

**EDUCATION AND CHANGING LIFE CYCLE  
EMPLOYMENT OF JAPANESE WOMEN**  
— A Cohort Analysis —

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Along with the rapid shift of the Japanese economy out of agriculture since the mid-1950s, job opportunities for women have expanded in secondary and tertiary industries. Women have been increasingly drawn into the paid sector including not only young single women, but also middle-aged and older married women.

The massive influx of married women into the paid sector has changed the shape of the age specific profile of paid employment from a single to a bi-modal peak. The 1965 profile showed a sharp peak at ages 20 to 24, without a second peak, while the 1980 profile had a mild second peak at ages 40 to 49. Although paid employment opportunities for middle-aged and older women had increased substantially during a short period, both 1965 and 1980 profiles indicated a sharp drop in the participation rates at ages 25 to 29, and a further drop at ages 30 to 34, even though the participation rates at these ages were larger for the 1980 profile.

As paid employment became a dominant form of economic activity for married women, conflict between their economic and familial roles also increased. Since women historically have taken primary responsibility for household tasks and child care, they confront serious obstacles in working outside the home while also being a wife and mother at home. In studying women's employment behavior, thus, it is important to explicitly take into account the family life cycle as a crucial factor.

The major purpose of this study is to examine the changing life cycle employment behavior of Japanese women, especially focusing on the relationship between education and women's employment. Life cycle

employment patterns are the trajectories of women's experiences in combining family and work. Because of the rapid changes in social and economic structures during the post-WWII period, younger and older cohorts have faced different social and economic settings in their life course. Thus, examination of changing life cycle employment patterns across cohorts provides us with a better understanding of how women have responded to increasing job opportunities during their life course.

In this examination, the focus is on the relationship between education and Japanese women's employment activity. Theoretically, education is expected to have a positive effect on women's propensity to work. The higher the education, the greater the opportunity cost of foregone earnings, and thus the greater the shift to market work. (Becker, 1965, 1981; Bowen and Finegan, 1969; Cain, 1966; Mincer, 1962, 1985) This positive effect of education has been empirically supported in the U.S. and other Western industrialized countries, but not in Japan. (Hamilton, 1979; Hill, 1982, 1983; Nagano, H., 1980; Umetani, 1972) In order to address this issue, it is necessary to understand the relationship between education and changing life cycle employment in the framework of life course theory.

### **Theoretical Considerations**

In the framework of life course theory, an individual's behavior is considered to be the result of cumulative past experiences and socio-cultural and economic conditions. The dynamic nature and process of an individual's experiences and behavior are the focus of this theoretical framework (Elder, 1974, 1978, 1981; Hareven, 1978; Hogan, 1981; Lehrer and Nerlove, 1980; McLaughlin, 1982). The conceptual framework of life course analysis is deeply rooted in the study of individual histories and careers, and individual's behavior is captured within the changing historical context and studied in terms of the process of the life course.

With regard to examination of women's employment behavior, the

life course perspective provides the following framework: (1) consideration of changing resources and opportunities available to women over time, and (2) consideration of the importance of the life cycle stage as a familial context in which women make decisions about employment activity.

Rapid social change differentiates the availability of opportunities and resources across birth cohorts, and successive birth cohorts experience changes in opportunity structure and accessibility to resources at different life stages. There are several important changes which create different social, economic, and familial contexts influencing women's approaches to combining family responsibilities and paid employment. These include job opportunities and educational attainment, declines in fertility and a shorter period of intensive child care responsibility, and increase in cash demand for improving or maintaining a standard of living, and changing normative pressure with regard to being a full-time housekeeper or mother. Thus, it is necessary to understand the differences in life experiences across birth cohorts, especially in a society which has experienced rapid social and economic transformation.

Within a cohort, individuals' access to opportunities and resources differ by their social positions. According to status attainment theory, educational attainment is significantly determined by individuals' familial background, and serves as the most important single variable determining occupational attainment (Blau and Duncan, 1967; Hauser and Featherman, 1977). Human capital theory argues that education is one of the most important forms of investment for future market return. In general, education appears to be the most important resource that individuals bring with them into adulthood in an industrial society. Education is a resource for both the marriage market and the labor market. Highly educated women tend to marry men with higher education and thus gain higher social and economic status through marriage. At the same time, education is strongly related to earnings potential and career opportunities in the labor market. Thus, women with different levels of education are expected to have quite different life changes with respect to family and worklife during their adulthood.

