

Gender, Employment, and Housework in Japan, South Korea, and the United States

Noriko O. TSUYA*, Larry L. BUMPASS**, and Minja Kim CHOE***

Abstract This study examines employment and housework in Japan, South Korea, and the United States, using data from three sets of recent national surveys on the family. For all three countries, the study found as follows. First, family factors such as the presence and age of children and co-residence with or nearness to parents strongly affect wives' employment status and hours but have little effect on husbands' employment patterns. Second, although wives shoulder a large part of housework, total workload of both spouses becomes almost equal when housework and employment hours are considered jointly. However, wives' total workload increases dramatically as their own employment hours increases, indicating the "double burden" of unpaid housework for employed wives. Third, the gender division of labor at home is influenced by time availability of each spouse for housework as well as family situations such as presence of nonadult children and co-residence with parents. Moreover, in the United States, the gender division of household labor is also influenced by such socio-demographic factors as education of both spouses and husbands' age.

1. Introduction

Economic and domestic activities are the two major spheres of adult lives in contemporary societies. Though conceptually distinct and often studied independently, these two spheres are interrelated, and changes in one sphere influence the other. In pre-industrial societies, family was the single most important social institution on which all members depended for their livelihood. The transition from agrarian to industrial economies resulted in the separation of work and home, along with the increasing division of labor in economic activities, with men becoming the primary breadwinner and women adopting the role of full-time homemaker (Oakley 1976; Rindfuss, Brewster, and Kavee 1996). The

Prepared for presentation at the 4th Kosei Seisaku Seminar, "20-seiki no Kazoku no Katachi: Kokusai Hikaku no Shiten-kara," United Nations University, Tokyo, March 13, 2000. This study draws heavily on the findings from the ongoing international research project "Work and Family Life in Comparative Perspective." The authors are especially grateful to Ronald R. Rindfuss and Karen Oppenheim Mason for their collaboration and support.

* Faculty of Economics, Keio University, Tokyo.

** Center for Demography and Ecology, University of Wisconsin-Madison.

*** Population and Health Studies, East-West Center, Honolulu.

expansion of the market economy, combined with increasing global influences such as exposure to mass media, has brought about other profound changes in many aspects of family life (Caldwell 1976; Freedman 1975; Goode 1963).

As these macro economic-structural changes proceeded, paid employment of women outside the home increased dramatically after World War II in much of the industrialized world (Oppenheimer 1994; Rindfuss, Brewster, and Kavee 1996; Shimada and Higuchi 1985). These changes made the combination of market and family roles increasingly more difficult for adult women and men living in industrialized countries. This was particularly so for women, given the persistence of cultural expectations regarding the gender division of labor in the home and hence the expansion of a “double shift” among those employed full-time (Ferree 1991; Hochschild 1991; Goldscheider and Waite 1991).

The growth of the market economy was also accompanied by changes in views toward marriage, family, and gender roles. The transition from family-based production to individual wage earning eroded the once strong sense of obligations to one’s family, emphasizing instead individual well-being and self-satisfaction (Lesthaeghe 1983). To be sure, societies have different preexisting family values and systems, and these cultural differences and differing histories have left unique imprints on family life, serving as a filter through which influences of the market economy altered family life. Nonetheless, family systems in societies with distinctively different familial-cultural backgrounds are being pushed to similar directions, even while each retains certain aspects of its unique cultural history.

In the context of these transformations, this study compares employment and housework in Japan, South Korea (hereafter called “Korea” for linguistic simplicity), and the United States, using data from three sets of recent national surveys on the family. These three countries have in common either traditional family value orientations or the levels of industrial development. Based on the value principles of patrilineal familism, Japan and Korea have evolved two of the most patriarchal family systems and gender roles found in modern history (Lee 1978; Smith 1987; Tsuya and Choe 1991). This is not to say that family culture is identical in Japan and Korea—it clearly is not. Nonetheless, this distinctive cultural tradition in the two East Asian countries poses a sharp contrast to the cultural heritage of the United States, which is individualistic and more egalitarian (Lesthaeghe and Wilson 1986; Steinhoff 1994). On the other hand, viewed from the economic-structural perspective, the United States and Japan—the world’s largest and second largest economies—share a number of features of advanced industrial development. By contrast, much of economic growth in Korea has occurred extremely rapidly over the last two decades.

The relationship between work and family reflects the joint influences of economic structure and family culture. In this context, we examine and compare the relationship between employment and housework among married women and

men in their midlife in the three countries. Specifically, we first look at the patterns and factors of employment among currently married women and men aged 20–59 and their spouses. Because many of the major changes are those in gender roles associated with wives' employment (Bianchi and Spain 1996; Goldscheider and Waite 1991), we focus much of our discussion on wives' employment. Because labor market activities of married women are related closely to husbands' employment patterns and are also affected profoundly by their family situations, it is necessary to examine the employment of married women in the context of couples' shared labor market roles and family responsibilities.

This study next turns to housework and the gender division of labor at home. Our approach here is based primarily on the concept of "joint household production" of couples and other household members. We therefore compare the division of household labor among all household members including couples in midlife across our three countries. Recognizing that "joint household production" includes both labor market and household time allocation, we also examine the "total workload" of married women and men which consists of employment and housework combined. When we look at the gender division of labor at home, it is true that married women shoulder a large majority. However, when housework and employment hours are jointly considered, gender inequality in total workload becomes much less in all three societies than when the focus is solely on household tasks. Although we do not intend to gloss over large gender inequality in the home, we think it is important to examine gender balance in housework by simultaneously taking into account the worlds of work and home. Throughout the study, we compare the effects of a range of family and socioeconomic factors thought important to employment and housework of married women and men in the three countries.

2. Data and Measures

2.1. Data and Methods

Data for this comparative study consist of subsamples of currently married men and women aged 20–59 and their spouses drawn from three sets of national family surveys conducted in the late 1980s and mid-1990s. Although the surveys are not identical, they were designed to be comparable. The National Survey on Work and Family Life in Japan (hereafter called the Japanese survey) was conducted in January–February 1994, using the stratified two-stage probability sampling technique (for further information, see Nihon Daigaku Sogo Kagaku Kenkyusho 1994). The survey was intended to parallel the 1987–88 National Survey of Families and Households in the United States (NSFH1), as well as to

collect nationally representative information on marriage, work, and family life specific to concerns with Japanese families. The survey sampled 3,500 women and men aged 20–59 of all marital statuses, 2,447 (around 70%) of whom returned a self-administered questionnaire that requested them to answer questions pertaining not only to themselves but also, when appropriate, to their parents and, if they were married, to their spouses. This study focuses on 1,837 currently married women and men aged 20–59 and their spouses.

The National Survey on the Quality of Life in the Republic of Korea (hereafter called the Korean survey) was conducted in August 1994, based on a national probability sample of 2,970 households. For one-half of the selected households, the survey was administered to household heads aged 20 or older via face-to-face interviews. For the remaining one-half, if the household heads were married, their spouses were chosen to be interviewed; if single, the heads themselves were chosen to be the respondents (for specifics of the survey, see Chang, Kim, and Pae 1994). Given the nature of this sample, single and formerly married individuals are acutely underrepresented. However, basic characteristics of the subsample of currently married women and men closely match those found in the 1990 population census of the Republic of Korea. This study focuses on 1,953 currently married women and men aged 20–59 and their spouses. While the Japanese survey included several questions asked in the NSFH1, the Korean survey was designed to replicate many of the questions posed in the Japanese survey.

