

# Men's Domestic Role and the Gender System: Determinants of Husband's Household Labor in Japan\*

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## 1. Introduction

The Council on Population Problems has outlined the fundamental issues underlying Japan's declining fertility and population in its report "Basic Issues Related to the Below-replacement Fertility in Japan". The major factors and the background for the low fertility problem provided in this report are as follows: The practice of the fixed employment custom, the social system where gender roles are shred and the lack of support for child care compared with women's needs force women to choose whether they will continue to work or quit their jobs, or postpone getting married. Marriage, childbirth and child care impose severe burdens on young women due to these factors. In consequence, the number of women who do not marry has increased, accelerating the declining fertility rate. One of the issues under debate is the need to create a society where gender roles are reformed not only in domestic life but also in many fields in the society, namely a change in the social system. This is based on the idea that such a change will lead to a halt in the declining fertility.

I believe that reviewing the participation of housework and child care by husbands having common domestic responsibilities will help to solve the social and domestic problems related to the declining fertility. The uncooperative attitudes of men are one of the factors that make women hesitate in getting married and having children. Research on factors promoting or hindering male participation in housework and child care is important in solving the declining fertility rate and gender problems.

## 2. Background and hypotheses

In America, research on the division of household labor between husbands and wives and gender inequality of time use has developed particularly in the field of family sociology. There are many analyses based on micro data on a national scale, including data based on the NSFH survey (National Survey of Families and Households, Wisconsin University). Advanced research on husbands' participation of housework and child care in Japan has been limited to case studies on a few or local samples, particularly in the fields of home economics and family sociology. The actual situation of time use on a national scale is regularly investigated, such as in the "Survey on Time Use and Leisure Activities (by the Statistics Bureau of the

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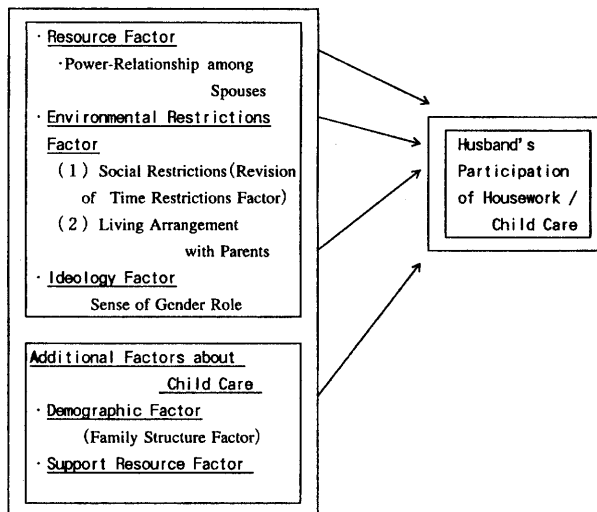
\* This paper is a revised version of the proceedings presented at the seminar on "Men, Family Formation and Reproduction" (International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, IUSSP), Argentina, May 13-15, 1998.

Management of Coordination Agency)” and the “National Time Budget Survey (by Japan Broadcasting Cooperation-NHK)”. However, there are few studies using individual data in these surveys. Data used as an explanatory variable is insufficient because questionnaire design are qualitatively limited. In previous Japanese research on families, factors affecting the division of household labor, such as hypotheses on social norms, resources, and the factors in human relationships, have been used as important explanatory hypotheses. There are few studies verifying the adequacy of these hypotheses using samples collected on a national scale for reasons mentioned above. This paper tries to verify both these hypotheses about husbands’ participation of housework and child care and the hypothesis about “environmental restrictions” based on the idea that problems between husbands and wives and other structural problems in society affecting the family hinder husbands from participating housework and child rearing (See Figure 1).

First, the adequacy of the theory of social norms (ideology factor) is verified using the following procedures. In a society that is in harmony based on norms, roles are prescribed by norms. In this paper, I verify how the level of a wife’s gender role consciousness as a social norm influences the domestic roles of husbands. The stronger a wife’s gender role consciousness, the more negative they are about the husband’s domestic roles. These wives are positive about husbands doing less housework and childcare. As a result, husbands participate little housework and child rearing. Verification is carried out on the hypothesis that the affirmative thinking of wives about gender roles affects the domestic roles of husbands and become a factor hindering husbands from participating housework and child rearing.

