'expected a high level of cooperation', combined with those who 'expected a reasonable level of cooperation', constituted 60 percent of all. Married women in their forties were most likely not to expect cooperation from their husbands, and those who expected some level of cooperation were less than 50 percent. Among married women in their forties, those who 'did not expect much cooperation', those who 'did not expect cooperation', as well as those who 'had never expected cooperation in the first place', were the majority.

Among married women who did not work, those who 'had never expected cooperation in the first place' consisted a large proportion. We assumed this result as a natural outcome, as, in general, housewives who don't bring home any income are supposed to be responsible for household work and childrearing. However, it was found that married women who did not work tended to expect a rather high level of cooperation from their husbands. The proportion of those who 'expected cooperation from their husbands' were lower among those who did not work than among those who worked full time, although it was higher among those who did not work than among those who worked part time or those who were family workers. In conclusion, married women who did not work have never considered themselves to be specialized in household work and child rearing.

Table 16 The level of expectation of married women to their husbands' participation in household work and child rearing, by socio-economic status of married women

Type of married women	Total population	Expected cooperation			Did not expect cooperation			The results of the 1st survey in 1993		
		Expected a high level of cooperation	Expected a reasonable level of cooperation		Did not expect much cooperation	Did not expect any cooperation	Had never expected cooperation in the first place	Expected cooperation	Did not expect cooperation	
Total	6,440	47.5	13.7	33.8	52.5	30.8	13.6	8.1	50.7	49.3
Age of married women										
29 years old and under	571	59.9	18.9	41.0	40.2	24.0	10.2	6.0	63.9	36.1
30 to 39 years old	1,583	50.0	13.6	36.4	49.9	29.6	13.5	6.8	51.0	49.0
40 to 49 years old	1,962	43.7	12.7	31.0	56.3	32.3	15.8	8.2	45.7	54.3
50 to 59 years old	1,486	45.6	13.0	32.6	54.4	33.0	12.6	8.8	50.0	50.0
60 to 69 years old	838	46.1	13.8	32.3	53.8	30.3	12.9	10.6	53.7	46.3
Employment status of married women										
Full-time employment	952	53.6	17.3	36.3	46.4	27.0	11.6	7.8	50.7	49.3
Part-time employment	833	43.1	11.9	31.2	57.0	35.1	14.2	7.7	47.6	52.4
Self-employed and family workers	701	44.9	13.4	31.5	55.0	29.5	15.1	10.4	46.7	53.3
Not in labor force	2,699	47.8	13.0	34.8	52.3	30.8	13.7	7.8	52.3	47.7

Lastly, we examined the relationship between the level of married women's satisfaction and the level of their husbands' participation in household work and childrearing, adding up the scores of items that their husbands participate in. It was seen that the more husbands were cooperative in household work and childrearing, the more married women were likely to be satisfied with their husbands' cooperation. The level of expectation of married women to husbands' participation in household work and childrearing was higher in 1998 than that in 1993.

Table 17 The relationship between the level of husbands' participation in household work and child rearing and the level of married women's satisfaction

The level of married women's satisfaction	Total population	Husbands' scores in household work participation						Average scores required	
		0	1 - 4	5 - 8	9 - 12	13 - 16	17 - 20	The 2 nd Survey	The 1 st Survey
Extremely satisfied	588	5.1%	17.9%	27.0%	25.2%	14.6%	10.2%	8.9	(7.6)
Rather satisfied	2,382	10.3	35.9	29.0	13.6	6.0	5.2	5.9	(4.9)
Rather unsatisfied	1,880	22.0	50.9	17.9	3.8	2.3	3.0	3.6	(2.8)
Extremely unsatisfied	930	42.6	44.0	7.4	2.4	1.1	2.6	2.2	(1.7)
Total	5,780	18.8	40.2	21.7	9.8	4.9	4.6	4.9	(4.2)

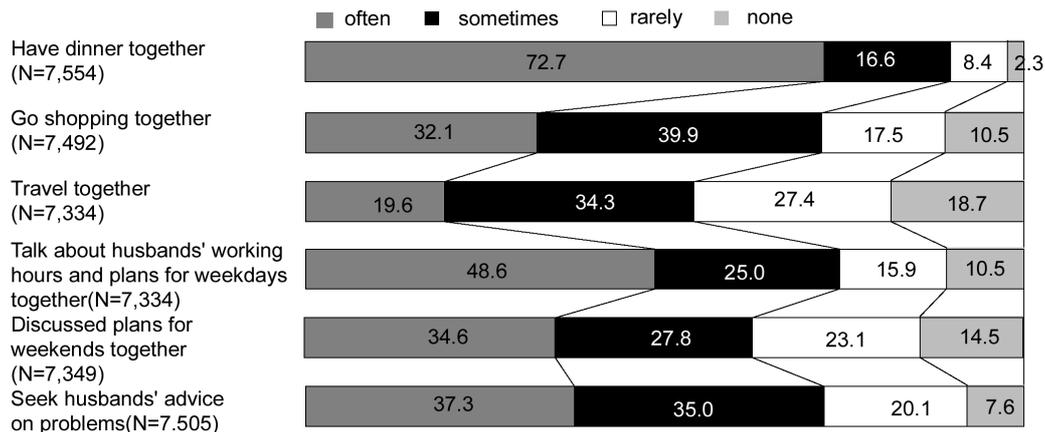
The level of married women's satisfaction	Total population	Husbands' scores in child rearing						Average scores required	
		0	1 - 4	5 - 8	9 - 12	13 - 16	17 - 20	The 2 nd Survey	The 1 st Survey
Extremely satisfied	475	3.2%	4.2%	9.5%	20.6%	30.5%	32.0%	13.5	(12.6)
Rather satisfied	2,094	2.3	10.0	20.5	30.4	23.2	13.7	10.7	(9.4)
Rather unsatisfied	1,746	4.1	24.0	33.8	22.6	10.0	5.4	7.7	(6.5)
Extremely unsatisfied	881	12.4	38.3	29.4	12.0	4.3	3.6	5.4	(3.8)
Total	5,196	4.7	19.0	25.5	23.8	16.2	10.9	9.0	(8.2)

5 Communication between husband and wife

1 Communication between husband and wife

The majority of married women in their twenties and thirties wanted to share as much time as possible with their husbands, whereas the majority of those in their forties and over wanted to respect their own individual interests.

Figure 18 Communication between husband and wife



To measure the level of communication between husband and wife, we asked married women how often they 'had dinner', 'went shopping', 'traveled', or 'had conversation' with their husbands. 70 percent of married women said that they often had dinner with their husbands, whereas 32.1 percent of them said that they often went shopping with their husbands. The proportion of those who often traveled with their husbands were only 19.6 percent of all. 50 percent of married women said they often talked about their husbands' work schedule and their plans during weekdays, while only one third of all married women said they often discussed plans for weekends with their husbands. Those married women who often sought their husbands' advice on their problems were only one third of all married women.

