

**Nonstandard Work and the Shift Away from
Male Breadwinner Families in Japan**

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Abstract: This study evaluates the role of women's nonstandard work in the transition from male-breadwinner to dual-earner families. Using 18 waves of nationally-representative panel data on Japanese women containing rich information on employment and women's work orientation, we test alternative hypotheses that characterize women's nonstandard work as an extension of the specialization model or as a type of dual-earner family resulting from economic need and/or structural constraints imposed.

Results from multinomial logistic regression models provide evidence of the emergence of multiply types of dual-earner families. Dual-career couples, i.e., both spouses holding full-time standard jobs, are more common among women with at least some tertiary education. Dual-career couples are also more common among women with high-earning husbands and strong career orientation. Our results also indicate that there appears to be another class of dual-earner couples in which both husband and wife are in nonstandard work. It suggests that women's nonstandard employment might reflect economic need and strategic income pooling among spouses in relatively low-paying, unstable employment. At the same time, work-oriented women with higher-earning husbands are more likely to be working in non-standard jobs suggesting that nonstandard employment may also be the result of structural constraints limiting full-time, career opportunities for women in a gender-inegalitarian labor market. These results suggest that women's nonstandard work is important for understanding the nature of marriage in the changing labor market context.

Since the 1970s, the rise in married women's labor force participation has resulted in a decline in male-breadwinner female-homemaker marriages. This emergence of dual-earner couples, sometimes called the "quiet revolution" (Goldin 2006) or the "incomplete revolution" (Esping-Andersen 2009), is thought to reflect men's reduced ability to support a family on one paycheck, shifting attitudes, increasing educational attainment for women, occupational shifts favorable to women's employment, and family demographic changes including later marriage, lower fertility, and more divorce (Blossfeld and Drobnic 2001; Goldin 1990, 2006; Oppenheimer 1994).

While the general shift from breadwinner-homemaker marriages to dual-earner couples has been observed widely across industrialized countries, it is clear that the pace and the nature of change varies a great deal (Blossfeld and Drobnic 2001; Cooke and Baxter 2010; Gornick and Meyers 2003; Haas et al. 2006).¹ This contextual variation is a potentially valuable source of theoretical insight regarding both the mechanisms and implications of the "shifting economic foundations of marriage" (Sweeney 2002). For example, comparative analyses can shed light on the ways in which the shift to dual-earner couples is shaped by prevailing gender ideology, features of the labor market, and policies to support work-family balance. Similarly, it can facilitate understanding of how the pattern of change in dual-earner couples may exacerbate or ameliorate household income inequality and the intergenerational transmission of dis/advantage (Blossfeld and Drobnic 2001; Burtless 1999; Cancian and Reed 1998).

Despite its promise, cross-national research on the decline of breadwinner-homemaker marriages is limited in two important ways. The first is that it has focused almost exclusively on

¹ Throughout this paper, we will use the term marriage rather than union and the term spouse rather than partner. We recognize that this terminology is not appropriate in many contexts, but adopt it for the sake of simplicity and its appropriateness for our focus on the Japanese context.

western societies, leaving us with little understanding of trends in East Asian “male breadwinner regimes” (Cooke and Baxter 2010). Japan is a good example of a society in which social and normative valuation of the homemaker-wife-mother role remains far stronger than in the U.S. and other Western countries (e.g., Brinton 1993; Hirao 2007; Yu 2009). At the same time, however, Japan is also characterized by growing employment and income uncertainty for men, a rapid rise in nonstandard employment, some shifting of gender attitudes, and policy efforts to promote female labor force attachment. This tension between entrenched attitudinal and institutional factors supporting breadwinner-homemaker marriages and shifting incentives and labor market conditions (Raymo and Lim 2011) may shape an emerging trend toward dual-earner couples in Japan (Lim and Raymo 2014). Careful analysis of this process has the potential to generate insights important not only for understanding the forces underlying ongoing change in the Japanese family, but also for ongoing or future developments in other gender inequalitarian societies (e.g., in East and Southeast Asia and perhaps in Southern Europe as well).

The second limitation is that previous research on the rise in dual-earner couples has not explicitly examined the potentially important role of recent growth in nonstandard employment, including part-time, temporary, and contract jobs. It is clear that the rise in part-time employment contributed to the long-term increase in married women’s labor force participation in the U.S. by providing flexible employment opportunities that accommodated domestic responsibilities (Goldin 2006) and the more recent growth in nonstandard employment (which includes part-time work) for women may be playing a similar role in relatively gender-inegalitarian societies like Japan. It may also shape processes of stratification if women married to lower-earning men are more likely to take nonstandard jobs while those married to high-earning men either remain homemakers or enter full-time, career jobs. The concurrent rise in nonstandard employment for

men may contribute to increased employment for women to the extent that these jobs tend to be “bad jobs” characterized by low wages and the absence of benefits and legal protection (Kalleberg et al. 2000) and thus insufficient for supporting a family in a breadwinner role.