In addition to changes in the larger social and economic structures, it is important for the examination of women's employment behavior to take into account the changing familial context across the life course (Lehrer and Nerlove, 1980; Waite, 1976, 1980). A "family life cycle" is a series of separate stages bounded by important events in the life of a family. Women's employment behavior changes along with the family life cycle, since they are primarily responsible for household tasks and child care, and the workplace is separated from the home in an industrialized society. The role of mother and that of worker conflict with each other normatively and in the allocation of time (McLaughlin, 1982; Sweet, 1982). Norms pressure women to place the highest priority on being a "good" mother. Even in the U.S. where employment rates of mothers with preschool children has rapidly increased, their employment is least accepted and their employment rates are still lower than those of other working-age women (Blau, 1984; Oppenheimer, 1982).

In summary, examination of changing women's employment behavior within the framework of life course theory provides us with a better understanding of how women have responded to increasing job opportunities in the paid sector. Employment behavior is expected to differ across life cycle stages as are life cycle employment patterns across cohorts. Changing life cycle employment patterns between remote and recent cohorts reflect changes in social, economic, and familial contexts. Examination of these cohort differences informs us about the changing directions of women's employment behavior.

Education is one of the most important resources influencing life chances with respect to family and worklife during adulthood. Thus, life cycle employment patterns are expected to differ across educational levels. Examination of these differences provides us with a better understanding of the influence of education on women's employment.

### **Education and Life Cycle Employment in Japan**

In studying the relationship between education and life cycle employment behavior of Japanese women, the following considerations are

important: distinction between paid employment and other forms of employment, and direct measurement of the family life cycle.

In Japan, a relatively large proportion of women work as family workers and self-employed and home handicraft workers (home employment), especially among married women. Labor force participation rates include both paid and home employment rates. Distinction between paid and home employment is important since the relationship between education and employment is quite different in these two sectors. It is strongly negative for home work, while it is positive for paid work (see Figure 1). Due to space limitations, this paper only discusses paid employment.

With regard to the family life cycle, age is often used as its proxy. However, the use of age as its proxy has significant problems. Timing of transition to marriage, for example, differs by educational level. Since highly educated women are more likely to stay single to a later age and continue to work as paid employees, the positive relationship between education and paid employment among younger women might be largely due to their differential life cycle stages. The age-specific profile of American women has recently shown an inversed U-shape. However, participation rates of mothers with preschool children are still lower compared to those of women of working-age. In order to study women's life cycle employment behavior, direct measurement of the family life cycle is crucial.

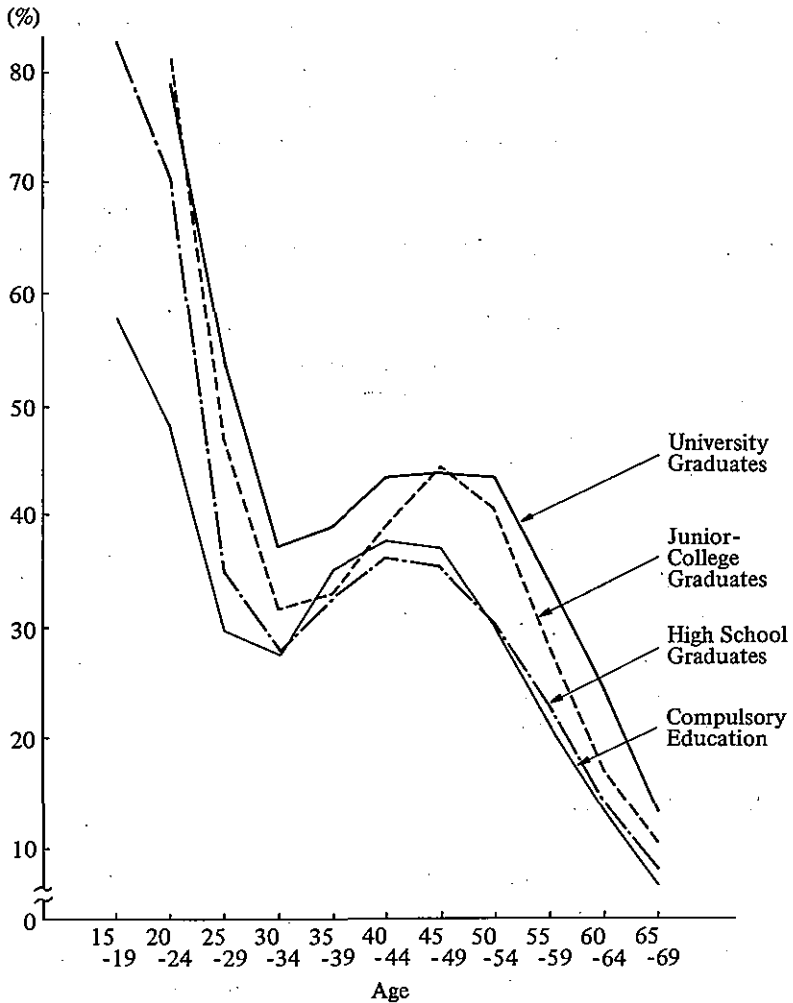
### Data and Measurement of Variables

The data used for this study was obtained from an Occupational Mobility Survey in the Tokyo Metropolitan Area, which was sponsored by the National Institute for Employment and Vocational Research. In this survey, 1,800 selected women aged 20 to 59, residing within 50 kilometers of the center of Tokyo, were interviewed in January, 1975. The response rate was 78.1% (1,405 valid cases).<sup>(1)</sup>

