

# THE FEMALE-DOMINATED PATH AND ATTAINMENT OF MARITAL STATUS FOR JAPANESE WOMEN

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*Abstract:* Why do many Japanese women choose female-dominated occupations, even though it is generally believed that they lead to dead-end careers? In this article, I posit that under the conditions of existing discrimination by employers and structural barriers, many Japanese women are investing in this “feminine path” (non-career clerical or assistant roles in large companies) which endows women (or so they believe) with certain advantages in acquiring status through marriage (“attainment of marital status”). I call this “feminine capital”, and it is one reason why women choose these paths.<sup>1</sup> I argue that these feminine paths can benefit them in attaining marital status more than gender-neutral occupations, especially when women are not capable of pursuing highly selective gender-neutral occupations.<sup>2</sup> Feminine occupations are considered to have benefits when compared to gender-neutral occupations, mainly because they have advantages in cultural capital and social capital.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

In the past, there have been two approaches to explaining why women gather in predominantly feminine occupations and are under-represented in the labor market: (1) factors related to workplace characteristics and (2) factors related to characteristics of individual women (worker characteristics) (cf. Marini and Brinton 1984; Gerson 1985; Kimura 1992; Kimura 2000). Factors related to workplace characteristics refer to approaches that focus on structural factors such as legal and institutional barriers in the work place (e.g. Doeringer and Piore 1971; Blau and Jusenius 1976), while there are also approaches that focus on employers’

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<sup>1</sup> I am not denying the effect of structural barriers in the labor market. The structural barriers in the labor market are the prime factors in Japanese women’s choice of feminine paths in their work. What I am postulating here is that, when structural barriers in the labor market make it difficult for Japanese women with average abilities to find a satisfying long term career, choosing feminine paths and investment in marriage has been attractive.

<sup>2</sup> I have argued that female-dominated paths in education also lead to better returns through attainment of marital status, although this is not a topic in this article (Nakamura 2005).

demands as the reason for women's segregation in the labor market (e. g. Thurow 1975). On the other hand, there are approaches that focus on factors at the individual level and view individual women's characteristics as the factors behind women's concentration on predominantly feminine occupations and why their participation in the labor force is so low.

Although the structural factors and employers' demands are undeniably the major reasons why women are underrepresented in gender-neutral jobs, approaches at the individual level are often used to supplement structural approaches (Kimura 2000), and merit investigation.<sup>3</sup> For instance, Marini and Brinton (1984) showed that women's preference for feminine occupations begins at preschool age, far earlier than labor-market entry, suggesting that women's willingness to engage in female-dominated occupations plays a significant part in terms of why women are highly represented in female-dominated jobs. Thus, women are not only forced to choose feminine occupations, but a considerable number of women actually prefer and are willingly choosing feminine occupations. Therefore, the factors that underlie this preference for feminine occupations merit investigation.

So why do women willingly choose feminine occupations? Kimura (1992) classifies three types of theories (hypotheses) that address this question: (1) false consciousness; (2) rational choice; and (3) adaptation. The "false consciousness" hypothesis, represented by theories originating in the tradition of conflict theory (e. g. Marxist-feminist theory), claims that as a result of socialization within a gender-biased ideology, women willingly choose a path that actually leads them to later disadvantages. In the "rational choice" hypothesis, which is represented by human-capital theory originating in labor economics, women choose traditional gender roles as the result of rational calculation. The choice for a traditional path leads to future advantages, and women deliberately choose such paths, expecting better returns in the future than they would reap from gender-neutral paths. The "adaptation" hypothesis, which is represented by theories originating in psychology (cf. Chodorow 1978; Gilligan 1982), suggests that women take on traditional gender roles after they have been socialized into a personality that enables them to gain psychological gratification from these roles. This is different

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<sup>3</sup> For instance, those analyses that view structural factors such as patriarchy as the major factor for women's lower status at home and at work, presuppose women's willingness to conform to the gender ideology that is imposed by patriarchy.

from the "false consciousness" hypothesis in that the psychological benefits that are brought about by taking on traditional gender roles are real rather than false. This hypothesis assumes that due to this socialization, women come to appreciate things that are not of much interest to men. Thus, women are more likely to gain satisfaction from domestic chores and mothering.