Second, verification is carried out on the importance of the absolute resources of both husbands and wives, and on the hypothesis that the gap in financial resources between husbands and wives may have an influence on domestic roles of husbands. The differential in financial resources becomes a decisive factor in the division of domestic roles. From this point of view, this hypothesis is rational and fits the circumstances. We can hypothesize that the more a husband earns compared with his wife, the smaller the domestic role of the husband becomes. On the other hand, the more a wife earns, the larger the role of the husband. This

Figure 1. Framework for the Determinants of Husband’s Household Labor



hypothesis is based on the idea that the financial power-relationship between husbands and wives becomes a factor in determining gender role.

In addition to previous studies mentioned above, I used a variable based on the hypothesis called "environmental restrictions" in which social constraints beyond problems between husbands and wives or in families, namely structural barriers in society, hinder husbands from participating housework and child care. This is because, when we think about behaviors of Japanese husbands related to housework and child care, there are some social factors that cannot be explained only through previous hypotheses. Long working hours and very small amount of housework time are typical characteristics in the time use of Japanese men. This comes from the fact that private time depends on the time system of companies or organizations for which they work. As companies take priority in time order of the modern society and private time in effect becomes social time, social constraints are heavy in the case of husbands housework. Therefore, I analyze how environmental restrictions in the external society surrounding families affect the behavior of husbands in their families. Specifically, I analyze external factors such as the time when husbands come home and leave for work as a social constraint, namely an index to summarize structural problems in the society. In particular, the time when husbands come home, more than working hours, is an index to typically show the time order in a company-centered society, because it includes overtime work and socializing with people related to companies. If the time when husbands come home has no influence on housework and child rearing, other factors apart from institutional factors would be important. However, when husbands come home late wives are forced to do housework.

Living with parents is, in a sense, also a restriction. Coresidence with parents is a function of an imperfect social systems: namely an alternate function to nurseries and baby sitters. However, living with parents is a factor not only to lift husbands' participation of housework and child care, but also to restrict them. However, the effects are not equal: coresidence with parents has a negative effect on husbands' participate of housework and child care; in other words, husbands are less inclined to participate housework and child rearing because parents take their place.

Thus, clarifying the factors promoting and restricting husbands' participation in housework and child care leads to important political implications if the decline in the very low fertility and gender problems are to be addressed.

### **3. Methods and data**

I used micro data provided in the "National Survey on Family in Japan" was undertaken by the Institute of Population Problems (Ministry of Health and Welfare, the present National Institute of Population and Social Security Research ) in 1993. This is the first serious survey

on families carried out on a nationwide scale in Japan. Since the target for this survey is 6,083 female spouses, the data on husbands' household labor was estimated by his wife; Wives were asked questions about the frequency of husbands' participation of housework and child care, and answered according to five levels. The results were converted into ordered scales and were analyzed as an explanatory variable for subjects through multivariate methods. The procedures are as follows; (1) Before multiple regression analysis, first, a descriptive statistical analysis such as the general trend in the participation of husbands' housework and the difference among generations was carried out. (2) Second, analysis of husbands' participation of housework was carried out. (3) Analysis of husbands' participation of child care was carried out. (4) Comparative analysis of participating housework and child rearing was carried out using the same samples and variables.

(1) Housework participation of husbands 69 years old or under was analyzed. (The analysis was carried out for 4,516 wives having working husbands 69 years old or under, although valid cases without imperfect answers were 2,431, which were used for multivariate analysis.) An index of frequency, used as an explanatory variable for subjects, had an evaluation in five levels from 0 to 4 according to the frequency of housework in five categories comprising garbage disposal, shopping, sweeping, laundering and cooking. The total score of a husbands participation of housework, which is indicated from 0 to 20 and used as an explanatory variable for subjects, is the total of each score in five categories. As for the procedure of the analysis, all the necessary explanatory indexes were not included in the analysis from the beginning. Simple models were set out and it was examined in sequence using multiple regression analysis which model could better explain the frequency of husbands' housework participation . Four models were set out.

Model 1(basic model): Analysis through the variable of resources of husbands and wives, namely the analysis through basic socio-economic variables such as educational background and her employment status.

Model 2: Analysis through adding an environmental-restrictions variable including the time when husbands come home and coresidence with parents to the basic model mentioned in Model 1.

Model 3: Analysis through adding data on differentials of incomes between husbands and wives, which directly indicates a relative distribution of financial resources, to variables mentioned in Model 1 and 2.