Life cycle stages are conceptualized into five stages as follows:

Stage 1: the period before marriage after finishing school

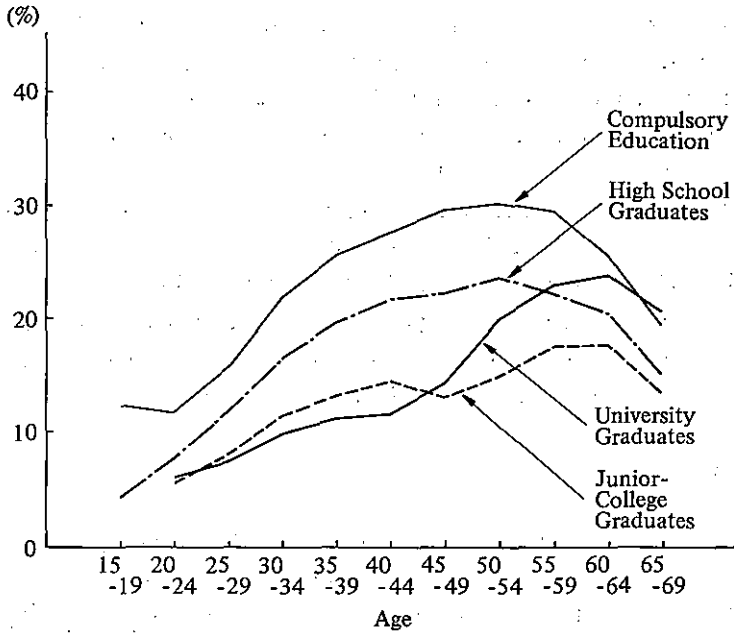
## (A) Paid Employment Rates



Source: Population Census of Japan (1980), Vol. 4 Part 1, Division 2.

Figure 1. Age Specific Employment Rates by Education (Cont.)

(B) Home Employment Rates



Source: Population Census of Japan (1980), Vol. 4 Part 1, Division 2.

Figure 1. Age Specific Employment Rates by Education

- Stage 2: the period between marriage and the birth of the first child
- Stage 3: the period when preschool-age children are present
- Stage 4: the period when the youngest child has reached school age but at least one child stays at home as a dependent
- Stage 5: the period when all children have reached 18 years old or have become independent

Each stage of the life cycle is considered as a distinctive familial context influencing women's employment behavior.

With regard to the measurement of participation rates, I use the percentage of years worked in each stage of the life cycle. Since women with less education have been in the labor market for more years than more highly educated counterparts, years worked in itself cannot be used as a measurement of participation.

Birth cohorts are measured by 5-year intervals which results in a total of eight cohorts among this sample. Education is measured as a categorical variable: compulsory, high school education, and higher education. 2-year junior college and 4-year university are grouped together as higher education since the number of women who have graduated from 4-year universities is small, especially for older cohorts.

## Results

Table 1 shows the changing distribution of education across birth cohorts, which is quite similar to that of the total population. For the 1921-25 and 1916-1920 cohorts, women with only compulsory education constitute the largest category, while for more recent cohorts, high school graduates are the largest. The proportion of women with higher education is less than 10% for the 1926-1930 and older cohorts, while for the youngest 1951-1955 cohort, one out of three have received higher education.

Table 2 indicates the proportion of each cohort which is single. As the educational level rises, the proportion of single women increases, especially among the cohorts younger than 30 in the survey year. The average age at first marriage is shown in Table 3. Although women with



Table 1. Educational Distribution of Each Birth Cohort

Born: Age in '75:	Cohort									
	1951-55 20-24	1946-50 25-29	1941-45 30-34	1936-40 35-39	1931-35 40-44	1926-30 45-49	1921-25 50-54	1916-20 55-59		
Compulsory (N)	10.3 (16)	20.0 (45)	28.6 (77)	33.3 (69)	35.3 (66)	42.2 (57)	47.1 (57)	62.5 (55)		
High School (N)	56.4 (88)	57.3 (129)	57.6 (155)	56.0 (116)	52.9 (99)	48.1 (65)	44.6 (54)	30.7 (27)		
Higher Educ. (N)	33.3 (52)	22.7 (51)	13.8 (37)	10.6 (22)	11.8 (22)	9.6 (13)	8.3 (10)	6.8 (6)		
Total N	156	225	269	207	187	135	121	88		