In this paper, we use eighteen years of data from a survey of Japanese women to examine the correlates of dual-earner couples, relative to breadwinner-homemaker couples. We pay particular attention to the roles of husbands’ earnings and wives’ career orientation and distinguish between dual-earner couples in which the wife is in nonstandard employment and those in which the wife is in regular, full-time employment. We consider several possible scenarios with different implications for our understanding of the role played by nonstandard employment in shaping the shifting economic foundations of marriage in Japan. A scenario in which married women take nonstandard jobs to ensure that employment does not affect their domestic responsibilities can be seen as an extension of the specialization model of marriage (Becker 1991). A scenario in which married women enter nonstandard employment out of necessity would be consistent with emphases on the declining economic feasibility of maintaining a breadwinner-homemaker division of labor combined with limited opportunities for married women to engage in full-time, regular employment (Oppenheimer 1988; 1997). A scenario in which married women are increasingly involved in both nonstandard employment and full-time career employment might be consistent with emphases on growing family bifurcation (e.g., McLanahan 2004). It is possible that all three scenarios are unfolding, with the first most pronounced among women married to high-earning husbands and those with relatively low career orientation, the second more prevalent among women married to low-earning husbands regardless of their own career orientation, the third characterized by differences between career-oriented women married to high-earning men and other women.

Background

The rise of dual-earner couples

The increasing prevalence of dual-earner couples is common to industrialized countries but the magnitude and nature of this shift in men's and women's economic roles within marriage differ both within and across societies. Within countries, it is clear that the rise in married women's employment has been most pronounced among more highly-educated women (Blossfeld and Drobnic 2001; Goldin 2004) but is observed across the socioeconomic spectrum. Highly-educated women (couples) are also more likely to be dual-career couples or "power couples" – i.e., dual-earner couples in which both partners have full-time career jobs (Cancian and Reed 1999; Costa and Kahn 2000). Across countries, dual-earner couples in which both have full-time jobs are also more common in more gender egalitarian societies characterized by policies that support work-family balance (Cooke and Baxter 2010). In contrast, married women in some European countries (Germany, Netherlands, UK), tend to work in part-time jobs and be secondary earners in the family (Hakim 1996), an arrangement that has been called "one and a half earner households" (Cooke and Baxter 2010).

Theoretical explanations for high prevalence of breadwinner-homemaker marriages in the past have emphasized the gains derived from the pooling of complementary specializations (Becker 1981; Parsons and Bales 1956) and widespread normative disapproval of women's (full-time) work outside of the home (Goldin 2006). In the context of stable employment and predictable wage growth for men, limited employment opportunities for women, and strong normative valuation of the mother and wife roles, the incentives for married women to focus on domestic labor were stronger than the incentives to enter the labor force. In economic terms, the breadwinner-homemaker marriages were more common when the income effect was larger than

the substitution effect, where the former refers to the negative relationship between husbands' earnings and wives' labor supply and the latter refers to the positive relationship between wives' employment opportunities (and wages) and their labor supply.

The shift from single-earner to dual-earner couples can thus be understood as a function of changes in the relative size of income and substitution effects. The negative income effect has declined significantly as a result of decline in men's ability to support a family as the sole breadwinner, reduction in the stigma associated with married women's employment, and increasing uncertainty regarding the stability of both men's employment and marital stability (e.g., Goldin 2006). The decline in jobs providing a "family wage" and growth in relatively low-paying jobs with limited security and low wage growth (especially among men with lower levels of education) has increased the difficulty of maintaining marriages based on gender-based specialization in market and domestic labor (Oppenheimer 1994, 1997).

At the same time, the positive substitution effect has increased as a result of rising educational attainment for women, later marriage and lower fertility (which facilitates women's early investment in human capital), occupational shifts and associated growth in women's wages, and greater support for, and expectations of, married women's employment (Blau and Kahn 2007; Blossfeld and Drobnic 2001; Esping-Andersen 2009; Goldin 2006; Sweeney and Cancian 2004). All of these factors are thought to contribute to stronger career orientation among women (Goldin 2006, 2014). Several studies suggest that work orientation is stronger among more highly-educated women and that the prevalence of dual-earner and dual-career marriages (discussed below) is most pronounced at the higher end of the educational spectrum.

Because many women in dual-earner couples work part-time (Cooke and Baxter 2010), the prevalence and characteristics of part-time employment has important implications for

understanding the pace and nature of the shift from breadwinner-homemaker marriages to dual-earner marriages. This is particularly true in light of the rapid rise of flexible, but often less desirable, nonstandard employment over the past 20-30 years. In settings where married women's employment opportunities are largely limited to nonstandard work, the prevalence and distribution of dual-earner couples may depend on the quality of nonstandard employment. On one hand, an abundance of flexible, but rewarding and well-paid nonstandard, jobs would suggest a high prevalence of dual-earner couples across the socioeconomic spectrum, with limited implications for stratification. On the other hand, a nonstandard labor market characterized primarily by "bad jobs" would suggest that married women's employment is motivated largely by economic need and that the emergence of dual-earner couples concentrated at the lower end of the socioeconomic spectrum would mitigate income inequality. In settings where women's employment opportunities are varied, we might expect a high prevalence of dual-earner couples with nonstandard employment motivated primarily by economic necessity and full-time, career employment concentrated among women with stronger work orientation. Emergence of such a scenario would presumably exacerbate income inequality to the extent that poorly paid nonstandard work is more common among women married to men with lower earnings.

