



UNRISD

United Nations Research Institute for Social Development

Gendered Power Relations in Transition?

*Division of Paid and Unpaid Work in Japan
and South Korea from a Comparative Perspective*

*Mi Young An
Kookmin University
South Korea*

Draft paper prepared for the UNRISD Conference

**Overcoming Inequalities in a Fractured World:
Between Elite Power and Social Mobilization**

8–9 November 2018, Geneva, Switzerland

The United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) is an autonomous research institute within the UN system that undertakes multidisciplinary research and policy analysis on the social dimensions of contemporary development issues. Through our work we aim to ensure that social equity, inclusion and justice are central to development thinking, policy and practice.

UNRISD ▪ Palais des Nations ▪ 1211 Geneva 10 ▪ Switzerland
info.unrisd@un.org ▪ www.unrisd.org

Copyright © United Nations Research Institute for Social Development

This is not a formal UNRISD publication. The responsibility for opinions expressed in signed studies rests solely with their author(s), and availability on the UNRISD website (www.unrisd.org) does not constitute an endorsement by UNRISD of the opinions expressed in them. No publication or distribution of these papers is permitted without the prior authorization of the author(s), except for personal use.

Abstract

This paper examines the gender division of paid and unpaid work in Japan and Korea and the related macro level factors. It suggests the role of state goes beyond family policies targeting female employment promotion to include politics, i.e., gender representativeness in parliament. Methodologically, the paper compares the East Asian countries to European countries. The empirical analysis shows that at the European level, the role of family policy is an important macro level factor in differences in married women's employment rate and share of unpaid work. When the East Asian countries are added, multilevel analysis shows women's political representation matters. Japan and Korea have modernized their family policies and do not significantly lag behind the high income countries in Europe in terms of what the changed policies imply for female employment. By and large, European countries' promotion of female employment in family policies positively corresponds to the growth of female representation in parliament. This is not the case in Japan and Korea. Women's representation in the top decision making domain is weak, and this seems to be a significant macro level factor in the strong, ongoing gender division of paid and unpaid work at the micro level.

Keywords

Gender; division of labour; welfare state

Bio

Mi Young An is an associate professor in department of public administration at Kookmin University, Republic of Korea. Her research interests focus on the analysis of social policy with particular interests in gender, family and care.

Introduction

The gendered division of paid and unpaid work is a key issue in discussions of equality. Paid employment is a necessary condition for autonomy, self-realization and independence. Likewise, an ability to negotiate the division of unpaid work based on resources drawn from their employment indicates independence and power. In Japan and South Korea (hereafter Korea), industrialization, urbanization, and closer integration into world markets has transformed economic, political, and demographic structures (Vogel 1993), including for women, whose educational and employment opportunities are greatly expanded. However, the gendered division of labour remains stubbornly entrenched (Oshio et al. 2013).

In 2010, the employment rate of females between the ages of 15 and 64 was 60.1 percent in Japan and 52.7 percent in Korea, but the employment rate of most of their European counterparts was higher than 65 percent (OECD 2018). In other words, even though women have made advances, they still lag behind their comparators in paid work. In addition, national statistics indicate that, on average, women in East Asian societies spend three or four times more time on unpaid work, including household chores and care for family. According to national statistics of Japan and Korea, in 2016, Japanese men spent 339 minutes, on average, on paid work, whereas women spent 172 minutes per day. For unpaid work, men spent 79 minutes compared to women's 262 minutes. In 2014, men in Korea spent 248 minutes on paid work, while women spent 146 minutes; for unpaid work, the times were 68 and 258 minutes, for men and women respectively.

The severe gender division of labour at the micro level is puzzling, given the fact that during recent decades, as in high income countries in Europe, these two countries have made substantive changes in family policies, especially in childcare, indicating their burgeoning awareness of gender issues. In both countries, the caring function has been substantively defamiliarized, albeit to different degrees (An and Peng 2016). In fact, gender is now involved in processes and structures of the welfare state that previously were conceived as having almost nothing to do with gender.

The comparative analysis of macro level factors that shape the gender division of paid and/or unpaid work is growing in popularity. By and large, studies have approached the topic through policy institutions and/or gender ideology. Some studies have included Japan but to the best of our knowledge, none has yet considered Korea. Overall, the classic and basic questions on gender equality in high income countries have received limited attention to East Asian countries. Therefore, this paper takes an important step by examining the gendered division of paid and unpaid work among married women in Japan and Korea in a comparative context and by probing the associated macro level factors. In the next section, I suggest that female representativeness in top decision making is an important macro level factor for the micro level gender division of paid and unpaid work. Empirical analysis indicates that at the European level, a country's promotion of women's employment in family policies positively corresponds to gender representativeness within its parliament. Multilevel analysis suggests this policy institution is most clearly related to differences in the division of paid and unpaid work of married women at the micro level. But when Korea and Japan are included in the comparative analysis, there are no correlations between family policy institutions and women's political representativeness. It suggests that the modernization of family policy institutions in Japan and Korea did not co-occur with positive changes in the political representation of women. The

multilevel modelling shows women's political power has an important influence on the micro level differences in the division of paid and unpaid work division. The changes honouring gender equality are partial at best in East Asia. It asks what the gender awareness expressed in policy has actually meant for gender equality and women's empowerment in the social and economic life of Japan and Korea.