Table 2. Percent of Each Cohort Who Are Single by Education

Age in '75:	Cohort										Corr. A
	1951-55 20-24	1946-50 25-29	1941-45 30-34	1936-40 35-39	1931-35 40-44	1926-30 45-49	1921-25 50-54	1916-20 55-59			
Compulsory (N)	31.3 (5)	2.2 (1)	5.2 (4)	4.3 (3)	3.0 (2)	5.3 (3)	5.3 (3)	1.8% (1)			-.08*
High School (N)	61.4 (54)	17.1 (22)	7.1 (11)	5.2 (6)	4.0 (4)	3.1 (2)	1.9 (1)	3.7% (1)			-.38***
Higher Educ. (N)	80.8 (42)	29.4 (15)	10.8 (4)	9.1 (2)	4.5 (1)	7.7 (1)	10.0 (1)	0% (0)			-.51***
Corr. B	.30***	.24***	.06	.05	.03	-.01	-.02	-.02			

note: Corr. A is the correlation between singlehood ( a dummy variable with never married = 1) and age within each educational level.

Corr. B is the correlation between singlehood and education within each birth cohort.

\*  $p < .1$ , \*\*  $p < .05$ , and \*\*\*  $p < .01$ .

Table 3. Average Age at First Marriage by Education and Birth Cohort

Born :	Cohort										Corr. A
	1946-50	1941-45	1936-40	1931-35	1926-30	1921-25	1916-20				
Compulsory	21.6	23.6	23.8	23.9	24.0	23.5	23.6				.15***
High School	23.0	24.0	24.1	24.4	24.0	24.1	23.8				.15***
Higher Educ.	24.1	24.8	25.8	24.4	24.2	—	—				.06
Corr. B	.39***	.13**	.14*	.06	.01	.15	-.07				

note: Corr. A is the correlation between age at marriage and age within each educational level.  
 Corr. B is the correlation between age at marriage and educational level within each birth cohort.

Since a large proportion of the 1951-55 cohort are still single, this cohort is excluded.

\*  $p < .1$ , \*\*  $p < .05$ , and \*\*\*  $p < .01$ .

higher education tend to delay marriage to a later age than less educated women, the relationship between education and age at first marriage is different for younger and older cohorts. This relationship is significantly positive for younger cohorts, while for older cohorts, it is weak and without statistical significance.

Since most women in the older cohorts had already married by 1975, this non-significant relationship will not change. However, for the younger cohorts, the percentage of single women is significantly larger among highly educated women. That is, the average age at marriage for women with higher education is expected to increase as single women get married in the future. Thus, the positive relationship between education and age at first marriage will be even stronger. The rapidly rising educational level of women and the changing relationship between education and the timing of transition to marriage may reflect changing employment opportunities during the post-WWII period.

Table 4 presents the percentage of years worked in the paid sector by educational level and birth cohort. Paid employment opportunities have increased substantially for younger cohorts. This is especially the case for women with compulsory and high school education, and to a lesser degree for women with higher education. Along with the expansion of non-agricultural industries, opportunities to work as paid employees have increased rapidly. During the early stage of the life course, younger cohorts have experienced greater demands for their labor than older cohorts did when they were young. Thus, even though the number of middle-aged and older women in the paid sector has increased since the mid-1960s, younger cohorts have had greater access to work in the paid sector from the moment they finished school.

This examination is expanded by incorporating the concept of the family life cycle. Changing patterns of life cycle employment across cohorts have been delineated for each educational level in Figure 2. As expected, women's employment has changed significantly across the life course. Regardless of the level of education, a large proportion of women withdraw from paid work at marriage and further at the first birth.

Table 4. Percentage of Years Worked as Paid Employee Since Finishing School: by Education and Birth Cohort

	Cohort										Corr. A
	1951-55	1946-50	1941-45	1936-40	1931-35	1926-30	1921-25	1916-20	1911-15	1906-10	
Born:	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65-69	
Age in '75:	48.6	39.0	31.3	20.8	23.4	14.1	12.4	10.2	10.2	10.2	-.42***
Compulsory	47.9	39.9	32.5	19.2	18.3	16.7	11.4	13.2	13.2	13.2	-.42***
High School	47.2	36.2	29.2	33.3	22.3	28.1	25.4	-	-	-	-.24***
Higher Educ.											
Corr. B	-.01	-.03	-.01	.08	-.07	.14*	.08	-.04	-.04	-.04	

note: Corr. A is the correlation between percentage of years worked as paid employees and age within each educational level.

Corr. B is the correlation between percentage of years worked as paid employees and education within each birth cohort.

\*  $p < .1$ , \*\*  $p < .05$ , and \*\*\*  $p < .01$ .

