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Gender, Employment and Housework

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Chapter 7

GENDER, EMPLOYMENT, AND HOUSEWORK

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Chapter 7

Gender, Employment, and Housework in Japan and the U.S.

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The interface between the worlds of work and family has long been seen as a critical fault line along which pressures towards family change accumulate (Goode 1963); and at the same time, families provide resources for adapting to economic pressures (Cogner and Elder 1994; Harevan 1982). As the growth of the market economy creates increasingly similar economic opportunities and constraints across countries, there is much to be learned from comparative analyses of the work-family interface--especially between these modernized economies with dramatically different cultural heritages. The patriarchal Confucian heritage of Japan provides a strong cultural contrast to the more egalitarian U. S for examining relationships between employment and family.

Both Japan and the U.S. have undergone profound changes in work and family in the postwar decades, most importantly the increasing employment of married women (see Chapter 1; also Goldscheider and Waite 1991; Tsuya 1992). However, these changes in wives' economic roles have not brought about similar changes in husbands' domestic roles, leaving the home predominantly as wives' responsibility (Goldscheider and Waite 1991; Pleck 1985; Tsuya 1992; Tsuya and Bumpass 1998). So far, the major accommodations been made by women, either by adding paid employment to their existing domestic responsibilities, or by reducing the time spent in housework and/or employment (Ferree 1991; Kamo 1994; Pleck 1985; Tsuya and Bumpass

1998). Whereas the time Japanese husbands spend on housework has remained extremely low and virtually unchanged during the last three decades (Tsuya 1992), husband's contributions appear to have increased in the U.S. (Gershuny and Robinson 1988). In both countries, the time husbands spend on housework responds to the employment hours of their wives, (Ferree 1991; Kamo 1988; Presser 1994; Tsuya 1992; Tsuya and Bumpass 1998) though less so in Japan.

In this chapter, we compare Japan and the U.S. with respect to both employment hours and the allocation of household tasks (for specifics of the surveys, see Chapter 1). We begin with the recognition that "family production" includes time spent in the labor-market as well as in household tasks, and hence we examine an estimate of "combined workload" that is a sum of these components. We believe that a focus solely on the allocation of household tasks miscasts gender equity issues by ignoring differences in employment hours (Ferree 1991; also see Chapter 6). We do not intend to gloss over important gender issues affecting the trade-off between employment and home tasks (or of childcare demands that are not measured here). However, when housework and employment are jointly considered, gender inequality in the combined workload is clearly less on the average than one would conclude from household tasks alone--at the same time that the "double shift" is highlighted in both countries for women who are employed full-time.

We also consider both actual and relative investments in household tasks, a point often confused in the literature. Although the relative share of each spouse reflects the gender division of labor (Goldsheider and Waite 1991), variations in relative shares may derive from differences in the housework time of *either* spouse. Increases in husbands' shares can result either from

greater household contributions from husbands or from reduced efforts by wives; and an important adaptation by wives to their increased employment has been a reduction in the time they spend on household tasks. The total time spent on housework also depends on standards for household maintenance, the efficiency with which tasks are performed, and availability of domestic help provided by others. We have no data on these aspects of the process, however.

We begin with a summary overview of the combined workload measure and its components by country and gender, proceed to a comparison of distributions on hours of employment, and then examine the relationship of household task hours to employment hours and other related factors. We conclude with multivariate analyses of time spent on housework by wives, by husbands and of the proportion of all housework time performed by husbands.

Theoretical Perspectives

Four types of factors are frequently noted in the literature as relevant to the allocation of household tasks: time availability (especially as conditioned by employment hours), the amount of housework to be done (as conditioned by factors such as number and ages of children and availability of time saving appliances), the relative resources of spouses, and the gender role attitudes of each (e.g., Coverman 1985; England and Farkas 1986; Goldscheider and Waite 1991; Presser 1994). A number of studies have viewed these four perspectives as competing hypotheses, but we, like Ferree (1991) and Presser (1994), see these as complementary components of the joint household production process.

Time Availability

Time spent in employment clearly constrains the amount of time that can be allocated to housework and hence affects the gender division of labor at home. However, findings vary depending on the measures used. For example, earlier evidence on the U.S. shows that husbands' *share* in housework increases when wives are employed, but primarily because employed wives spend *less* time on these tasks (Pleck 1977). On the other hand, husbands who work relatively few hours do contribute more to housework (Coverman and Sheley 1986; Gershuny and Robinson 1988). Husbands' contribution to household work is affected by both husbands' employment hours and by wives' employment status and hours (Coverman, 1985) affect. In addition, Goldscheider and Waite (1991) report that, among dual-earner couples, husbands' share in housework is influenced more by wives' employment hours than by their own. This topic has been studied much less for Japan. Nonetheless, our earlier work (of which this chapter is an expansion) shows that Japanese husbands' housework increases significantly only when wives are employed full-time. This suggests that husbands respond to the hours (and probably the rigidity of the schedule) of wives' employment, rather than to wives' employment *per se* (Tsuya 1992; Tsuya and Bumpass 1998).¹

Amount of Housework

The amount of housework to be done (even exclusive of childcare) is influenced strongly by the number, age, and sex of children. Evidence from the U.S. shows that, even taking into account employment hours of both spouses, the presence of small children increases wives'

housework time dramatically while only slightly increasing that of husbands' (Kamo 1988; Rexroat and Shehan 1987).² Analyzing dual-earner couples in the U.S., Presser (1994) also found that the numbers of non-adult children reduces husbands' share of housework, not because husbands do less housework, but because wives' housework increases more than husbands'. Even though the contribution of Japanese husbands to housework is lower than their U.S. counterparts, we expect that similar effects of the presence of preschool children will be found in both countries.