The U.S. data are drawn from a subsample of 3,667 currently married non-Hispanic white women and men aged 20–59, which in turn was drawn from the 13,017 respondents aged 19 and over who were interviewed by the first wave of the National Survey of Families and Households. The NSFH is a large-scale, nationally representative survey of the noninstitutionalized population of the United States designed to collect information on a variety of issues pertaining to American family life (for further details, see Sweet, Bumpass, and Call 1988 and Sweet and Bumpass 1996). Conducted in 1987–88, NSFH1 is based on interviews with 13,007 primary respondents from a stratified, clustered national probability sample. Information was also collected from the spouse or cohabiting partner of the primary respondent by a self-administered questionnaire. The limits in terms of ethnicity for the U.S. subsample were imposed to avoid compounding cross-cultural comparisons with internal differences in familial cultural backgrounds of various racial and ethnic groups within the U.S. population. Not only do family behaviors differ markedly between minorities and majority whites, studies have found that predictor variables have different effects for blacks and Hispanics compared to majority whites (e.g., Bumpass and Sweet 1992; Carter 1993).

Although each of the independent variables were examined by both bivariate and multivariate models for each of the three countries, we present mostly the

results of the bivariate analyses (i.e., observed percentages and numbers). We turn to multivariate results when controlling for other variables leads to significantly different results than we would infer from the observed differences.¹ As this was especially the case in the analysis of the gender division of household labor (husbands' share in housework), we present only the predicted percentages, controlling for the effects of other demographic, socioeconomic, and household factors. Of the three surveys, only the Japanese sample is self-weighting (no sample weight needed). For the other two, all cross-tabulations used weights but multivariate analyses were done without sample weights.

2.2. Dependent Variables

This study has two general dependent variables: employment and housework. In the analysis of employment, we look at three aspects: (1) employment status, (2) employment hours, and (3) commuting time and the hour that the respondent returned home from work. Employment status was measured by a dummy variable indicating whether a person was employed or not. Employment hours were measured by a continuous variable indicating usual hours spent per week on employment. As for commuting time and the hour respondent returned home from work, all three surveys collected information on the number of minutes that respondents and their spouses usually took to commute one way to the place of work. The Japanese and Korean surveys also asked about the usual time that they left home for work and when they arrived home from work. The absence of this information for the United States makes it necessary to focus only on the two East Asian countries for this part of the analysis.

The second half of the study pertains to the analyses of three aspects of housework: (1) the number of hours spent on housework by couples and other household members, (2) the total workload of both spouses, and (3) husbands' relative shares in the total time spent by couples on housework. Through these analyses, we direct attention to both absolute and relative investments of both spouses in household tasks. Here, an explanation of measurements of "housework" is in order because the Korean survey defined and measured housework time differently from the Japanese and U.S. surveys. The Japanese and U.S. surveys asked the amount of time spent per week on each household task traditionally gender-typed as "female": cleaning house, doing laundry (for the United States, laundry and

¹ Due to differences in the nature of each dependent variable, different multivariate models were employed. Employment status (employed or not) was examined by a binary logistic regression model; hours of employment and share (percentage) of husband in housework were both analyzed by an OLS multiple regression model.

ironing), cooking, cleaning up after meals, and grocery shopping.² On the other hand, the Korean survey measured time spent per day on “housework as a whole” including, in addition to these conventional female tasks, such chores as child care, helping children with homework, activities related to education of children, visiting relatives, and other work needed to run the household. Because the Korean survey asked only the time spent on all of these household (and related) activities *as a whole*, it was impossible to distinguish how much of the overall time spent on housework was on the traditionally female tasks. Thus, the data on housework for Korea are not exactly comparable to those for Japan and the United States, and we need to be cautious in making three-country comparisons.

Total workload was measured by adding together the hours spent per week on housework and on employment. The relative share of housework was computed by dividing the husbands’ housework hours by the combined housework hours of both spouses.

2.3. Independent and Control Variables

In addition to including the spouse’s employment hours, this study looks at family and socioeconomic factors thought to affect wives’ employment and couples’ housework time, including: (1) age of the youngest child, and (2) co-residence with or nearness to parents. Our analyses also control for the effects of basic demographic and socioeconomic factors such as couples’ education, age, and place of residence. In the analysis of housework, additional control variables—husbands’ income and sex of respondent—are also included. In addition, the multivariate analysis of housework considers respondent’s sex to control for the effect of proxy reporting for Japan and Korea, and the effect of different modes of data collection for the United States.

3. Employment

3.1. General Patterns

Table 1 presents the percentage distribution of the usual weekly employment hours of husbands and wives in Japan, Korea, and the United States. The left panel of the table shows that virtually all husbands were employed, ranging from

² The NSFH1 also collected information on the time spent in “male” tasks such as household maintenance or auto repair, as well as such gender-neutral tasks as paying bills and keeping household financial records. However, since the Japanese and Korean surveys did not collect this information, we were unable to analyze the time spent on nonfemale household tasks.

Table 1 Percentage distribution of usual work hours per week of husbands and wives: South Korea, 1994; Japan, 1994; and the United States, 1987–1988

Hours per Week	Husbands			Wives		
	Korea	Japan	U.S.	Korea	Japan	U.S.
Not employed	5.1	3.9	9.5	73.7	42.7	33.8
Employed						
15 or less	0.2	2.9	1.0	0.1	7.0	5.6
16–34	3.2	2.0	2.8	2.5	15.2	16.3
35–41	1.7	16.1	41.5	0.9	12.4	33.0
42–48	27.7	29.7	15.5	8.1	12.9	6.0
49–59	38.7	26.1	17.4	7.7	5.8	4.0
60 or more	23.4	19.4	12.3	7.0	4.0	1.3
Mean work hours of those employed	52.3	49.2	44.5	49.7	36.2	35.9
Number of cases	1,744	1,825	3,577	1,795	1,821	3,553

Note: For Korea and the United States, the percentages are weighted but the number of cases is unweighted; for Japan, all of the percentages are unweighted.

96% in Japan to 91% in the United States. This reflects the persisting expectation in all three countries that men's primary activity should be to provide economic support for their families. There were, however, substantial intercountry differences in the number of hours worked, especially in the proportion of those working long hours. On average, Korean husbands worked the longest hours (52.3 hours per week), whereas American husbands spent the least amount of time on employment (44.5 hours per week) and Japanese husbands were in the middle (49.2 hours per week). The difference between the United States and Korea amounts to almost one full workday per week.

We are uncertain how much of these differences in husbands' employment hours can be attributed to cultural factors affecting labor supply, on the one hand, or to the structure of opportunities and options in the marketplace, on the other. In any event, differences this large are likely to affect husbands' involvement in family life, especially contributions to household tasks. This is especially so when these differences in employment hours are compounded by differences in commuting time. We will examine these later in the study.

We next turn to wives' employment status and hours. In recent decades married women's employment has increased greatly in Japan and the United States and has started to rise in Korea (Ferree 1991; Tsuya 1992; Cho et al. 1997, 232). As shown in the right panel of Table 1, whereas the proportion employed is similar in Japan and the United States, it is much lower in Korea. Only about one-quarter (26%) of Korean wives are employed, compared to 57% and 66% of Japanese and American wives, respectively. Comparing Japan and the United States, Japanese wives are more likely to stay home as full-time homemakers or work part-time

(less than 35 hours a week), but intercountry differences are small.