Literature review

Among many contextual factors with possible implications for differences in the division of paid and unpaid work, the literature demonstrates that policy institutions, particularly family policy, and cultural ideology on gender roles, are key variables. The degree to which family policy promotes women as paid workers is a conceptual and analytical issue in comparative analyses of the gendered division of labour (Leira 1992; Lewis 1992, 2001), and researchers have examined childcare services, leave provision, cash support and tax system.¹ For the most part, publicly financed formal childcare services and well-paid not-overly-long parental leaves are good for women's integration into the labour market, but generous family cash benefits and higher tax rates for secondary earners are bad for it.² A regression analysis of a large number of countries has offered empirical evidence that the degree of women's employment promotion at the macro level matters in cross-national differences in female employment at the micro level or/and the division of unpaid care work.³

Hakim (2000) says a society's dominant gender ideology is an important explanation of individuals' modes of behaviour. Culture is defined the "appropriate" or "right" behaviour for men and women in any given society, and women's employment patterns reflect preferences shaped by culture on how to combine work and family life. A key assumption is that women are not homo economicus (Kremer 2007); thus, we should not assume that every woman wants to live her life as a (full-time, continuous) paid worker. The evidence suggests culture has an effect on women's and mothers' employment decisions and domestic tasks (Blair and Lichter 1991; Presser 1994). In an early study, Pfau-Effinger (1998) pointed to the role of cultural values and norms in cross-national differences in women's employment behaviour. In more recent work, Pfau-Effinger and Smidt (2011) argue that although family policies have been more or less the same in Eastern and Western Germany since the 1990s, the patterns of employment of mothers with preschool children vary by cultural differences related to women's roles. Fortin (2005) argues that national gender culture matters for women's share of paid employment, and the impact of care policy measured in public expenditures on childcare is overestimated when cultural factors are not controlled for.

Japan has appeared in comparative studies on women's employment and/or housework division which analyse data from around the turn of the 21st century. Korea has not appeared in a comparative study on high income countries. Therefore, we do not know how Japan and Korea compare in the results of their family policy development. More specifically, no one has compared the effect of policy institutions and gender ideology on the gender division of paid and unpaid work in the two countries. In addition, we add a *political* variable, something hitherto missing from comparative studies on the gender division of paid and unpaid work.

¹ Boeckmann et al. 2015; Dingeldey 2001; Jaumotte 2003; Keck and Saraceno 2013; Pettit and Hook 2005; Ruhm 1998; Steiber and Haas 2009; Stadelmann-Steffen 2011; Waldfogel et al. 1999

² Sainsbury 1996; Huber et al. 2009; Jaumotte 2003

³ Pettit and Hook 2005; Uunk et al. 2005; Steiber and Haas 2009; Kleider 2015

Scholars point to political parties as key drivers of cross national differences in gender relations.⁴ Leftist parties are consistently found to be related to have a positive influence on gender equality (Sainsbury 1996). Political explanations of the family policy development in East Asia are growing. Peng (2008) and Kim and Kim (2011) show that the role of civil society, particularly women's organizations, was important for the first half of the second progressive government of Roh in Korea (2003-2008). Estévez-Abe and Kim (2014) address the bold changes in childcare service in Korea made by the Roh government and compare these to Japan, highlighting the role of the president. Fleckenstein and Lee (2017) say Estévez-Abe and Kim do not consider the fact that conservative governments have fostered growth in formal childcare service in Korea; thus, they fail to explain why Korea made bolder policy changes than Japan. They offer an alternative explanation: political party competition over the votes of the young. As both marriage and fertility rates declined, political parties strategically promised more benefits in the area of childcare to deliver the message that family formation was going to be supported by the state. The role of political party competition was also found in Morgan's (2013) analysis on development of work/family reconciliation policies in Germany, Netherlands and UK. These studies force us to question the extent to which the political party matters to differences in the gender division of paid and unpaid work in East Asian countries.