The rational choice approach, represented by Polachek (1976; 1979; 1981) and Zellner (1975), explicates gender difference in occupational choice by suggesting that women choose female-dominated jobs because they are the kind of jobs that do not penalize the expected interruptions to their careers, either by having less depreciation in earnings during the woman's absence or by having a high starting wage with a lower appreciation rate. However, these claims are empirically denied by England (1982), who shows that female-dominated occupations are no less likely to be penalized for the interruption than male-dominated occupations. Thus, those rational-choice explanations by economists cannot explain women's choice of female-dominated occupations. Regarding the adaptation hypothesis and false-consciousness hypotheses, these hypotheses both assume that the power of socialization affects women's choices, and even though adaptation hypotheses depict women's choice of female-dominated occupations as rational, at least in terms of psychological returns, such choices are assumed to be irrational in terms of economic returns.

This article raises the following question: "Are the choices for female-dominated jobs really totally irrational choices in terms of economic returns?" This article posits that feminine occupations are chosen by Japanese women at least partly because they are believed to lead to better economic returns through marital status attainment than gender-neutral occupations, especially for women who are incapable of pursuing high-status paths within gender-neutral occupations. Of course, I am not denying the effect of socialization in forming women's preference for types of occupations. At the same time, however, I suspect that more than a few women recognize the economic advantage that feminine occupations have in terms of attaining marital status, and that it may be one of the reasons why many women choose such female-dominated occupations, especially when they are not capable of pursuing high-status, gender-neutral occupations.

This article also suggests that some of the reasons why female-dominated occupations lead to easier attainment of marital status are the cultural capital and social capital that pertain to female-dominated occupations. Female-dominated occupations entail cultural capital, social capital, and human capital that are different from those of gender-neu-

tral occupations. Cultural capital and social capital, which are peculiar to feminine occupations, are especially perceived to entail greater advantages for marrying men with more educational and occupational resources. I argue that women sometimes choose such paths because of this expectation of the advantages that feminine occupations have in the marriage market.

In this article, I will test my hypothesis on the advantages of choosing “feminine” occupations over gender-neutral occupations for women, especially for women who cannot pursue high-status, gender-neutral occupations. For this purpose, using the data on people’s perceptions of the advantages that those occupations entail for women’s attainment of marital status, I first identify latent dimensions of occupations that are perceived to affect women’s attainment of marital status. I then test my hypothesis that feminine (female-dominated) occupations are perceived to lead to easier attainment of marital status than gender-neutral occupations. Finally, by qualitatively examining interview comments, I will examine why some occupations (especially feminine occupations) are perceived to lead to easier attainment of marital status than other occupations. I postulate that the reasons feminine occupations are perceived to lead to advantages in women’s attaining marital status are the cultural capital, social capital, and human capital that feminine occupations entail. In the qualitative analysis of interview comments, I will also present the complexity and contradiction in qualities that are perceived to enhance women’s attainment of marital status.

## 2. DATA

Subjects: College or university-educated adults (sample distribution is shown in *Tab. 1*)

Number in Sample: 46

Method: Face-to-face interviews partially supplemented by telephone interviews. The sample was collected using a snowball process.

Period: 1999–2000

Area: Tōkyō Metropolitan Area

Content: I presented the list of occupations and asked the respondents to rate on a five-point scale how useful each occupation would be in helping a woman marry a “high-status man”.

| Sex                             | Age   |       |       |       |       | Total |
|---------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
|                                 | 21-25 | 26-30 | 31-35 | 36-40 | 41-63 |       |
| Men Total                       | 5     | 0     | 1     | 3     | 2     | 11    |
| Women Total                     | 6     | 13    | 11    | 1     | 4     | 35    |
| Women from Coed 4yr Colleges    | 4     | 2     | 4     | 0     | 2     | 12    |
| Women from Women's 4yr Colleges | 1     | 5     | 3     | 0     | 1     | 10    |
| Women from Women's Jr. Colleges | 1     | 6     | 4     | 1     | 1     | 13    |
| Total                           | 11    | 13    | 12    | 4     | 6     | 46    |

Tab. 1: Distribution of Samples for the Perception Data.<sup>4</sup>

Source: Author's empirical investigation.

### 3. IDENTIFYING LATENT DIMENSIONS IN OCCUPATIONS

To explore and identify the underlying occupational dimensions that are perceived to affect Japanese women's attainment of marital status, I applied principal component factor analyses to the data. This tool is useful for this purpose because it is a technique that enables us to condense numerous elements into fewer underlying dimensions based on their commonalities.