Nonetheless, among those who are employed, Korean wives work much longer hours than either Japanese or U.S. wives. Employed Korean wives spend almost 50 hours per week in the workplace, whereas their Japanese and U.S. counterparts spend about 36 hours weekly. This large difference stems primarily from the virtual absence of part-time employment in Korea. These long work hours among employed Korean wives suggest the lack of flexible employment opportunities for married women in the Korean labor market. Employed wives in all three countries shoulder heavy responsibilities both in the home and the workplace. With employed Korean wives working on average 50 hours a week—a higher average than those of Japanese and American *husbands*—it must be extremely difficult for Korean wives to balance work and family responsibilities. This may, in turn, be a major reason why only a small percentage of Korean wives are employed.

3.2. Factors Affecting Wives' Employment

We first look at the relationship between husbands' employment hours and wives' employment status and hours.³ As shown in the top left panel of Table 2, whereas there are no clear patterns between the percentage of wives employed and husbands' employment hours in Japan and Korea, these variables are negatively and almost linearly associated in the United States. This inverse relationship holds even after the effects of other family, socioeconomic, and demographic factors are controlled (data not shown). This suggests that in the United States, wives are less likely to be employed when their husbands work longer hours in the marketplace. We can speculate that American wives find a greater need to stay home given their husbands' heavier commitment to employment. It is also possible that husbands work longer hours to compensate for the fact that their wives are not working. While the latter seems less likely, it might be the case when the wife is staying home to take care of small children.

When we turn to hours of work among employed wives, however, we see a markedly different picture (top right panel, Table 2). Wives' employment hours have a strong *positive* relationship with husbands' employment hours in all three countries. This positive association remains even after the effects of other

³ We do not discuss the results of the analysis of factors affecting husbands' employment hours because there is not much to report. Across all three countries, the factors that affect wives' employment status and hours have little systematic (and at best weak) relationship with husbands' work hours. This suggests that, consistent with the perception that men's place is in employment rather than the home, their economic behavior is driven primarily by market rather than domestic factors. Of course, this is not to say that husbands' employment does not have important implications for their families.

Table 2 Percentage of wives employed and their mean work hours per week, by selected characteristics: South Korea, 1994; Japan, 1994; and the United States, 1987–1988

Characteristics	Percent of Wives Employed			Wives' Work Hours per Week		
	Korea	Japan	U.S.	Korea	Japan	U.S.
Husbands' work hours per week						
34 or less	31.1	52.8	76.2	34.1	23.3	30.9
35–41	30.7	57.9	67.6	45.6	32.3	35.4
42–48	22.9	58.9	71.6	44.5	34.9	37.7
49–59	19.1	56.6	64.8	50.5	37.3	38.1
60 or more	26.0	55.1	63.6	57.5	45.4	37.9
Age of youngest child						
Preschool age ^a	20.3	33.6	57.5	48.7	37.2	33.5
School age ^b	23.8	66.2	71.1	50.5	35.4	35.8
No child under age 18	24.5	60.8	68.3	49.3	36.8	37.5
Living with or near parents						
Co-resides with parents	28.3	63.5	NA	48.9	39.4	NA
Does not co-reside but lives nearby	24.3	56.8	69.3 ^c	49.6	36.2	34.5 ^c
Neither	22.4	53.4	65.7	49.9	33.9	36.2
Number of cases	1,795	1,821	3,553	472	1,043	2,352

Notes: For Korea and the United States, the percentages are weighted but the number of cases is unweighted; for Japan, all of the percentages are unweighted.

Key: NA = Not applicable.

^a For Korea and Japan, 0–6; for the United States, 0–4.

^b For Korea and Japan, 7–17; for the United States, 5–17.

^c Includes 5 cases of co-residence with parents.

independent and control variables are controlled. This suggests a “joint economic response hypothesis”—namely, that perceived financial needs of the family affect the employment patterns of both husbands and wives.

In summary, although husbands' employment hours do not affect whether their wives are employed or not (except in the United States, where there is a significant negative relationship), once wives are employed, they tend to work longer hours when their husbands also spend longer hours in the labor market in all three countries. This underscores the difficulties that employed couples (especially employed wives) face in carrying out their domestic roles in addition to their heavy economic responsibilities. When both husbands and wives work long hours in the labor market, their time available for family life must be severely constrained.

The presence and age of children are probably the most important factors affecting married women's employment. Women's obligations in raising children (especially small children) have played a major role in female labor force participation in the United States (Bumpass 1990; Sweet 1970). The United States also has witnessed dramatic increases in employment among mothers of small children in recent years. The M-shaped age pattern of women's labor force

participation that was once common in the United States is still observed in both Japan and Korea, suggesting that women's employment in those two countries is strongly related to their roles as wife and mother (Brinton 1988; Tsuya and Choe 1991).

As expected, the proportion employed is notably lower among mothers of preschool children in all three countries, especially Japan and the United States (left side of second panel, Table 2). This general pattern remains even after the effects of the other factors are controlled. Differences are in the expected direction but remain small in Korea. All this having been said, we should note that employment is not absent among mothers of small children in the two East Asian countries and relatively common in the United States. Despite the cultural emphasis on the importance of mothers of small children staying home and the persistence of the view that mothers' employment is harmful to children in all three countries (Bumpass and Choe 2000), one-fifth of mothers with small children in Korea and one-third of such mothers in Japan are employed. In the United States, the proportion is almost 60%.

When we turn to work hours among employed wives, we see a different pattern for the comparison between Japan and the United States (right side of second panel, Table 2). The results become even more distinctive once the effects of other family, socioeconomic, and demographic factors are controlled. The expected effect persists in the United States, with mothers of preschool children working the least hours (about 4 hours less than mothers without any children under age 18). In Japan, on the other hand, it is mothers with school-age children who are likely to work the least hours. This may reflect the impact of the mother's heavy responsibility for education of children in school (Tsuya and Choe 2000). In Korea, we see little variation by the presence and age of children, again suggesting the dominant effect of the structure of available jobs over labor supply preferences in the country.

Co-residence with (or nearness to) parents affects wives' employment by providing a ready source of assistance in household chores. Studies show that in Japan co-residence with parents facilitates wives' employment, especially full-time employment (Martin and Tsuya 1992; Morgan and Hiroshima 1983; Tsuya 1992). Whereas few married couples share a household with their parents in the United States—except during brief spells of parental dependence (Bumpass 1994)—grandparents still provide an important source of support (Cherlin and Furstenberg 1986).

Though the effects of co-residence with or nearness to parents are not large, there are consistent differences in all three countries (third panel, Table 2). The highest proportion of wives are employed when married couples are living with parents, and higher proportions are employed when parents live closer. The

effects of co-residence with or nearness to parents are statistically significant in all three countries, and these general patterns remain when the effects of other factors are controlled.

Considering work hours of employed wives, however, we find the expected pattern only among Japanese wives. In Japan, co-residence with or nearness to parents significantly and almost linearly increases wives' employment hours. In neither Korea nor the United States is there a clear relationship between intergenerational co-residence (or nearness) and wives' employment hours.

3.3. Commuting Time

Commuting time is a critical component of the time men and women spend on employment, yet it is often ignored in considerations of the time demands of labor market work and their potential effects on family life. In all three countries a majority of husbands work more than 41 hours per week (i.e., more than 8 hours per day, 5 days a week), with Korean and Japanese husbands working especially long hours. Once employed, wives also spend a substantial number of hours on employment in all three countries. Given these facts, it is important to consider the time employed husbands and wives spend commuting between home and workplace, as well as the time they arrive home from work.