When thinking about the role of changing attitudes, it is important to recognize that there is a good deal of heterogeneity in women's career orientation (Hakim 2000) and that the nature of that variation may also shape the emergence and evolution of dual-earner couples. This may be particularly true in settings where work-family balance is difficult, career opportunities for women remain limited, and the growth in nonstandard employment has been rapid. For women who value work-and-family balance, the emergence of flexible nonstandard employment may

provide an attractive employment outlet (the same is true of family-focused women who have an economic necessity to work). However, for work-focused women, the feminization of nonstandard work may constrain their employment decisions (Kalleberg and Sorensen 1979). Indeed, some studies show that women's nonstandard work (e.g., part-time employment) is often involuntary, suggesting that structural constraints rather than individual choice might force women to take such jobs (e.g., Cassirer 2003). It is also plausible that women with strong career orientations may accept nonstandard jobs when faced with structural constraints that limit full-time, career opportunities in gender-inegalitarian labor markets (e.g., Kalleberg and Sorensen 1979). In this case, families with wives working in nonstandard employment can be considered variations of dual-earner families due to economic need or structural constraints imposed on women.

One of the key factors responsible for the variation in both the prevalence and nature of dual-earner families is public policy. Not surprisingly, dual-earner couples are more prevalent in societies with stronger public policy support for maternal employment, including income support, affordable public childcare, family leave, and regulation of working hours (Esping-Andersen 2009; Gornick and Meyers 2003; Haas et al. 2006). Public policies may also shape the extent of socioeconomic differentials in the transition from the male-breadwinner/female-homemaker to dual-earner families within a society. For instance, the limited provision of public support for working mothers in the U.S. is thought to contribute to the relatively high concentration of dual-earner couples at the higher end of the socioeconomic distribution because these couples can afford to purchase the services that facilitate mothers' employment (Cooke and Baxter 2010).

The gender division of labor in Japanese marriages

Male breadwinner families have long been the norm in Japan, where valuation of the mother and wife role is particularly strong. This valuation is visible in widely-used, although now somewhat dated, terms such as *ryōsai-kenbo* (good wife and wise mother) and *naijo no kō* (domestic support [of husband's career]). Some have argued that full-time homemaker (*senkyō shufu*) has been a status to which women have aspired – a kind of status symbol (Kohara 2008) and the well-established negative relationships between husband's income and wife's labor force participation demonstrates the relative strength of the income effect in Japan (Higuchi 1995; Kohara 2008). Tax policy has also played an important role in limiting dual-earner couples, with husbands able to claim a sizable spousal deduction only if their wife's annual earnings were less than a threshold of slightly more than one million yen (roughly 8-10 thousand dollars depending on exchange rates). It is clear that many women have adjusted their employment to ensure annual earnings below this threshold amount (Kohara 2008).

Single-earner couples remain common in Japan. Indeed, recent OECD data show that Japan has one of the highest proportions of single-earners among families with children age 0-14, behind only Turkey and Malta (OECD 2015). This is not to say that dual-earner couples have not existed in Japan. The proportion of married women in the labor force has hovered around .50 since the early 1970s (Kohara 2008). But, it is important to keep in mind that the large majority of women in these “dual-earner couples” have returned to the labor force after their children have reached school age. The modal life path for Japanese women is to exit the labor force temporarily or permanently following marriage or, more often, the first child's birth. For example, recent data show that 60-70% of married women exit the labor force following marriage or pregnancy, a figure that has remained stable over the past 30 years (NIPSSR 2012;

Yu 2009). After reentering the labor force, married women typically take flexible, low-paying jobs that allow for prioritization of domestic work while providing some supplemental income (e.g., to help defray children's educational expenses).

In addition to the strong negative income effect, the limited labor force participation of married women in Japan is also the product of relatively weak substitution effects. The Japanese labor market has been highly segmented by gender. With the exception of a few professional fields such as education and nursing, opportunities for career employment for women have been limited (Brinton 1993; Yu 2009). For the large majority of women, limited prospects for advancement and wage growth have minimized the opportunity costs of labor force exit at marriage or prior to their first birth. Men's long work hours and limited participation in domestic work, insufficient access to public day-care, normative sanctions against mother's full-time work (especially when children are young), and few full-time, regular employment opportunities have resulted in a high proportion of homemakers and part-time employees and a very low prevalence of dual-career couples in Japan. Most dual-earner couples have thus tended to be the "one and a half earner households" mentioned above, with employment often motivated by the need for supplemental income, especially for children's educational expenses (Brinton 1993; Yu 2009). It is in this context that we focus on the rise in nonstandard employment and its potentially important role in shaping recent trends in married women's employment in Japan.

The rise in nonstandard employment

The rise in nonstandard employment has been particularly pronounced in Japan and is thought to play a major role in reinforcing the supplemental nature of married women's employment (Gottfried and Hayashi-Kato 1998; Sato 2001; Weathers 2001; Yu 2002). The feminization of nonstandard employment is extreme in Japan where more 56% of all female employees are now

in nonstandard jobs and 70% of all part-time workers are women (JILPT 2015). The rise in nonstandard employment has been particularly pronounced in sectors that employ a large proportion of women – e.g., retail, service, and clerical work. It is also worth noting that there is substantial variation in both the types of nonstandard employment and employees' motivations for entering this kind of work. In addition to part-time employment, nonstandard work also includes dispatch work, temporary fixed-term contract work (often full-time), and other fixed-term contract employees (Asao 2011). Part-time work is much more likely to be a voluntary arrangement than dispatch or fixed-term employment which is more common among those unable to find regular employment (Asao 2011).