The result of the exploratory factor analysis is shown in Tab. 2, in which the following occupational dimensions appeared: 3.1. the status-signifying liberal arts-related dimension; 3.2. the female-dominated semi-professional dimension; 3.3. the high-status gender-neutral dimension; and 3.4. the low-status gender-neutral dimension.

|                                | Dimensions (Factors)         |                                    |                             |  |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|--|
|                                | Gender-neutral (high-status) | Female-dominated semi-professional | Gender-neutral (low-status) | Status-signifying liberal arts-related |
| Occupations (In large company) |                              |                                    |                             |  |
| Career track                   | 0.836                        | 0.134                              | 0.234                       | 0.062                                  |
| Non-career track               | 0.136                        | 0.331                              | 0.132                       | 0.755                                  |
| Corporate sales                | 0.850                        | 0.038                              | 0.195                       | 0.075                                  |
| Secretary                      | 0.366                        | 0.612                              | -0.207                      | 0.290                                  |

<sup>4</sup> This is an exploratory study with a data set that has significant limitations. Not only is the sample small, but it is not a random sample, and the distribution is not well balanced. The findings in this research need confirmation and further investigation with a bigger and better data set.

|                        | Dimensions (Factors)         |                                    |                             |  |
|------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|--|
|                        | Gender-neutral (high-status) | Female-dominated semi-professional | Gender-neutral (low-status) | Status-signifying liberal arts-related |
| (In mid/small company) |                              |                                    |                             |  |
| Career track           | 0.776                        | 0.043                              | 0.253                       | 0.175                                  |
| Non-career track       | -0.082                       | 0.351                              | 0.293                       | 0.651                                  |
| Corporate sales        | 0.722                        | -0.118                             | 0.317                       | 0.153                                  |
| Secretary              | 0.026                        | 0.410                              | 0.191                       | 0.681                                  |
| Medical doctor         | 0.610                        | 0.362                              | 0.129                       | -0.316                                 |
| Nurse                  | 0.255                        | 0.741                              | 0.177                       | -0.033                                 |
| Engineer               | 0.598                        | 0.023                              | 0.506                       | -0.191                                 |
| Architect              | 0.720                        | 0.157                              | 0.330                       | -0.182                                 |
| Accountant             | 0.735                        | 0.141                              | -0.375                      | 0.05                                   |
| Lawyer                 | 0.846                        | 0.169                              | -0.080                      | -0.095                                 |
| Professor              | 0.754                        | 0.244                              | -0.155                      | 0.208                                  |
| Teacher                | 0.155                        | 0.430                              | 0.595                       | 0.127                                  |
| Flight attendant       | -0.006                       | 0.855                              | 0.108                       | 0.207                                  |
| Model                  | -0.001                       | 0.811                              | -0.074                      | -0.016                                 |
| Designer               | 0.537                        | 0.348                              | 0.250                       | 0.267                                  |
| Newscaster             | 0.182                        | 0.510                              | 0.166                       | 0.209                                  |
| Translator             | -0.036                       | -0.121                             | 0.353                       | 0.687                                  |
| Interpreter            | 0.544                        | 0.178                              | 0.023                       | 0.637                                  |
| Pharmacist             | 0.395                        | 0.371                              | 0.302                       | 0.319                                  |
| Musical performer      | 0.350                        | 0.626                              | 0.298                       | 0.146                                  |
| Agricultural worker    | 0.082                        | -0.128                             | 0.787                       | 0.240                                  |
| Fishery worker         | 0.051                        | 0.099                              | -0.116                      | 0.807                                  |
| Not employed           | 0.006                        | -0.099                             | -0.116                      | 0.807                                  |
| Piano instructor       | 0.050                        | 0.446                              | 0.481                       | 0.601                                  |
| Painter                | 0.533                        | 0.300                              | 0.498                       | 0.111                                  |
| Gov. worker            | 0.431                        | 0.210                              | 0.467                       | 0.037                                  |
| Local gov. worker      | 0.201                        | 0.168                              | 0.669                       | 0.109                                  |

Tab. 2: **Principal Component Factor Analysis on Occupations.**

Note: Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization. Cumulative extraction sums of squared loadings: 65.286 %. N=34. The number of factors was decided base on the Kaiser-Guttman rule and the scree test. Among its factors, only the first factor was found to be nontrivial.