It is widely believed that large Asian cities (including Tokyo and Seoul) present congestion and long commuting hours. We find a somewhat different, more complicated story when we compare the number of minutes that working husbands and wives have reported in the three countries. The story depends, in part, on how we treat around one-quarter to one-third of the cases in the two Asian countries that turned up as "unknown (no answer)" on this variable (Table 3). If we treat these cases as missing data, the average commuting time (one way) for employed husbands was 77 minutes in Korea, 37 minutes in Japan, and 21 minutes in the United States.

However, we have a reason to think that this assumption is probably incorrect and that many shopkeepers and small business proprietors in Korea and Japan had no "commuting time" to report since they lived above or next to their place of employment.⁴ Based on this assumption, the average commuting time of employed husbands was estimated to be 57 minutes in Korea, 28 minutes in Japan, and 21 minutes in the United States. Hence, the *averages* were not all that different between Japan and the United States though the distribution was more

⁴ In the Japanese and Korean surveys, the questions on commuting time were addressed to those who worked "outside the home." We presume that many respondents who were self-employed or small business proprietors interpreted this as being applicable only to those who were employees of organizations located away from their residence.

Table 3 Percentage distribution of minutes spent by husbands and wives in commuting to work (one way): South Korea, 1994; Japan, 1994; and the United States, 1987–1988

Minutes	Husbands			Wives		
	Korea	Japan	U.S.	Korea	Japan	U.S.
15 or less	9.1	19.2	46.9	14.9	37.8	61.8
16–30	9.3	25.5	29.9	11.1	20.1	24.6
31–45	4.1	8.2	9.2	5.8	4.7	5.7
46–60	11.7	13.6	4.3	11.4	2.7	2.2
61–90	16.2	7.5	1.1	14.9	1.2	0.3
91 or more	23.3	2.2	0.6	9.7	0.2	0.2
Mean commuting time in minutes	77.1	37.2	20.8	57.2	19.7	13.6
No answer	26.3	23.8	8.0	32.3	33.3	5.2
Number of cases	1,655	1,754	1,741	472	1,043	1,558

Note: For Korea and the United States, the percentages are weighted but the number of cases is unweighted; for Japan, all of the percentages are unweighted.

bimodal in Japan. True to the widely held presumptions, the much longer average commuting time persisted in Korea, even after taking the substantial proportion of “unknown” cases into account.

Similar intercountry differences existed with respect to the time employed wives spent commuting, but the time tended to be much shorter. Treating “unknown” cases as missing, the average commuting time for wives was 57 minutes in Korea, 20 minutes in Japan, and 14 minutes in the United States. If we treat “unknown” cases as those with zero commuting time, the corresponding averages were 39 minutes in Korea and 13 minutes in Japan and the United States. This is a point where balancing between family and labor market obligations has a clear impact on employment, as these findings suggest that, to meet these obligations, wives must choose from a narrower range of employment opportunities defined by being closer to home.

Another way of looking at differences in commuting time and, when combined with differences in employment hours, how they affect family life is to ask when workers return home. As explained earlier, detailed information exists with respect to the usual time employed persons leave home for and return home from work for Japan and Korea. Table 4 shows that, in Korea, among employed husbands and wives whose time of return home was determined, about 35% of husbands and 25% of wives did not usually arrive home from work until after 8:00 P.M., leaving relatively little time for family life. The levels returning home this late were much lower among Japanese wives, but still about one-sixth of Japanese husbands did not come home until after 8:00 P.M.

Table 4 Cumulative percentage of husbands and wives returning home from work at specified times: South Korea and Japan, 1994

Time Returning Home	Husbands		Wives	
	Korea	Japan	Korea	Japan
Not working	5.1	3.9	73.7	42.7
Unknown	19.5	22.5	13.4	18.8
Among known, returned by:				
5:00 P.M.	8.5	25.2	19.1	56.7
6:00 P.M.	18.6	58.7	33.8	86.8
7:00 P.M.	39.2	69.5	57.5	93.8
8:00 P.M.	64.7	87.4	75.1	97.8
9:00 P.M.	82.3	97.1	82.6	99.7
After 9:00 P.M.	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of cases	1,655	1,754	472	1,043

Note: For Korea and the United States, the percentages are weighted but the number of cases is unweighted; for Japan, all of the percentages are unweighted.

4. Housework

4.1. General Patterns

The upper panel of Table 5 gives the mean hours per week that husbands and wives spent on housework and husbands' average share of housework in the three countries. Whereas wives' housework hours are almost identical in Japan and the United States (33.5 hours and 32.4 hours, respectively), there are substantial differences in the housework hours of husbands. Japanese husbands spent an average 2.5 hours per week on household tasks whereas American husbands spent about 8 hours per week on those tasks. Consequently, Japanese husbands' contribution to housework was merely 7% of the time both spouses spent on housework whereas American husbands contributed approximately 21%.

Given the differences in the definition of "housework," the average hours in the Korean data are much higher than in the Japanese and U.S. data. Husbands' average share of housework in Korea was about 18%, which is almost as high as it was in the United States. However, if we could extract the time spent only on "female" household tasks in Korea (like we did for Japan and the United States), the pattern and share of husbands' housework in Korea would be more similar to Japan's. The percentage of husbands who did no housework at all was 43% for Japan, 33% for Korea, and 10% for the United States. In any event, gender inequality clearly persisted in the division of domestic tasks in all three countries.

When we look at the average total workload, a very different picture emerges. The lower panel of Table 5 indicates that when household and labor market

Table 5 Mean hours per week spent by husbands and wives on housework and their average total workload (housework and employment combined): Japan, 1994; South Korea, 1994; and the United States, 1987–1988

	Japan		Korea		U.S.	
	Mean	(N)	Mean	(N)	Mean	(N)
Housework ^a						
Wives' hours per week	33.5	(1,799)	49.8	(1,752)	32.4	(3,435)
Husbands' hours per week	2.5	(1,786)	12.6	(1,661)	7.8	(3,143)
Husbands' share (%)	7.4	(1,769)	18.4	(1,603)	20.9	(2,991)
% of husbands with no housework	43.1	(1,786)	32.5	(1,661)	10.0	(3,143)
Total workload ^b						
Wives' hours per week	54.7	(1,784)	62.1	(1,521)	55.2	(3,352)
Husbands' hours per week	50.0	(1,778)	62.2	(1,630)	49.6	(3,097)
Husbands' share (%)	48.1	(1,748)	50.4	(1,422)	47.7	(2,839)

Note: For Korea and the United States, the mean hours are weighted; the number of all cases is unweighted.

^a For Japan and the United States, the hours spent on housework were computed by adding the time devoted to cleaning house, doing laundry (for the United States, laundry and ironing), cooking, cleaning up after meals, and grocery shopping. For Korea, the hours are for "housework as a whole."

^b Total workload was computed by adding the number of hours spent on housework and on employment.

hours are considered jointly, gender balance in total workload becomes similar among the three countries and the obvious gender inequality we saw in the division of housework almost disappears. Men's average share in total workload was about 48% for Japan and the United States and 50% for Korea.

