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# Education and domestic work contributions between 1996 and 2006 in Japan

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# Introduction

- Across the world, women undertake the major share of domestic work.
- “Gender revolution” in public and private spaces (Goldscheider, Bernhardt and Lappegard 2015)
  - First Phase: Public Sphere (i.e., education, labor market)
  - Second Phase: Private Sphere (i.e., gender attitude, domestic sphere)
- The “uneven and stalled” gender revolution in the United States (e.g. England 2010)

# Gender division of labour in Japan

- In Japan, the change in the public and private spheres has been slow and patchy
- Public
  - In post war years women's access to education expanded dramatically (48% of university graduates today are women)
  - The growing educational opportunities are reflected in unmarried women's growing aspirations to combine work and family (NIPSSR 2010)
  - Initially, women's growing access to education was also reflected by their increased participation in the labour force. But this stalled since 1990ies (OECD database)
  - Persistent structural obstacles to women's careers (Nemoto 2016)
- Private
  - Men's contribution of time to domestic work has been growing slowly since 1990ies, but the gap between men and women remains substantial and a large proportion of men still report spending no time at all on domestic work (e.g. Watanabe 2017)

# Domestic Division of Labour in Japan

- Gender gap in domestic work participation is very large in Japan (Tsuya et al 2010) even in comparison with other East Asian countries, excluding South Korea (Kan and Hertog 2017).
- Wives report doing between 80% and 90% of domestic work.
- Marriage dramatically increases women's housework time but produces little change in men's time (Tsuya et al 2010)
- Wives' housework time decreases as their employment time increases and husbands contribute somewhat more time on average if their wife is in full-time employment (Kobayashi et al 2016).
- Having children increases husband's share of domestic work (Kobayashi et al 2016)
- The perceived unfairness of this unequal division of labour in Japan is persistently low (Fuwa and Tsuitsui 2010, Nakamura and Akiyoshi 2015)

# Motivation of this paper

- Provide fresh evidence based on Japanese time diary data
- Analysis of the evolution of the educational effects on the domestic division of labour over time with specific attention to housework and childcare

# Education: a resource?

- Education is it is a key mechanism to acquire economic resources
- Education is closely associated with gender attitudes and ideology

# Education as a resource

## Gender Specialization and Time Availability Perspective (Becker 1981)

- Maximization of household production

## Resource-bargaining approach (e.g. Manser and Brown 1980)

- Maximize individual welfare rather than joint utility based on economic resources
- **Autonomy perspective** highlights own absolute, rather than relative earning power (Gupta, 2007)

**H1:** For both men and women, domestic work time is negatively associated with own education

# Education, attitudes, and ideology

## Education as a gendered process (e.g. Brines 1994)

- Socialisation through education: Higher educational qualifications are associated more liberal gender attitudes and more equal division of domestic work