Model 4: Analysis of all the indexes through adding the variable in which wife's gender role consciousness is expressed to variables mentioned in Model 1, 2 and 3 (See Note "Details of explanatory variable codes").

(2) Child rearing performed by husbands who have children 12 years old or under was analyzed. (The analysis was carried out on 1,792 wives having one child or more 12 years old or under, although valid cases without imperfect answers were 762, which were used for multivariate analysis.) Almost the same procedure as that for performing housework was carried out. An index of the frequency of husbands' performance of childcare was an evaluation in five levels from 0 to 4 according to frequency of childcare in five categories comprising playing with children, bathing children, putting children to bed, feeding children and changing diapers. The score of participation, indicated from 0 to 20 and used as a dependent variable, is the total of each score in five categories. As for the procedure of the analysis, all the necessary explanatory indexes were not included in the analysis from the beginning, the same as that for participating housework. Simple models were set out and it was examined in sequence using multiple regression analysis which model could best explain the frequency of husbands' participation of child care. In the case of Model 2, which was different from that of participating housework, the impact of demographic factors was considered because the period of intensive child rearing is limited and physical strength is required. The following family structural variables were added:

- a. Husband's age when the first child was born
- b. Wife's age when the first child was delivered
- c. The number of children less than 6 years old
- d. Her family life stage (The age of the youngest child and boys less than 12 years old)

In the case of Model 3, the number of networks to support child rearing was added as a variable to the environmental-restrictions variable.

(3) Finally, housework and child care performed by husbands who have one child or more 12 years old or under were analyzed using the same samples. The age of the youngest child was added as a variable to the same variables used in the analysis of housework (The analysis was carried out on 1,792 wives having one child or more 12 years old or under, although valid cases without imperfect answers were 606, which were used for multivariate analysis.).

#### **4. Analysis and findings**

(1) Before looking at the results of multiple regression analysis, I will mention the general trend related to housework performed by husbands and results of the descriptive statistics analysis such as the difference among generations.

As the level of husbands' participation of housework was very low, it was difficult to explain the variance. However, we obtained the following results. In the score distribution of husbands' participation of housework, 0 point accounted for 16.2%, showing that many

husbands did not participate in housework at all. The average is 4.1 points and this score is very small, meaning that husbands on average participate housework in five categories once or twice a month. At least 3.0 points accounts for about 50 percentile (see Figure 2).

Figure 3 shows husbands' participation of housework by age and score. Except husbands in their 60s, the distribution shows a U curve in which husbands in their 40s are at the bottom. However, we need to examine whether there is a significant difference between generations. We conducted an analysis of variance in one-way layout using scores of participating housework as a dependent variable in order to clarify whether there is a significant difference among the average scores of each age cohort. We also carried out multiple comparative analysis by the Tukey method to examine whether there is a significant difference among average scores of each adjacent age cohort.

As the result of these analyses, there is a significant difference among scores of each cohort (see Table 1). In the result of examination by the Tukey method, there is not a significant difference between age cohorts 50 years old or more. There is a significant difference between each age cohort of 29 or under and 30-39 (1.13), and 30-39 age groups and 40-49 (0.86) (see Table 2). From the results mentioned above, in the case of husbands up to 49, there is a difference among husbands' roles in house-

Figure 2. Cumulative frequency distribution of housework score

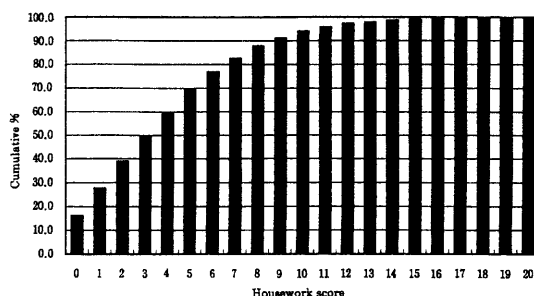
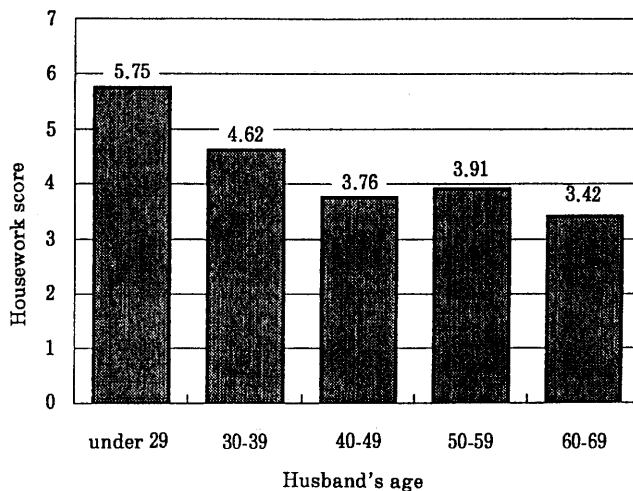