Table 18 Communication between husband and wife: Proportions of those who 'often' did things with their husbands, by age

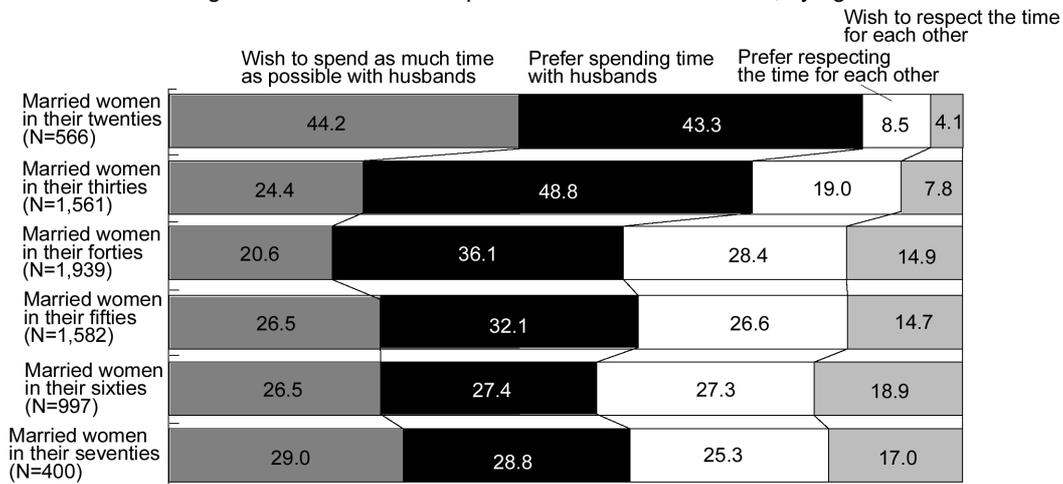
Age of married women	Activity					
	Often have dinner together	Often go shopping together	Often travel together	Often talk about husbands' working hours and plans for weekdays together	Often discussed plans for weekends together	Often seek husbands' advice on problems
Those in their twenties	77.9%	48.5%	28.4%	70.6%	58.5%	50.4%
Those in their thirties	59.7	38.5	20.6	54.9	45.4	38.2
Those in their forties	62.9	28.2	14.3	45.3	30.9	33.1
Those in their fifties	80.3	30.3	20.8	47.0	30.1	37.1
Those in their sixties	87.1	28.1	22.2	39.8	24.0	37.0
Those in their seventies	89.3	23.0	17.5	37.4	21.9	37.9

Married women in their thirties and forties were less likely to often have dinner with their husbands, and it would be associated with the career stage of their husbands. In their forties, their husbands were the ones who took main responsibilities at their work place. As their husbands aged, the proportion of married women who often had dinner with their husbands increased. On the other hand, the employment status of married women did not seem to affect the frequency of having dinner with their husbands. In any case, long work schedule, which has been traditionally expected for male Japanese employees, had a noticeable effect on the relationship between husband and wife.

Whether or not married women often went shopping with their husbands differed by age groups. About half of married women in their twenties often went shopping with their husbands, whereas 38.5 percent of married women in their thirties did. The proportion of those who never went shopping with their husbands increased as married women aged. Those married women who often traveled with their husbands was found mostly among those in their twenties. Furthermore, the majority of married women in their twenties talked about their husbands' work schedule and plans for weekdays with their husbands. Overall, married women in their twenties seemed to have closer relationships with their husbands than their older counterparts.

In conclusion, in looking at the level of communication between husband and wife, it was found that the younger the married women were, the more likely they were to do things with their husbands. The proportion of those who wanted to share everything with their husbands decreased as married women aged.

Figure 19 Ideal relationship between husband and wife, by age

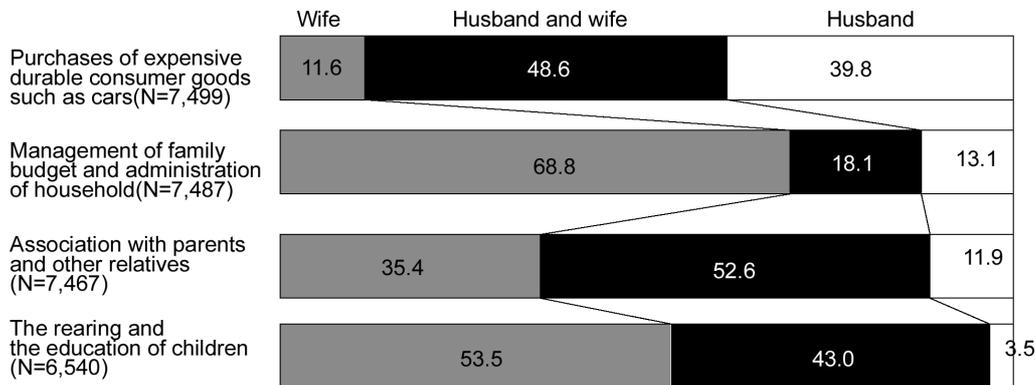


We asked married women what they thought the ideal relationship between husband and wife. Those who wished to spend as much time as possible with their husbands were found more in younger generation, whereas those who wished to respect the time for each other were found more in older generation. Overall, it seemed that the ideal relationship between husband and wife differed largely by age groups.

2 Decision making in married-couple households

It was more likely that married women took the lead in making decisions about household matters. Most of their husbands followed the decisions made by married women.

Figure 20 Who holds the main responsibility in making decisions about household matter?



Joint decision making was the most common in purchasing expensive durable consumer goods (48.6 percent), in handling with their parents and other relatives (52.6 percent), and in rearing and educating of their children (43.0 percent). Husbands were more likely to make decision only when they purchased durable consumer goods (39.8 percent). Decisions about the household management were made by wives in most cases; 70 percent of married women made decision on these matters, 35 percent of married women made decision regarding relatives, while half of them did it jointly. As for the decisions about rearing educating children, more than half of these decisions were made by married women, compared with only 3 percent made by their husbands. It appeared that husbands had little influences in rearing and educating their children.

Table 19 Main decision makers in married-couple households, by living arrangement

Issues	Living arrangements	The primary decision maker		
		Wife	Husband and wife	Husband
Purchases of expensive durable consumer goods, such as cars	Living with their own parents (the parents of the wife)	15.0%	52.0%	32.9%
	Living with their parents-in-law (the parents of the husband)	6.2	46.2	47.6
	Living separately from their parents/parents-in-law	12.2	50.6	37.2
Management of family budget; Administration of household	Living with their own parents (the parents of the wife)	77.0	15.1	7.8
	Living with their parents-in-law (the parents of the husband)	64.8	18.9	16.3
	Living separately from their parents/parents-in-law	72.8	16.7	10.5
Association with parents and other relatives	Living with their own parents (the parents of the wife)	40.7	50.0	9.3
	Living with their parents-in-law (the parents of the husband)	31.0	51.4	17.6
	Living separately from their parents/parents-in-law	37.1	53.1	9.8
The rearing and the education of children	Living with their own parents (the parents of the wife)	58.3	40.4	1.3
	Living with their parents-in-law (the parents of the husband)	50.2	45.9	3.9
	Living separately from their parents/parents-in-law	54.5	43.0	2.5

Married couples with different living arrangements showed different way of decision making. When married couples lived with the parents of the wife, only 7.8 percent of husbands had a decisive influence in the management. On the other hand, when married couples lived with the parents of the husband, as many as 16.3 percent of husbands made decision in the administration of their household management. In contrast, 77 percent of married women who lived with their own parents were decisive of the household management, whereas 68.4 percent of married women who lived with their parents-in-law did. However, as for rearing and educating children, married women were likely to be decisive regardless of their living arrangements.

6 Balancing time between work and childrearing activities

1 The relationship between the return to work after a child's birth and work experience prior to the first childbearing

Those who were engaged in clerical jobs before the first childbearing, and those who were at the large companies, were not likely to stay to work after childbirth. The majority of those who stayed to work after childbirth were self-employed or family workers.