Whereas the presence of small children increases the amount of housework to be done, older children can both create more housework and contribute to household tasks. Older children, especially teenage or adult daughters contribute substantially to household tasks in the U.S (Blair 1992: Goldscheider and Waite 1991: Spitze and Ward 1994), and thus reduce fathers' share in housework by substituting for his contribution to domestic tasks. Bergen (1990), on the other hand, found that the presence of school-aged children had no effect. We expect that, in Japan as well, help from coresident adult children, primarily daughters (and daughters-in-law), may reduce parents' domestic responsibilities. Thus, although the direction of the effect of the presence of school-aged children is unclear, we hypothesize that the presence of adult daughters (and in Japan daughters-in-law) may decrease even further their fathers' share in housework.

The amount of housework that needs to be done can also be influenced by the presence of an older generation in the household. As noted in Chapter 4, living with parents is extremely rare in the U.S. (at any point in time), and much more common in Japan. At the same time, it is not as high in Japan as is frequently presumed, since about two-thirds of Japanese couples in 1994 were

not living with parents (see Chapter 4). For this majority we can compare the two countries without the confounding effect of parental presence in the household. Coresidence with parents in Japan may affect the gender division of household labor as well as of combined workload. Help provided by parents (mothers and mothers-in-law) may replace some of the small contribution husbands might otherwise make, as well as facilitate wives' employment (Morgan and Hiroshima 1983; Tsuya 1992; Martin and Tsuya 1992). This study seeks to examine *how* multigenerational coresidence--both upward and downward--influences the gender division of labor in the two societies.

Relative Resources of Spouses

Classic resource theories (e.g., Blood and Wolfe 1960) see the key factor determining the gender division of labor at home as relative *power*, defined as a function of external resources of each spouse, such as income and education. Though the gender gap is narrowing, women traditionally have less earning power and lower social status than men, and this gender disadvantage in the wider society is transmitted into the domestic power relations between spouses (Ferree 1991).

The "new home economics" predicts a similar allocation of home tasks, but because of the relative efficiency of "trading" in a gender-based division of labor rather than as a result of power differences. Because of differences in human capital investments in the two spheres, men derive greater marginal productivity (wage rates) in the market place and women's investment in household skills make them more efficient at those tasks (Becker 1981).

Whereas little empirical support has been found for women's higher efficiency in household tasks and/or men's higher labor force productivity (Coverman 1985; Farkas 1976; Huber and Spitze 1983; Spitze 1986), some studies have demonstrated the relevance of resources for explaining the gender division of labor (Ferree 1991; Maret and Finlay 1984; Presser 1994; Ross 1987). Kamo (1994) also suggests that the relative resource perspective is more relevant to the U.S., because the allocation of tasks in Japanese households is affected more strongly by traditional gender relations based on the patriarchal family system, rather than by economic rationality, thus shifting the ground from "rational economic efficiency" back to power. We therefore hypothesize that while the relative resources of spouses will influence the gender division of household labor, such effects should be stronger among U.S. couples than among Japanese couples.

Gender Role Attitudes

To the extent that attitudes affect behavior, we would expect men with nontraditional gender role attitudes to do more housework, and women with such attitudes to try harder to enlist their husbands' assistance. Evidence on the effect of gender role attitudes on the division of household labor shows mixed results. Many U.S. studies have found that egalitarian gender role attitudes of husbands increase their contribution to housework, but that wives' attitudes have little or no effect (Huber and Spitze 1983; Kamo 1988; Ross 1987; Stafford et al. 1977). In contrast, Coverman (1985) found that participation in housework was actually lower among husbands with nontraditional gender role attitudes, whereas other studies on the U.S. showed that gender

role attitudes of *both* spouses influence the gender division of household labor (Ferree 1991; Presser 1994). Given these mixed findings from prior research, the gender role attitudes of both spouses are hypothesized to affect the gender division of household labor although the nature of these relationships is uncertain.

Measures

Time on Housework, Employment, and Combined Workload

Excluding childcare,³ we focus on a common set of tasks traditionally gender-typed as female: cleaning house, doing laundry (for the U.S. laundry and ironing), cooking, cleaning after meals, and grocery shopping.^{4,5} Wives' perceptions of the fairness of the division of household tasks are affected by husbands' participation in traditionally female tasks, but not in male or gender neutral tasks. This is probably so because a husband's help with female tasks is more salient and therefore more deeply appreciated (Benin and Agostinelli 1988; Blair and Johnson 1992).

Time spent on housework was computed as the sum of hours spent per week on these tasks by each spouse (then top-coded at the 98th percentile to reduce the effect of extreme values on the analysis), and the relative share by dividing the husband's task hours by the combined hours of both spouses.

A measure of "combined workload" was computed by adding the hours spent per week on household tasks and the usual hours spent per week on employment. The Japanese recorded employment in categories, so we imputed the mid-point of each category. Exceptions were for

those who reported to have worked 35-41 hours or 60 hours or more per week: the values of 39 and 66 hours were assigned, respectively, to the two categories, based on the results of the 1993 national wage structure survey in Japan.⁶

Results

Table 7.1 presents the mean hours per week of each spouse, and husbands' average share on: (1) traditionally female household tasks; (2) employment; and (3) combined workload. These data indicate a surprising similarity between our measures of average housework hours of wives (33.5 hours in Japan and 32.4 hours in the U.S.), despite the differences in how these were measured. On the other hand, as expected there are considerable differences in the time husbands spend on housework: Japanese husbands spend an average of 2.5 hours per week on female domestic tasks whereas American husbands report almost 8 hours per week on those tasks. Consequently, the estimated share of housework contributed by husbands is about 7 percent in Japan compared to 21 percent among U.S. husbands. Nonetheless, clear gender inequality persists in the division of these female household tasks in both societies.

[Table 7.1 about here]

We should point out, however, that Japanese husbands spend considerably more time at work than their American counterparts: around 48 hours per week compared to 41 hours among American men (see the middle panel of Table 7.1). Like their time on housework, women in the two countries spend very similar hours employed--21 hours per week in Japan compared to 23 hours in the U.S.