The gender equality in these overall averages in total workload nevertheless masks large gender differences in total workload when viewed from the employment hours of each spouse. As shown in the right panel of Table 6, whereas the total workload of wives who did not work in the marketplace was considerably less than that of their husbands, wives' total workload increased dramatically as their employment hours increased in all three countries.⁵ These findings clearly indicate the "second shift" of unpaid housework for wives who were also employed (Hochschild 1991). The "second shift" is especially notable in Japan: the average total workload of wives more than doubles from 38 hours to 85 hours per week when we compare full-time housewives and wives who worked 49 hours or more per week in the marketplace. Though not as dramatic as in Japan, in the other two countries the average total workload of wives also increases sharply: from around

⁵ Provided that a substantial proportion of wives who did not work in the labor market were mothers of small children, and that child-care time was not included in housework time for Japan and the United States, the differences in total workload between full-time housewives and wives employed full-time are likely to be exaggerated. Nonetheless, even when we limit our analysis to couples who did not have preschool children, the general pattern of the "second shift" still remains in both countries.

Table 6 Average total workload (mean hours spent on employment and housework combined) per week of husbands and wives by their weekly work hours: Japan, 1994; South Korea, 1994; and the United States, 1987–1988

Work Hours per Week	Husbands			Wives		
	Japan	Korea	U.S.	Japan	Korea	U.S.
Total	50.0	62.2	49.6	54.7	62.1	55.2
Wives						
0 (not working)	49.1	61.0	47.6	37.6	55.4	40.1
1–15	40.8	NA	51.8	42.0	NA	45.2
16–34	49.3	NA	48.7	60.2	NA	57.0
35–41	49.7	57.3 ^a	50.1	67.7	65.5 ^a	65.3
42–48	51.4	57.0	52.4	73.1	74.8	69.0
49 or more	59.9	69.2	54.0	84.9	90.3	76.9
Husbands						
34 or less	12.9	32.8 ^b	17.4	43.5	58.2 ^b	52.2
35–41	42.0	NA	47.4	53.0	NA	56.3
42–48	47.6	55.2	52.9	53.4	60.6	56.5
49–59	56.3	64.2	58.7	56.8	60.7	54.1
60 or more	67.7	80.2	69.0	60.1	69.1	55.0

Key: NA = Not applicable.

^a For Korea, 1–41 hours.

^b For Korea, 41 hours or less.

55 hours to 90 hours in Korea and from 40 hours to 77 hours in the United States. Roughly 40% of wives in Japan and the United States and around 23% of wives in Korea were employed full-time, and they were the ones who bore the especially heavy burden of balancing employment and domestic responsibilities.

Husbands' total workload also increased somewhat as their wives' employment hours increased (left panel, Table 6). However, this happened only when their wives had long hours in the labor market—more than 41 hours per week in Japan and the United States and more than 48 hours in Korea. The level of the association between husbands' total workload and wives' employment hours is much weaker, compared to the strong positive relationship between wives' employment hours and their total workload.

4.2. Housework Hours of Couples and Other Household Members

We next look at differences in the time spent on housework by couples and other household members in the three countries. Tables 7–9 present the mean number of hours spent per week on housework by different household members based on couples' employment hours and selected family characteristics in Japan, Korea, and the United States, respectively. A comparison of the top rows of these three tables confirms that Japanese wives spent on average more than 13 times as much time as their husbands on household tasks. In Korea and the United States,

Table 7 Mean hours per week spent on housework by different household members, by selected characteristics: Japan, 1994

Characteristics	Husbands		Wives		Parents		Children	
	Hours	(N)	Hours	(N)	Hours	(N)	Hours	(N)
Total	2.5	(1,786)	33.5	(1,799)	10.9	(560)	2.6	(1,393)
Wives' work hours per week								
0 (not working)	2.2	(709)	37.6	(720)	8.4	(189)	2.1	(564)
1–15	1.6	(138)	34.0	(138)	6.2	(32)	2.3	(105)
16–34	2.1	(292)	35.2	(294)	9.4	(82)	2.4	(236)
35–41	3.4	(224)	28.7	(227)	12.1	(77)	3.1	(165)
42–48	3.2	(232)	28.1	(230)	14.8	(109)	3.0	(176)
49 or more	3.1	(176)	26.6	(175)	13.7	(67)	3.8	(135)
Husbands' work hours per week								
Less than 35	3.1	(148)	31.2	(149)	5.3	(26)	3.8	(97)
35–41	3.0	(285)	33.5	(291)	11.3	(86)	2.3	(219)
42–48	2.6	(533)	33.0	(535)	11.5	(185)	2.4	(400)
49–59	2.3	(465)	34.3	(464)	10.7	(149)	2.5	(388)
60 or more	2.1	(347)	34.0	(349)	11.0	(112)	2.7	(283)
Age of youngest child								
0–6	2.5	(120)	37.6	(119)	13.1	(45)	2.0	(117)
7–17	2.1	(590)	33.6	(590)	10.6	(214)	2.6	(571)
No child under age 18	2.7	(1,071)	32.9	(1,086)	10.8	(300)	2.7	(705)
Co-residence with parents								
No	2.8	(1,211)	33.9	(1,216)	—	(0)	2.9	(911)
Yes—total	1.9	(575)	32.5	(583)	10.9	(560)	2.0	(482)
With male parent only	2.4	(61)	37.8	(62)	1.8	(59)	3.7	(50)
With at least 1 female parent	1.9	(514)	31.9	(521)	11.9	(501)	1.8	(432)

Note: The number of hours spent on housework was computed by adding the number of hours devoted to cleaning house, doing laundry, cooking, cleaning up after meals, and grocery shopping.

although gender inequality in housework was considerably less than in Japan, wives still spent around 4 times as much time as their husbands on housework.

The degree of parents' contribution to housework was substantial in the two Asian countries, and the contribution of Japanese parents was especially notable: Japanese parents generally contributed more than four times as much time as husbands to housework. "Other" household members in the United States (most of whom were children) also made a substantial contribution to household tasks.

Turning to the relationship between employment hours and housework hours of each spouse, we can see that wives' employment hours were inversely related to their own housework hours in all three countries (second panel, Tables 7–9). This suggests that wives accommodate employment by cutting the time they spend on housework. Husbands' housework time, on the other hand, generally increased as their wives' employment hours increased in all three countries. Further, in the two East Asian countries, there appears to have been a jump in the hours that husbands (and parents and even children) spent on housework when wives were employed "full-time" (defined as 35 or more hours per week in Japan and 42 or more hours

Table 8 Mean hours per week spent on housework by different household members, by selected characteristics: South Korea, 1994

Characteristics	Husbands		Wives		Parents		Children	
	Hours	(N)	Hours	(N)	Hours	(N)	Hours	(N)
Total	12.6	(1,661)	49.8	(1,752)	16.2	(415)	4.2	(1,603)
Wives' work hours per week								
0 (not working)	11.4	(1,103)	55.5	(1,182)	12.3	(248)	3.9	(949)
1–41	12.9	(67)	37.3	(68)	10.1	(20)	5.0	(49)
42–48	11.6	(142)	31.5	(142)	28.9	(46)	3.6	(109)
49–59	16.3	(128)	30.3	(134)	26.7	(42)	4.7	(89)
60 or more	19.0	(106)	37.0	(104)	20.1	(30)	6.2	(86)
Husbands' work hours per week								
Less than 42	17.3	(172)	43.0	(177)	14.6	(50)	5.2	(131)
42–48	11.2	(407)	49.6	(428)	17.3	(106)	3.9	(341)
49–59	10.8	(596)	50.0	(633)	16.3	(152)	3.8	(501)
60 or more	13.7	(346)	51.9	(357)	15.5	(80)	4.4	(293)
Age of youngest child								
0–6	12.4	(330)	55.9	(334)	21.8	(83)	1.7	(290)
7–17	12.9	(564)	49.1	(599)	11.9	(158)	5.1	(508)
No child under age 18	12.2	(748)	47.3	(796)	16.4	(167)	4.8	(562)
Co-residence with parents								
No	11.9	(1,250)	49.8	(1,319)	—	(0)	4.3	(1,035)
Yes	14.0	(338)	48.1	(347)	17.9	(295)	3.6	(290)

Notes: Means are weighted; the number of cases is unweighted. The number of hours spent on housework is the number of hours spent on "housework as a whole."

in Korea). Yet, in all three countries, increases in the household task hours of husbands and other household members were not enough to compensate for the decreases in wives' housework hours resulting from increases in wives' employment hours. Altogether, these findings suggest that the major adjustments to the accelerating rise in the labor market activities of married women are made by the women themselves, either by adding paid employment to domestic responsibilities or by reducing the time spent in housework.