Both policies focusing on women and politics, i.e., women's political involvement, imply women's empowerment.⁵ Nonetheless, the latter variable has received less attention in comparative studies of gender paid and unpaid work. Perhaps political participation is seen as having a policy mediating effect. Alternatively, the omission may reflect the tendency to see it as corresponding to gender equality policies. In the literature, the importance of women's political representation is generally based on observations that the institutionalization of gender equality policies and the adoption of women-friendly policies follows women's political mobilization and increased feminism in politics. Stadelmann-Steffen (2008) analysed the political factors (political veto points and power balance between party political ideology) if they had effect on women's labour supply. The political variables were assumed to have indirect effect on female employment by means of policies. However, less thought is given to the importance of women's representation in political parties as a political factor and the possibility that the policies and politics do not correlate.

Politics, in the form of women's political representation in decision making, is, we suggest, an important macro level factor as it indicates gendered power relations in decision making and representation of interests. In the literature, positive relationship was suggested between political party feminism and women-friendly policies (Threlfall 1998). But Fleckenstein and Lee (2017: 11) mention that the number of women in parliament increased while family policy was being developed in Japan and Korea throughout the 1990s and 2000s, but it never reached the critical mass of 30 percent (Dahlerup 1988), typically considered to be necessary for female MPs to have a significant impact on policy. It was around 5 percent in East Asia in the mid-1990s and increased to around 15 percent in Korea and 10 percent in Japan by the end-2000s. This contrasts with the development of work/family reconciliation policies that political party competition for women's votes generally involved substantive change in female representativeness in political parties (Morgan 2013).

⁴ Korpi 2000; Huber and Stephens 2000; Morgan 2006

⁵ Hernes 1987; Leira 1993; Threlfall 1998

Most literature suggests policy institutions or cultural gender ideology are behind cross national differences in the gender division of paid and unpaid work. However, we propose treating the political variable, women's representation in parliament, as an independent analytic dimension.

Multilevel modelling

This study employed multilevel modelling. This method allows more accurate estimates of macro level effects than alternative approaches, such as type of welfare regime (Steiber and Haas 2009). It considers micro level processes and identifies explanatory factors at both micro and macro levels of country variations in outcome measures. Data for our analysis came from the 2012 ISSP Changing Families and Gender Roles. Our sample was married women aged 20 and 64 in 15 countries across East Asia and Europe: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Finland, Germany, Ireland, Japan, Korea, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, and the UK.

Our dependent variables were married women's employment rate and division of unpaid work. We coded employment as a binary variable. We used the information on both the respondents' and the spouses' employment status. We excluded those who were retired, permanently sick or disabled and in compulsory military service. We coded 1 for in paid employment and 0 for other employment status, including those in domestic work; those unemployed and looking for a job, in education, and apprentices or trainees were regarded as not in employment. For married women's share of unpaid work, we used information on time spent on housework. We created a variable of share of unpaid work; a larger value indicated a greater share of unpaid work, that is, unequal division.

The individual level variable included age and its quadratic age term to capture the life-course effects better than a linear specification (Kamo 2000). Number of dependents was another variable as it is an important factor in women's decisions on whether to participate in the labour market. We calculated the variable by combining information on the total number of persons in the household and children. Families headed by one adult were excluded. Education was included at seven levels, from none to a completed university degree. Gender of respondents was the micro level variable, as survey respondents tend to fill out questionnaires following socially structured gender roles (Iversen and Rosenbluth 2006). To control for the effect of an individual's gender ideology, we used the information on gender roles found in answers to the following series of three questions: men's job is to earn, women's job is to look after home; a preschool child is likely to suffer if a mother is working; and family life suffers when a woman has a full-time job. Response categories were: strongly agree (1); agree (2); neither agree nor disagree (3); disagree (4); strongly disagree (5). The multilevel modelling of the division of unpaid work included relative income, utilizing the information on who had higher income; a higher value indicated married women had higher relative income power. Finally, we included married women's employment status in the model for unpaid work division and we included those retired. Whether or not retired was also considered as a micro level factor in modelling for unpaid work division.

The macro level variables included family policy in terms of female employment promotion, dominant ideology of gender role, and female political power. To measure the degree to which the welfare state promoted women's employment, we paid attention to childcare services, leave provisions, family cash support and tax systems. Data for these variables came from OECD.

Childcare service was reflected by the enrolment rate in formal childcare services of children aged 0-2 in 2013. Leave provision was the full rate-equivalent total leave available for mothers in 2013. Family cash support was measured by the maximum benefit for one child aged 3-12 as a proportion of average wage in 2010. Tax system was determined using information on secondary earner tax rates for those with no children in 2014-15. We considered family cash benefits and secondary earner relative tax as having a retarding effect on women's employment. Gender ideology at the macro level was measured as an average value of the micro level gender ideology. Women's political power was measured using data on women in parliament and data obtained from IPPU as of 2014.