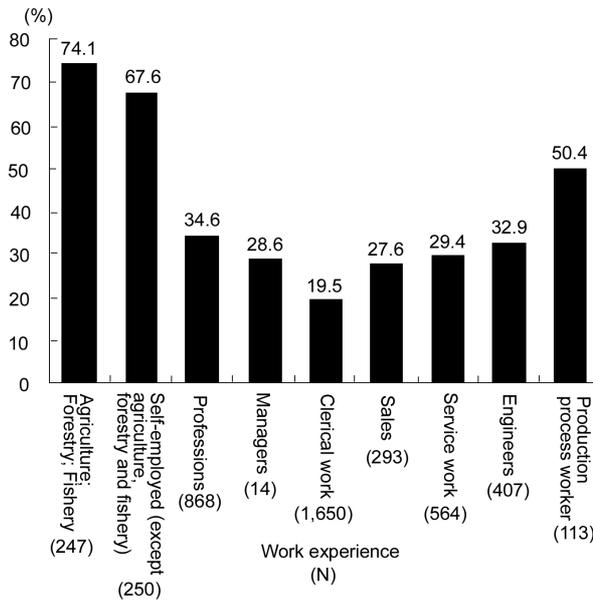
56.1 percent of married women had work experience prior to the first childbirth. Among them, 27.3 percent had stayed at work after the childbearing, while 72.8 percent of them stopped their work.

Table 20 Proportions of those who stay to work over the first childbirth

Whether or not they stay to work over the first childbirth	Proportion
Continue to work	27.3%
Stop working	72.8
Total	100.0 (N=6,039)

It was clear that the chance of staying to work after the first childbirth was largely related to work experience prior to childbearing (see Figure 21).

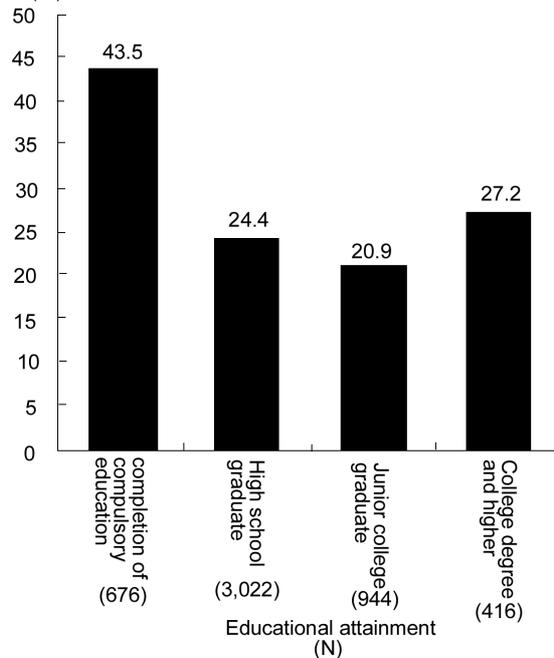
Figure 21 The proportion of those who had stayed to work, over the first childbirth by occupation



The proportion of staying to work after the first childbirth was the highest among those who had been engaged in agriculture, forestry or fishery (74.1 percent). Similarly, a little less than 70 percent of those who were self-employed stayed to work after the childbirth. On the contrary, those who had held clerical positions before childbirth were the least likely to stay to work after the childbirth (19.5 percent). Staying to work after the first childbirth was not common among those who were engaged in sales job as well (27.6 percent). Even among those who were in professional jobs before childbirth, only one third stayed at work. This means that a rise in the proportion of women with a higher education degree did not necessarily lead to an increase in those who stayed to work after

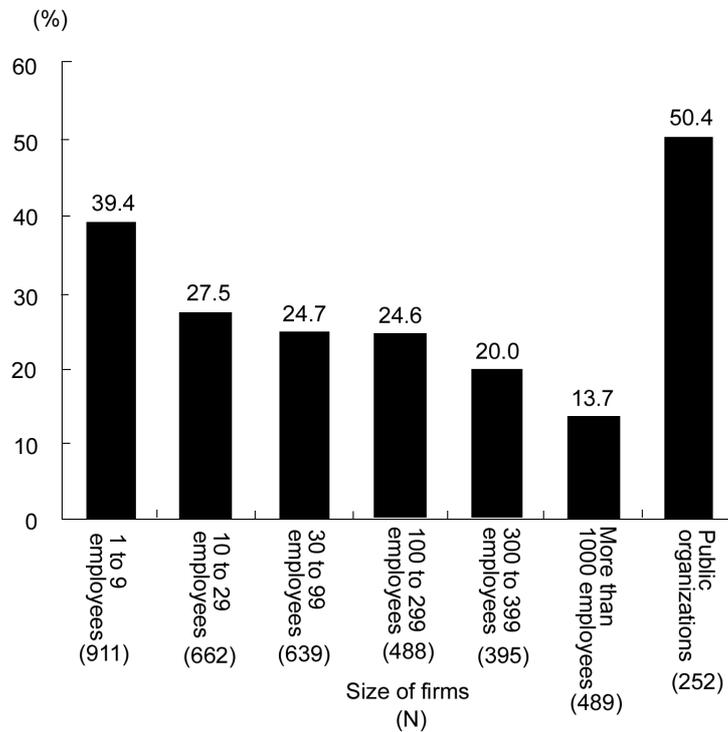
childbirth. Among the married women who had held clerical positions before childbirth, those who had stayed to work were only one fourth of those who had stayed to work among the married women who were family workers (including agriculture). The proportion of staying to work after childbirth differed among those with different work experiences.

Figure 22 The proportion of married women who had stayed to work over a child's birth, by educational attainment (%)



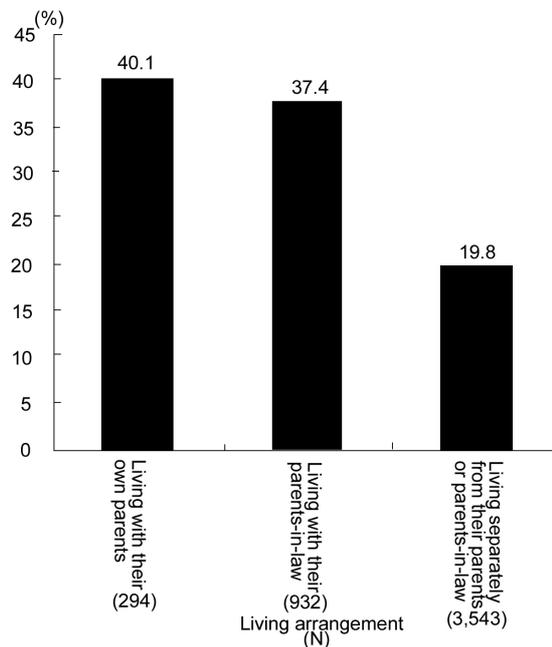
By the level of educational attainment, married women with higher education had not necessarily continued to work. Conversely, a relatively large proportion of those who were not high school graduates (43.5 percent) continued to work after childbirth, reflecting a large proportion of older married women who had been engaged in agriculture or other types of family businesses. Married women who went to junior college were the least likely to have stayed to work after childbirth (20.9 percent). However, even among those with college degree, only one fourth had returned to work after childbirth. It was observed that the increase in the number of women with higher education did not necessarily lead to an increase in the number of married women who continued to work after childbirth.