## (A) Compulsory Education

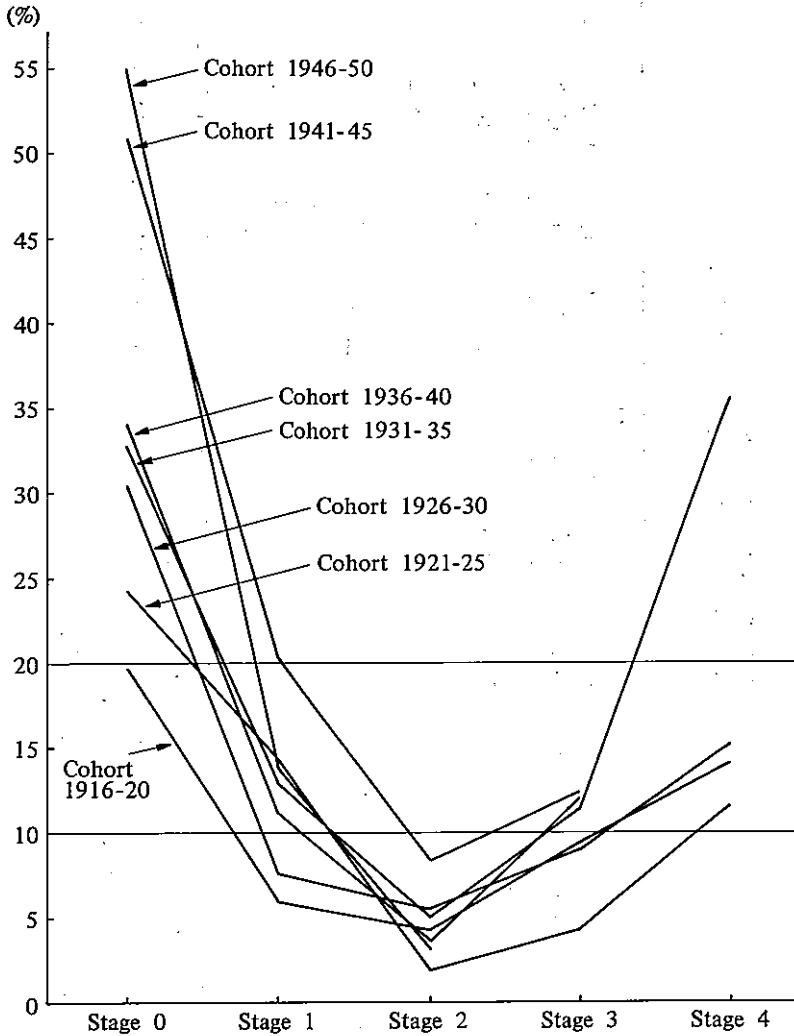


Figure 2. Life Cycle Paid Employment by Birth Cohort (Cont.)

