Changes and Continuity in Non-regular Employment in Japan (4):

Why Is the "Male Breadwinner Model" Still Predominant in Japan Today?

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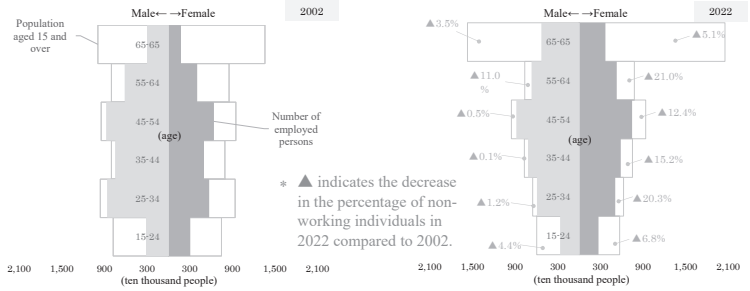
Objectives

- In Japan, an analysis of whether the male breadwinner model is predominant was conducted until 2010, but there has been no analysis of trends since then.
- The following areas have experienced considerable changes since 2010. Have these changes triggered a transformation in Japan's male breadwinner model? If not, why?
  - Increasing labor demand due to the aging population.
  - Implementation of policies in the following fields since 2010.
    - ✓ Reduction in working hours,
    - ✓ Promotion of flexible work styles,
    - ✓ Strengthening support for childcare and older adult care,
  - Act on the Promotion of Women's Participation and Advancement in the Workplace, and so on.

Population and Number of Employed Persons by Age Group (Aged 15-64)



* ▲ indicates the decrease in the percentage of non-working individuals in 2022 compared to 2002.

Data & Methods

Data Individual data from statistics published by the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare

Survey Year	2010, 2014, 2019
Survey Scope & Target	Nationwide, Establishments with five or more regular employees and workers employed at these establishments, Workers randomly selected by employment type from among the above workers.
Analysis Questions	Gender, age, family structure, employment type, main breadwinner, wages, working hours
Valid Responses & Rate	2010: 33,087 & 64.7%, 2014: 34,511 & 65.2%, 2019: 23,521 & 64.4%

Methods

1. Grouping
   (1) Family Structure: Combination of living with a spouse and children
   (2) Employment and Earner statuses:
   Combination of employment type and primary/secondary earner status
2. Comparison of the composition ratio of "Employment and Earner statuses" by "Family Structure"
3. Comparison of the levels and distribution of working hours and wages by gender, employment type, and "Family Structure"

(1) Family Structure		[Group Name]
Have a spouse	Have children	[S&C]
	No children	[S&N]
No spouse	Have children	[N&C]
	No children	[N&N]

(2) Employment and Earner statuses		[Group Name]
Regular employees	Primary earner	[R&Pri]
	Secondary earner	[R&Sec]
Non-regular employees	Primary earner	[NR&Pri]
	Secondary earner	[NR&Sec]

Results

Composition ratio of "Employment and Earner statuses" by "Family Structure"

2019

		R&Pri	R&Sec	NR&Pri	NR&Sec
Male	N&N	66.0%	5.6%	24.4%	4.0%
	S&C	**90.8%**	1.5%	6.2%	1.5%
Fmale	N&N	49.0%	9.9%	25.7%	15.4%
	S&C	10.2%	27.3%	2.2%	**60.3%**

2014

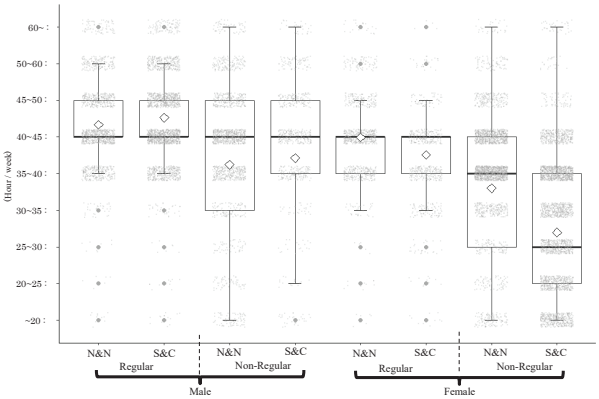
		R&Pri	R&Sec	NR&Pri	NR&Sec
Male	N&N	67.2%	5.8%	18.8%	8.3%
	S&C	**92.4%**	1.3%	5.4%	0.9%
Fmale	N&N	49.7%	13.0%	24.6%	12.7%
	S&C	8.8%	27.2%	2.9%	**61.1%**