Table 1 shows the standardized value of our measurement of women's employment promotion, women in parliament, and gender ideology. Women's employment promotion was higher in Nordic countries, including Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Finland. France followed this group, and Korea was just behind France. Ireland and Switzerland were very weak in this dimension. Germany was weak as well and similar to Portugal. Japan was much weaker than Korea but stronger than Germany and the UK. Japan was weakest in women's political power, and Korea was next. The Nordic countries were again strong in this dimension, followed by Belgium, Germany, the Netherlands, Austria and Portugal. Japan had a relatively progressive gender ideology; Korea had stronger traditional ideology, followed by Austria.

Table 1: Women's employment promotion, women in parliament and gender ideology

	Women's employment promotion	Women in parliament	Gender ideology
Austria	-0.31	0.11	-2.32
Belgium	-0.49	0.77	0
Denmark	3.41	0.79	1.42
Finland	2.18	1.12	0.94
France	1.74	-0.58	0.28
Germany	-2.49	0.44	0.26
Ireland	-4.89	-1.09	-0.09
Japan	-0.25	-1.99	0.21
Korea	1.61	-1.51	-1.55
Netherland	-0.11	0.66	0.11
Norway	4.79	0.84	0.87
Portugal	-2.48	0.02	-0.75
Sweden	4.36	1.36	1.11
Switzerland	-4.22	-0.21	-0.55
UK	-2.87	-0.73	-0.04

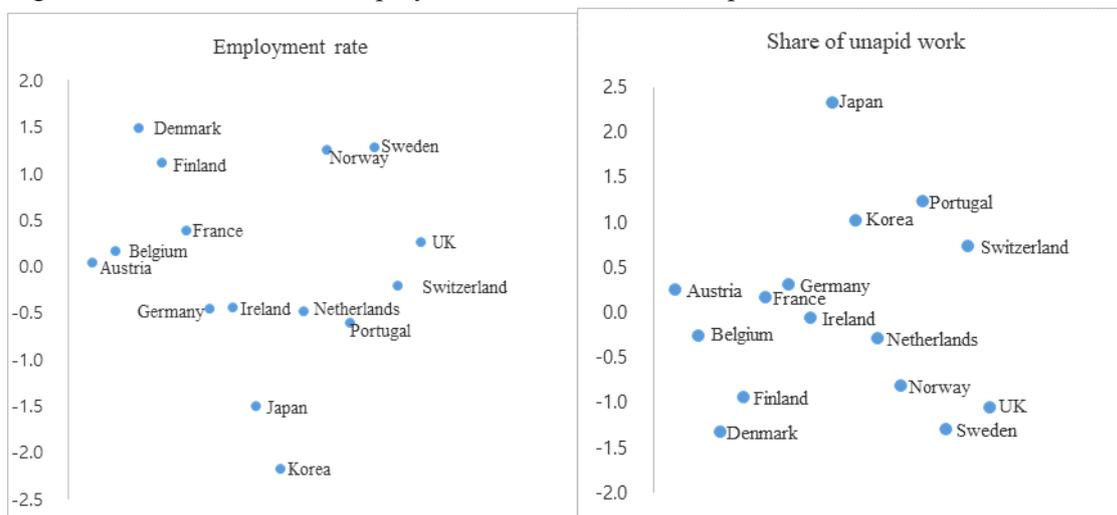
Source: OECD family database, own calculations; ISSP Gender and Family Roles 2012, own calculations; Women in parliament 2014-Inter-Parliamentary Union

We first conducted descriptive analysis to examine the distribution of paid employment rate and the division of unpaid work of married women aged 20-64. We employed logistic regression modelling for married women's employment and linear regression for unpaid work division. We built the models for Europe first, followed by Japan and Korea, using random-effects modelling. Steiber and Haas (2009) say multilevel modelling aiming to identify macro level factors can be problematic, as there may be correlations between macro level factors. This may make it difficult for researchers to distinguish between the effect of policy institutions and gender ideology on women's employment or housework division. Therefore, we built multilevel models based on correlation results between the macro level factors.

Results

Figure 1 shows married women's employment rate and their share of unpaid work, our dependent variables. Korea had the lowest married women's employment rate, followed by Japan. The Nordic countries were highest, followed by Belgium, France, Austria and the UK. The Netherlands, Ireland, Germany, Switzerland and Portugal has an employment rate just below the average. Married women's share of unpaid work was largest in Japan; Korea was less unequal than Portugal and more unequal than Switzerland. Germany, Austria, France, Belgium, Ireland and the Netherlands appeared similar. Women in the Nordic countries and the UK had a relatively smaller share of unpaid work.

Figure 1: Married women's employment rate and share of unpaid work



Source: ISSP Gender and Family Roles 2012; own calculations.