Importantly, however, the rise in nonstandard employment is not limited to women. The prolonged economic downturn in Japan has been accompanied by a shift away from the so-called Japanese style management to a labor market that is rapidly expanding the use of nonstandard employment (e.g., Kato and Kambayashi 2013). In 2013, fully 37% of male employees were in nonstandard employment, suggesting a relatively high prevalence of men who are unable to fulfill the role of sole provider/breadwinner. Those in marginal nonstandard employment have little certainty about employment stability and can expect little wage growth. Even among regular employees, the shift from seniority-based pay to merit-based pay in some companies increases uncertainty – to the extent that clear expectations of future wage growth are part of the foundation of breadwinner-homemaker marriages, this uncertainty is expected to increase the value of diffusing risk by having both spouses work.

Evidence of change

In conjunction with the rise in nonstandard employment, there are many reasons to expect a decline in the predominance of the male breadwinner family. For example, several studies have

provided evidence of weakening of the longstanding and powerful negative relationship between husbands' earnings and wives' employment (e.g., Higuchi 1995; Kohara 2008; Ohtake 2000; Raymo and Lim 2011). This work documents growth in couples in which both are high earners (e.g., Kohara 2008) and shows that women with a high school degree or less, who tend to be married to husbands with lower education and lower earnings, are more likely than their highly-educated counterparts to reenter the labor force to take low-quality nonstandard jobs (e.g., Raymo and Lim 2011). These findings are consistent with the emergence of multiple types of dual-earner families. Other evidence of the shifting economic foundations of marriage includes the disappearance of the well-established negative relationship between women's socioeconomic resources. In contrast to earlier studies (e.g., Ono 2003; Raymo 2003), Fukuda (2013) finds that women's income is positively related to the risk of marriage in recent cohorts.

Other work points to recent change in underlying attitudes, despite relatively strong support for highly differentiated gender roles within marriage. For example, Atoh (2001) describes marked decline in women's support for gender specialization. Among women born after 1960, only one-third (somewhat) agrees that it is best if the husband works outside and the wife takes care of the home (NIPSSR 2012). However, attitudes depend heavily on the presence of young children, with 70% of married women in a 2010 survey (somewhat) agreeing that it is best if mothers stay home while children are young (down from 88% in 1992) (NIPSSR 2012). Shifting attitudes of unmarried men and women also highlight the changing nature of marriage. In response to a question about their ideal life course, a declining proportion says "housewife" (from .34 in 1987 to .20 in 2010) while an increasing proportion says "balance work and family" (from .19 in 1987 to .31 in 2010) (NIPSSR 2012). Interestingly, unmarried men's preferences for their future spouse have changed even more sharply, with the proportion preferring a housewife

declining from .38 in 1987 to .11 in 2010 (NIPSSR 2010). This is consistent with other data indicating that a sizable proportion of married men would prefer their wives to work more than they are currently working (Bumpass 2007). These changes may reflect rising educational attainment – especially rapid increase in the proportion of female high school graduates proceeding to four-year universities (rather than two-year junior colleges), but educational differences in work orientation are not as pronounced as one might expect (NIPSSR 2012).

Policy changes may also be contributing to shifting attitudes and behavior around the division of labor within marriage. Several policy shifts, including the Equal Employment Opportunity Law of 1989 and the Child-Care Leave Law of 1992 (and subsequent extensions of both laws) presumably promote dual-earner couples by increasing women’s opportunities for meaningful employment and by facilitating work-family balance. While the primary motivations for these policies lie in concerns about low fertility and impending labor force shortages, the potential implications for changing the economic foundations of marriage are clear. The current government’s promotion of “womenomics” (stimulating the economy by promoting women’s participation in the labor force) suggests that policy will continue to play a role in shaping the prevalence and nature of dual-career families in Japan.

Objectives

Our goal in this paper is to examine the correlates of married women’s labor force participation using data that provide rich information on the husbands’ and wives’ employment and earnings, women’s work orientation, and family characteristics. Having information on women’s work orientation and preferences is of critical importance to our study since identifying women’s reasons and motivations for labor force participation is essential for theoretical evaluation of whether women’s nonstandard employment is motivated by the need for income pooling or by

gender specialization. Because most surveys do not provide this information, few studies have explicitly examined how women's work/family orientations condition relationships between husbands' income and wives' employment. The Japanese case is particularly useful given that in the U.S. and other countries, women and men both have become similar in terms of labor force participation so that women's work-family orientation might not exert a strong influence on their work decisions because of expectation of continuous employment for women. But in Japan, women's roles remain closely tied to family responsibilities and there is more room for women's career orientation to affect their labor force participation compared to the U.S. and other western societies (Raymo and Lim 2011; Lim and Raymo 2014). Furthermore, it is theoretically important to link women's work orientations to their employment decisions and husbands' economic resources since it helps us to distinguish dual-earner couples with both spouses having unstable employment from breadwinner-homemaker families where women's work remain supplementary to husbands' income.