Husbands' housework time decreased somewhat when their employment hours went up, but the pattern was inconsistent and not as distinctive as it was with respect to wives' employment hours. Moreover, husbands' employment hours do not seem to have had a strong impact on the time that their wives and other household members spent on housework, except in Korea, where wives' housework hours increased as their husbands' employment hours expanded. In addition, when husbands did not work full-time (less than 35 hours per week in Japan and the United States, less than 42 hours in Korea), their housework hours increased notably in Korea and the United States and wives' hours decreased substantially in Korea and Japan. Nonetheless, because only a small minority of husbands worked less than full-time in all three countries, the gender-balancing

Table 9 Mean hours per week spent on housework by different household members, by selected characteristics: United States, 1987–1988

Characteristics	Husbands		Wives		All Others		Others <19	
	Hours	(N)	Hours	(N)	Hours	(N)	Hours	(N)
Total	7.8	(3,143)	32.4	(3,435)	7.0	(1,437)	5.2	(1,307)
Wives' work hours per week								
0 (not working)	6.1	(961)	40.1	(1,110)	7.4	(465)	5.1	(418)
1–15	6.7	(172)	35.5	(185)	5.5	(99)	3.9	(97)
16–34	7.8	(489)	32.3	(517)	6.4	(244)	4.8	(230)
35–41	8.8	(1,053)	26.4	(1,139)	7.2	(438)	5.4	(393)
42–48	9.8	(203)	24.5	(209)	6.8	(84)	5.7	(75)
49 or more	11.0	(167)	24.5	(178)	9.6	(62)	7.9	(56)
Husbands' work hours per week								
Less than 35	10.8	(364)	31.8	(415)	9.4	(149)	5.8	(126)
35–41	7.7	(1,278)	32.7	(1,379)	6.4	(603)	4.9	(542)
42–48	7.8	(508)	32.0	(548)	8.1	(218)	5.2	(209)
49–59	7.1	(557)	31.2	(586)	6.5	(245)	5.0	(222)
60 or more	5.9	(376)	34.2	(403)	6.6	(187)	5.4	(178)
Age of youngest child								
0–4	8.7	(1,035)	37.1	(1,113)	5.6	(425)	3.6	(411)
5–17	7.2	(1,000)	32.4	(1,100)	7.7	(830)	6.1	(818)
No child under age 18	7.6	(1,108)	28.7	(1,222)	6.9	(182)	3.2	(78)
Co-residence with parents								
No	7.8	(3,102)	32.4	(3,386)	6.7	(1,397)	5.2	(1,284)
Yes	6.9	(41)	30.5	(49)	16.1	(40)	4.5	(23)

Notes: Means are weighted; the number of cases is unweighted. The number of hours spent on housework was computed by adding the number of hours devoted to cleaning house, laundry and ironing, cooking, cleaning up after meals, and grocery shopping.

effects of husbands who were not employed full-time on overall domestic time allocation remained small.

By contrast, and as expected, the presence of children of preschool and school ages clearly affected the time that wives spent on housework (third panel, Tables 7–9). When they had preschool children at home, wives' household task hours increased significantly in all three countries. Though not as much, the presence of school-age children also increased wives' housework hours. Moreover, when there were preschool children in the home, the average time that couples' parents spent on housework increased as well in the two East Asian countries. On the other hand, the presence of preschool children or school-age children did not affect the time that husbands spent on housework, except in the United States, where husbands' housework time was the highest when they had preschoolers at home. Altogether, these findings suggest that in Japan and Korea it is the wife who responds to increases in the domestic needs created by nonadult children at home, and that in both countries parents—not husbands—help wives shoulder extra housework created by the presence of small children.

In the United States, husbands respond to the presence of small children at home though wives are still primarily responsible for household tasks.

Co-residence with parents tended to reduce the housework hours of all other household members in all three countries, except for Korea, where husbands' hours increased somewhat (bottom panel, Tables 7–9). What really contributed to household task allocation in Japan (and probably in the other two countries) seems to have been the presence of female parents rather than the presence of male parents. When couples were living only with male parents, though such an incidence was rare, the time wives spent on housework *increased* substantially (bottom panel, Table 7).

4.3. Patterns Reflecting and Factors Influencing Husbands' Share in Housework

We next examine the patterns of and factors affecting the gender division of household labor as measured by husbands' relative share in couples' housework time. Table 10 presents the proportion of husbands' housework hours to the total amount of time that couples jointly spent on housework.⁶ These percentages were estimated by using the mean values of all the variables other than the variable specified in each row heading, based on the coefficients estimated by the OLS multiple regression model that included, as the covariates, employment hours of each spouse, age of youngest child, co-residence with parents, husbands' annual income, education of each spouse, husbands' age, and respondents' sex. The percentages are shown only for those variables that had significant effects.

Wives' employment hours affected husbands' share in housework in all three countries (first panel, Table 10). However, the nature of the relationship was somewhat different among the countries. In Japan, husbands' share in housework increased significantly only when wives worked full-time in the labor market (primarily because husbands' housework hours increased *only when* wives were employed full-time). In Korea and the United States, on the other hand, husbands' share in housework decreased dramatically in proportion to wives' housework hours because, as wives worked longer in the marketplace, their housework hours decreased *and* husbands' hours increased significantly.

The effects of husbands' employment hours on their share in housework were less systematic; nonetheless, two patterns were significant in all three countries. First, the relationship between these two variables was generally linear and negative, primarily because husbands' housework time was reduced in

⁶ We also conducted multiple regression analyses of the number of hours that wives and husbands spent on housework. Due to space limitations, the results are not shown here.

Table 10 Estimated percentage of husbands' share of housework, by selected characteristics: Japan, 1994; South Korea, 1994; and the United States, 1987–1988

Characteristics	Japan	Korea	U.S.
Total	7.7	18.0	20.8
Wives' work hours			
Not working	5.4	14.7	14.7
Part-time ^a	5.3	21.2	19.1
Full-time ^b	11.8	27.7	26.1
Husbands' work hours			
Less than full-time ^c	11.1	25.6	29.6
35–41	8.7	NA	20.6
42–48	8.2	17.7	20.6
49–59	6.4	17.3	18.7
60 or more	6.2	16.3	16.2
Age of youngest child			
Preschool age ^d	7.2	16.2	20.0
School age ^e	6.7	17.6	19.4
No child under age 18	8.7	19.2	22.7
Co-residence with parents			
Yes	6.0	—	—
No	8.5	—	—
Wives' education			
Less than high school	—	—	19.3
High school	—	—	18.6
Some college or equivalent ^f	—	—	21.2
4-year college or higher	—	—	24.8
Husbands' education			
Less than high school	—	—	17.8
High school	—	—	18.6
Some college or equivalent ^f	—	—	22.4
4-year college or higher	—	—	23.1
Husbands' age			
25	—	—	23.6
35	—	—	21.7
45	—	—	19.8
55	—	—	17.9

Notes: Only the covariates having statistically significant effects are shown. Percentages were estimated using the mean values of all variables other than the variable specified in the row heading. The coefficients were estimated by the OLS multiple regression model, whose covariates included employment hours of each spouse, age of youngest child, co-residence with parents, husbands' annual income, education of each spouse, husbands' age, and respondents' sex.