*Status-Signifying Liberal Arts-Related Dimension*

The results of the exploratory factor analysis on occupations (*Tab. 1*) show that one of the occupational dimensions perceived to affect women's attainment of marital status is the status-signifying liberal arts-related dimension. This dimension signifies the woman's familial status as well her liberal arts-related education. Occupations that weigh heavily on this status-signifying liberal arts-related occupational dimension (e. g., non-career-track jobs, translator, interpreter, piano teacher) signify familial status because of the entry path as well as the required training. For instance, recruitment for female non-career workers is often conducted through familial connections, suggesting that their fathers have the social and economic resources to exercise such connections.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, many of those occupations that weigh heavily on this status-signifying liberal arts-related occupational dimension require training in Western liberal arts (e. g. piano lessons, English language), historically linked with the upper or upper-middle classes in Japan (Amano 1987).

In addition, those occupations that weigh heavily on this status-signifying liberal arts-related occupational dimension signify "paths to becoming full-time or quasi-full-time home-makers". They are either occupations that can be easily left upon marriage or childbirth to become a full-time homemaker (non-career workers are often expected to leave upon marriage or childbirth) or occupations that are compatible with household commitments because the work schedules and work settings are flexible (e. g. piano instructors and translators, who can be self-employed, part-time, and can work at home), allowing "quasi-full-time-homemaker life styles".

*Female-Dominated Semi-Professional Dimension*

The results show that the female-dominated semi-professional dimension ranks second in dimensions perceived to affect women's attainment of marital status. The occupations that weigh heavily on this dimension are primarily female-dominated semi-professional occupations, for example, secretary, nurse, flight attendant, and model. Moreover, close examination of the occupations that weigh heavily on this dimension suggests that the female-dominated semi-professional occupational dimension is not simply marked by a high concentration of women, but it is visibly and deliberately associated with women – an aspect of "front-stage status-display", which Collins (1992) called "Goffmanian labor". "Goffmanian labor" refers to occupations that are often occupied by women who "specialize in

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<sup>5</sup> This is especially true with the non-career track in prestigious large companies.

the first line of impression management, of depicting the organization's image on the "front stage". Such occupations entail opportunities to be seen by guests from outside of the organization as well as status-display and impression management. In other words, those occupations that weigh most heavily on the female-dominated semi-professional occupational dimension are not only female-dominated, they also entail opportunities to be seen by others (e. g. flight attendants, models, and professional music performers).

#### *High-Status Gender-Neutral Occupational Dimension*

The results of the analysis show that there are two gender-neutral dimensions: the high-status gender-neutral dimension and the low-status gender-neutral dimension. Many of the occupations that weigh heavily on the first dimension are gender-neutral (or male-dominated) occupations that require highly specialized knowledge and skills and impart more social prestige. These are, for example, career-track positions and corporate sales positions in corporations, medical doctors, architects, accountants, and professors.

#### *Low-Status Gender-Neutral Occupations*

The second gender-neutral occupational dimension is the "low-status gender-neutral dimension".<sup>6</sup> The occupations heavily represented in this dimension include agricultural worker, fishery worker, engineer, and teacher. Most occupations that weigh heavily on this dimension are gender-neutral (or male-dominated) occupations that entail relatively less human capital and social prestige than those in the "high-status gender-neutral occupations".<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Although I named this occupational dimension "the low-status" gender-neutral dimension, those occupations that weigh heavily in this dimension do not necessarily entail low occupational status in a general sense. Occupations in the low-status gender-neutral occupational dimension are often, in fact, respectable occupations with fairly high social status. This dimension was labeled "low-status" gender-neutral occupational dimension so as to distinguish it from, and contrast it with, the "high-status" gender-neutral occupational dimension, for the sake of simplicity and convenience.

<sup>7</sup> Engineering is one of the exceptions on the list of this dimension in terms of occupational prestige (its status is not lower than many of those occupations that weigh heavily on the high-status gender-neutral occupational dimension). Engineer sits in this dimension because it is perceived to have little of the status display function of "Goffmanian labor".