Given the longer hours of men's employment, it is not surprising that when household and labor-market hours are considered jointly, gender inequality is much less than implied by a focus solely on household tasks. Furthermore, we see no country differences in men's contribution to household production. Men's average share of the combined workload measure is approximately 48 percent in both Japan and the U.S. (see the bottom panel of Table 7.1).

We must again note, however, that while we believe this measure moves us conceptually in the right direction in thinking about gender inequality, it under-represents women's contributions by excluding childcare, and men's contributions by excluding such male household tasks as home and auto repair. Men are more likely to engage in such "do it yourself" activities in the U.S. than in Japan, and U.S., men report almost as many hours for these tasks as for the tasks examined here.

Nonetheless, this combined measure clearly reveals the large differences in workload that wives carry depending upon their employment hours. Table 7.2 presents the mean combined workload measure by employment hours for husbands and wives in the two countries. Contrary to usual expectations, the gender division represented by this measure of combined workload is clearly favorable to wives who are full-time homemakers or who are employed for only a few hours. Given that many wives who work few or no hours are mothers of small children, and that childcare time is not considered here, differences between men and women are understated and those between wives employed full-time and those not employed are understated. Nevertheless, even when we limit our analysis to couples without preschool children, this main point still holds (data not shown).

[Table 7.2 about here]

On the other hand, as wives' employment hours increase, their combined workload increases, clearly revealing the "second shift" of unpaid housework among wives who are employed full-time (Hochschild 1991). Not only do a higher proportion of Japanese wives work long employment hours, those with long employment hours also spend more time on household tasks--resulting in an estimated 85 hour week of combined workload for the highest employment category compared to 77 hours among American wives.⁶

Differentials in Housework Time among Household Members

Tables 7.3 and 7.4 present the mean number of hours spent per week on female household tasks by different household members for an array of relevant characteristics. These tables show the observed relationships as a context for the multivariate analysis that follows, so we will limit our discussion of them to a few key points.

As we expected, there is a sharp reduction in wives' housework hours as the hours they are employed increase, and the patterns are remarkably similar in the two countries. Husbands' household hours increase in response to their wife's employment hours, in both countries, though the levels remain very low in Japan. These increases are not nearly enough to compensate for the reduction in wives' hours in response to their own employment.

[Table 7.3 about here]

While husbands' employment hours reduce the time they spend on household tasks, they do not affect the time wives and other household members spend on housework. The exception

is a small group of husbands employed less than 35 hours per week: in Japan wives (and other household members) of these husbands spend less time on household tasks, and in the U.S. wives whose husbands are not employed full time spend more time on such tasks.⁷

[Table 7.4 about here]

The presence of preschool and school-aged children is positively associated with wives' housework hours (and this is especially true for the presence of preschool children) in both countries, even when childcare time has been excluded. However, the presence of non-adult children shows no clear association with husbands' housework hours in Japan. Instead, when preschool children are present in the household, the time grandparents spend on housework becomes notably higher, implying that Japanese grandmothers, rather than husbands, help wives with the extra housework created by small children (Morgan and Hiroshima 1983). In contrast, U.S. husbands' do help more around the house when there are preschool children. On the other hand, having adult daughters, and/or daughters-in-law, in the household is associated negatively with husbands' housework hours, but positively with wives' housework hours in both countries, although the associations are weak in Japan.

Coresidence with parents reduces the housework time of all other household members by similar degrees, especially in Japan. Not surprisingly, in Japan it is particularly female parents who help with housework (see Table 7.3); and when couples are living only with male parents, though this rare, the time wives spend on housework *increases* substantially. This is as expected given the low contribution of males (especially those from the older generation) and the additional work they are likely to create.

Multivariate Analysis of the Gender Division of Household Labor

Independent and Control Variables

Table 7.5 describes the covariates used in the multivariate analysis of the gender division of household labor⁸

[Table 7.5 about here]

Time Availability. Time availability is indexed by the "usual" weekly employment hours of both spouses. Wives' employment hours were grouped into 3 categories: zero (does not work), 1-34 hours ("part-time"), and 35 hours or more ("full-time"). Husbands' employment hours were grouped into 5 categories: less than 35 hours, 35-41 hours, 42-48 hours, 49-49 hours, and 60 hours or more.

The Amount of Household Work. We employ three variables to represent factors affecting the amount of housework to be done (and people available to work) in the household: coresidence with parents of one or both spouses; coresidence with daughters (and daughters-in-law, in the case of Japan) aged 18 or older; and the age of the youngest child. Age of youngest child is coded into three categories: preschool (0-6 for Japan and 0-4 for the U.S.); school age (7-17 for Japan and 5-17 for the U.S.); and no child under age 18.

Resources are represented by categorical variables measuring husbands' and wives' income.⁹ Because employment hours of both spouses are also included in the model, these measures index wage rates. Husband's yearly income was divided approximately into quartiles in each country. There are a considerable number of missing cases on income in the U.S., so we

have included a dummy variable for missing data.¹⁰

Many women are not employed or employed part-time, and their income is largely a function of their employment hours (and this is especially true in Japan). Hence, we dichotomized income for women who were employed full-time, with a residual category for others. We then dichotomized full-time employed wives into those with 'higher' income and those with 'lower' income.¹¹ Based on bivariate analyses, the cut-off point was chosen to be 2 million yen for Japan and \$9,000 for the U.S.

Gender Role Attitudes. Education and age are used as indirect socio-demographic indicators of gender role attitudes. There are large attitudinal differences by these variables in both countries (Chapter 2), and education is often found to be a major variable affecting gender-related behavior (Goldsheider and Waite 1991: 127-29). Presser (1994) suggests that the effects of husband's education on both husband's and wife's housework hours may reflect egalitarian gender role ideology more than resources issues. We classify education into 4 categories: less than high school; high school; some college (including junior college, and for Japan also including advanced professional school and post-high-school professional training school); and 4-year college or higher. Ages of spouses, measured by two continuous variables, are also included as proxies for the gender-related normative environment in which they grew up.