**H2:** Higher educational qualifications are associated with more domestic work for men, and less for women.

## Education and ideals of childrearing and parenthood (Bourdieu, 1984; Sayer, Gauthier & Fursternberg, 2004)

- Parenting investment

**H3:** Higher educational qualifications will be associated with more time spent on care for both men and women.



# Education, gender attitudes, and SDT

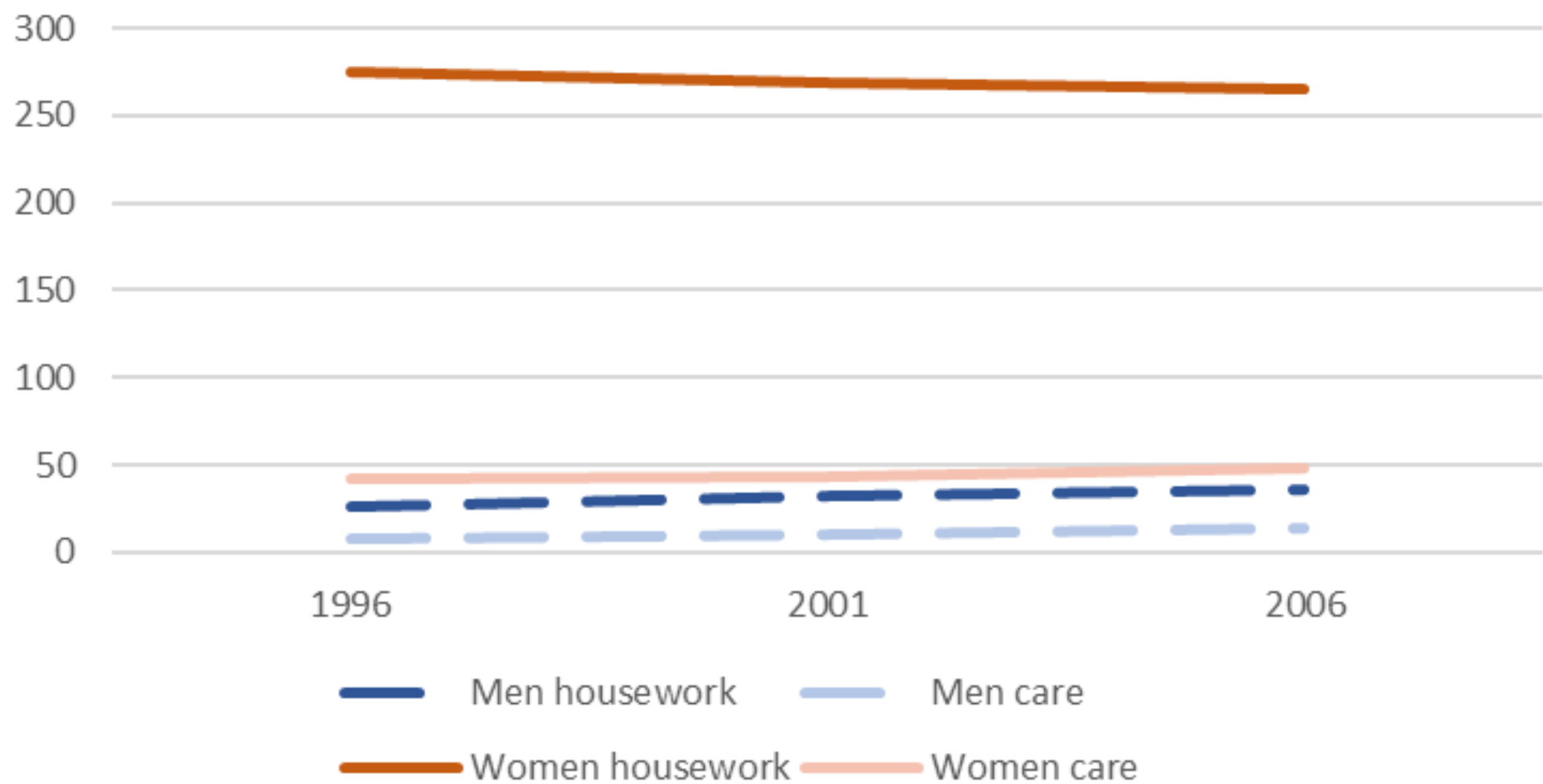
- The association between gender attitudes and housework becomes stronger in the transitional period of SDT (e.g. East Asian countries) because of the lagged adaption between domestic division of labour and attitudes; and weaker in the post-transition period of SDT (e.g. Scandinavian countries) because traditional women and men catch up with traditional counterparts (Kan and Kolpashnikova, 2018)
- In Japan, the association between gender attitudes and housework increased for men and decreased for women between 2002 and 2012

**H4:** The association between education and housework and care time became stronger for men, and weaker for women over the years