Figure 3. Housework score by Age (average)



Husband's age	n	mean	s.d.	min.	max.
under 29	180	5.75	3.61	0	20
30-39	747	4.62	3.63	0	20
40-49	856	3.76	3.54	0	20
50-59	529	3.91	3.51	0	18
60-69	119	3.42	3.81	0	20

Table 1. Analysis of variance about housework score

	SS	df	MS	F value	p value
between	847.280	4	211.820	16.544	0.000
within	31061.185	2426	12.803		
total	31908.465	2430			

work by age cohort. In particular, the frequency of housework performed by husbands in their 40s is the lowest because they are in the prime of their working lives and many occupy important positions in their organizations. The influence of being employed is the most remarkable in this age group. The frequency of young husbands' participation of housework is slightly higher. It is not clear whether young husbands perform housework only in the first stages of marriage or whether young husbands tend cooperate more with their wives in doing housework. Further research is required to clarify these results.

(2) From the result of multiple regression analysis carried out through setting out 4 models, there is a significant variable, although the explanatory power is rather low (see Table 3). In Model 1 using a socio-economic variable showing the absolute distribution of resources between husbands and wives, only the resources of wives have a significant

Table 2. Multiple comparison of housework score among age classes (Tukey HSD)

sge(a)	age(b)	(a)-(b)
under29	30-39	1.13**
	40-49	1.99**
	50-59	1.84**
	60-69	2.33**
30-39	under29	-1.13**
	40-49	0.86**
	50-59	0.72**
	60-69	1.20**
40-49	under29	-1.99**
	30-39	-0.86**
	50-59	-0.14
	60-69	0.34
50-59	under29	-1.84**
	30-39	-0.72**
	40-49	0.14
	60-69	0.49
60-69	under29	-2.33**
	30-39	-1.20**
	40-49	-0.34
	50-59	-0.49

\*\* : p < 0.01

Table 3. Determinants of Husband's Housework

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Husband's education	-0.017	-0.021	-0.001	-0.001
Husband's job	-0.005	0.001	0.015	0.016
Wife's education	0.074**	0.075**	0.080**	0.064*
Wife's employment status	0.081**	0.119**	0.046 +	0.034
Residence area		0.088**	0.098**	0.099**
Coresidence with parents		-0.144**	-0.147**	-0.146**
Husband's time spent in commuting		-0.022	-0.008	-0.007
Husband's time of returning home		-0.094**	-0.085**	-0.088**
Couple's income gap			-0.147**	-0.140**
Wife's gender role consciousness				-0.072**
R-Square	0.010**	0.050**	0.063**	0.068**
Change R-Square	————	0.040**	0.016**	0.005**
ADJ R-Square	0.009**	0.047	0.059**	0.064**

\*\* : p < 0.01 \* : p < 0.05 + : p < 0.10

(Standardized Coefficients)

(Sampling was confined to husband aged 69 and under, n = 2431)

effect on husbands. The rate of housework performed by husbands having wives who have high educational backgrounds and full-time jobs is high. There is no significant relationship between husbands' occupations and educational backgrounds and participation of housework. When the environmental restriction factors are added to Model 1, there is a significant effects among three variables. One variable shows that husbands in urban areas participate more housework than those in rural areas. Only this variable has a positive effect. The two other variables, coresidence with parents and the time when husbands come home, have a negative effect. Living with parents becomes the factor that hinders husbands from participating housework. The later husbands come home, the less they perform housework. Although this is the result we expected, it is important that we obtained a significant effect. Model 2, which was improved significantly, was the most explanatory power of the four. In Model 3, we added the differential of incomes between husbands and wives as an explanatory variable on the basis of the hypothesis that the differential of financial resources between husbands and wives has an influence on domestic roles. As the result of this analysis, the variable has a negative effect and shows that the larger the differential of incomes between husbands and wives, the less the husband participates housework. In Model 4, analyzing the influence of a wife's gender role consciousness resulting from internal social norms, the variable has a negative effect and shows that husbands do not participate housework when their wives have a strong consciousness of gender role.