In addition, we examine a direct measure of gender-role attitudes that has long been used as a key indicator of preferences for the division of labor. However, whereas the NSFH1 collected information from both respondents and their spouses, the Japanese survey did so only from respondents because proxy reports of attitudes are highly unlikely to be reliable. Both

surveys asked the question: "it is much better for everyone if the man earns the main living and the woman takes care of the home."¹² We combined responses into 3 categories: (1) 'traditional,' combining "strongly agree" or "agree"; (2) 'neutral' for those indicating that they were "uncertain"; and (3) 'egalitarian,' combining "disagree" or "strongly disagree." We first examine our full set of variables in a model without this attitude measure, and then add this variable and report its results in the subsequent table.

We have also included the respondent's sex to control for the potential effect of proxy reporting in Japan and of different modes of data collection for the U.S. In the case of Japan, proxy reports for spouses could differ systematically from what those spouses would report for themselves (Ferree 1991). For the U.S. we use self-reports for both spouses. However, primary respondents were interviewed in person whereas their spouses filled out a self-administered questionnaire that was returned by mail. A "mode effect" is possible if different hours are likely to be reported directly to an interviewer than in private, or if there were confusion about how the questionnaire was to be filled out. Including respondents' sex also controls for any potential gender bias to in the reporting of household hours for self (and for spouse in Japan), e.g. any tendency to exaggerate one's own contributions.

Multivariate Results

Table 7.6 presents the results of three sets of multivariate analyses: ordinary-least-squares (OLS) regression analysis of wives' household task hours; tobit regression analysis of husbands' household task hours; and tobit regression analysis of husbands' share in house work.¹³ In both countries, husbands' share of housework is significantly affected by the wives' employment

hours, but the patterns differ somewhat. In both countries, wives significantly reduce their own time on housework with increasing hours of employment. This, of course, will tend to increase husbands' share even if men do not pick up more of the work at home. In both countries, however, the increase in men's share also reflects an increase in their own household hours. The major difference is that in Japan, this occurs only among couples in which the wife is working full-time. Nonetheless, these results demonstrate the effects of time availability of both husbands and wives on the gender division of labor. Further, among wives working full-time, there is evidence in support of resource theories, in that it is among wives earning the highest incomes that wives' household time is lowest, and both men's household time and their share are highest.

[Table 7.6 about here]

The effects of husbands' employment hours are less systematic. Nonetheless, two patterns are significant in both countries. Among the low proportion of couples in which the husband works less than full time, wives' task hours are reduced and the husband's share significantly increased. The effect on husband's household efforts is significantly in the U.S., but not in Japan. The second significant effect of husband's employment hours is that, in both countries, husband's household efforts, and share, are markedly reduced among those working 60 or more hours a week. Hence, effects of the differential time availability of husbands on the gender division of labor at home are restricted to the two extremes of the distribution of husbands' employment hours.

Coresidence with parents significantly reduces husbands' share of housework in Japan, mainly because husbands contribute less under this living arrangement. Coresidence also

reduces American husbands' housework time. With such a small fractions of the U.S. couples living with parents, coresidence has no effect on the overall picture. While living with parents reduces the housework hours of both husbands and wives in Japan, the degree of reduction in husbands' hours is much greater (and significantly so) than that of wives' hours. This suggests that, while coresiding parents may contribute to household tasks by shouldering part of housework, husbands are likely to benefit more from such contributions than are their wives. In contrast, coresidence with adult daughters (and daughters-in-law) does not significantly affect the gender division of household labor (there is a small and marginally significant reduction in husbands' hours in Japan).

Having small children reduces husbands' share of housework in the U.S. despite the fact that both husbands and wives do significantly more housework. This, of course, is a consequence of the greater effect of children on wives' workload than on husbands'. In Japan, however, preschool children do not significantly affect husbands' share in housework, primarily because Japanese husbands, unlike their U.S. counterparts, do not respond to the presence of small children by spending more time on housework. As expected, Japanese wives, like their U.S. counterparts, spend significantly more time on housework when they have small children. The presence of school-age children significantly reduces husbands' share in housework in both countries by disproportionately increasing wives' workload.

We discussed wives' income above in terms of income differences among wives employed full-time. An additional analysis showed that women's employment hours are very similar for the two income groups, whereas the occupational composition is quite different: a

much higher proportion of higher income women hold a professional or managerial job. Hence, these findings for women employed full-time support the relative resource hypothesis. In contrast, husbands' income does not generally affect husbands' share in housework, except for husbands in the highest income category in the U.S. (their share is significantly less than that of husbands in the lowest income category).

In both countries, wives of the least educated husbands do the most housework, perhaps reflecting the more traditional expectations of their husbands. Further, better-educated husbands in the U.S. do more housework than those with less education, and hence they do a greater share of the total as a consequence of the patterns for both husbands and wives. In Japan, however, a man's education is unrelated to the time he spends on household tasks.

Contrary to what we might expect, wives education has no effect on husband's household effort in either country. As expected, women with higher education in the U.S. do considerably less housework than those with less, even if their husbands are not picking up any of the slack. It is somewhat surprising that in Japan it is the middle educational categories in which wives contribute the most hours to household tasks. In fact in neither country does both of higher effort and of the decreased time spent by their wives.

Older husbands in the U.S. do a significantly smaller share of housework than do younger husbands, because they spend less time on housework. In Japan, although age does not seem to affect husbands' share in housework, it is associated significantly and positively with wives' housework time. Controlling for the other variables in the model, older Japanese wives are likely to spend more time on household tasks than younger ones. Perhaps older Japanese wives hold a

higher standard for household maintenance.

Husbands' housework time is significantly less in both countries when the primary respondent was the wife. This leads to the straightforward interpretation for Japan that husbands report more household hours for themselves than their wives report for them. In the U.S., this could reflect the same gender bias, but it may also be a mode effect since the husband was always filled out the self-enumerated form when the wife was the primary respondent. There appear to be neither mode nor proxy effects on the reports of wives time spent on household tasks.