Figure 23 The proportion of married women who had stayed to work over a child's birth, by the size of firms they had worked for before pregnancy



By the size of firm where married women worked before their first childbearing, those who had worked for public sector were the most likely to stay to work after a childbirth. Among those who had worked for public sector before childbirth, 50.4 percent continue to work after childbirth. In contrast, among those who had worked at large companies with more than 1000 employees before childbirth, only 13.7 percent had stayed to work after childbirth. Despite the family-friendly policy advocated by large-scaled firms to improve the working environments for their female employees, it was found, at the time based on our results of this survey, that their efforts had not necessarily help them reconcile work with family responsibilities. For most of female employees in large firms, childbearing is still one of the most serious obstacle against continuing work.. Married women who had worked for companies containing less than 10 people were much more likely to continue to work after childbirth. These results suggest that working in a small company could be easy for women to stay to work after childbirth. However, at the same time, we have to take into account the possibility that these women had stayed to work solely because of their economic necessity. It would be important to examine the reasons of their staying to work.

Figure 24 The proportion of married women who had stayed to work over a child's birth, by living arrangement



By living arrangements, married women who lived with their own parents were most likely to have stayed to work after childbirth (40.1 percent). Similarly, among those who lived with their parents-in-law, 37.4 percent had stayed to work after childbirth. On the contrary, less than 20 percent of those who did not live with their parents or parents-in-law had stayed to work after childbirth.

2 The Pattern of Mothers' working– difference between the ideal and the reality

The majority of women wished to return to work after the temporal withdrawal from the labor force related to childbearing infancy of their children continued to represent a large proportion. Only a small number of married women intend to stay in work without children, so-called 'DINKS (Dual Incomes, No Kids)'.

We divided the pattern of working of married women into 5 different types: (1) DINKS, (2) continuous work, (3) intermittent work, (4) full-time housewives, and (5) others. The ideal and the reality were matching the most for those who had returned to work after the end of the infancy of their children.

Table 21 Labor force participation of married women: The ideal and the reality

Actual pattern of working	Total population	Ideal pattern of working					Total
		DINKS (Dual Incomes, No Kids)	Return to work without interruption	Return to work after the temporal with drawal	Stay at home	Others	
Total	5,921 (100.0%)	1.8%	17.8%	50.7%	20.9%	8.9%	100.0%
DINKS (Dual Incomes, No Kids)	146 (2.5)	8.2	29.5	43.8	15.8	2.7	100.0
Continue to work right over a child's birth	1,124 (19.0)	1.5	28.7	45.9	17.1	6.8	100.0
Return to work after the end of the infancy of their children	2,972 (50.2)	1.6	16.7	54.6	21.2	6.0	100.0
Not in labor force	1,211 (20.5)	1.9	10.7	53.5	28.5	5.4	100.0
Others	468 (7.9)	1.9	12.6	31.8	10.3	43.4	100.0

On the other hand, the number of women whose ideal way of working pattern was DINKS was the smallest. Among married women without children wanted to pursue their current ways of life, more than 40 percent of DINKS at the time of survey, wished to return to work after childbearing, whereas less than 30 percent wished to continue to work throughout their family life. It should be noted that about one fourth of all married women living as DINKS at the time of survey were in their twenties, and it is possible that they change their lifestyles in the future. Furthermore, the proportion of those who thought that being DINKS is the ideal way of living larger among married women in their thirties and forties than among those in their twenties. A rather traditional characteristic of young married women was found in the analysis.

Table 22 The ideal participation in labor force, by educational attainment of married women

Educational attainment	Total population	Ideal pattern of working					Total
		DINKS (Dual Incomes, No Kids)	Return to work without interruption	Return to work after the temporal withdrawal	Stay at home	Others	
Completion of compulsory education	844	1.8%	14.7%	46.3%	21.4%	15.8%	100.0%
High school graduate	8,438	1.8	15.4	53.0	21.9	8.0	100.0
Junior college graduate	1,109	1.6	19.0	51.0	20.8	7.5	100.0
College degree and higher	550	2.7	32.7	46.2	12.9	5.5	100.0

Those who thought being DINKS was the ideal show a small proportion even among those with higher education. The majority of those with higher education thought continuous working profile throughout the family life was the ideal way of working, while only a small proportion of those thought was their ideal. In contrast, a relatively high proportion of junior-college graduates was found in wishing full-time housewife, and its proportion is about the same as that any those who completed compulsory education and high school.

Majority of mothers who want to return to work was when their youngest children reach their school age.

Table 23 Time when mothers with small children wanted to return to work

Plans of married women with small children	Proportion
Did not plan to return to work	11.6%
Wished to return to work as soon as they found a place to take care of their children	6.4
Wished to return to work when their youngest child reached the age to go to a day care cen	9.3
Wished to return to work when their youngest child reached the preschool age	7.6
Wished to return to work when their youngest child reached the school age	18.9
Wished to return to work but did not have any definite plans	36.2
Others	10.1
Total	100.0 (N=892)

We asked married women who had children under the age 6 about their plans for labor force participation in the future. The majority responded that they wanted to return to work ‘when their youngest children reach their school age’. Those who wanted to return to work at some point in their lives but did not have any definite plans also represented a large proportion. Overall, a sizable proportion of married women with small children wanted to go back to work sooner or later, and when their youngest children reach their school age seemed to be the most important turning point for them when participation in the labor force was considered. These data suggest that mothers were likely to wish to participate in the labor force at some point of their lives despite various impediments to working.

Table 24 Desired opening hours of day care centers

Selected years	Total population	Desired time at which day care centers would open				
		- 6:59	7:00 - 7:59	8:00 - 8:59	9:00 - 9:59	10:00 -
1998	481	2.3%	39.9%	48.6%	8.7%	0.4%
1993	828	2.7	48.3	41.9	6.0	1.1

Selected years	Total population	Desired time at which day care centers would open									
		- 14:59	15:00 - 15:59	16:00 - 16:59	17:00 - 17:59	18:00 - 18:59	19:00 - 19:59	20:00 - 20:59	21:00 - 21:59	22:00 -	
1998	484	0.6%	3.3%	10.7%	32.0%	36.2%	10.3%	3.5%	1.7%	1.7%	
1993	828	0.8	1.6	7.0	32.4	31.6	16.3	5.8	4.0	0.5	

Married women with small children who wished to participate in the labor force if they could send their children to day care centers represented an appreciable proportion as well. 9.3 percent of mothers of small children said that they would go back to work when their youngest children reached the age to go to day care, while 6.4 percent responded by saying that they would start working immediately if they could find some place to take care of their children. Observing a rather high level of need in external child care service among these mothers, we asked married women with small children what would be the best time for day care centers to be opened and closed. The majority said that sometime between 7 am and 9 am would be the most convenient time for day care centers to be opened. As for the best time to be closed, about half said sometime between 7 pm and 8 pm, when two thirds said it would be the most convenient if day care centers were closed sometime between 6 pm and 7 pm. Those who wanted day care centers to be closed later than 7 pm represented 26.6 percent. Compared to the estimates from the previous survey, those who wanted the center open until between 7 pm and 8 pm increased by the largest percentage points. As for the best time for day care centers to be opened, those who wanted day care centers to be opened between 7 pm and 8 pm increased by the largest percentage points. In conclusion, we see a high demand for daycare center with a high extend of flexibility such as an extension of opening hours.

7 Attitudes of married women towards family

As we did in the previous survey in 1993, we asked attitudes of married women towards their families, which included the relationship with their husbands, the rearing of their children, and the relationship with their parents/parents-in-law. In the following section, we show changes that occurred in married women's perception of themselves and other members of their families between 1993 and 1998.