(B) High School Education

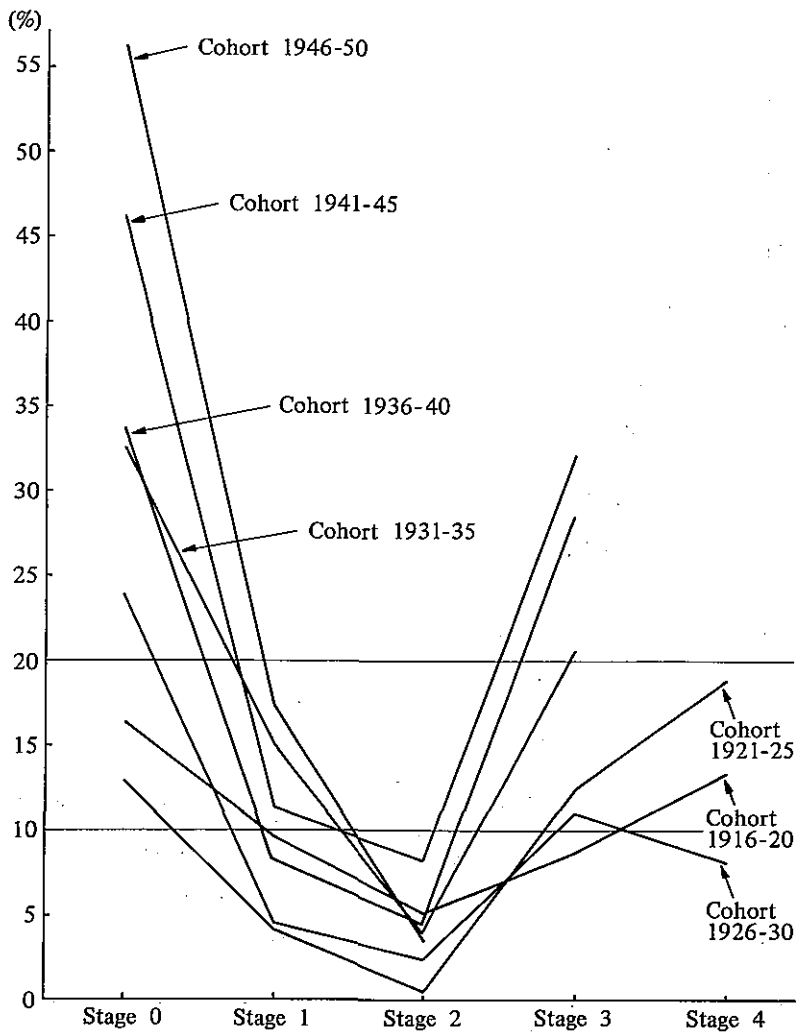


Figure 2. Life Cycle Paid Employment by Birth Cohort (Cont.)

## (C) Higher Education

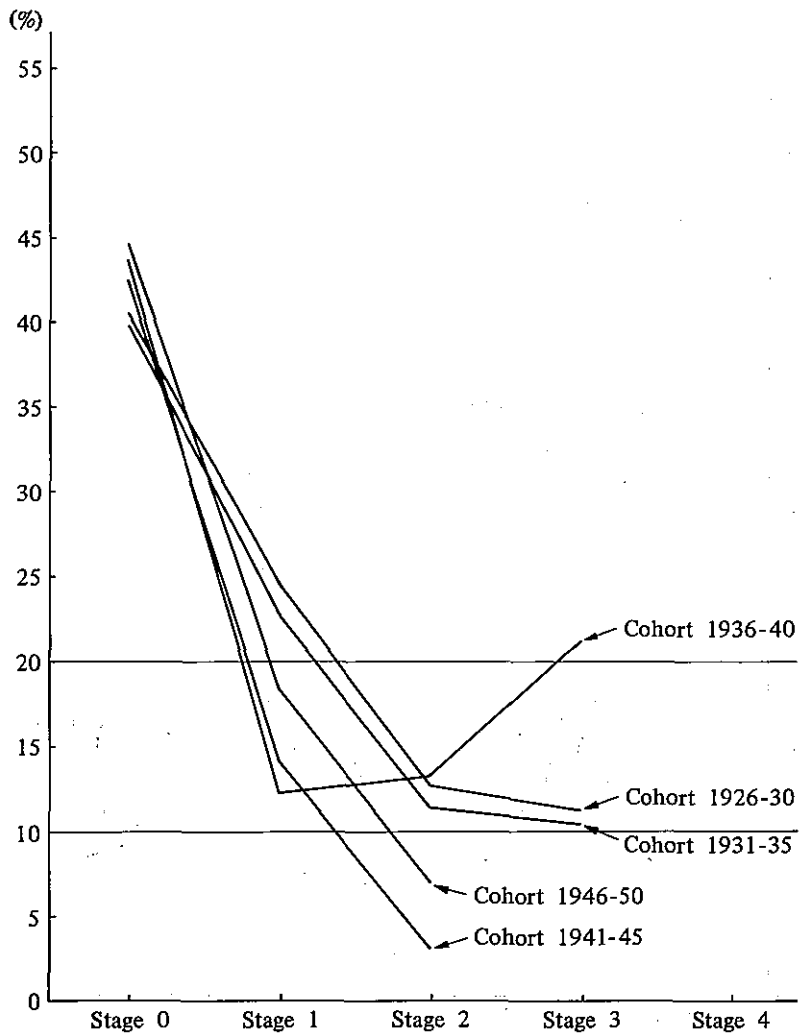


Figure 2: Life Cycle Paid Employment by Birth Cohort



The life cycle patterns of paid employment have changed across cohorts, but these changes vary by educational level. In general, women with compulsory and high school education display similarities in these cohort changes. On the other hand, women with higher education have quite distinctive patterns which differ little across cohorts. That is, recent cohorts are more active in every stage than older cohorts, and increases in activity are especially large in the stage of being single. Changing patterns across cohorts are relatively similar for women with compulsory and high school education, but the patterns for women with higher education are quite distinctive. For both women with compulsory education and those with high school education, younger cohorts are much more active as paid employees than older cohorts in the stage of being single. The rapid increase in participation rates from older to younger cohorts is more substantial for women with only compulsory education than high school graduates, since older cohorts of high school graduates worked as paid employees in this stage more than women with compulsory education. The rapid expansion of employment in the non-agricultural sector during the post-WWII period has increasingly pulled single women with compulsory and those with high school education into the work force. Women with compulsory education are mainly hired for jobs such as production process operatives, while high school graduates are hired as clerical workers.