Finally, in Table 7.7, we turn to the direct measure of gender role attitudes. We did not include this measure in Table 7.6 because we wanted to examine theoretically relevant variables without “controlling away” the potentially mediating role of gender-role orientations. As noted earlier, we can consider only the respondent’s own attitude. Nonetheless, we can examine the effects of this attitude on their own and on their spouse’s housework. In order to provide a sense of scale for these results, Table 7.7 presents predicted mean values based on the coefficients from the logistic regression.

The results for Japan provide only limited support for our expectations. In terms of the household hours contributed by Japanese husbands and wives, only the higher contribution of husbands whose *wives* hold egalitarian values is statistically significant. As a result, the share of housework done by Japanese husbands is higher (and marginally significant) when the wife holds egalitarian values—though the level of husbands’ contributions remains very low.

In contrast to Japan, all but one of the comparisons are significant for the U.S. These differences for the U.S. are consistent with our expectations concerning the gender division of

labor: the less traditional the gender role attitudes of either spouse, the greater the proportion of the housework that is done by the husband. This is so both because wives' household task hours decrease *and* because husbands' task hours increase. Not surprisingly, husbands' own attitudes are more strongly related to their behavior than are those of their wives'. Husbands' shares of tasks increase from 20 to 26 percent from the least to the most egalitarian husband, and from 19 to 21 percent when related to their wives' attitudes.

[Table 7.7 about here]

Discussion

This chapter addresses the time spouses spend in the labor force and on household tasks, as well as a measure of “combined work effort.” The later is based on the recognition that work in both spheres contributes to joint household production. Further, our analysis uses data on both spouses, rather than simply on men and women separately.

Wives are similar in these two countries with respect to the time they spend in housework and employment, but husbands' housework time and employment hours differ considerably. Japanese husbands spend much less time on housework than their U.S. counterparts, but work considerably longer hours in employment. Consequently, the average combined workload is similar between the two countries.

In both countries, when housework and employment hours are considered jointly, gender contributions to the combined workload become very similar. Gender equality in the average combined workload, however, masks an extremely large differential in wives' workload

depending on their employment hours. In both society wives' combined workload doubles as their employment time increase from zero to 60 or more hours per week, clearly revealing the "second shift" experienced by wives in both countries who are employed full-time.

In multivariate analysis we find that the time constraints of their own employment hours reduce the household task efforts of both husbands and wives in the U.S., and of wives in Japan. Further, husbands in both countries respond to the increased time pressure on their working wives by increasing their own contributions to household tasks, significantly altering the gender division of household labor in the predicted direction. However, the effect of wives' employment hours on husbands' housework contribution differs somewhat in Japan: husbands' housework time and share increases only when wives are employed full-time and earn high income.

The presence of others in the household affects the amount of work done by husbands and wives as expected, but the underlying factors are different in the two countries. In the U.S., husbands' share in housework decreases because, while the presence of small children increases housework time of both spouses, the increase is larger for wives than for husbands. In Japan, husbands' housework share decreases because wives' housework time increases significantly when there are small children at home, but that of husbands does not.

On the other hand, the presence of school-aged children reduces husbands' share in housework by increasing the time spent by wives' while decreasing husbands' contributions in both countries, but especially in Japan. Apparently, school-age children create extra housework, mostly shouldered by their mothers, at the same time that they may contribute to housework by substituting for some of their father's household responsibilities.

Coresidence with parents also decreases husbands' share in Japan, suggesting that parents help with household chores allowing husbands to do less. Contrary to our expectations, however, having adult daughters or daughters-in-law in the house has no effect on housework in either country.

We find some support for the relative resource hypothesis in explaining the gender division of household labor in both countries. Among wives employed full-time, wives with higher income do less housework and their husbands do more. However, the results by husband's income are more mixed, with the major effect being the reduction of household effort among Japanese husbands (which is already low) if they work long hours.

In both countries, the effects of education are consistent with the gender role hypothesis in that in couples with more highly educated husbands, and in those with more highly educated wives, husbands do a higher proportion of the housework. Age of husbands (and therefore of wives) is negatively related to husbands' share in housework in the U.S., implying the cohort change in gender role attitudes has taken place in the postwar American society. To the extent that education and age index differences in gender ideology and socialization, gender role attitudes seem to play an important role in explaining the gender division of labor at home in the U.S., but this is clearly not the case in Japan.

Furthermore, the direct measure of gender role attitudes has only a minor affect on the gender division of household labor in Japan, whereas egalitarian attitudes significantly increase husbands' share in housework in the U.S. This difference may reflect the more recent changing gender roles in Japan and the tendency for attitudes to lag behind (even as they may then become

causally relevant to subsequent behavior).¹⁴

Our analysis of the "combined workload" (employment plus housework) expanded our perspective on the gender division of labor beyond the customary focus on female household tasks. At the same time, the latter remains important for its symbolic importance to the gender division of labor as well as for the sharing of efforts in a home. Men do less at home, in part, because they spend more hours on their jobs, and hence, their overall contribution to the collective family work effort is much larger than generally acknowledged in studies of gender inequality at home. At the same time, the gender *division* of labor is reinforced, and as employment hours increase for women, the proportion of women carrying a very heavy double burden will increase as well. The gender gap is large and changes may be slow, especially in the context of Japan's more patriarchal heritage.

NOTES

1 A comparative study by Kamo (1994) found that wives' employment status did not have a significant effect on the gender division of household labor in either Japan and the U.S. However, this analysis was based on small non-representative data.

2 An exception is Bergen (1990) who found that the presence of young children significantly increases husbands' contributions to housework.

3 Though childcare was asked about as well, we have excluded childcare time because it is almost impossible to assign unique hours to the time spent in childcare, especially among mothers of young children. Parents (especially mothers) of those children are likely to do other tasks while "caring for" their children. It is also difficult to separate the work dimension of childcare (e.g., feeding and bathing of the child) from general oversight (simply keeping an eye out for needed intervention), or the leisure dimension (e.g., playing with the child). Measuring and analyzing spouses' hourly contributions to different dimensions of childcare and housework, Ishii-Kuntz and Coltrane (1992) indicated that childcare and housework are distinct, but interrelated activities.