Most explanatory variables in the results mentioned above have negative effects and show that they become factors hindering husbands from doing housework. In regard to housework performed by Japanese husbands, the validity of each hypothesis mentioned before was found. The main factor hindering husbands from participating housework is an environmental restriction, and the second factor is the relative distribution of financial resources between husbands and wives. The gender role consciousness of wives is also one of the negative factors.

Table 4 shows the results of the multiple regression analysis by age cohort using all the variables used in four models. According to the results, husbands in their 30s were similar to those in their 40s and the total result was reflected by them because most samples were husbands in their 30s and 40s. The environmental-restriction factor was significant effects for husbands in their 30s and 40s. Although the result of analyzing husbands in their 20s has the most explanatory power in this model, we had no significant effect for the time when husbands come home, the differential of incomes between husbands and wives, and the wife's gender role consciousness. On the other hand, employment status of wives have an influence on housework performed by husbands in their 20s. The frequency of housework performed by husbands in their 20s is higher when their wives have full-time jobs. The housework performed by husbands in their 40s is not influenced by employment status of wives. Compared with these results, it was found that each generation has its own variable which have explanatory



Table 4. Determinants of Husband's Housework by Age

	Total	under 29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69
Husband's education	-0.001	-0.031	0.030	0.053	-0.106+	-0.121
Husband's job	0.016	-0.087	-0.013	0.062+	0.013	-0.080
Wife's education	0.064*	0.165*	0.046	-0.009	-0.014	0.070
Wife's employment status	0.034	0.309**	0.082+	0.045	0.039	0.150
Residence area	0.099**	0.146+	0.102*	0.116**	0.050	0.194*
Coreidence with parents	-0.146**	-0.190*	-0.181**	-0.109**	-0.134**	-0.015
Husband's time spent in commuting	-0.007	0.017	-0.009	0.065+	-0.075	-0.156
Husband's time of returning home	-0.088**	-0.119	-0.110**	-0.120**	-0.085+	-0.100
Couple's income gap	-0.140**	0.066	-0.046	-0.122**	-0.014	-0.122
Wife's gender role consciousness	-0.072**	0.049	-0.077*	-0.107**	-0.004	-0.026
R-Square	0.068**	0.186**	0.078**	0.075**	0.055**	0.150**
ADJ R-Square	0.064**	0.138**	0.066**	0.064**	0.036**	0.071**
n	2431	180	747	856	529	119

\*\*: $p < 0.01$  \*: $p < 0.05$  +: $p < 0.10$   
 (Standardized Coefficients)

power.

(3) I will analyze the husband's participation for child care. Child care is a more urgent and realistic problem than housework. In particular, child care performed by husbands who live in urban areas and whose wives are working has a great influence on a wife working and having children.

The level of husbands' participation of child rearing is higher than that of housework. The average score of sharing the load of child care is 9.5 points, and this is a little better than low: meaning that, on average, husbands perform child care in the five categories once or twice a week. The average score of husbands in their 20s is 11.5 points and the score in their 30s is 9.9. At least 9.0 points accounts for about 50 percentile (see Figure 4).

The result of multiple regression analysis through five models concerning husbands' participation of child rearing (see Table 5) showed that there was no significant variable in Model 1 using the socio-economic variable showing the resources of husbands and wives. The variable in Model 1 has little explanatory power. As for Model 2 using demographic variables such as ages of a husband and a wife when they were having their first baby, the number of children less than 6 years old, and the age of the youngest child, we obtained the following results. The age of the youngest child has a negative effect at 1% level and ages of a wife who were having their first baby have a significant and positive effect at 5% level. Particularly