Data and Methods

We use data from the Japanese Panel Survey of Consumers (JPSC), an annual survey of a nationally representative sample of women conducted by the Institute for Research on Household Economics. The original sample was stratified by marital status, with 1,002 married women and 498 unmarried women between the ages of 24 and 34 surveyed in the first wave in 1993. In wave 5 (1997), a second cohort consisting of 201 married and 299 unmarried women was added. A third cohort (351 married and 485 unmarried women) was recruited in wave 11 (2003) and a fourth cohort (218 married and 418 unmarried women) in wave 16 (2008). In this study, we use data from the first to eighteenth waves (1993-2010). The analytic sample is comprised of records for married women, including those who were married at the time of the first survey in 1993,

1997 (second cohort), 2003 (third cohort), or 2008 (fourth cohort) and those who married subsequent to initial observation.² After dropping observations with missing data, the final analytical sample is comprised of 18,653 person-year observations.

Measures

In this study, we use multinomial logit models to examine the correlates of married women's labor force participation with a particular focus on the role of husbands' income and women's work orientation. We categorize women's employment status into full-time standard employment, part-time nonstandard employment, and non-employment (housewife). Following convention (e.g., Kalleberg 2000; Houseman and Osawa 2003), we classify full-time, regular jobs as standard employment and part-time employment, short-term contract, and temporary jobs as nonstandard employment. The self-employed, family workers, and freelancers are also classified as nonstandard workers. The measure for women's employment type is lagged 1 year from year $t+1$ to year t so that independent variables and covariates (measured in year t) precede women's labor force participation (measured in year $t+1$).

The first key independent variable, husband's annual income (logged) combines income from work, business, assets, and social security. Another key independent variable is women's work orientation, for which we construct two proxies. The first measure is constructed from a question that asked respondents the reason for choosing the school they last attended. We coded responses of "to prepare for my desired job in the future" or "to get a good education" as 1

² We excluded women whose husbands are not employed from the analysis. First, the number of non-working husbands is very small (about 1.5%) and second, given that we are evaluating the correlates of women's work decisions in the context of dual-career couples, couples with not-working husbands are less relevant to our purpose.

(career-oriented education) and all other responses (e.g., “my teacher/parents suggested it,” “to be helpful for marriage”) as 0 (non career-oriented education). The second measure of work orientation is based on a question about respondents’ reasons for choosing their current company/job. Women who answered yes to any items consistent with career orientation, such as “potential for career development,” “interest in the work,” or “opportunities for promotion” were coded as 1, and all others were coded as 0. A corresponding measure of reasons for leaving the previous job was created for those out of labor force. Combining these two questions, i.e., the reason for choosing their current company/job for employed women and the reason for leaving their previous job for non-employed women, we created the second measure of work orientation that reflects whether the choice of women’s labor force participation reflects career orientation.

In all models, we include controls that previous studies have shown to be related to women’s labor force participation, including demographic characteristics (age, marital duration, parity, childbirth, presence of preschool-age child) and family characteristics (coresidence with parents(-in-law)) (e.g., Raymo and Lim 2011; Yu 2005). We also control for women’s education and indicators of husbands’ socioeconomic status such as education and employment type (i.e., standard employment vs. nonstandard employment) which may affect women’s employment decisions.

We estimated six models. The first examines women’s labor force participation as a function of background characteristics. The second examines the relationships between husband’s income and women’s labor force participation, net of controls. We then examine how women’s work orientation is related to women’s work decisions, net of background characteristics and husbands’ income (Models 3-4), and evaluate whether the association between husband’s income and women’s employment status are conditioned by their own work

orientation (Models 5-6). Since each individual woman can contribute to more than one observations, we used robust-standard errors in all models.

Results

Table 1 presents descriptive statistics (means and standard deviations) of the variables used in the analysis for the entire sample and separately by employment type. Slightly more than half of women in the analytic sample are employed (56%) and those who are employed tend to work in nonstandard jobs. The higher proportion of nonstandard employment among working women reflects women's career interruption due to marriage and childbirth and the difficulty of securing regular, full-time jobs upon reentry to the labor market in Japan (Yu 2002).

As for husband's income, women who are not working are married to men with higher income compared to employed women, indicating a strong negative income effect of husbands' earnings on wives' labor force participation. However, there is little difference in husbands' income between women in standard employment and those in nonstandard employment.

<<TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE>>

Coefficients for husband's education and employment type are consistent with scenarios that distinguish between dual-career couples and dual-earner (in which both spouses are employed in nonstandard jobs). More specifically, characteristics of husbands are similar for both women with regular, full-time jobs and full-time homemakers while women with nonstandard jobs tend to have husbands without university degrees and nonstandard jobs ($p < 0.001$). These characteristics of husbands suggest that women with nonstandard employment may choose/need to work due to unstable job conditions of husbands. They are also consistent with earlier studies highlighting bifurcation of highly-educated women into homemakers and full-time employees in career occupations (Raymo and Lim 2011).