1 What married women thought about the conventional norms of Japanese families

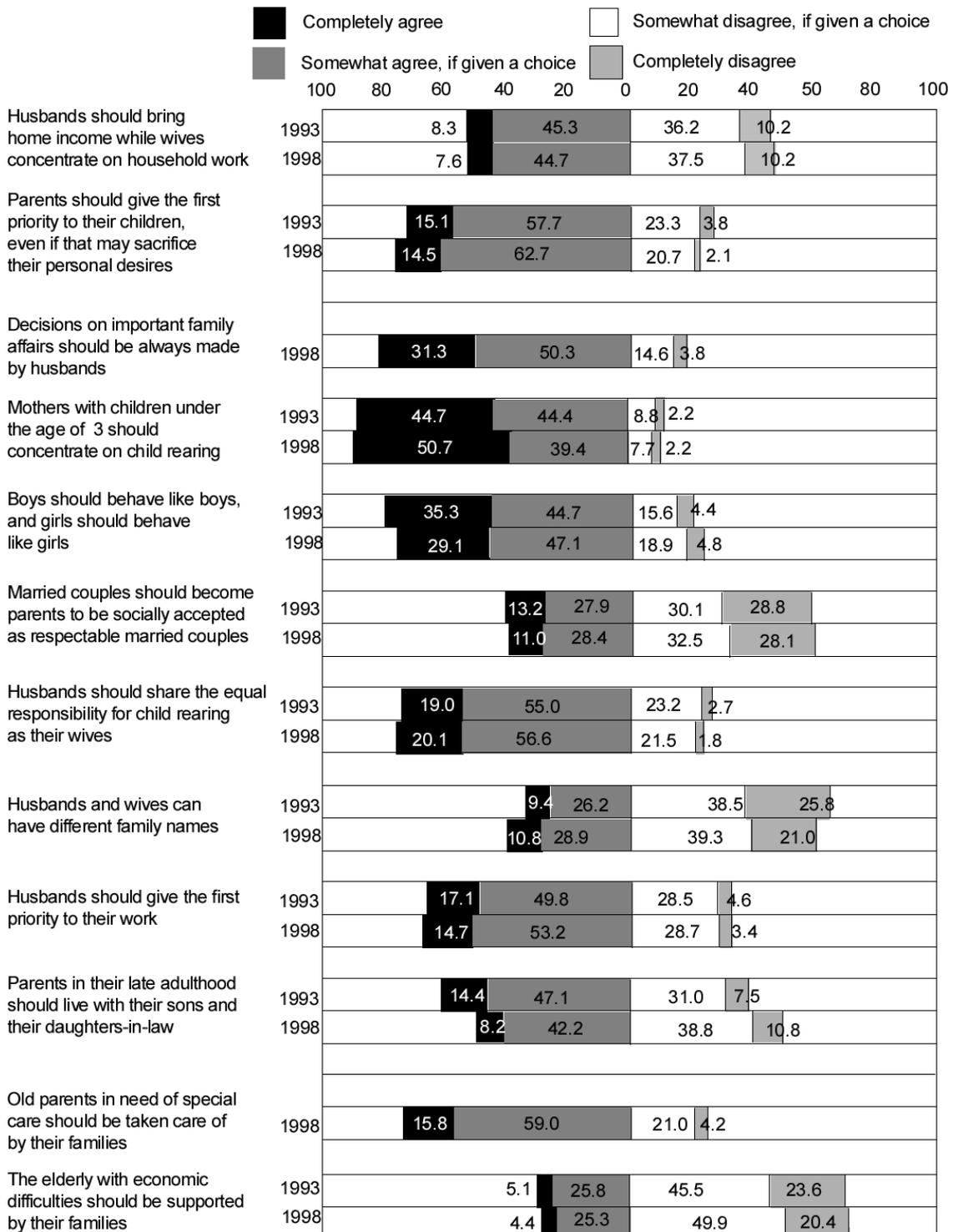
The proportion of married women who were against 'Parents in their late adulthood should live with their sons and their daughters-in-law' increased by 10 percentage points.

Married people make decisions on their family matters based on the principles and values that they believe to be the right, proper, or acceptable ways of being a spouse, a parent, or a son or daughter-in-law. Individuals' principles and values on such issues are combined and make family households function in a particular way. In this sense, having a clear picture of what each family member thinks are the right ways of behaving in the family could be very helpful in predicting future trends in Japanese families.

We asked married women what were their opinions about some of the conventional norms of Japanese families. We particularly put emphasis on changes that occurred during the period since the previous survey in 1993.

Overall, married women in 1998 were more critical of these traditional norms than married women in 1993. The most noticeable trend was an increase in the proportion of those who were against 'Parents in their late adulthood should live with their sons and their daughters-in-law', as well as a rise in the proportion of those who were against 'Boys should be raised as boys and girls should be raised as girls', by 11.1 percentage points and 3.8 percentage points, respectively. Similarly, those who were for 'Husbands and wives can have different family names' increased by 4.1 percentage points. About the relationship with their husbands and their parents/parents-in-law, young married women in their twenties who did not work at all tended to have rather conventional ways of thinking, as was the case with the previous survey. As for the relationship with their children, the proportion of those who put more emphasis on their children than on their personal lives or their marriage lives increased, compared to the estimates from the previous survey.

Figure 25 Married women's attitude towards the conventional norms of Japanese families: Selected years, 1993 and 1998



2 Married women's perspective on the traditional norms about being married couple

1 Married women's attitude toward division of labor between husbands and wives

Married women in their thirties and forties show a lower proportion to support the traditional roles between husbands and wives.

In looking at the responses to the question 'Should husbands be the ones to bring income to homes while their wives concentrate on household chores?', those who responded negatively (those who completely disagreed to the view combined with those who said they would rather disagree if given a choice) represented a large proportion, the younger the married women were. Among the married women in their forties, those who expressed positive opinions represented as large a proportion as those who expressed negative opinions. Among the married women aged 50 and over, those who agreed to the traditional view represented the majority. The proportion of those who were for the view increased only among those in their twenties, while the proportion declined among those in their forties and fifties. Although it is worthwhile to notice the fact that about half of married women in their twenties responded positively to the question, it should also be noted that a majority of them were not so sure about the view, responding by saying that they would rather agree to the view if given a choice.

Table 25 Married women's responses to the question 'Should husbands be the ones to bring income to the home while their wives concentrate on household chores', by age of married women

Age of married women	Total population		Agree		Completely agree		Somewhat agree, if given a choice		Disagree		Somewhat disagree, if given a choice		Completely disagree	
	1993	1998	1993	1998	1993	1998	1993	1998	1993	1998	1993	1998	1993	1998
	Total	5,567	6,608	53.6%	52.3%	8.3%	7.6%	45.3%	44.7%	46.4%	47.7%	36.2%	37.5%	10.2%
Age of married women														
29 years old and under	570	586	46.2	48.8	5.1	7.0	41.1	41.8	53.9	51.2	41.1	41.1	12.8	10.1
30 to 39 years old	1,471	1,578	46.8	45.4	4.4	4.3	42.4	41.1	53.3	54.6	40.0	41.1	13.3	13.5
40 to 49 years old	1,758	1,995	49.3	44.8	5.9	5.3	43.4	39.5	50.7	55.2	39.6	43.7	11.1	11.5
50 to 59 years old	1,171	1,552	60.8	59.7	11.6	10.0	49.2	49.7	39.2	40.3	31.8	32.4	7.4	7.9
60 to 69 years old	597	897	76.3	70.0	21.9	14.4	54.4	55.6	23.6	30.0	20.4	24.2	3.2	5.8

70 percent of married women with full-time employment disagreed with the traditional division of labor in which married women are supposed to concentrate on household chores. In contrast, the majority of married women who were not in labor force agreed to the traditional division of labor.