Figure 4. Cumulative frequency distribution of child care score

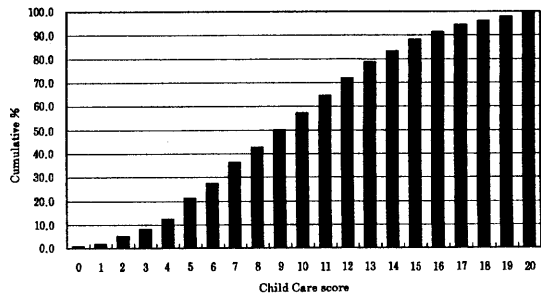


Table 5. Determinants of Husband's Child Care

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Husband's education	0.014	-0.013	0.012	0.009	0.009
Husband's job	0.008	0.013	0.038	0.037	0.037
Wife's education	0.020	-0.007	-0.018	-0.021	-0.020
Wife's employment status	0.041	0.100**	0.077*	-0.088+	0.090+
(1)		-0.048	-0.044	-0.047	-0.047
(2)		0.096*	0.080+	0.080+	0.080+
Number of children		0.022	0.015	0.014	0.014
Age of the youngest child		-0.278**	-0.268*	-0.273**	-0.273**
Boy under 12 (dummy)		-0.041	-0.033	-0.033	-0.033
Residence area			0.016	0.016	0.016
Coresidence with parents			-0.032	-0.032	-0.032
Husband's time of returning home			-0.202**	-0.204**	-0.204**
Number of networks			0.071*	0.070*	0.070*
Couple's income gap				0.019	0.018
Wife's gender role consciousness					0.007
R-Square	0.003	0.090**	0.134	0.134**	0.134**
Change R-Square	—	0.088**	0.043**	0.000	0.000
ADJ R-Square	-0.003	0.079**	0.118	0.117**	0.116**

\*\*: $p < 0.01$  \*: $p < 0.05$  +: $p < 0.10$

(Standardized Coefficients)

(Sampling is confined to husband having one child and more aged under 12,  $n = 762$ )

(1) Age of husband when the first baby was born

(2) Age of wife when the first baby was delivered

using demographic variables in Model 1, the employment status of wives has a significant effect, although it has no significant effect in Model 1. In other words, some demographic variables accelerate husbands' performance of child care according to the employment status of wives. In the case of husbands whose wives have full time jobs, they participate child rearing more frequently compared with husbands who have housewives. With the growth of the youngest child, husbands quit housework. The age of wives who were having the first baby has a positive effect at 10% level. In the case of a late childbirth, husbands tend to perform child care out of concern for their wives. In Model 2, we also examined the Japanese notion that husbands with boys more actively participated child rearing. However, we did not obtain a significant effect. As the result of analysis using the environmental restriction variable in Model 3, variables such as "residential area" and "coresidence with parents", which have a significant effect on participating housework, have no effect on performing child care. The variable concerning "the time when husbands come home" has a negative effect also on the performance of child care. The fact that husbands come home late becomes a factor significantly hindering husbands from participating child rearing. The number of networks has a positive effect on husbands' performance of child care. We set up the hypothesis that a wide

network has a negative effect because husbands can rely on it. However, this hypothesis was invalid, which may relate to the fact that "coresidence with parents" had no significant effect. Variables concerning the differential of incomes between husbands and wives and gender role consciousness using in Model 4 and 5 had no significant effect and no explanatory power. This result also differed from the results concerning the participation of housework.

(4) The determinant factors affecting the participation of housework and child rearing were not the same, although almost the same explanatory variables were used for the analysis. There seems to be a specific structure affecting each category. The results of analyzing husbands' performance of housework and child rearing will be mentioned (see Table 6).

Variables such as "residential area", "coresidence with parents" and "gender role consciousness of wives", which have a significant effect on husbands' participation of housework, had no significant effect on the husbands' performance of child care. This is a result of the following features. The nature of child care includes performance for a limited period, the urgency of the need, parents' obligation to their children, and pleasure of seeing a new life. Variables that became a common determinants in Model 3 are "the time when husbands come home" and "the age of the youngest child". It was found that organizational demands and long working hours had a great influence on husbands' performance of housework and child rearing.

Table 6. Determinants of Husband's Housework and Child Care

	Housework			Child Care		
	model 1	model 2	model 3	model 1	model 2	model 3
Husband's education	0.020	-0.019	-0.010	0.015	-0.034	-0.029
Husband's job	-0.015	0.007	0.009	0.017	0.081*	0.082*
Wife's education	0.089+	0.055	0.038	0.062	0.049	0.043
Wife's employment status	0.075+	0.172**	0.142**	0.044	0.089*	0.074
Residence area		0.133**	0.134**		0.048	0.049
Coresidence with parents		-0.189**	-0.187**		-0.044	-0.043
Husband's time spent in commuting		0.005	0.005		-0.017	-0.018
Husband's time of returning home		-0.100*	-0.104*		-0.234**	-0.235**
Age of child		-0.117**	-0.111**		-0.257**	-0.255**
Couple's income gap			0.003			-0.006
Wife's gender role consciousness			-0.096*			-0.038
R-Square	0.014+	0.092**	0.100**	0.007	0.129**	0.130**
Change R-Square	—	0.078**	0.008+	—	0.122**	0.001
ADJ R-Square	0.008+	0.079**	0.084**	0.001	0.116**	0.115**