Turning to women's characteristics, we see that women holding nonstandard jobs have the lowest educational attainment. For example, only 45% of these women have some tertiary education in contrast to 54% of non-working women and 61% of those in regular employment. Also, those working in regular employment are more likely to have chosen their final school for reasons suggestive of a strong career orientation relative to women in nonstandard jobs or those not in the labor force. It is also interesting that both standard and nonstandard employees are more likely to report choosing their jobs for reasons suggestive of strong career orientation than women out of labor force are to report career related reasons for leaving their previous jobs. Taken as a whole, these indicators suggest that women working in full-time standard jobs have stronger career orientation than women with nonstandard jobs and those out of labor force.

Turning to demographic and family characteristics, we see a clear difference between employed women, regardless of employment type, and non-employed women in terms of child care responsibilities: 13 percent of non-working women gave birth to a child between two interviews and about half of them are raising preschool-aged children. It is not clear from these stacked cross-sectional data whether childbearing pushes women out of the labor force or women out of the labor force are more likely to have children, but it is clear that non-employed women are more tied to child care responsibilities, i.e., roles consistent with traditional gender division within household. Interestingly, the proportion giving birth between waves was 7% among women in regular jobs, but only 2% among women employed in nonstandard jobs. The higher proportion of childbirth among women in standard employment might reflect access to child-care leave or other resources that facilitate childbearing. In addition, women in the labor force tend to coreside with parents(-in-law), indicating that help from extended family is conducive to married women's labor force attachment (Sasaki 2002).

These descriptive statistics highlight clear and interesting differences among Japanese married women in different employment statuses. Non-employed women are clearly more likely to be tied to family responsibilities such as childbirth and raising young children. But for employed women, differences in demographic and family characteristics are small. Among those holding nonstandard jobs, relatively low education level, along with husbands' lower education and unstable employment conditions (i.e., nonstandard employment) and strong work orientation related to their current jobs are suggestive a strong need for employment and strategic efforts to enter employment faced by structural constraints (e.g., limited access to full-time regular jobs).

<<TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE>>

Table 2 presents the results of multinomial logistic regression models for labor force participation among married women. As described earlier, the dependent variable has three categories: non-employment (the reference outcome), regular employment, and nonstandard employment. The baseline model regresses women's labor force participation on background characteristics (e.g., demographic and family characteristics, husband's education and employment type, and women's education).

Results from the baseline model show that women's education is positively associated with standard employment but not with nonstandard work. Vocational school graduates and university graduates are more likely to be employed in standard full-time jobs relative to high school graduates (the reference group). As for husbands' characteristics, women whose husbands have university degrees are less likely to be working than women with husbands having a high school degree. Interestingly, husband's nonstandard work is associated with a much higher likelihood that wives are also working in nonstandard job relative to not working (and relative to standard employment). This implies that dual-earner couples in which wives work in

nonstandard work may be motivated by economic necessity resulting from husband's unstable labor market status.

In the next model, we introduce husbands' income. We find that husbands' higher income is strongly associated with lower labor force participation for wives. This strong negative income effect is observed for both standard and nonstandard work and the magnitude of this relationship is similar for the two types of employment. At least with respect to the role of husbands' income, there appears to be little difference between wives' full-time employment and nonstandard employment.

Results from Models 3 and 4 show that women's own work orientation (as measured by women's stated reasons for choosing their final school and choosing/leaving their current/previous jobs) is positively associated with labor force participation, but is not associated with differences between the likelihood of being in standard or nonstandard employment. To see whether the association between husband's income and women's employment differs by women's work orientation, we introduce interaction terms in the subsequent models. Results from Models 5 and 6 indicate that there are significant interactions between work orientation (reason for choosing/leaving the job) and husband's income for both standard and nonstandard employment. Together with the information in Table 1, these results suggest that the nature of women's work in dual-earner families may differ by women's employment type. Work-oriented women (who tend to have higher education) married to men with higher earnings (and full-time standard employment) are more likely to work in standard employment relative to women with lower work orientation, indicative of dual-career couples, i.e., "power couples." At the same time, the strong interaction between women's work orientation and husband's income among nonstandard employees is consistent with the hypothesis that women's nonstandard work may be

a choice made when faced with structural constraints, e.g., the difficulty that less-educated women may face in finding regular employment.

In supplementary analyses, we further explore the extent to which relationships between women's work orientation and employment status may be moderated by their own educational attainment. We find that university graduates with stronger career orientations are more likely to work in standard employment, but not in nonstandard employment. These analyses provide some evidence of bifurcation among highly educated, pointing to the heterogeneity among highly-educated women with respect to work and family preferences (Raymo and Lim 2011).

Conclusions

In this study, we used 18 waves of nationally representative longitudinal data to examine the correlates of married women's employment status in Japan with a particular focus on the roles of husbands' income and women's career orientation. Using multinomial logistic regression models, we distinguished between dual-earner couples in which the wife's nonstandard work may reflect economic needs or structural constraints (i.e., lack of access to regular, career jobs) and dual-career couples in which the wife (as well as the husband) is in regular, full-time employment. In doing so, we attempted to evaluate the role that women's nonstandard work plays in the transition from male breadwinner families to dual-earner families in Japan, a non-Western society characterized by high level of gender inequality.