Interestingly, for highly educated women, there are slight increases in participation rates in the single stage, but differences in participation rates between younger and older cohorts are small. They have worked as paid employees at a relatively consistent level across cohorts. The increase in the proportion of women with higher education in younger cohorts has no significant effect on their participation rates. In comparison to the participation rates among different educational levels across cohorts in this stage, it is only for older cohorts that education is positively correlated with paid work. For younger cohorts, the participation rates of the less educated and high school graduates are rather higher than those for highly educated women.

Participation rates decline after marriage and further decline after

childbirth. For women with compulsory education and those with high school education, withdrawal rates at marriage become greater for younger cohorts, reflecting their increased participation in the stage of being single. That is, the differences in the participation rates between the single stage and the subsequent stage after marriage are larger for younger cohorts, even though younger cohorts stay in the labor force slightly longer than older cohorts after marriage.

The patterns of women with higher education appear to be different. That is, younger cohorts quit work at marriage and withdraw from the labor market more than older cohorts. Their participation after marriage is lower than that of older cohorts. One reason might be the result of the truncation effect. That is, since women with higher education tend to delay the transition to marriage, married ones among their younger cohorts are heavily represented by those who chose marriage at relatively younger ages. It is expected that when a large number of single working women eventually marry, participation of these younger cohorts might become higher and at least equal to that of older cohorts.

Significant employment differences between women with compulsory education and those with high school education appear at the stage when all children have reached school age. At this stage, younger cohorts of women with compulsory education show a rapid increase in participation, while among women with high school education, employment increases have remained minimal. This might be related to both demand and supply side factors. The sharp decline in the supply of unskilled youth labor has been caused by the increase in educational attainment for younger cohorts. Thus, the demand for women with compulsory education in this stage has increased. Since women with high school education constitute the largest educational group, demand for them has been met largely with newly graduated single women. From the supply side, women with compulsory education are under greater economic pressure along with the increase in living costs and educational expenses for their children. Thus, women with compulsory education have been increasingly pulled into the paid sector at this stage, while the increase for women with high school education has been limited.

Examination of women with higher education after this stage becomes difficult. Although women with higher education are relatively large in number among the younger cohorts, their number becomes small in the stages after marriage, since a large proportion of them are still single. On the other hand, for older cohorts, most of them have already married, but the proportion of women who received higher education itself is very small. Thus, interpretation should be cautious in these cases. However, in general, it appears that highly educated women are more likely to stay in paid employment after marriage than those with less education, but are less likely to come back to work after quitting their jobs.

### Summary and Discussion

The major findings of this study are as follows. First, women have responded to increasing job opportunities in the paid sector differently across educational levels. Women in recent cohorts have greater access to and a higher incidence of paid employment than women in older cohorts. This cohort difference is especially strong among women with compulsory and high school education, and is only slight for women with higher education.

Second, regardless of the level of education, a large proportion of women withdraw from paid work at marriage and further so at first birth. This pattern has become clearer for younger cohorts of women with compulsory and those with high school education, since their employment rates at the stage of being single have sharply increased.

It is important to note that a sharp withdrawal from paid employment occurs at marriage rather than at childbirth. It appears that in addition to motherhood, marriage itself operates as a factor inhibiting Japanese women's employment. Delay of the first marriage to older ages might be partly related to this sharp drop in employment at marriage. For Japanese women, marriage is more likely to be perceived as the beginning of family formation with children.

Third, increases in paid employment for single women were observed only for women with compulsory education and those with high school

education. It is necessary to consider the relative population size of these women. Because of the rapidly rising level of educational attainment, the proportion of women with only compulsory education has declined to a very low level, while the proportion with high school education represents the largest group. Therefore it is women with high school education who have contributed to push up the sharp peak of employment profiles at ages 20 to 24. These young single women with high school education have responded to the increase in clerical jobs during the post-WWII period.

Fourth, the steady increase in the paid employment of middle-aged and older women is largely due to the increase in participation among women with compulsory education, especially in the stage with school age children. As the relative number of young women with compulsory education has sharply declined, middle-aged and older women with less education have increasingly responded to continuous demands for unskilled female labor. Consequently, the age distribution of women working in production operative jobs, mostly with compulsory education, has shifted rapidly from younger to older age groups.

Fifth, the life cycle employment patterns for women with higher education are quite distinctive from those of other educational levels. Their participation rates in the single stage have been high and changed little across cohorts. It is a myth that job opportunities for women with higher education in older cohorts were severely limited at the point of entry into the labor market after finishing education. They were much more actively working outside the home, not only in the stage of being single but also after marriage compared to their less educated counterparts. The number of highly educated women was small in the past, and these elite women were pulled into the "female-typed" professional occupations, typically nurses and teachers. However, it appears that once they left work, they were less likely to come back. The recent massive influx of less educated, middle-aged and older women into the paid sector has obscured the previous activities of highly educated women at younger ages in cross-sectional descriptions.