^a For Japan and the United States, 1–34 hours; for Korea, 1–41 hours.

^b For Japan and the United States, 35 or more hours; for Korea, 42 or more hours.

^c For Japan and the United States, 0–34 hours; for Korea, 0–41 hours.

^d For Japan and Korea, ages 0–6; for the United States, ages 0–4.

^e For Japan and Korea, ages 7–17; for the United States, ages 5–17.

^f For Japan, consists of graduates of junior college, advanced professional school, and professional training school.

accordance with their employment hours. Second, among a small proportion of couples where the husband worked less than full-time in the labor market, their share in housework increased markedly because wives' housework time was reduced significantly and husbands' time also increased somewhat.

Altogether, these findings demonstrate the importance of time availability on the gender division of household labor in all three countries, though the effect is clearly stronger in the United States and Korea than in Japan. The findings also show distinctive intercountry differences in the patterns of husbands' responses to wives' employment in terms of their contributions to household tasks. Whereas Japanese husbands respond only when their wives are employed full-time (and therefore have a rigid work schedule), American and Korean husbands increase their contributions to housework in accordance with their wives' employment situation.

Compared to those who do not have children under age 18 at home, husbands who have preschool children have a significantly *lower* share in housework in all three countries. This is due primarily to the fact that, though both husbands and wives do substantially more housework when they have small children, wives' housework hours increase much more than their husbands'. The presence of school-age children also reduces husbands' share in housework in all three countries (and the negative effect is especially notable in Japan and the United States). This is because when couples have school-age children, wives' housework time increases but husbands' housework tends to decrease.

Co-residence with parents substantially reduces husbands' share of housework in Japan. This is due primarily to the fact that, when parents—especially a female parent—live in the same household, husbands' housework hours decrease much more steeply than do the wives' hours. This, in turn, suggests that husbands are likely to benefit more from intergenerational co-residence than their wives in terms of household task allocation in the Japanese home. Though the effect of co-residence with parents is also negative in the other two countries, the effect is insignificant.

Lastly, whereas major socioeconomic and demographic factors such as education and age do not significantly influence the gender division of household tasks in the two East Asian countries, these factors have notable effects in the United States. As shown in Table 10 above, college education of each spouse significantly increases husbands' share of housework. This is a result of both the strikingly shorter hours that college-educated wives spend on housework and the significantly longer hours that college-educated husbands contribute to housework. In sum, U.S. higher education pushes the gender division of household labor in a more egalitarian direction, suggesting the strong socialization effect of higher education in molding gender role attitudes. Further,

the age of American husbands is associated inversely with their share of housework, i.e., older husbands do a much smaller amount of housework than younger husbands. This suggests a substantial cohort change in gender-typed behavior in the postwar American society.

5. Discussion

This study has revealed that family factors such as the presence and age of children and co-residence with or nearness to parents strongly influence wives' employment status and hours but have little systematic effect on husbands' employment patterns in Japan, Korea, and the United States. Thus, despite the marked differences in familial cultural backgrounds, married women's employment is bounded by their family situations in a way that men's is not in all three countries. Despite rapid increases in married women's employment in Japan and the United States, and despite the overwhelming preference for wives to work in all three countries (Choe, Bumpass, and Tsuya 2000), traditional gender role assignments of breadwinning primarily to husbands and housework to wives are still prevalent, affecting wives' employment patterns.

Our findings also provide evidence that market factors heavily structure wives' employment opportunities. In particular, the low level of wives' employment with long work hours in Korea may reflect the particularly limited options that married women have in the labor market. In Korea, married women seem to have only two options: work for long hours or not at all. This, in turn, demonstrates the limitations that the market and society impose on women's ability to reconcile employment and family responsibilities.

This study also shows that wives shoulder the lion's share of housework in all three countries, but that when housework and employment hours are considered jointly, the mean total workload of husband and wife becomes very similar and the gender inequality in housework alone almost disappears. However, this gender equity covers wide differentials in the total workload of wives by their own employment hours. Wives' total workload increases dramatically as their employment hours increase in all three countries, clearly indicating the "double burden" of unpaid housework for full-time employed wives.

Moreover, the findings reveal the overall importance of the time availability of each spouse for housework measured by employment hours in determining the gender division of labor at home in the three countries. Family factors such as presence and age of children and co-residence with parents also influence the gender division of labor at home. In all three countries the presence of nonadult children reduces husbands' share in housework though the effect is most notable

in the United States. Co-residence with parents tends to decrease husbands' share in housework though the effect is significant only in Japan, suggesting that Japanese husbands are more likely to benefit from co-residence with parents than their wives and other household members.

Whereas the underlying mechanism determining the gender division of household labor was relatively simple in Japan and Korea, it was more complicated in the United States. In Japan, this division was determined primarily by time availability of both spouses as well as by family situations. In Korea, the pattern of the gender division of household labor was based almost solely on employment hours. In the United States, however, in addition to time availability and household structure, education of both spouses and husbands' age also mattered.

Finally, our findings offer important social and policy implications for more equal gender relations in the Japanese home. Given the finite nature of time, a better understanding of how wives (and husbands) reconcile employment and housework is essential for improving the quality of family life. Wives' full-time employment tends to increase husbands' time and share of housework. Given the rapid increases in full-time employment of married women in recent decades, the acute gender inequality persisting in Japanese homes may (and should) be lessened. Nonetheless, though husbands do more housework when there is a strong need created by wives' long employment hours, increases in husbands' contribution are likely to be much less than the time that wives themselves cut in doing housework. In Japan today, the slack seems to be picked up by co-residing parents, but multigenerational co-residence has been, and is expected to continue, declining (Atoh 1988; Tsuya 1990).

Hence, social policy may have an important role to play in alleviating married women's difficulties in balancing their work and family responsibilities. Labor market and employment policies need to be more *family friendly* by recognizing that increasing wives' employment and strong preferences for work outside the home even among mothers of small children are part of a broader family change seen not only in Japan but also in other industrialized societies.

In accordance with changes in married women's employment, family policy also needs to be revised or newly formulated, especially to help full-time employed wives with children who are shouldering the double burden of economic and domestic obligations. One viable option may be to make child-care services more flexible and widely available not only to small children but also to school-age children. The provision of services becomes more flexible by extending operating hours and giving women/couples more freedom in the choice of child-care facilities. Employers can also help by providing child-care services near or at the workplace. Furthermore, the absolute scarcity of child-care

services for school-age children needs to be remedied. Because the family is the fundamental unit of society on which the future depends, Japanese society as a whole has to make a serious effort to ensure that gender relations at home become more egalitarian.