In this section, we summarize our findings and discuss potential implications of the study results. We find some evidence of distinction between dual-earner and dual-career couples. More specifically, dual-career couples are more common among women with at least some tertiary education, which is consistent with emphases on positive substitution effects (i.e., high opportunity costs of labor force drop-out). Dual-career couples are also more common among

women with high-earning husbands and strong career orientation, reflecting the emergence of “power couples” (Kohara 2008). The existence of these “power couples” has potentially important implications for processes of stratification in Japan in light of the role that wives’ income has played in trends in family income inequality in the U.S. (Cancian and Reed 1998) and the fact that relatively low employment rates of highly-educated Japanese women have tended to reduce income inequality in the past.

Our results also indicate that there appears to be another class of dual-earner couples in which both husband and wife are in nonstandard work. In general, women married to men in nonstandard employment are less educated and also tend to work in nonstandard jobs. These characteristics of husbands suggest that women’s nonstandard employment might reflect economic need and strategic income pooling among spouses in relatively low-paying, unstable employment (Oppenheimer 1988; 1997). At the same time, evidence that work-oriented women with higher-earning husbands are more likely to be working in nonstandard jobs (relative to not-working) suggests that nonstandard employment may also be the result of structural constraints limiting full-time, career opportunities for women in a gender-inegalitarian labor market (Kalleberg and Sorensen 1979).

In subsequent revisions, we will further examine the role of nonstandard work in the transition from male breadwinner to dual-earner families by looking at how husbands’ income affects women’s labor force transitions, e.g., movement from full-time (standard) to part-time (nonstandard) employment. Based on our results, we will also evaluate various ways in which relationships of interest may be conditional on beyond women’s work-family orientations, such as presence and age of children.

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Table 1: Sample characteristics (Mean and SD), by labor force status at wave t

<i>Variable</i>	Total	Standard Employment	Nonstandard Employment	Not in the labor force
<i>Women's labor force participation (wave t+1)</i>				
Standard employment	0.17			
Nonstandard employment	0.38			
Not in the labor force	0.44			
<i>Husband's characteristics</i>				
Husband's income (annual, logged)	6.08	6.07***	6.08***	6.17
Husband's education				
High school or less	0.50	0.50	0.56	0.45
Vocational school	0.14	0.14	0.18	0.16
University or more	0.36	0.36	0.26	0.39
Husband's employment type				
Standard employment	0.83	0.87	0.76	0.86
Nonstandard employment	0.17	0.13	0.24	0.14
<i>Women's characteristics</i>				
Education				
High school or less	0.48	0.39	0.55	0.46
Vocational school	0.19	0.21	0.19	0.19
Junior College	0.21	0.22	0.18	0.23
University or more	0.12	0.18	0.08	0.12
Work orientation				
Reason for choosing final school ^a				
Active	0.49	0.57***	0.48***†††	0.47
Passive	0.51	0.43	0.52	0.43
Reason for choosing the current job ^{ab}				
Reasons related to career orientation	0.46	0.52***	0.53***	0.38
Reasons non-related to career orientation	0.54	0.48	0.47	0.62
<i>Demographic and family characteristics</i>				
Age	34.93 (5.7)	35.28(5.9)	36.3(12.0)	33.6(5.3)
Marital duration	10.2(6.0)	10.06(6.4)	12.02(6.0)	8.70(5.4)
Gave birth between t and t+1 ^a	0.08	0.07	0.02	0.13
Parity	1.73 (0.9)	1.56(1.0)	1.84(0.9)	1.70(0.9)
Has preschool-age child ^a	0.35	0.28	0.22	0.49
Coresidence with parents(-in-law) ^a	0.33	0.42	0.38	0.25
Number of person-years	18,653	3,242	7,128	8,283

^a Dichotomous variables coded 1=yes, 0=no

^b Reason for quitting the previous job for non-employed women
In some cases, totals do not sum up to 1 due to the rounding error.

*** two-tailed t-test, reference is not in the labor force (p<0.001)

††† two-tailed t-test, reference is standard employment (p<0.001)

Table 2: Results from Multinomial Logit model predicting married women's labor force participation