4 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. These areas were not covered in the Japanese survey. American men are more likely to engage in such tasks, the exclusion of non-female tasks from the analysis may under represent inter-country differences in the gender division of labor. We do not have comparable household task questions for Korea, however the Korean survey (NSQL) did include a question about time spent on "housework as a whole"--including, in addition to traditionally female tasks, such other tasks as child care, helping children with homework, work related to education of children, visiting relatives, and all other activities required to running a household.

5 We thank Yoshio Okunishi of Hosei University for providing us the results of computation of micro data from the 1993 national wage structure survey in Japan.

6 There is one difference in equality in the combined workload when considered by husbands' income. Specifically, the average combined workload for wives of high-income husbands is considerably lower than that of other wives. This suggests a "leisure-time effect" of household financial resources on wives' time. That is, wives of high-income husbands can afford not to work in the labor market.

7 Based on an analysis of demographic and socioeconomic profiles of husbands who work less than 35 hours per week in the labor market, many of those husbands seem to be older men who are retired from their previous full-time employment.

8 We do not present the results of multivariate analyses of combined workload because there is not much information added by these analyses. Because husbands' employment hours constitute a vast majority of husbands' combined workload in both countries (95 percent for Japan and 83 percent for the U.S.), husbands' combined workload and their share in combined work are determined largely by their employment hours. As for wives' combined workload, our earlier analysis showed that whereas the average total hours are similar in Japan and the U.S., their underlying factors are somewhat different. Nonetheless, once the effects of wives' employment hours are controlled, the remaining variations are explained mostly by the factors affecting wives' housework time.

9 We also attempted to measure the effect of relative resources by using two continuous variables: the log of husband's income and the log of the ratio of husband's income to wife's income. However, we eventually decided to use categorical variables primarily because our multivariate analyses showed the non-linearity of the effects of husband's and wife's income on the time spouses spend on housework as well as on husbands' share of housework.

10 Among the covariates in our model, men's income has the highest number of missing cases: 70 cases (3.8 percent of the sample) for Japan and 254 cases (6.9 percent of the sample) for the U.S. The number of missing cases on women's income is not as high as that on husbands' income. Further, we use income information only for women who work full-time and the number of missing cases on income for these women is quite small: 16 cases for Japan and 82

cases for the U.S.

11 To examine whether this composite measure of women's income (conditional on their employment hours) captures the effect of their economic resources, we also analyzed patterns of employment hours for the 'higher' and 'lower' income groups of full-time employed women and found little difference between these two income groups in both countries.

12 The Japanese and U.S. surveys also asked somewhat comparable attitude measures with respect to husbands' contribution to household tasks. The Japanese survey asked: "If the wife is employed, the husband should help with the household chores substantially"; in the NSFH1 the wording was: "If a husband and a wife both work full time, they should share household tasks equally." Because of obvious simultaneity between these items and actual household task hours, we did not include these statements in our scale.

13 For the analysis of husbands' housework hours, we employ tobit regression because around 43 percent of Japanese husbands and (9 percent of U.S. husbands) have "zero" housework hours. Tobit models are limited dependent variable models that allow the dependent variable to be censored or truncated at a certain value. For specifics of tobit models, see Greene (1991: 565-602).

14 We argue this in the context of the strong patriarchal tradition in Japan rooted in

Confucianism. Retherford et al. (1996) provide an example of value change in Japan lagging behind fertility change, then evolving more rapidly in accommodation to changed social and economic conditions.

Table 7.1 Mean Hours per Week Spent on Household Tasks and Employment, and Average Combined Workload: Japan 1994 and the U.S. 1987-88

Variables	Japan			U.S.		
	Mean	S.D.	(N)	Mean	S.D.	(N)
Housework: ^a						
Wife's hours per week	33.5	14.2	(1799)	32.4	19.6	(3435)
Husband's hours per week	2.5	3.8	(1786)	7.8	8.0	(3143)
Husband's share (%)	7.4	12.3	(1769)	20.9	19.7	(2991)
Employment: ^b						
Wife's hours per week	21.5	21.4	(1821)	23.1	20.7	(3553)
Husband's hours per week	47.5	14.8	(1825)	41.4	18.0	(3557)
Combined Workload: ^c						
Wife's hours per week	54.7	21.8	(1784)	55.2	22.4	(3352)
Husband's hours per week	50.0	14.8	(1778)	49.6	17.4	(3097)
Husband's share (%)	48.1	13.9	(1748)	47.7	15.9	(2839)

Means for the U.S. are weighted; numbers of cases are unweighted.

a--Number of hours spent on housework is computed by adding the time spent on traditionally female household tasks: cleaning house, doing laundry (in the case of the U.S. laundry and ironing), cooking, cleaning after meals, and grocery shopping, and then by top-coding at the 98th percentile.

b--For Japan, the number of employment hours is estimated by imputing midpoints of the categories used (except for those who worked 35-41 and 60+ hours, the values of 39 and 66 hours were assigned, respectively).

c--The combined workload is computed by adding the number of hours spent on housework and the number of hours spent on employment.

Table 7.2 Mean Number of Hours Spent per Week on Employment and Household Tasks Combined, by Employment hours: Japan 1994 and the U.S. 1987-88

Employment Hours	Combined Employment and Household Task Hours			
	Japan		U.S.	
	Husbands Hrs (N)	Wives Hrs (N)	Husbands Hrs (N)	Wives Hrs (N)
Total	50.0 (1778)	54.7 (1784)	49.6 (3097)	55.2 (3352)
Wife's Employment Hours:				
Zero (1110)	49.1 (707)	37.6 (720)	47.6 (949)	40.1
1-15	40.8 (137)	42.0 (138)	51.8 (171)	45.2 (185)
16-34	49.3 (291)	60.2 (294)	48.7 (480)	57.0 (517)
35-41	49.7 (223)	67.7 (227)	50.1 (1035)	65.3 (1139)
42-48	51.4 (230)	73.1 (230)	52.4 (199)	69.0 (209)
49 hrs or more	59.9 (176)	84.9 (175)	54.0 (165)	76.9 (178)
Husband's Employment Hours:				
Less than 35	12.9 (148)	43.6 (149)	17.4 (364)	52.2 (409)
35-41	42.0 (285)	53.4 (289)	47.4 (1278)	56.3 (1347)
42-48	47.6 (533)	53.5 (529)	52.9 (508)	56.5 (535)
49-59	56.3 (465)	56.9 (458)	58.7 (557)	54.1 (570)
60 hrs or more	67.7 (347)	60.0 (342)	69.0 (388)	55.0 (388)

See notes to Table 7.1.