Table 2 shows the correlations between macro level factors at the European level and across East Asia and Europe. At the European level, women's employment promotion in family policies was positively correlated with women's political power. In countries where women's employment promotion was weak, their representativeness in parliament was also weak. In addition, women's employment promotion was positively correlated with gender ideology; countries with a progressive gender ideology promoted women's employment more in family policies. Across East Asia and Europe, no relationship between female employment promotion and women's representativeness in parliament was statistically significant. In Japan and Korea, women's political power was weak; however, both countries demonstrated some degree of women's employment promotion in family policies.

Table 3 shows multilevel modelling results for married women's employment at the European level. Results for Model 1 found all individual level variables except gender of the respondent had a relationship with the outcome. Age decreased the odds ratio of being in paid employment; higher education level meant higher chances of employment. A larger number of dependents meant a greater possibility of not being in paid employment, while progressive gender ideology meant a greater possibility of being in paid employment. Model 2 included family policy measured as the degree to which women's employment was promoted; results showed this had a relationship with married women's being in paid employment and model fit improved significantly. Women in parliament was another significant macro level factor. When this factor was added, model fit decreased but to lesser degree than when family policy was added in model 2. In contrast, gender ideology at the macro level had weak relationship with the micro

level factor married women's decisions about paid employment (Model 4). Model 5 in Table 3 considered both women in parliament and gender ideology as macro level factors, because they are not correlated as shown in Table 2. Results show women in parliament had weak influence on the micro level differences in married women's employment.

Table 2: Correlations between macro level factors at European level and across East Asia and Europe

	Europe			East Asia and Europe		
	Women's employment promotion	Women in parliament	Gender ideology	Women's employment promotion	Women in parliament	Gender ideology
Women's employment promotion	1	0.725**	0.573*	1	0.447	0.447
Women in parliament	0.725**	1	0.466	0.447	1	0.456
Gender ideology	0.573*	0.466	1	0.447	0.456	1

Source: OECD family database, own calculations; ISSP Gender and Family Roles 2012, own calculations; Women in parliament 2014-Inter-Parliamentary Union

Table 3: Multilevel modelling for married women's employment at European level

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Women in parliament			1.033*		1.027+
Women's employment promotion		1.121***			
Macro gender ideology				1.643+	1.284
Age	0.972***	0.971***	0.972***	0.972***	0.971***
Age squared	0.997***	0.997***	0.997***	0.997***	0.997***
Education	1.161***	1.154***	1.158***	1.156***	1.156***
Dependents	0.803***	0.802***	0.804***	0.802***	0.803***
Gender ideology	1.898***	1.881***	1.894***	1.887***	1.888***
Gender of the respondent (female)	0.912	0.91	0.913	0.911	0.913
_cons	0.415***	0.437***	0.141***	0.075*	0.073**
No. of cases	6314	6314	6314	6314	6314
AIC	5166.418	5156.014	5163.583	5165.701	5164.881

+p<0.1*p<0.05**p<0.01***p<0.001

Source: Author's calculation.

Table 4 shows multilevel modelling for unpaid work division at the European level. Model 1 contains all individual level variables; results show that age increased married women's share of unpaid work while education decreased it. A larger number of dependents meant a larger share of unpaid work. Stronger relative income power, progressive gender ideology and being in paid employment all demonstrated a reduction in share of unpaid work. The gender of the respondent mattered significantly; women were more likely to say they had a larger share of unpaid work. Those retired tended to share smaller amount of unpaid work. Model 2 shows that at a macro level, family policy had a relationship with married women's share of unpaid work. In contrast, women in parliament showed no relationship in model 3. Model 4 showed that progressive gender ideology at the macro level meant a lower share of unpaid work among married women. Model 5 which included both women in parliament and gender ideology showed that ideology was related to married women's share of unpaid work.

At the European level shown in table 3 and 4, it appears that in the division of paid and unpaid work, the degree to which family policy promotes women's employment mattered. It increased married women's paid employment and reduced their share of unpaid work.

Table 4. Multilevel modelling for married women's share of unpaid work at European level

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Women in parliament			-0.177		-0.012
Women's employment promotion		-0.639*			
Macro gender ideology				-6.683***	-6.715***
Age	0.076**	0.076**	0.076**	0.078**	0.078**
Age squared	-0.006***	-0.006***	-0.006***	-0.006***	-0.006***
Education	-0.341*	-0.343*	-0.341*	-0.316*	-0.317*
Dependents	0.534**	0.53**	0.531**	0.544**	0.544**
Relative income	-2.456***	-2.456***	-2.673***	-2.448***	-2.447***
Gender of the respondent (female)	8.341***	8.343***	8.337***	8.345***	8.345***
Gender ideology	-2.067***	-2.052***	-2.062***	-2.018***	-2.019***
Employment status	-4.847***	-4.828***	-4.837***	-4.857***	-4.856***
Retired	-2.681**	-2.667**	-2.681**	-2.686**	-2.686**
_cons	85.404***	85.356***	91.381***	109.117***	109.124***
No. of cases	6995	6995	6995	6995	6995
AIC	59772.17	59769.39	59772.11	59763.08	59765.07

+p<0.1 *p<0.05 **p<0.01 ***p<0.001

Source: Author's calculation.