2010

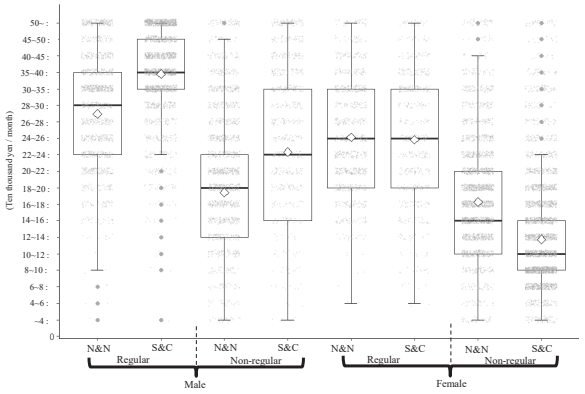
		R&Pri	R&Sec	NR&Pri	NR&Sec
Male	N&N	71.5%	3.4%	20.8%	4.3%
	S&C	**93.5%**	0.2%	5.9%	0.4%
Fmale	N&N	49.2%	10.9%	29.4%	10.6%
	S&C	7.3%	26.4%	3.4%	**62.9%**

- Residual analysis of cross tables ("Employment and Earner statuses" as the columns) below.
- Significant differences ($p< 0.01$) were observed in all categories, except for the difference in 2019 between N&N and S&C in the R&Sec for male individuals.
  - Table1: N&N, Gender as the rows
  - Table2: S&C, Gender as the rows
  - Table3: Male, "Family Structure" as the rows
  - Table4: Female, "Family Structure" as the rows

Comparison of the levels and distribution of working hours by gender, employment type, and "Family Structure" in 2019



Comparison of the levels and distribution of wages by gender, employment type, and "Family Structure" in 2019



- Brunner-Munzel tests (Brunner & Munzel,, 2000) were used to determine any significant differences in working hours and wages among the following groups:
- Significant differences ($p<0.001$ or $p<0.01$) observed in all categories
- Similar results were observed in 2010 and 2014, except for Comparison 1 in 2010 (not significant), Comparison 1 in 2014 ($p<0.05$), and Comparison 2 in 2010 ($p<0.05$).

- Comparison 1: Male & R, "N&N" ⇔ "S&C"
- Comparison 2: Male & NR, "N&N" ⇔ "S&C"
- Comparison 3: Male & "N&N," R ⇔ NR
- Comparison 4: Male & "S&C," R ⇔ NR
- Comparison 5: Female & R, "N&N" ⇔ "S&C"
- Comparison 6: Female & NR, "N&N" ⇔ "S&C"
- Comparison 7: Female & "N&N," R ⇔ NR
- Comparison 8: Female & "S&C," R ⇔ NR
- Comparison 9: R & "N&N", Male ⇔ Female
- Comparison 10: R & "S&C", Male ⇔ Female
- Comparison 11: NR & "N&N", Male ⇔ Female
- Comparison 12: NR & "S&C", Male ⇔ Female

* In multiple testing, p-values were adjusted using the Benjamini and Hochberg method (Benjamini & Hochberg, 1995).

** I conducted the analysis using statistical software R (version 4.3.1) and R-Studio (2023.09.1 Build 494).

Discussion

- Despite implementing policies since 2010, there have been no significant changes regarding the following aspects:
  - ① Proportion of R&Rri among men in S&C and NR&Sec among women in S&C remain disproportionately high.
  - ② Wage levels for men in S&C remain disproportionately high.
  - ③ Interquartile range of working hours for both genders in R remains narrow, regardless of "Family structure" (N&N or S&C).
  - ④ Interquartile range of working hours among women in non-regular employment in S&C is disproportionately wide.
- ① suggests that the male breadwinner model continues to be observed in Japan.
- Considering ②〜④, in terms of family structure in S&C, the practical combinations of working arrangements may be limited to following (2) if one seeks to secure wages and hours necessary for childcare, etc.

Employment and Earner statuses	Wage levels	Adjustment of working hours
(1) Male: R & Female: R	Highest	Most difficult
(2) Male: R & Female: N-R	Case by case	More difficult than (3)
(3)Male: N-R & Female: R		Easier then (2)
(4) Male: N-R & Female: N-R	Lowest	Easiest

* R: Regular employees, NR: Non-regular employees.

Conclusion

- Despite recent policy implementations, the "Male Breadwinner Model" remains prevalent in Japan.
- Male regular employees earn the highest wages, while female non-regular employees have the most flexible work schedules, and this situation has not changed.
- In this context, striving to ensure adequate wages and hours for childcare leads to adherence to the existing "Male Breadwinner Model."
- To foster this transformation, it is imperative to establish gender and employment-type equality in wages and working hours.
- The following points have not been considered or analyzed and thus represent future research topics:
  - The degree of household chores and childcare outsourcing.
  - Differences between industries and job roles, such as those entailing physical or manual labor (e.g., factories, construction, transportation) versus roles in research and development, product or service planning and development, and so on.

References

- Benjamini, Y. & Hochberg, Y., 1995, Controlling the false discovery rate: A practical and powerful approach to multiple testing. Journal of the Royal Statistical Society. Series B (Methodological), 57(1): 289–300.
- Brunner, E. and Munzel, U., 2000, The nonparametric Behrens-Fisher problem: Asymptotic theory and a small-sample approximation. Biometrical Journal: Journal of Mathematical Methods in Biosciences, 42(1), 17–25.

* Only mentioned above.

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