References

- Atoh, Makoto. 1988. "Changes in Family Patterns in Japan." Paper presented at the Seminar on Theories of Family Change of the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population (IUSSP), Tokyo, November 29–December 2.
- Bianchi, Suzanne M., and Daphne Spain. 1996. "Women, Work, and Family in America." *Population Bulletin* 51(3): 1–48.
- Brinton, Mary C. 1988. "The Social-Institutional Bases of Gender Stratification: Japan as an Illustrative Case." *American Journal of Sociology* 94(2): 300–334.
- Bumpass, Larry L. 1990. "What's Happening to the Family? Interactions between Demographic and Institutional Change." *Demography* 27(4): 483–98.
- . 1994. "A Comparative Analysis of Coresidence and Contact with Parents in Japan and the United States." In *Tradition and Change in the Asian Family*, edited by Lee-Jay Cho and Moto Yada, 221–46. Honolulu: East-West Center and University of Hawaii Press.
- Bumpass, Larry L., and Minja Kim Choe. 2000. "Attitudes Relating to Marriage and Family Life." Forthcoming in *Marriage, Work, and Family Life in Comparative Perspective*, edited by Noriko O. Tsuya and Larry L. Bumpass, chap. 2.
- Bumpass, Larry L., and James A. Sweet. 1992. "Family Experiences across the Life Course: Differences by Cohort, Education, and Race/Ethnicity." In *Proceedings: The Peopling of the Americas*, vol. 3, edited by International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, 313–50. Liège, Belgium: IUSSP.
- Caldwell, John C. 1976. "Toward a Restatement of Demographic Transition Theory." *Population and Development Review* 2(2): 321–66.
- Carter, Wendy Y. 1993. "Non-marital Childbearing, Cohabitation, and Marriage among Blacks and Whites." NSFH Working Paper 61. Center for Demography and Ecology, University of Wisconsin-Madison.
- Chang, Hyon-sop, H.-O. Kim, and H. O. Pae. 1994. *Kajok Yongyok ui Sam ui Chil kwa Chongchaek Yonku* (The Quality of Family Life and Policy Implications). Seoul: Korea Institute for Health and Social Affairs.
- Cherlin, Andrew J., and Frank F. Furstenberg Jr. 1986. *The New American Grandparents: A Place in the Family, a Life Apart*. New York: Basic Books.
- Cho, Namhun, Seungkwon Kim, Aejo Cho, Yongsik Chang, and Yonghi Oh. 1997. *Chonkuk Ch'ulsanyok mit Kajok Pogon Silt'ae Chosan Pogoso* (Report of the 1997 Korean National Survey on Fertility and Family Health). Seoul: Korea Institute for Health and Social Affairs.
- Choe, Minja Kim, Larry L. Bumpass, and Noriko O. Tsuya. 2000. "Employment Hours, Preferences, and Perceived Impacts on Marital Quantity." Forthcoming in *Marriage, Work, and Family Life in Comparative Perspective*, edited by Noriko O. Tsuya and Larry L. Bumpass, chap. 6.
- Ferree, M. M. 1991. "The Gender Division of Labor in Two-Earner Marriages: Dimensions of

- Variability and Change." *Journal of Family Issues* 12(2): 158–80.
- Freedman, Ronald. 1975. *The Sociology of Human Fertility: An Annotated Bibliography*. New York: Irvington.
- Goldscheider, Frances K., and Linda J. Waite. 1991. *New Families, No Families? The Transformation of the American Home*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Goode, William J. 1963. *World Revolution and Family Patterns*. New York: Free Press.
- Hochschild, Arlie. 1991. *The Second Shift*. New York: Penguin.
- Lee, Kwang-Ku. 1978. *Kankoku Kazoku no Kozo Bunseki* (A Structural Analysis of the Korean Family). Translated by T. Hattori. Tokyo: Tosho Kanko Kai.
- Lesthaeghe, Ron. 1983. "A Century of Demographic and Cultural Change in Western Europe: An Exploration of Underlying Dimensions." *Population and Development Review* 9: 411–35.
- Lesthaeghe, Ron, and Chris Wilson. 1986. "Modes of Production, Secularization, and the Pace of Fertility Decline in Western Europe, 1870–1930." In *The Decline in Fertility in Europe*, edited by Ansley J. Coale and Susan C. Watkins, 261–92. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Martin, Linda G., and Noriko O. Tsuya. 1992. "Japanese Women in the Middle: Work and Family Responsibilities." Paper presented at the 1992 Annual Meeting of the Population Association of America, Denver, Colo., April 30–May 1.
- Morgan, S. Philip, and Kiyosi Hiroshima. 1983. "The Persistence of Extended Family Residence in Japan: Anachronism or Alternative Strategy?" *American Sociological Review* 48(2): 269–81.
- Nihon Daigaku Sogo Kagaku Kenkyusho. 1994. *Gendai-kazoku ni kansuru Zenkoku-chosa Hokokusho* (Report of the 1994 National Survey on Work and Family Life in Japan). Tokyo: University Research Center, Nihon University.
- Oakley, Ann. 1976. *Women's Work: The Housewife, Past and Present*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Oppenheimer, Valerie K. 1994. "Women's Rising Employment and the Future of the Family in Industrial Societies." *Population and Development Review* 20: 293–342.
- Rindfuss, Ronald R., Karin L. Brewster, and Andrew L. Kavee. 1996. "Women, Work, and Children: Behavioral and Attitudinal Change in the United States." *Population and Development Review* 22: 457–82.
- Shimada, Haruo, and Yoshio Higuchi. 1985. "An Analysis of Trends in Female Labor Force Participation in Japan." *Journal of Labor Economics* 3: 335–74.
- Smith, Robert J. 1987. "Gender Inequality in Contemporary Japan." *Journal of Japanese Studies* 13: 1–25.
- Steinhoff, Patricia G. 1994. "A Cultural Approach to the Family in Japan and the United States." In *Tradition and Change in the Asian Family*, edited by Lee-Jay Cho and Moto Yada, 29–44. Honolulu: East-West Center and University of Hawaii Press.
- Sweet, James A. 1970. "Family Composition and the Labor Force Activity of American Wives." *Demography* 7(2): 195–209.
- Sweet, James, and Larry L. Bumpass. 1996. "The National Survey of Families and Households—Waves 1 and 2: Data Description and Documentation." (<http://ssc.wisc.edu/nsfh/home/htm>). Center for Demography and Ecology, University of Wisconsin-Madison.
- Sweet, James, Larry L. Bumpass, and Vaughn Call. 1988. "The Design and Content of the National Survey of Families and Households." NSFH Working Paper 1. Center for Demography and Ecology, University of Wisconsin-Madison.
- Tsuya, Noriko O. 1990. "Coresidence with Parents at Different Stages of Life." In *Summary of Twentieth National Survey on Family Planning*, edited by Population Problems Research Council, 109–61. Tokyo: Mainichi Newspapers.

- . 1992. "Work and Family Life in Japan: Changes and Continuities." Paper presented at the 1992 Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, Pittsburgh, Pa., August 20–24.
- Tsuya, Noriko O., and Minja Kim Choe. 1991. "Changes in Intrafamilial Relationships and the Roles of Women in Japan and Korea." *NUPRI Research Paper Series*, no. 58. Tokyo: Nihon University Population Research Institute.
- . 2000. "Investments in Children's Education, Desired Fertility, and Women's Employment." Forthcoming in *Marriage, Work, and Family Life in Comparative Perspective*, edited by Noriko O. Tsuya and Larry L. Bumpass, chap. 5.