Table 5 shows multilevel modelling results for married women's employment across East Asia and Europe. Model 1 included the individual level variables and we found all factors are related to the outcome variable. Higher age meant not being employed, higher education meant being in employment, larger number of dependents meant not being employed and progressive gender ideology meant being employed. Gender of the respondents was influential that female respondents reported more being in employed. Model 2 included family policy and it showed it was related positively to married women's employment across East Asia and Europe. Women in parliament in model 3 also demonstrated a positive relationship with the micro level difference in married women's employment differences. In addition, gender ideology was also found to be important in Model 4. As the three macro level variables are not correlated as shown in table 2, I built model 5 with them and results showed that women in parliament mattered solely for the differences in married women's employment across East Asia and Europe.

Model 6 shows multilevel modelling results for married women's share of unpaid work across East Asia and Europe. In model 1 as I built with individual level factors showed that age increased married women's share of unpaid work. Higher education decreased it while larger number of dependents increased it. Stronger relative income power decreased and progressive gender ideology decreased it. Gender of the respondent indicated that female respondents reported larger share of unpaid work. Being paid employment decreased married women's share of unpaid work. Being retired meant smaller share of unpaid work. Model 2 showed that family policy measured in degree to which it promotes women's employment has statistically weak relevance with differences in married women's share of unpaid work. Women in parliament was found to decrease it in model 3. Gender ideology at macro level, progressive ideology prevails meant lower share of unpaid work among married women in model 4. All together in model 5, results show that women in parliament solely was an influential macro level factor.

Table 5: Multilevel modelling for married women's employment across East Asia and Europe

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Women in parliament			1.041***		1.031**
Women's employment promotion		1.109**			1.046
Macro gender ideology				2.022**	1.221
Age	0.982***	0.982***	0.982***	0.981***	0.981***
Age squared	0.997***	0.998***	0.998***	0.998***	0.998***
Education	1.075**	1.074**	1.072**	1.071**	1.069***
Dependents	0.86***	0.86***	0.861***	0.858***	0.86***
Gender of the respondent (female)	1.137*	1.135*	1.139*	1.136*	1.137*
Gender ideology	1.779***	1.776***	1.778***	1.767***	1.769***
_cons	0.48***	0.486***	0.141***	0.044**	0.098**
No. of cases	7656	7656	7656	7656	7656
AIC	6890.372	6886.241	6878.937	6886.351	6879.122

+p<0.1 *p<0.05 **p<0.01 ***p<0.001

Source: Author's calculation.

Table 6. Multilevel modelling for married women's share of unpaid work across East Asia and Europe

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Women in parliament			-0.28**		-0.205*
Women's employment promotion		-0.647+			-0.154
Macro gender ideology				-5.534*	-2.565
Age	0.076**	0.078***	0.077***	0.079***	0.078***
Age squared	-0.006***	-0.006***	-0.006***	-0.006***	-0.006***
Education	-0.38**	-0.38**	-0.38**	-0.371**	-0.374**
Dependents	0.663***	0.663***	0.658***	0.67***	0.663**
Relative income	-2.558***	-2.56***	-2.554***	-2.56***	-2.558***
Gender of the respondent (female)	7.734***	7.736***	7.727***	7.733***	7.728***
Gender ideology	-1.731***	-1.721***	-1.722***	-1.696***	-1.699***
Employment status	-3.952***	-3.947***	-3.93***	-3.941***	-3.925***
Retired	-2.284**	-2.292**	-2.242**	-2.269**	-2.243**
_cons	85.303***	85.279***	93.95***	104.237***	100.352***
No. of cases	8184	8184	8184	8184	8184
AIC	70318.02	70317.07	70312.71	70315.2	70315.02

+p<0.1 *p<0.05 **p<0.01 ***p<0.001

Source: Author's calculation

Conclusion and Discussion

This paper has examined married women's division of paid and unpaid work in East Asia in the first decade of the new millennium in comparative context and macro level factors associated with it. We are puzzled as the two countries remained strong gender division of paid and unpaid work when the countries made some substantive modernization of family policies which suggested the state has explicit gender focus in particular relating women's integration into labour market and work/family reconciliation and thereby perhaps enhance married women's bargaining power over the division of unpaid work. I have built upon previous research which has been by and large a debate between policy institutions and gender ideology shaped by culture, I have suggested the role of state need to be integrated not only policies but also politics, women's representativeness in top decision making domain.