\*\*: $p < 0.01$  \*: $p < 0.05$  +: $p < 0.10$

(Standardized Coefficients)

(Sampling was confined to husband having one child and more aged under 12 )

Summary of the results;

1) The frequency of husbands' participation of housework and child care is extremely low in Japan. This was verified using nationally representative survey data. The extent of variance is substantially small. However, the frequency of husbands' performance of child care is higher than that for housework. Motivations to perform housework and to perform child care seem to be different.

2) Participation of housework varies by generation. Younger husbands tend to share housework with their wives (there were no significant differences in the paper by Tsuya). The younger generation is more cooperative. However, since half of men in their 20s do not get married, we can say that men who seemed to be relatively positive about performance of housework and child rearing were chosen as a spouse.

3) The significant factors concerning participation of housework varies by generation and life stage. We found that social factors, structures and systems influence husbands' participation of housework. This result was clearly verified by the fact that the participation of housework performed by husbands in their 40s is the lowest.

4) In connection with 3, the time when husbands come home greatly influences husbands' participation of housework and child care. It was verified that husbands' cooperative obligation toward domestic labor is undermined by restrictive social factors (environmental restrictions).

5) Wife's gender role consciousness has a negative effect on husbands' performance of housework. A wife's affirmative consciousness of the gender division of housework further reduces a husband's participation of housework.

6) Coresidence with parents has a negative effect on husbands' participation of housework. Although living with parents and children in an extended family is a more complete social system, this factor hinders husbands from participating housework because parents substitute for husbands.

7) When wives have a large income and the differential of income between husbands and wives is small, husbands do more housework. It was found that relative distribution of financial resources has a direct impact on husbands' participation of housework.

8) Husbands cooperate to perform housework and child care when their children are more young. With the growth of the youngest children, husbands do less housework and child rearing. The later wives have their first baby, the more husbands cooperate to participate child care.

9) Variables such as "area of residence", "coresidence with parents" and "wife's gender role consciousness", which have a significant effect on husbands' performance of housework, have little effect on husbands' participation of child care. The motivation to perform housework and to perform child rearing seem to be different, as mentioned in 1) above.

## 5. Discussion

It was clear from this analysis that gender role factors and social and structural factors hinder men from playing domestic role. There seems to be a strong resistance to change gender roles that have been institutionalized in the society. Even a family policy has no effect unless a basic philosophy of family and consciousness is changed. Unless social restrictions are removed, the practice of fixed employment is changed, the support system that people can take care of children without parents' help is developed and reinforced, it will be difficult to realize a society where men and women can cooperate together.

From the results discussed above, as a political implication, the promotion of reforms to create a new system in which husbands are encouraged to do housework and child rearing should lead to an important effect on a women's marriage and childbearing behaviors. It is necessary to make the efforts and to make the measures that remove institutional, and conventional opposition which represent a negative aspect to a husband's attitude to housework and child rearing.

With regard to the ability of women, if they had established careers before marriage they could choose to continue working after marriage by a reduction in housework and child rearing tasks. If it is not easy to work while bringing up children, women will abandon their careers to have children. When the payscales for women are raised, and the gap between men is reduced, it would appear more economical for a family to share the roles of work and child care between them. When society can break away from conventional fixed employment customs and be encouraged to accept individual working styles with respect to individual careers, it would become possible for couples to share the two activities of housework and child rearing. We need to acknowledge a change in the times, and proceed in meeting the new requirements.

(Note) Details of explanatory variables codes which are used in this paper are as follows ;

- Educational background (husband and wife),  
Elementary or junior high school=1, High school=2, Special vocational school=3, Technical college=4, University=5
- Husband's job dummy, Other than white collar=0, White collar=1
- Wife's employment status,  
Housewife=0, Self-employed=1, Part-time=2, Regular employee=3
- Residence area dummy, Rural area=0, Urban area=1
- Coresidence with parents dummy, Not living with parents=0, Living with parents=1
- Husband's time spent in commuting,  
Work at home=1, Less than half hours=2, Less than one hours=3,  
Less than one and half hours=4, One and half hours or more=5
- Husband's time of returning home,  
Before 8:00 p.m.=1, Before 9:00 p.m.=2, Before 10:00 p.m.=3,

At or after 10:00 p.m = 4

- Couple's income gap,

Calculated by subtracting the wife's income from the husband's income using an 8-level income rank.