Married women with some kind of employment were likely to oppose the traditional division of labor in which married women are supposed to concentrate on household chores while their husbands bring home income. The proportion of disagreement was the highest among those with full-time employment, followed by those who worked part-time and those who owned or helped their family business. In stark contrast, 60 percent of married women who were not in the labor force agreed to the traditional division of labor. However, even among those who were not in the labor force, the percentage share of those who agreed to the view decreased during the period 1993-1999, by 2.5 percentage points.

Table 26 Married women's responses to the question 'Should husbands be the ones to bring incomes to the home while their wives concentrate on household chores?' by employment status of women: Selected years 1993, 1998

Employment status of married women	Total population		Agree		Completely agree		Somewhat agree, if given a choice		Disagree		Somewhat disagree, if given a choice		Completely disagree	
	1993	1998	1993	1998	1993	1998	1993	1998	1993	1998	1993	1998	1993	1998
	Full time	963	975	33.7	33.1	4.5	3.3	29.2	29.8	66.4	66.9	45.6	48.6	20.8
Part time	1,001	849	41.2	41.7	3.8	4.5	37.4	37.2	58.9	58.3	45.9	45.6	13.0	12.7
Owned or helped family business	693	721	53.9	52.7	6.1	6.7	47.8	46.0	46.1	47.3	37.2	37.2	8.9	10.1
Not in labor force	2,492	2,759	65.2	62.7	11.8	9.5	53.4	53.2	34.9	37.4	29.3	30.9	5.6	6.5

Even married women who were not in the labor force were likely to want their husbands to share an equal amount of responsibility for household chores and child rearing.

Despite the fact that the majority of married women who were not in the labor force agreed to the traditional divisions of labor in households, what we obtained as responses from the same population to the question 'Should husbands share an equal amount of responsibility for household chores and child rearing as their wives?' was rather contradictory. This trend was observed among almost every age group, although those in their twenties were a bit more likely to agree to the view compared to their counterparts in other age groups. Married women in 1998 were more likely to want their husbands to take a more active part in household work and child rearing than married women in 1994. By employment status of married women, 80 percent of married women with full-time employment thought their husbands should take an equal amount of responsibility for household chores and child rearing as they did. Even among those married women who did not work at all, 70 percent, which was the same percentage share as in 1993, thought the view was agreeable. These data suggest that married women who did not work tended to want their husbands to take an active part in household chores and child rearing, fulfilling the role as a breadwinner at the same time. Married women who were not in the labor force did not necessarily believe that they should concentrate on household chores and child rearing. Rather, a tendency to avoid shouldering all the responsibility involved in household work and child rearing was observed among married women who did not participate in the labor force.

Table 27 Married women's responses to the question 'Should husbands share the equal amount of responsibility for household work and child rearing as their wives?', by age and employment status of married women: Selected years 1993, 1998

Age of married women; Employment status of married women	Total population		Agree		Completely agree		Somewhat agree, if given a choice		Disagree		Somewhat disagree, if given a choice		Completely disagree	
	1993	1998	1993	1998	1993	1998	1993	1998	1993	1998	1993	1998	1993	1998
	Total	5,579	6,602	74.0%	76.7%	19.0%	20.1%	55.0%	56.6%	25.9%	23.3%	23.2%	21.5%	2.7%
Age of married women														
29 years old and under	574	588	77.7	80.4	24.0	24.1	53.7	56.3	22.3	19.5	19.0	17.5	3.3	2.0
30 to 39 years old	1,470	1,582	79.1	77.9	22.6	23.8	56.5	54.1	20.9	22.1	18.8	20.9	2.1	1.2
40 to 49 years old	1,765	1,994	74.1	77.8	19.3	21.2	54.8	56.6	25.8	22.3	23.7	20.6	2.1	1.7
50 to 59 years old	1,172	1,558	69.8	73.2	14.8	16.1	55.0	57.1	30.1	26.7	26.7	24.3	3.4	2.4
60 to 69 years old	598	880	65.9	75.7	12.9	15.1	53.0	60.6	34.1	24.4	29.8	22.2	4.3	2.2
Employment status of married women														
Full time	966	981	83.8	85.0	28.9	30.7	54.9	54.3	16.2	15.0	15.0	13.6	1.2	1.4
Part time	1,006	849	76.9	80.4	21.7	21.6	55.2	58.8	23.2	19.7	21.5	18.6	1.7	1.1
Owned or helped family business	697	725	72.0	76.9	14.8	20.6	57.2	56.3	28.0	23.2	25.7	22.1	2.3	1.1
Not in labor force	2,496	2,741	70.0	72.1	15.6	15.1	54.4	57.0	30.0	27.9	26.2	25.5	3.8	2.4

2 Responses to the traditional view that says ‘married couples are socially accepted for the first time when they become parents’.

The majority of married women in their twenties did not believe in the view that married couples have to become parents to be socially accepted as respectable married couples.

Young married women were likely to disagree with the view that ‘married couples have to become parents to be socially accepted’, whereas the majority of married women 60 years and over believed in the same view. This diverging trend was observed as well in 1993. Responses to this question differed most among different age groups, and those who expressed negative opinions to the view were greater for those in their twenties than those in their sixties by as many as 35 percentage points. Overall, married women in their twenties were likely to be opposed to the view which equals having children with being respectable married Japanese citizens.

Table 28 Married women’s responses to the question ‘Should married couples become parents to be socially accepted as respectable married couples’, by age: Selected years 1993, 1998

Age of married women	Total population		Agree		Completely agree		Somewhat agree, if given a choice		Disagree		Somewhat disagree, if given a choice		Completely disagree	
	1993	1998	1993	1998	1993	1998	1993	1998	1993	1998	1993	1998	1993	1998
	Total	5,511	6,487	41.1%	39.4%	13.2%	11.0%	27.9%	28.4%	58.9%	60.6%	30.1%	32.5%	28.8%
Age of married women														
29 years old and under	572	584	28.5	23.8	6.5	5.0	22.0	18.8	71.5	76.2	40.2	41.3	31.3	34.9
30 to 39 years old	1,474	1,578	32.2	29.6	7.5	7.0	24.7	22.6	67.8	70.5	35.5	36.5	32.3	34.0
40 to 49 years old	1,742	1,974	40.7	36.8	12.2	8.9	28.5	27.9	59.3	63.2	29.2	35.1	30.1	28.1
50 to 59 years old	1,145	1,511	50.5	48.8	19.0	14.1	31.5	34.7	49.5	51.1	23.7	26.9	25.8	24.2
60 to 69 years old	578	840	58.9	58.2	26.0	22.1	32.9	36.1	41.1	41.8	22.1	22.5	19.0	19.3

Married women who equated being parents with being respectable married couples were found more among those who had gone through the rearing of their children.

Our first expectation was that married women with small children should be most likely to agree to the view that married couples should be parents to be socially accepted as respectable married people. However, it turned out the majority of married women with small children were opposed to the view. Rather, married women who had finished the rearing of their children were more likely to agree with this view. It could be asserted that the age of married women, rather than the level of development of their children, was the deciding factor to whether or not married women agreed with the view which equated being parents with being respectable married people. It should also be noted that, the younger the married women’s children were, the more likely married women had negative opinions about the view. Married women without children were most likely to oppose the view, as in the previous survey in 1993.