In summary, these findings suggest that the relationship between

education and life cycle employment is greatly conditioned by job structures determining the demands for female labor. At the single stage, education was positively related to paid employment for remote cohorts. However, because of the rapid increase in job opportunities for women with compulsory and high school education, this positive relationship disappeared for recent cohorts.

The rapid increase of married women in the paid sector has been a phenomenal characteristic of women's employment, but they are mainly women with compulsory education and to a lesser degree women with high school education. Women with higher education rarely come back to paid work after their withdrawal from work. Job opportunities in the paid sector have rapidly increased for women, but these jobs are mainly unskilled or semi-skilled manual and clerical jobs not requiring higher education. This study attempts to increase our understandings of the relationship between education and Japanese women's employment by examining the life cycle employment patterns across cohorts. The findings of this study are still limited, and replication of this study using more recent data is necessary to understand the changing features of women's employment since 1975. The relationships among education, work, and family are complicated and revealing, yet mostly untouched. Further examination in this area is warranted in order to gain a deeper understanding of the life cycle influence on women's response to the rapid ongoing transformation of Japan's economy and society.

### Note

- (1) At the interview, women were asked about their work history and family formation history. Retrospective data contain inherent problems, however. First, because they rely on the individual's memory about the past experiences and events in the life course, information about remote experiences tends to be less accurate. Second, because of the selection process of survival, the past experiences of people in a sample are only for those who had survived up to the time of the survey data. It is obvious that those who died prior to the survey data cannot be the subjects of the sampling procedure. Since survival chances are more likely to be distributed systematically than randomly among the population, past experiences based only on those who survived up to the survey date are subject to bias to some degree. This distortion is greater for more remote events and older cohorts than for recent events and younger cohorts. Therefore, inferences from the findings based on these retrospective data need to be viewed with caution.

There are additional difficulties in the examination of life cycle paid employment behavior. First, since the proportion of women with higher education is quite small among older cohorts, their number of cases is too small in this data set. Thus, the full comparison across educational levels is limited for older cohorts. Second, the younger cohorts are still in the earlier stages of their life cycle. In particular, a large proportion of women with higher education in these cohorts are still single. As a result, the married women in these cohorts are not representative of the majority of their cohort. It is important to keep this truncation bias in mind.

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# 日本における女性の教育背景と ライフサイクル就業パターン

——コホート分析——

〈要 約〉

田 中 かず子

戦後日本経済が第一次産業から第二次・第三次産業へ急速に移行する過程で、独身女性のみならず既婚女性も雇用市場に大量に流入していった。雇用労働が主要な就業形態となると、歴史的に家事育児責任を担ってきた女性にとって、就業との役割葛藤が増大する。ライフサイクル就業パターンは、家族責任の質的量的変化と社会経済構造の変化というダイナミックなコンテキストにおいて、女性が選択してきた就業行動の軌跡である。本研究では、日本の女性がどのように雇用機会の拡大に対応してきたのか理解するために、ライフコース理論に基づき、ライフサイクル雇用就業パターンの変化をコホート分析し、特に教育との関係で考察する。本分析に際し、家族責任の変化を明確に把握するために、ライフサイクルステージを年齢ではなく、結婚・出産・子供の年齢により定義した。

本研究の分析の結果、出生コホート間でライフサイクル就業パターンの大きな変化がみられたのは初等・中等教育の女性であり、高学歴の女性の場合はほとんど変化がみられなかった。初等・中等教育の女性の場合、独身期での雇用率が増大し、そのため結婚により退職するというパターンがますます明確になってきた。しかし初等教育と中等教育では再就職のパターンに違いがみられた。初等教育の女性の場合、末子が学齢期に達したあとのライフステージで雇用率が急速に上昇したが、中等教

育の女性の場合は、同ステージでの雇用率の伸びは少なく、雇用率の上昇は末子が18歳に達したあとのステージにおいてみられた。一方、高学歴の女性はコホートにかかわらず独身期において高い雇用率を示し、結婚により多くが退職するというパターンがみられた。高学歴の女性は特に初期のステージ間での移行が遅く、切断効果(truncation effect)をも考慮しなければならないが、コホート内で比較すると、初等・中等教育の女性と比べて結婚出産後も継続して働くものが多いといえる。中高年層での高学歴者の数が少ないこともあって、後半のライフステージについてここでは言及できないが、一般に高学歴者には育児責任の軽減後に再就職というパターンはみられないようだ。このようにライフサイクル就業パターンを教育別にコホート分析することにより、戦後急速に女性の雇用機会は拡大したが、主に単純労務・事務という職域において女性労働力の需要が増大したのであり、キャリアにつながる職種では限られていたという需要側の要因が推測できる。