Empirical analysis shows that at European level, higher degree of women's employment promotion corresponded to higher gender representativeness of parliament. The policy development also corresponded to progressive gender ideology. Multilevel modelling showed that in both paid and unpaid work division, the role of the state in family policy to promote female employment was an important macro level factor for differences. With the East Asian countries, we found that policies, politics and gender ideology were not correlated which indicated that the role of state for gender equality through family policy in East Asia evolves not necessarily with progressive changes in politics to represent women's interests. Also, the changes in policies were not necessarily outcome of changes in perspective on gender relations structured at societal level as suggested by Ferragina and Seelib-Kaiser (2015). Multilevel analysis shows that in both paid and unpaid work division, gender representativeness of parliament was found to be an important macro level factor. The results suggest that severe gender division of paid and unpaid work in East Asia was related to very weak gender political power at macro level. It was not because there were some devils in the family policy. Nor it was gender ideology shaped by culture that held significant explanatory power. Thus, based on analyses, I suggest that for gender power relations at micro level presented in paid and unpaid work, gender representativeness at top decision making domain matters.

For comparative analysis on welfare state for gender equality, the perspective that policy institutions and thus gendered assumption embedded within policy instruments would be less helpful. This study also questions unquestioned assumption on cultural influence for gender division of labour in comparative context. Nonetheless, the results presented here need to be carefully read. This is not to argue that women's representation in politics only matters for gender division of labour exclusively for East Asia. It would be misleading to say that number of women in parliament is necessary condition. This study contributes to scholarship on gendering the comparative analysis of welfare state, by identifying empirically political representation matters at macro level to be influential for micro level division of labour. Challenges ahead are both conceptually and empirically.

The political economies in East Asia, Japan and Korea, started the new millennium relying on a strong gender division of paid and unpaid work. Nevertheless, very recently, the state in Japan made explicit its intention to increase women's representation in politics. Female employment rate advanced as it seems their behaviour is much less affected by child bearing and rearing responsibilities. Thus it is to see how the role of the state in Japan both in family policy and politics may change to influence micro level gender relations. If and how fast women's – particularly mothers' – labour market behaviour will change in Korea thanks to the modernized family related policies remains to be seen. Such changes can generate growing notion of individual agency and thereby compelling demands, with women seen as key voters and valued for their power, leading politicians to address their demands with evolutionary changes in female political power.

Bibliography

- An, M.Y. and Peng, I. 2016. "Diverging Paths? A Comparative Look at Childcare Policies in Japan, South Korea and Taiwan." *Social Policy & Administration* 50: 540-558.
- Blair, S. L. and Lichter, D. T. 1991. "Measuring the Division of Household Labor: Gender Segregation of Housework among American Couples." *Journal of Family Issues* 12: 91-113.
- Boeckmann, I., Misra, J., and Budig, M. J. 2015. "Cultural and Institutional Factors Shaping Mothers' Employment and Working Hours in Postindustrial Countries." *Social Forces* 93: 1301-1333.
- Dingeldey, I. 2001. "European Tax Systems and their Impact on Family Employment Patterns." *Journal of Social Policy* 30: 653-672.
- Estévez-Abe, M. and Kim, Y-S. 2014. "Presidents, Prime Ministers and Politics of Care – Why Korea Expanded Childcare Much More than Japan." *Social Policy & Administration* 48: 666-685.
- Ferragina, E. and Seeleib-Kaiser, M. 2015. "Determinants of a Salient (R)evolution: Understanding the Expansion of Family Policy in Rich OECD Countries." *Social Politics* 22: 1-37.
- Fleckenstein, T. and Lee, S. C. 2017. "The Politics of Investing in Families: Comparing Family Policy Expansion in Japan and South Korea." *Social Politics* 24: 1-28.
- Fortin, N. M. 2005. "Gender Role Attitudes and the Labour-market Outcomes of Women across OECD Countries." *Oxford Review of Economic Policy* 21: 416-438.
- Hakim, C. 2000. *Work-lifestyle Choices in the 21st Century: Preference Theory*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hernes, H. M. 1987. *Welfare State and Women Power: Essays in State Feminism*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Huber, E. and Stephens, J. D. 2000. "Partisan governance, women's employment and the social democratic service state." *American Sociological Review* 65: 323-342.
- Huber, E., Stephens, J.D., Bradley, D., Moller, S. and Nielsen, F. 2009. 'The Politics of Women's Economic Independence', *Social Politics* 16: 1-39.
- Iversen, T. and Rosenbluth, F. 2006. "The Political Economy of Gender: Explaining Cross-national variation in the Gender Division of Labor and the Gender Voting Gap." *American Journal of Political Science* 50: 1-19.
- Jaumotte, F. 2003. "Labour Force Participation of Women." *OECD Economic Studies* 37: 51-107.
- Kamo, Y. 2000. "Racial and Ethnic Differences in Extended Family Households." *Sociological Perspectives* 43: 211-229.
- Keck, W. and Saraceno, C. 2013. "The Impact of Different Social-Policy Frameworks on Social Inequalities among Women in the EU." *Social Politics* 20: 297-328.
- Kim, S. and Kim, K. 2011. "Gender Mainstreaming and the Institutionalization of the Women's Movement in South Korea." *Women' Studies International Forum* 34: 390-400.