Table 29 Married women's responses to the question 'Should married couples become parents to be socially accepted as respectable married couples', by the age of their youngest children: Selected years 1993, 1998

The age of the youngest children of married women	Total population		Agree		Completely agree		Somewhat agree, if given a choice		Disagree		Somewhat disagree, if given a choice		Completely disagree	
	1993	1998	1993	1998	1993	1998	1993	1998	1993	1998	1993	1998	1993	1998
	Under 1 year old	238	181	31.0	25.4	7.1	4.4	23.9	21.0	68.9	74.6	39.5	43.1	29.4
Under 3 years old	477	532	37.5	26.9	9.4	5.5	28.1	21.4	62.5	73.1	31.9	38.9	30.6	34.2
Under 6 years old	491	512	33.6	30.6	7.7	7.2	25.9	23.4	66.4	69.3	38.5	36.3	27.9	33.0
Under 12 years old	810	922	34.4	34.5	7.5	7.2	26.9	27.3	65.6	65.6	34.1	37.9	31.5	27.7
Under 18 years old	898	972	41.1	37.4	11.9	10.0	29.2	27.4	58.9	62.7	27.7	35.0	31.2	27.7
18 years and over	1,726	2,512	50.6	50.1	18.9	15.4	31.7	34.7	49.3	49.9	25.6	26.7	23.7	23.2
No children	462	525	22.1	20.0	6.1	5.0	16.0	15.0	77.9	80.0	34.8	33.3	43.1	46.7

3 Married women's views on child rearing

About 80 percent of married women thought parents should give the first priority to their children.

In 1993, more than 70 percent of married women agreed with the view that 'parents should give the first priority to their children, even if that may sacrifice their personal desires'. In 1998, the proportion of those who believed in this opinion increased to 80 percent. This high level of support of this view was observed regardless of the age of married women, the age of their youngest children, and whether or not their children reach to the school age. However, married women with children under the age 6 were a little more likely to support the view than their counterparts with older children or those without children. Special attention should be paid to the fact that, even among married women without children, 70 percent agreed with this view, as was the case with the previous survey.

Table 30 Married women's responses to the question 'Should parents give the first priority to their children even if that may sacrifice their personal desires?', by selected characteristics: Selected years 1993, 1998

Characteristics of married women	Total population		Agree		Completely agree		Somewhat agree, if given a choice		Disagree		Somewhat disagree, if given a choice		Completely disagree	
	1993	1998	1993	1998	1993	1998	1993	1998	1993	1998	1993	1998	1993	1998
	Total	5,533	6,558	72.8%	77.2%	15.1%	14.5%	57.7%	62.7%	27.1%	22.8%	23.3%	20.7%	3.8%
Age of married women														
29 years old and under	569	589	79.0	83.3	20.7	24.4	58.3	58.9	20.9	16.6	18.3	14.6	2.6	2.0
30 to 39 years old	1,470	1,581	71.4	80.5	12.4	14.5	59.0	66.0	28.5	19.4	24.4	17.6	4.1	1.8
40 to 49 years old	1,746	1,978	69.1	72.8	11.0	11.4	58.1	61.4	31.0	27.1	26.9	24.7	4.1	2.4
50 to 59 years old	1,164	1,531	72.3	74.3	16.5	12.6	55.8	61.7	27.7	25.8	23.7	23.4	4.0	2.4
60 to 69 years old	584	879	83.2	82.0	26.4	18.1	56.8	63.9	16.8	18.0	13.7	16.5	3.1	1.5
Employment status of married women														
Full time	963	968	70.1	73.8	12.1	11.9	58.0	61.9	29.8	26.3	25.1	24.1	4.7	2.2
Part time	1,000	847	71.6	73.2	12.3	12.5	59.3	60.7	28.4	26.8	24.0	24.3	4.4	2.5
Owned or helped family business	682	720	72.5	75.5	15.0	13.3	57.5	62.2	27.6	24.5	24.5	21.7	3.1	2.8
Not in labor force	2,476	2,727	74.0	80.5	16.4	16.3	57.6	64.2	26.0	19.5	22.2	18.0	3.8	1.5
The age of the youngest children of married women														
Under 1 year old	235	183	80.4	83.0	18.3	28.4	62.1	54.6	19.6	16.9	16.2	15.8	3.4	1.1
Under 3 years old	479	529	81.2	86.4	17.3	20.4	63.9	66.0	18.8	13.6	16.5	11.9	2.3	1.7
Under 6 years old	487	516	73.7	81.0	16.6	16.1	57.1	64.9	26.3	19.0	24.2	16.5	2.1	2.5
Under 12 years old	814	934	71.7	76.3	10.8	12.8	60.9	63.5	28.2	23.6	24.4	21.5	3.8	2.1
Under 18 years old	896	980	69.6	76.2	11.2	12.4	58.4	63.8	30.4	23.7	25.2	22.0	5.2	1.7
18 years and over	1,751	2,572	75.0	76.5	17.9	13.7	57.1	62.8	25.0	23.4	22.2	21.5	2.8	1.9
No children	458	507	59.8	66.7	8.5	9.5	51.3	57.2	40.1	33.3	31.4	29.4	8.7	3.9

The overwhelming majority of married women supported the view that mothers with children should concentrate on child rearing.

In 1993, among all the questions we asked married women, the question ‘Should mothers with children concentrate on child rearing and not be distracted by work’ drew the largest proportion of positive responses from married women. In 1998, we made a slight change in the wording of the question and asked married women whether or not they thought ‘mothers with children under the age 3 should concentrate on child rearing and should not be distracted by work’. 90 percent of married women supported the view, and 50 percent expressed absolute agreement. It should be noted that married women did not express this level of support for any other questions on the questionnaire. This trend was observed for married women in every age group, but married women in their forties were most likely to support the view.

By employment status, a relatively large proportion of married women with full-time employment supported the view, although its figure was lower than that among married women who were not in the labor force, that is, 93 points. Even among those who were employed full time, 80 percent supported this view, and it may be derived from their hidden desire to concentrate on the rearing of their small children.

Table 31 Married women’s responses to the question ‘Should mothers with children under the age 3 concentrate on child rearing and not be distracted by work’, by age and employment status of married women: Selected years 1993, 1998

Characteristics of married women	Total population		Agree		Completely agree		Somewhat agree, if given a choice		Disagree		Somewhat disagree, if given a choice		Completely disagree	
	1993	1998	1993	1998	1993	1998	1993	1998	1993	1998	1993	1998	1993	1998
Total	5,621	6,626	89.1%	90.1%	44.7%	50.7%	44.4%	39.4%	11.0%	9.9%	8.8%	7.7%	2.2%	2.2%
Age of married women														
29 years old and under	572	587	83.4	85.5	34.4	39.7	49.0	45.8	16.6	14.5	14.2	11.4	2.4	3.1
30 to 39 years old	1,478	1,588	84.9	84.9	31.7	39.1	53.2	45.8	15.1	15.1	11.8	11.7	3.3	3.4
40 to 49 years old	1,775	1,993	89.2	90.2	47.1	50.9	42.1	39.3	10.7	9.8	8.3	7.2	2.4	2.6
50 to 59 years old	1,190	1,575	93.3	94.7	54.6	59.9	38.7	34.8	6.7	5.3	5.7	4.2	1.0	1.1
60 to 69 years old	606	883	95.7	94.2	59.6	62.3	36.1	31.9	4.3	5.8	3.8	5.2	0.5	0.6
Employment status of married women														
Full time	969	984	76.3	79.5	31.2	36.8	45.1	42.7	23.8	20.5	18.0	15.0	5.8	5.5
Part time	1,015	850	89.0	89.6	46.7	48.7	42.3	40.9	11.1	10.3	9.3	8.1	1.8	2.2
Owned or helped family business	703	731	91.2	90.2	44.5	47.9	46.7	42.3	8.8	9.9	7.0	7.7	1.8	2.2
Not in labor force	2,513	2,754	93.2	93.4	48.2	54.8	45.0	38.6	6.7	6.5	5.7	5.4	1.0	1.1

4 Married women’s views on relationships between grown-up children and their parents in the late adulthood

The proportion of married women who believed that parents in their late adulthood should live with their sons and their daughters-in-law decreased among all age groups by 10 percentage points or more.