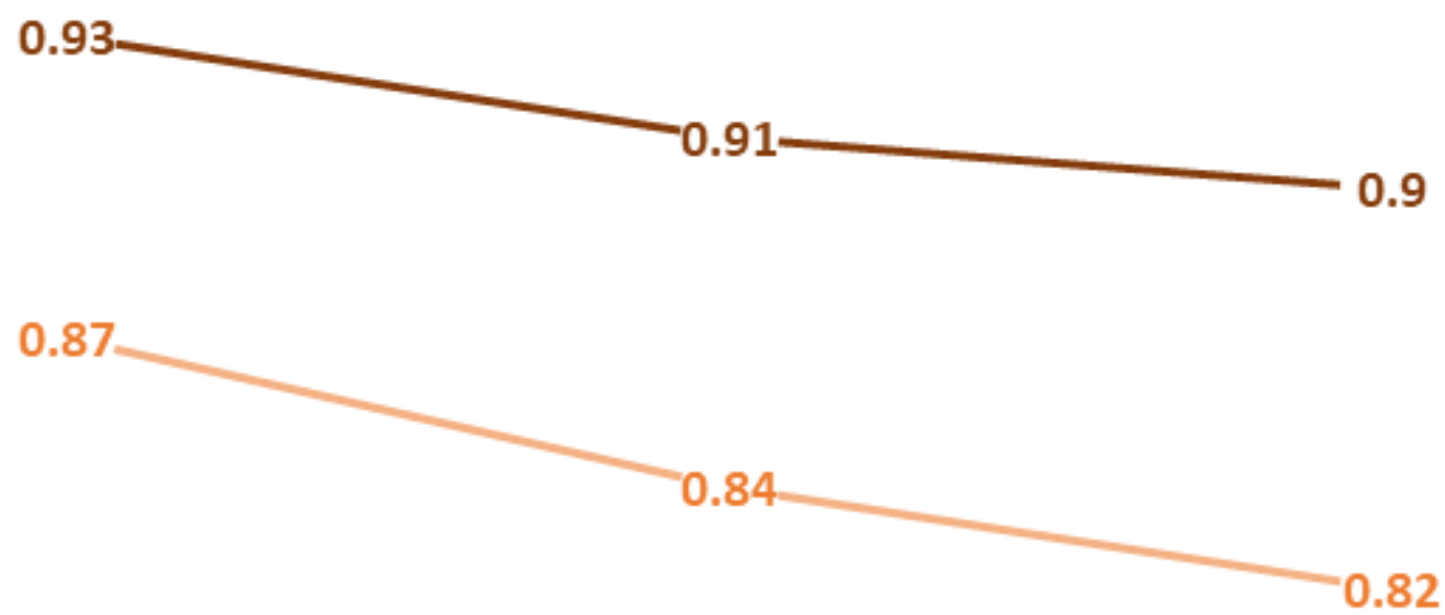
# Data, methods, and variables

- Data
  - Japanese Time Use Surveys (JTUS, Shakai Seikatsu Kihon Chōsa) 1996, 2001, 2006.
- Sample
  - Married couples with coresident spouses aged between 20 and 60
  - For most people 2 diary entries on 2 adjacent days are collected (a few cases with only 1 entry)
  - N = 396 642 (only primary activities are analysed)
- Dependent Variables
  - Total Housework Time (Minutes/Day)
  - Care Work Time
  - Wife's share of housework work
  - Wife's share of care work work
- Independent Variables: years spent in education, year of the survey
- Control variables: spouse's years in education, weekend/weekday, age of the youngest child, number of children under 20, number of adults in the household, household income, age group