- Kremer, M. 2007. "Front Matter." *How Welfare State Care: Culture, Gender and Parenting in Europe*. Amsterdam University Press.
- Kleider, H. 2015. "Paid and unpaid work: The impact of social policies on the gender division of labour." *Journal of European Social Policy* 25: 505-520.
- Korpi, W. 2000. "Faces of inequality: Gender, Class and Patterns of Inequalities in Different Types of Welfare States." *Social Politics* 7: 127-191.
- Leira, A. 1992. *Welfare States and Working Mothers: The Scandinavian Experience*. Cambridge, UK, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Leira, A. 1993. "The Women-Friendly Welfare State? The Case of Norway and Sweden." In Lewis, J. (ed.) *Women and Social Policies in Europe*. Aldershot: Edward Elgar.
- Lewis, J. 1992. "Gender and the Development of Welfare Regimes." *Journal of European Social Policy* 2: 159-173.
- Lewis, J. 2001. "The Decline of the Male Breadwinner Model: Implications for Work and Care." *Social Politics* 8: 152-169.
- Morgan, K. 2006. *Working Mothers and the Welfare State: Religion and the Politics of Work-Family Policies in Western Europe and the United States*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Morgan, K. 2013. "Path Shifting of the Welfare State: Electoral Competition and the Expansion of Work-Family Policies in Western Europe." *World Politics* 65: 73-115.
- Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. 2018. *OECD Statistics -Labour*. Paris: OECD.
- Oshio, T., Nozaki, K., and Kobayashi, M. 2013. "Division of Household Labor and Marital Satisfaction in China, Japan, and Korea." *Journal of family and Economic Issues* 34: 211-223.
- Peng, I. 2008. "Welfare Policy Reforms in Japan and South Korea: Cultural and Institutional Factors." In W. van Oorschot, M. Opielka, and B. Pfau-Effinger (eds.) *Culture and Welfare State: Values and Social Policy in Comparative Perspective*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar. pp. 162-182.
- Pettit, B. and Hook, J. 2005. "The Structure of Women's Employment in Comparative Perspective." *Social Forces* 84: 779-801.
- Pfau-Effinger, B. 1998. "Gender Cultures and the Gender Arrangement - a Theoretical Framework for Cross-national Comparisons on Gender." *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research* 11: 147-166.
- Pfau-Effinger, B. and Smidt, M. 2011. "Differences in Women's Employment Patterns and Family Policies: Eastern and Western Germany." *Community, Work & Family* 14:217-232.
- Presser, H. B. 1994. "Employment Schedules among Dual-Earner Spouses and the Division of Household Labor by Gender." *American Sociological Review* 59:348-364.
- Ruhm, C. J. 1998. "The Economic Consequences of Parental Leave Mandates." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 113: 285-317.
- Sainsbury, D. 1996. *Gender, Equality, and Welfare States*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Stadelmann-Steffen, I. 2008. "Women, Labour, and the Public Policy: Female Labour Market Integration in OECD Countries. A Comparative Perspective." *Journal of Social Policy* 37: 383-408.

Stadelmann-Steffen, I. 2011. "Dimensions of Family Policy and Female Labor Market Participation." *Governance* 24: 331–357

Steiber, N. and Haas, B. 2009. "Ideals or Compromises? The Attitude–Behaviour Relationship in Mothers' Employment." *Socio-Economic Review* 7: 639–668.

Threlfall, M. 1998. "State Feminism or Party Feminism." *European Journal of Women's Studies* 5: 69-93.

Uunk, W., Kalmijn, M., and Muffels, R. 2005. "The Impact of Young Children on Women's Labour Supply: A Reassessment of Institutional Effects in Europe" *Acta Sociologica* 48: 41-62.

Vogel, E. F. 1993. *The Four Little Dragons: The Spread of Industrialization in East Asia*. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Waldfoegel, J., Higuchi, Y., and Abe, M. 1999. "Family Leave Policies and Women's Retention after Childbirth." *Journal of Population Economics* 12: 523–545.