Table 7.3 Mean Number of Hours Spent per Week on Household Tasks by Household Members, by Selected Characteristics: Japan 1994

Characteristics	Husbands		Wives		Parents		Children	
	Hrs	(N)	Hrs	(N)	Hrs	(N)	Hrs	(N)
Total	2.5	(1786)	33.5	(1799)	10.9	(560)	2.6	(1393)
Wife's Employment Hours:								
Zero	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 hrs or more	3.1	(176)	26.6	(175)	13.7	(67)	3.8	(135)
Husband's Employment Hours:								
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 hrs or more	2.1	(347)	34.0	(349)	11.0	(112)	2.7	(283)
Age of Youngest Child:								
0-6	2.5	(457)	35.1	(463)	15.0	(167)	1.0	(432)
7-17	2.1	(590)	33.6	(590)	10.6	(214)	2.6	(571)
No child under age 18	2.9	(738)	32.3	(746)	7.4	(179)	4.3	(390)
Coresidence with Adult Daughters and/or Daughters-in-Law:								
No	2.5	(1444)	33.4	(1454)	11.9	(474)	1.6	(1067)
Yes	2.4	(342)	33.8	(345)	5.3	(86)	5.7	(326)
Coresidence with Parents:								
No	2.8	(1211)	33.9	(1216)	---	(0)	2.9	(911)
Yes--total	1.9	(575)	32.5	(583)	10.9	(560)	2.0	(482)
Male parent only		2.4	(61)	37.8	(62)	1.8	(59)	3.7
(50) At least one female parent	1.9	(514)	31.9	(521)	11.9	(501)	1.8	(432)

See notes to Table 7.1.

Table 7.4 Mean Number of Hours Spent per Week on Housework by Household Members, by Selected Characteristics: United States 1987-88

Characteristics	Husbands		Wives		All Others	
	Hrs	(N)	Hrs	(N)	Hrs	(N)
Total	7.8	(3143)	32.4	(3435)	7.0	(1437)
Wife's Employment Hours per Week:						
Zero (Does not work)	6.1	(961)	40.1	(1110)	7.4	(465)
1-15	6.7	(172)	35.5	(185)	5.5	(99)
16-34	7.8	(489)	32.3	(517)	6.4	(244)
35-41	8.8	(1053)	26.4	(1139)	7.2	(438)
42-48	9.8	(203)	24.5	(209)	6.8	(84)
49 hrs or more	11.0	(167)	24.5	(178)	9.6	(62)
Husband's Employment Hours per Week:						
Less than 35	10.8	(364)	31.8	(415)	9.4	(149)
35-41	7.7	(1278)	32.7	(1379)	6.4	(603)
42-48	7.8	(508)	32.0	(548)	8.1	(218)
49-59	7.1	(557)	31.2	(586)	6.5	(245)
60 hrs or more	5.9	(376)	34.2	(403)	6.6	(187)
Age of Youngest Child:						
0- 4	8.7	(1035)	37.1	(1113)	5.6	(425)
5-17	7.2	(1000)	32.4	(1100)	7.7	(830)
No child under age 18	7.6	(1108)	28.7	(1222)	6.9	(182)
Coresidence with Adult Daughters:						
No	7.9	(2961)	32.1	(3233)	5.9	(1274)
Yes	6.7	(182)	34.5	(202)	12.7	(163)
Coresidence with Parents:						
No	7.8	(3102)	32.4	(3386)	6.7	(1397)
Yes	6.9	(41)	30.5	(49)	16.1	(40)

See notes to Table 7.1.

Table 7.5 Descriptive Statistics for the Covariates Used in the Regression Analyses
Of Gender Division of Household Labor: Japan 1994 and the U.S. 1987-88

Variables	Japan		U.S.	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
Wife's Employment Hours per Week and Income:				
1-34 hours (part-time)	0.24	0.43	0.22	0.44
35 hours or more:				
Lower income ^a	0.18	0.39	0.09	0.31
Higher income ^b	0.17	0.38	0.35	0.51
(Reference category is no work.)				
Husband's Employment Hours per Week:				
Less than 35 hours	0.08	0.28	0.13	0.36
42-48 hours	0.30	0.46	0.16	0.39
49-59 hours	0.26	0.44	0.18	0.41
60 hours or more	0.19	0.39	0.12	0.35
(Reference category is 35-41 hours.)				
Age of Youngest Child:				
Preschool age ^c	0.26	0.44	0.30	0.49
School age ^d	0.33	0.47	0.34	0.51
(Reference is no child under age 18.)				
Living with adult daughters and/or daughters-in-law	0.19	0.39	0.09	0.31
Living with parents	0.32	0.47	0.02	0.16
Husband's Yearly Income:				
Level 2 ^e	0.33	0.47	0.25	0.46
Level 3 ^f	0.20	0.40	0.24	0.45
Level 4 ^g	0.18	0.39	0.23	0.45
(Reference is the lowest category.)				
Husband's income data missing	0.02	0.14	0.04	0.22
Husband's Education:				
High school	0.46	0.50	0.35	0.51
Some college ^h	0.12	0.33	0.23	0.45
4-year college or higher	0.26	0.44	0.30	0.49
(Reference is less than high school.)				
Wife's Education:				
High school	0.50	0.50	0.43	0.53
Some college ^h	0.27	0.44	0.24	0.46
4-year college or higher	0.06	0.24	0.22	0.44
(Reference is less than high school.)				
Husband's age	45.03	9.79	39.88	11.20
Wife's age	42.18	9.53	37.54	10.68
Female	0.49	0.50	0.50	0.54

a--Less than 2 million yen for Japan, less than \$9,000 for the U.S.