- Wife's gender role consciousness,

Wife's gender role consciousness was measured using the scores resulting from a principal component analysis using variables related to gender consciousness from parts concerning family consciousness. Questions used in this analysis were as follows:

Question: Do you agree with the following ideas about families and children? Please circle the number.

- (1) After getting married, husbands should work out of the house and wives should focus their energy on household labor.
- (2) Mothers should focus their energy on child rearing without having jobs when their children are young.
- (3) Boys should be brought up as boys and girls as girls.

Answers consist of four levels from "1. Completely agree" to "4. Completely disagree". These levels are used in the analysis where high scores indicate high "gender role consciousness". The result of the principal component analysis is as follows;

Wife's gender role consciousness-principal components analysis

	Total	under29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69
eigenvalue	1.830	1.855	1.852	1.800	1.756	1.629
contribution	61.0	61.8	61.7	59.9	58.5	54.3
factor matrix	0.774	0.817	0.812	0.756	0.727	0.704
	0.807	0.806	0.820	0.818	0.778	0.753
	0.764	0.733	0.721	0.745	0.788	0.752

- Number of networks, Zero = 0, One = 1, Two = 2, Three = 3, Four or more = 4
- Boy under 12 dummy, Other = 0, Boy under 12 = 1

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# 男性の家庭内役割とジェンダーシステム

—夫の家事・育児行動を規定する要因について—

西岡 八郎

本報告の目的は、家庭の共同責任を担う夫の家事、育児遂行を検討することによって、少子化と家庭内外の社会や制度の問題を考える一助とすることである。男性の家事や育児協力への少なさが、女子の結婚や出産・子育てを躊躇させる要因、あるいは負担感の一つになっていると考えられ、男性の家事、育児参加への促進要因や阻害要因を研究することは、少子化とジェンダーの問題を考える上で重要な研究課題といえる。

従来の家族研究では、家庭内の役割配分を規定する要因として、相対的資源論、時間制約論、イデオロギー論（性別役割分業論）などが有力な説明仮説として用いられてきた。しかし、日本では全国規模のサンプルでこれらの変数の妥当性を総合的に検討した実証研究はほとんどみられない。そこで、本報告では夫の家事や育児遂行について、全国調査のマイクロデータを用い、先行研究では個々に分析されてきた仮説を総合して、階層的重回帰分析によって検証を試みた。また、夫婦間、あるいは家族の問題を超えた社会の持つ構造的な問題が夫の家事、育児への役割遂行を制約しているのではないかと、この考えから日本の社会や家族に特徴的な要因として、新たに「環境制約」仮説を設けこれについても検討を行った。

夫の家事参加、育児参加の促進要因、阻害要因を複数の仮説から総合的に検討を試みた結果は以下の通りであった。夫の家事参加の程度に関する分析では、相対的資源論、時間制約論、イデオロギー論などアメリカの先行研究による結果を日本の場合でも概ね追認する結果を得た。しかし、個人レベルの時間秩序を超えた社会的制約による影響や、「親子の居住関係」を含めたより日本的な「環境制約」による伝統的要因が、もっとも説明力を示した。これは日本の社会や家族特有の会社、組織中心の労働慣行、親との同居といった制約的な環境がアメリカとは違った形で夫の家事参加への制約を増幅させているのではないかと、この結論を導くことができた。育児参加については、家族構造的要因（人口学的要因）が最も分散を説明するという結果であったが、ここでも「環境制約」要因による影響がマイナスの要因として説明力を持つことになった。

今回の分析から、どちらかといえば個人的属性要因よりも社会の制度的要因やジェンダー的要因などがより男性の家庭内役割の遂行を妨げていることを見いだした。夫も妻もともに働き、家事や子育てをともに分担する家族への転換期に少子化、出生率低下の問題が生じたとすれば、日本の固定的な雇用慣行から個人のキャリアを尊重した働き方、多様で自由な生き方が容認されるような制度改革や社会全体の意識改革を進めることが肝要であり、男女共同参画型の社会に向けて時代の変化を明らかにし、それに沿った改革を進めることが同時に少子化問題への対応策となるであろう。