The largest proportion of negative responses was obtained from the question ‘Should parents in their late adulthood live with their sons and their daughters-in-law?’ in 1998. Overall, the proportion of those who supported the view dropped by 11.1 percentage points. In 1993, those who supported the view represented 60 percent of all married women, whereas in 1998, those who opposed the view increased to the level as those who were for the view were not the majority any longer. Among married women in their twenties, thirties and forties, the trend reversed in favor of those who were against the view. Among married women in their forties, the proportion of those who supported the view declined by 13.5 percentage points. These data suggest that not only married women in younger generations, but also married women in older generations, did not think that parents in the

late adulthood should live with their sons and their daughters-in-law. The relatively larger proportion of those who were against the view among married women in their forties may be fear of because they are afraid of the possibility of co-residence with their parents in the near future. .

Even among the married women in areas with low population density who actually lived with their parents-in-law, the proportion of those who supported that view that ‘parents in their late adulthood should live with their sons and daughters-in-law’ was decreasing.

In examining the level of agreement with the view by population density of areas, we found that, those who lived in the areas with low population density, than those who lived in the areas with high population density, were more likely to support the view. An increase in the proportion of those who were against the view by about 10 percentage points was observed in almost all areas. In areas with high population density, the proportion of those who were against the view surpassed the percentage share of those who were for the view, reversing the trend in favor of those who opposed the view. By living arrangements, a decrease by about 10 percentage points in the proportion of those who supported the view was observed not only for those who did not live with their parents/parents-in-law, but also for those who actually lived with their parents/parents-in-law. Among married women who did not live with their parents/parents-in-law, those who were against the view represented more than 50 percent.

Table 32 Married women’s responses to the question ‘Should parents in the late adulthood live with their sons and their daughters-in-law?’, by age, areas, living arrangement. Selected years 1998, 1993

Characteristics of married women	Total population		Agree		Completely agree		Somewhat agree, if given a choice		Disagree		Somewhat disagree, if given a choice		Completely disagree	
	1993	1998	1993	1998	1993	1998	1993	1998	1993	1998	1993	1998	1993	1998
			%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	5,541	6,536	61.5%	50.4%	14.4%	8.2%	47.1%	42.2%	38.5%	49.6%	31.0%	38.8%	7.5%	10.8%
Age of married women														
29 years old and under	565	581	58.8	45.4	9.4	5.5	49.4	39.9	41.3	54.6	29.4	42.0	11.9	12.6
30 to 39 years old	1,453	1,566	53.0	44.0	8.3	5.2	44.7	38.8	46.9	56.1	36.5	41.3	10.4	14.8
40 to 49 years old	1,746	1,978	60.7	47.2	13.9	6.8	46.8	40.4	39.3	52.8	32.1	41.5	7.2	11.3
50 to 59 years old	1,174	1,528	69.9	57.6	20.7	10.7	49.2	46.9	30.1	42.5	25.4	34.9	4.7	7.6
60 to 69 years old	603	883	70.7	60.1	22.9	14.6	47.8	45.5	29.3	39.8	26.5	32.8	2.8	7.0
Areas of living														
Areas with low population density	1,933	2,212	70.2	59.4	18.8	11.7	51.4	47.7	29.7	40.6	23.1	33.6	6.6	7.0
Areas with high population density	3,608	4,324	56.8	45.9	12.0	6.5	44.8	39.4	43.2	54.1	35.2	41.4	8.0	12.7
Living arrangement														
Living with their parents or parents-in-law	1,385	1,342	67.4	59.4	16.0	10.6	51.4	48.8	32.5	40.6	25.3	31.6	7.2	9.0
Living separately from their parents or parents-in-law	3,175	3,840	55.5	44.5	10.9	5.4	44.6	39.1	44.5	55.5	35.5	43.2	9.0	12.3

Even among those married women who lived in rural areas and actually lived with their parents/parents-in-law, those who were against the view that parents in the late adulthood should live with their sons and their daughters-in-law increased, reflecting the trend against the decline of coresidence with parents. Responses to the question ‘Should parents in need of special care be taken care of by their families?’ appeared rather contradictory to the data presented above. Overall, three fourths of all married women supported the views, and the proportion of those who were for the view was the highest among married women in their twenties, bottoming out among married women in their forties. These data suggest that married women who were opposed to the view that old parents should live with sons and their daughters-in-law did not necessarily disagree to the view that old parents in need of special care should be taken care of by their families.

Table 33 Married women's responses to the questions 'Should old parents in need of special care be taken care of by their families', by age: Selected years 1993, 1998

Age of married women	Total population	Agree			Disagree	Somewhat disagree, if given a choice		Completely disagree
		Completely agree	Somewhat agree, if given a choice	Disagree		Somewhat disagree, if given a choice		
Total	6,569	74.8%	15.8%	59.0%	25.2%	21.0%	4.2%	
Age of married women								
29 years old and under	585	83.2	20.5	62.7	16.7	13.3	3.4	
30 to 39 years old	1,569	76.6	15.0	61.6	23.4	19.0	4.4	
40 to 49 years old	1,981	69.5	12.2	57.3	30.4	25.8	4.6	
50 to 59 years old	1,546	74.9	16.6	58.3	25.2	21.0	4.2	
60 to 69 years old	888	77.6	20.5	57.1	22.4	19.1	3.3	

The proportion of those who were for the view that 'the elderly with economic difficulties should be supported by their families' increased as married women aged.

Lastly, we asked married women whether or not they support the view that 'the elderly with economic difficulties should be supported by their families'. The proportion of those who opposed the view decreased as married women aged. However, the proportion of those who were for the view was higher among those in their twenties than among those in their thirties and forties. This same trend was observed in 1993.

Table 34 Married women's responses to the question 'Should the elderly with economic difficulties be taken care of by their families?' by age of married women: Selected years 1993, 1998

Age of married women	Total population		Agree						Disagree		Somewhat disagree, if given a choice		Completely disagree	
	1993	1998	Agree		Completely agree		Somewhat agree, if given a choice		Disagree		Somewhat disagree, if given a choice		Completely disagree	
			1993	1998	1993	1998	1993	1998	1993	1998	1993	1998	1993	1998
Total	5,518	6,529	30.9%	29.7%	5.1%	4.4%	25.8%	25.3%	69.1%	70.3%	45.5%	49.9%	23.6%	20.4%
Age of married women														
29 years old and under	566	581	28.6	29.0	3.0	4.6	25.6	24.4	71.4	71.0	53.0	52.2	18.4	18.8
30 to 39 years old	1,462	1,567	23.3	23.4	1.8	2.4	21.5	21.0	76.7	76.5	49.0	52.8	27.7	23.7
40 to 49 years old	1,734	1,971	29.7	24.7	5.2	3.1	24.5	21.6	70.3	75.3	44.6	53.4	25.7	21.9
50 to 59 years old	1,161	1,533	35.8	35.9	7.4	5.6	28.4	30.3	64.2	64.1	43.7	45.5	20.5	18.6
60 to 69 years old	595	877	45.6	41.5	10.1	8.4	35.5	33.1	54.5	58.5	36.0	42.9	18.5	15.6