b--2 million yen or more for Japan, \$9,000 or more for the U.S.

c--0-6 years old for Japan, 0-4 years old for the U.S.
d--7-17 years old for Japan, 5-17 years old for the U.S.
e--4-5.99 million yen for Japan, \$17,000-27,999 for the U.S.
f--6-7.99 million yen for Japan, \$28,000-39,999 for the U.S.
g--8 million yen or more for Japan, \$40,000 or more for the U.S.
h--For Japan, consisting of graduates of junior college, advanced
professional school, and professional training school.

Table 7.6 Estimated Effects of Employment, Family, Socioeconomic, and Demographic Factors on the Gender Division of Household Labor: Japan 1994 and the U.S. 1987-88

Variables	Wives' Task Hours ^a		Husbands' Task Hours ^b		Husbands' Share ^b	
	Japan	U.S.	Japan	U.S.	Japan	U.S.
Intercept	29.0**	37.9**	3.6**	5.8**	11.8**	20.7**
Wife's employment hours and income:						
Part-time (<35 hours)	-2.6**	-6.1**	-0.7	1.4**	-0.01	4.3**
Full-time (35+ hrs) with lower income	-8.7**	-8.8**	0.8#	2.8**	4.6**	8.4**
Full-time (35+ hrs) with higher income	-11.4**	-13.1**	2.4**	3.5**	8.0**	12.3**
Husband's employment hours:						
Less than 35 hours	-4.4**	-2.6*	0.1	3.8**	2.3#	9.1**
42-48 hours	-0.3	-0.7	-0.7	-0.1	-0.4	0.1
49-59 hours	1.0	-1.1	-1.3**	-0.7	-2.0*	-1.9*
60 hours or more	1.0	0.9	-1.7**	-1.8**	-2.1*	-4.1**
Age of youngest child:						
Preschool age	3.2**	8.3**	-0.4	1.7**	-1.6	-2.3*
School age	2.1*	3.7**	-0.8*	-0.1	-2.2**	-3.2**
Living with adult daughters and/or daughters-in-law	0.5	2.1#	-0.8#	-0.02	-1.1	0.1
Living with parents	-0.6	-2.2	-1.8**	-2.9**	-2.6**	-3.2
Husband's income:						
Level 2	1.5	1.4	-0.5	-0.1	-1.1	0.04
Level 3	0.7	2.1*	0.04	-0.8	-0.4	-1.5
Level 4	1.4	-0.6	-0.8	-1.8	-1.6	-2.4*
Husband's income data missing	1.1	-2.0	-1.0	-0.6	-2.7	0.7
Husband's education:						
High school	-3.0**	-2.1*	0.1	0.9	1.7	0.6
Some college or equivalent	-4.5**	-2.3*	0.04	2.3**	1.8	4.4**
4-year college or higher	-3.6*	-4.6**	0.3	2.5**	2.1#	5.4**

Table 7.6 (Continued)

Variables	Wives' Task Hours ^a		Husbands' Task Hours ^b		Husbands' Share ^b	
	Japan	U.S.	Japan	U.S.	Japan	U.S.
Wife's education:						
High school	2.4*	-1.3	-0.1	-0.7	-0.5	-0.9
Some college or equivalent	3.2*	-3.8**	-0.2	0.4	-0.8	1.7
4-year college or higher	1.8	-7.4**	1.4	0.5	2.3	4.9**
Wife's/husband's age ^c	0.2**	0.1#	-0.01	-0.03*	-0.1	-0.2**
Respondent=female	-0.5	0.7	-1.4**	-0.9**	-2.2**	-1.6*
Adjusted R-square	0.11	0.19	--	--	--	--
F-value	9.69**	30.87**	--	--	--	--
(Number of cases)	(1,669)	(3,010)	(1,667)	(2,784)	(1,651)	(2,655)

a--Coefficients are estimated by ordinary-least-squares (OLS).

b--Coefficients are estimated by Tobit regression.

c--Wife's age is used in the analysis of wife's task hours, and husband's age is used in the analyses of husband's task hours and his share.

* p<0.05 ** p<0.01 (two-tailed tests)

Table 7.7 Predicted^a Mean Hours per Week Spent on Household Tasks and Predicted Husband's Share of Total Household Hours, by Gender Role Attitudes, by Gender: Japan 1994 and U.S. 1987-88

Attitudes ^a	Wives' Task Hrs		Husbands' Task Hrs		Husbands' Share	
	Japan	U.S.	Japan	U.S.	Japan	U.S.
Male						
Traditional	34.1	33.1	2.9	7.6	9.6	20.2
Neutral	33.2	32.7	3.0	8.4	9.8	21.6
For measurement of the time spent on housework, see the notes to Table 7.1.						
Egalitarian	32.2	27.7**	2.7	9.0*	8.8	26.0**
Female						
Traditional	33.6	34.0	2.4	6.8	6.6	18.6
Neutral	32.7	33.3	2.2	7.5	6.7	19.9
Egalitarian	34.3	31.4*	3.1*	7.5	9.0#	21.4*

Gender role attitudes were measured by responses to the statement "it is much better for everyone if the man earns the main living and the woman takes care of the home and family." Respondents were classified as egalitarian if their responses were "disagree" or "strongly disagree", neutral if responses were "neither agree or disagree," and traditional if responses were "agree" or "strongly agree." The estimated coefficients above are controlling for all the covariates shown in Table 7.6.

p<0.10 * p<0.05 ** p<0.01 (two-tailed tests contrasting the coefficients using "traditional" as the reference category)

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