	Standard Employment†					
	Model1	Model2	Model3	Model4	Model5	Model6
Age	0.03 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)
Marital duration	0.00 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)
Husband's education						
High school or less (omitted)						
Vocational school	-0.47** (0.18)	-0.47** (0.18)	-0.50** (0.18)	-0.48** (0.18)	-0.50** (0.18)	-0.51** (0.18)
University or more	-0.56*** (0.16)	-0.49** (0.16)	-0.52*** (0.16)	-0.48** (0.16)	-0.52*** (0.16)	-0.51** (0.16)
Husband's employment type						
Standard employment (omitted)						
Nonstandard employment	-0.11 (0.16)	-0.14 (0.16)	-0.14 (0.16)	-0.19 (0.16)	-0.14 (0.16)	-0.19 (0.16)
Education						
High school or less (omitted)						
Vocational school	0.46** (0.17)	0.46** (0.17)	0.24 (0.18)	0.42* (0.17)	0.25 (0.18)	0.21 (0.18)
Junior College	0.33 (0.17)	0.32 (0.17)	0.16 (0.18)	0.28 (0.17)	0.17 (0.18)	0.13 (0.18)
University or more	1.00*** (0.21)	1.01*** (0.21)	0.87*** (0.21)	0.93*** (0.20)	0.88*** (0.21)	0.80*** (0.21)
Gave birth between t and t+1 ^a	-0.68*** (0.09)	-0.69*** (0.09)	-0.70*** (0.09)	-0.71*** (0.09)	-0.69*** (0.09)	-0.72*** (0.09)
Parity	-0.26*** (0.08)	-0.25** (0.08)	-0.26** (0.08)	-0.23** (0.08)	-0.26** (0.08)	-0.24** (0.08)
Has preschool-age child ^a	-0.67*** (0.08)	-0.67*** (0.08)	-0.67*** (0.08)	-0.67*** (0.09)	-0.67*** (0.08)	-0.68*** (0.09)
Coresidence with parents(-in-law) ^a	0.87*** (0.13)	0.85*** (0.13)	0.84*** (0.13)	0.89*** (0.13)	0.84*** (0.13)	0.88*** (0.13)
Husband's income (logged)		-0.24*** (0.05)	-0.24*** (0.05)	-0.23*** (0.05)	-0.34*** (0.07)	-0.27*** (0.05)
Work orientation						
Orientation1: Reason for choosing final school ^a			0.39** (0.14)		-0.79 (0.66)	0.38** (0.14)
Orientation2: Reason for choosing the current job ^{ab}				0.56*** (0.12)		
Husband's Income*Work orientation1					0.19 (0.11)	
Husband's Income*Work orientation2						0.09*** (0.02)
Constant	-1.46** (0.54)	-0.12 (0.62)	-0.23 (0.62)	-0.48 (0.62)	0.36 (0.69)	-0.28 (0.61)
Number of person-years	18653	18653	18653	18653	18653	18653
Log-likelihood	-17601.64	-17559.57	-17515.81	-17363.39	-17510.14	-17317.47

^a Dichotomous variables coded 1=yes, 0=no

^b Reason for quitting the previous job for non-employed women

† Reference: Not in the labor force

* p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001

Table 2 (Continued): Results from Multinomial Logit model predicting married women's labor force participation

	Nonstandard Employment†					
	Model1	Model2	Model3	Model4	Model5	Model6
Age	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)
Marital duration	0.05*** (0.02)	0.05*** (0.02)	0.05*** (0.02)	0.05*** (0.02)	0.05*** (0.02)	0.05*** (0.02)
Husband's education						
High school or less (omitted)						
Vocational school	-0.13 (0.12)	-0.13 (0.12)	-0.16 (0.12)	-0.14 (0.12)	-0.15 (0.12)	-0.16 (0.12)
University or more	-0.55*** (0.11)	-0.49*** (0.11)	-0.51*** (0.11)	-0.48*** (0.11)	-0.51*** (0.11)	-0.50*** (0.11)
Husband's employment type						
Standard employment (omitted)						
Nonstandard employment	0.50*** (0.11)	0.47*** (0.11)	0.47*** (0.11)	0.42*** (0.11)	0.47*** (0.11)	0.42*** (0.11)
Education						
High school or less (omitted)						
Vocational school	-0.01 (0.12)	-0.00 (0.12)	-0.17 (0.13)	-0.05 (0.12)	-0.16 (0.13)	-0.21 (0.13)
Junior College	-0.09 (0.12)	-0.10 (0.12)	-0.22 (0.13)	-0.15 (0.12)	-0.22 (0.13)	-0.27* (0.13)
University or more	-0.02 (0.16)	-0.01 (0.16)	-0.11 (0.17)	-0.11 (0.16)	-0.11 (0.17)	-0.21 (0.17)
Gave birth between t and t+1 ^a	-1.71*** (0.10)	-1.72*** (0.10)	-1.73*** (0.10)	-1.75*** (0.10)	-1.73*** (0.11)	-1.76*** (0.11)
Parity	-0.12* (0.06)	-0.11 (0.06)	-0.12* (0.06)	-0.09 (0.06)	-0.12* (0.06)	-0.10 (0.06)
Has preschool-age child ^a	-0.83*** (0.07)	-0.83*** (0.07)	-0.83*** (0.07)	-0.83*** (0.07)	-0.83*** (0.07)	-0.84*** (0.07)
Coresidence with parents(-in-law) ^a	0.44*** (0.09)	0.42*** (0.09)	0.42*** (0.09)	0.47*** (0.09)	0.42*** (0.09)	0.47*** (0.09)
Husband's income (logged)		-0.20*** (0.05)	-0.20*** (0.05)	-0.18*** (0.05)	-0.24*** (0.07)	-0.24*** (0.05)
Work orientation						
Orientation1: Reason for choosing final school ^a			0.30** (0.10)		-0.17 (0.60)	0.28** (0.10)
Orientation2: Reason for choosing the current job ^{ab}				0.67*** (0.08)		
Husband's Income*Work orientation1					0.08 (0.10)	
Husband's Income*Work orientation2						0.11*** (0.01)
Constant	0.07 (0.38)	1.19* (0.47)	1.12* (0.46)	0.75 (0.46)	1.35* (0.55)	1.06* (0.46)
Number of person-years	18653	18653	18653	18653	18653	18653
Log-likelihood	-17601.64	-17559.57	-17515.81	-17363.39	-17510.14	-17317.47

^a Dichotomous variables coded 1=yes, 0=no

^b Reason for quitting the previous job for non-employed women

† Reference: Not in the labor force

* p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001