## Average minutes



## WIFE'S SHARE



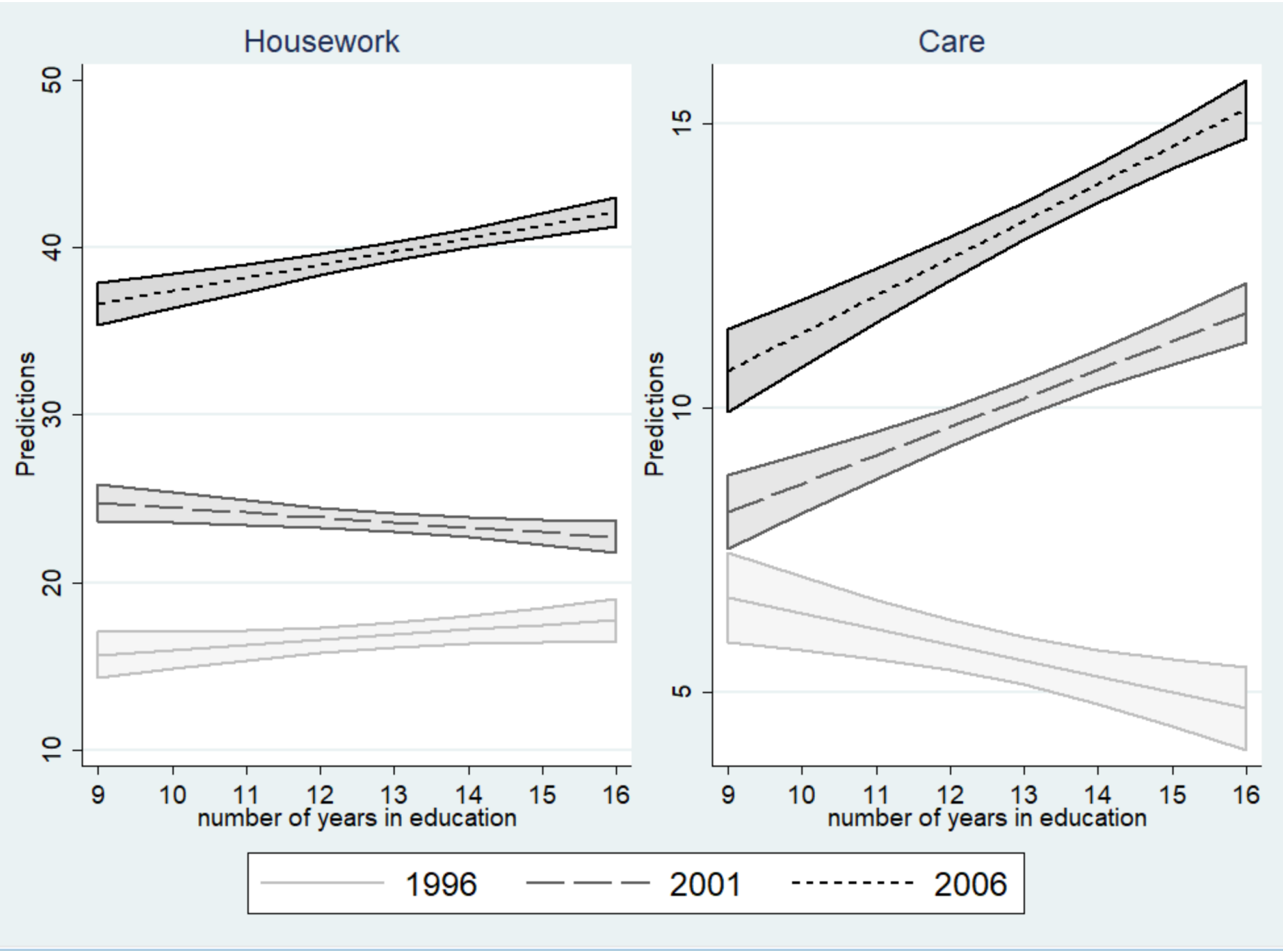
— Housework — Care

1996

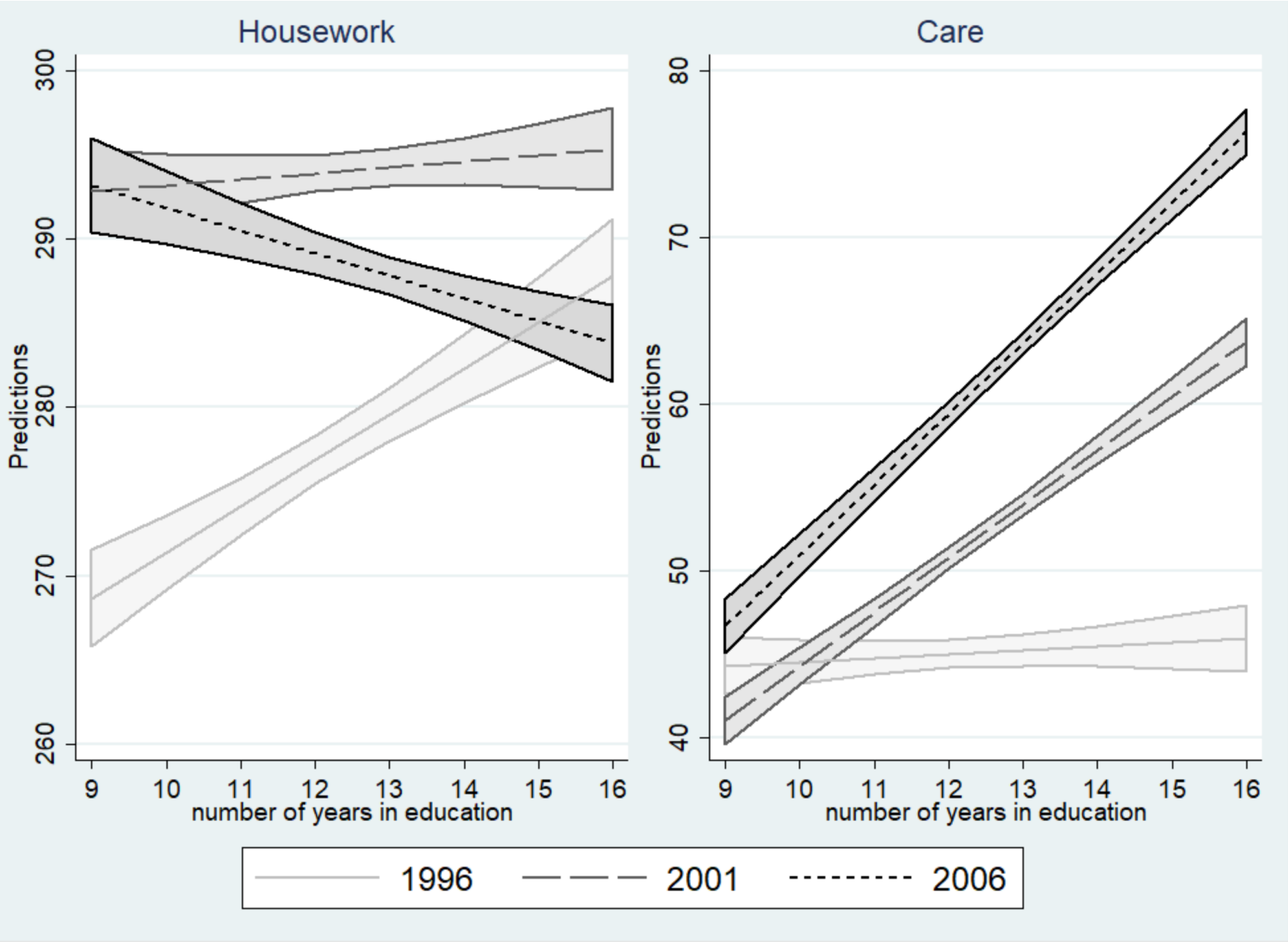
2001

2006

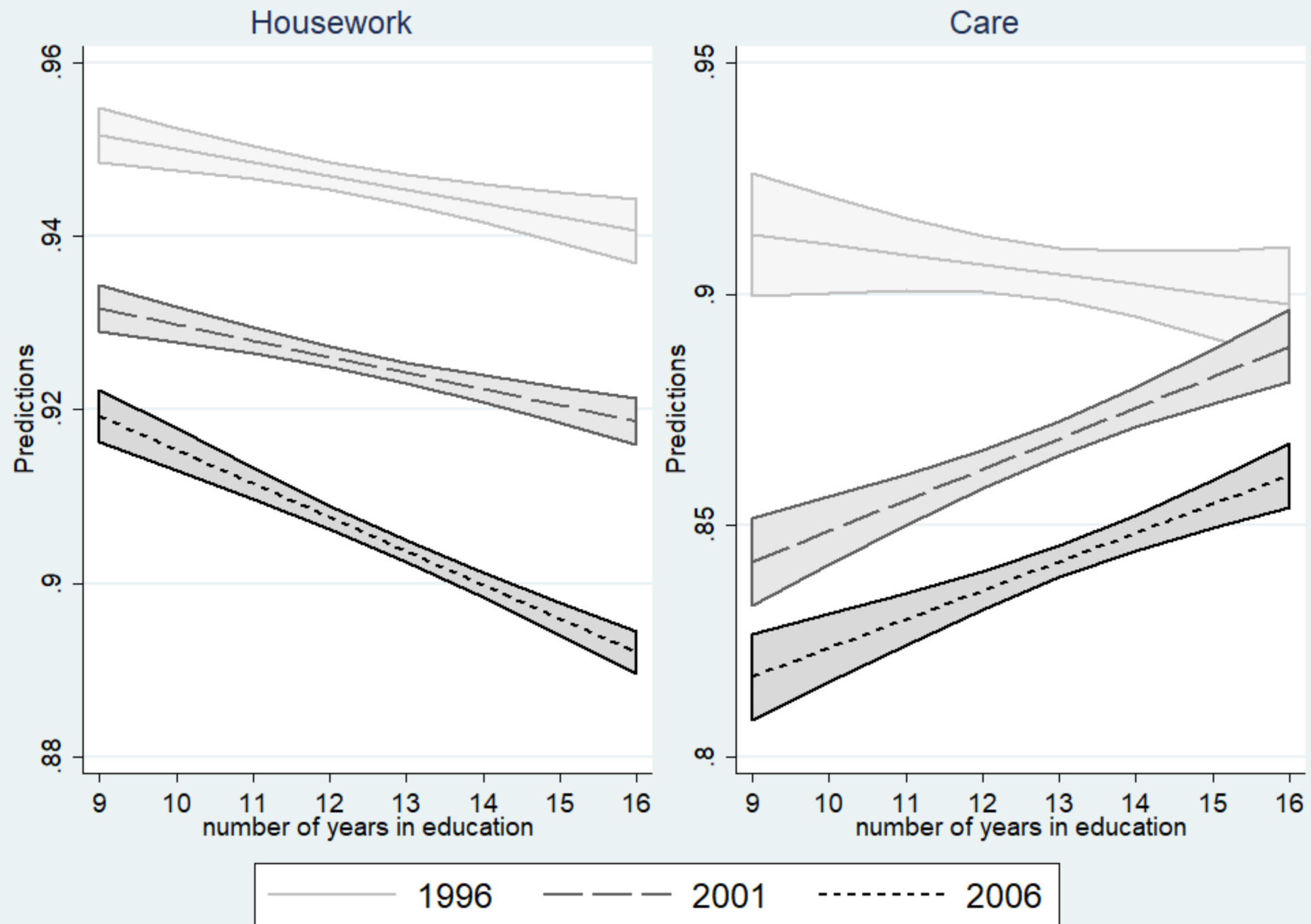
MEN



WOMEN



# WIFE'S SHARE



# Summary and Conclusion

- The change in division of labour at home in Japan has been extremely slow.

## Resource-based hypothesis

- H1 – Yes for women's share of housework in all years and housework time in 2006; No – contradictory for women's time and share of care work
- No – contradictory findings for men's housework time and care time

## Gendered ideology hypothesis

- H2 - Yes for women's and men's housework time in 2006 No for care time

## Education and parenting hypothesis

- H3 – Yes for women's and men's caring time in 2001 and 2006; No for 1996