Moreover, the occupations in this low-status gender-neutral dimension are occupations with relatively limited “contacts” with guests from outside of the organization.<sup>8</sup> They also involve tasks that entail contact with grime — dirt, oils and such, in contrast with “clean” desk-work. At least this is the image often attached to these occupations.<sup>9</sup> This type of occupation carries images that are the opposite of Goffmanian labor, which entails front-stage status display and frequent contact with a large number of guests from outside of the organization.

#### 4. TESTING OF HYPOTHESIS ON ADVANTAGES OF FEMININE OCCUPATIONS

In order to test the hypothesis that feminine occupations are perceived to lead to the attainment of marital status more easily than gender-neutral occupations, especially when gender-neutral occupations are not highly selective ones, I will test for the significance and direction of the correlation between each dimension (more specifically, factor weights on each variable on each dimension) and respondents’ evaluations (more specifically, respondents’ evaluations of variables regarding the usefulness for women’s attainment of marital status). If the correlation between a particular dimension and the respondents’ evaluations is significant and positive, the attainment of that particular dimension is perceived to have a positive effect on women’s attainment of marital status. Thus, I posit that the status-signifying liberal arts-related occupational dimension and the female-dominated semi-professional occupational dimension are perceived to be useful for women’s attainment of marital status, and, therefore, have positive correlations with the respondents’ evaluations. Regarding the gender-neutral dimensions, I suspect that the high-status gender-neutral dimension will have a non-significant or significantly positive correlation, while the “low-status gender-neutral dimension” will have significantly negative correlations. The “high-status gender-neutral dimension” is expected to have non-significant or significantly positive correlation with respondents’ evaluations because the selectivity of the gender-neutral dimension can offset the negative effect of gender-neutral paths. The low-status gender-neutral dimension, on the other hand, is ex-

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<sup>8</sup> This probably explains why piano instructor and painter, both of which have a high concentration of females, weighed relatively heavily on this dimension.

<sup>9</sup> For instance, some of the respondents pointed out that agricultural workers and engineers have a negative image, claiming that such occupations require frequent contact with dirt and manual work. I return to this point in later section.

pected to have a significantly negative correlation with respondents' evaluations, since a gender-neutral path is expected to work against women's attainment of marital status, unless it is a selective/high-status path.

*Status-Signifying Liberal Arts-Related Dimension*

The results of the correlation analysis between occupational dimensions and respondents' evaluation are shown in *Tab. 3*.

| Status-signifying liberal arts-related | Female-dominated semi-professional | Gender-neutral high-status | Gender-neutral low-status |
|--|------------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| .215                                   | .658**                             | -.190                      | -.563**                   |
| (.254)                                 | (.000)                             | (.316)                     | (.001)                    |
| N=30                                   | N=30                               | N=30                       | N=30                      |

**Tab. 3: Correlation between Respondents' Evaluation and Dimension in the Analysis for Occupations.**

Note: Two-tailed significance in parenthesis;\*\* Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed); \*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

The hypothesis predicted that the status-signifying liberal arts-related occupational dimension would have a significantly positive correlation with respondents' evaluation (regarding usefulness in women's attainment of marital status). However, this dimension is not significantly correlated with respondents' evaluations, and, thus, working in the status-signifying occupations is not perceived to advance women's attainment of marital status. This finding does not support the hypothesis, but it does coincide with the findings from my previous analysis of education (on college characteristics and majors), in which the status-signifying liberal arts-related dimension was not significantly perceived to have a positive effect on women's attainment of marital status by the general population; instead, it was favored only by those with traditional gender values (Nakamura 2005). It might be said that this status-signifying liberal arts-related dimension does not have universal appeal but may possibly be appreciated and used by limited stratum of people.

*Female-Dominated Semi-Professional Dimension*

The hypothesis predicted that the female-dominated semi-professional occupational dimension would have a significantly positive correlation with respondents' evaluations. As was expected, this is significantly positively correlated with respondents' evaluations. Thus, engagement in female-dominated semi-professional occupations is perceived to advance women's attainment of marital status.

*High-Status Gender-Neutral Occupational Dimension*

The hypothesis predicted that the high-status gender-neutral occupational dimension would have either a significantly positive or a non-significant correlation with respondents' evaluations. The results support the hypothesis by showing that this dimension does not have any significant correlation with respondents' evaluations. Thus, engagement in the "gender-neutral high-status dimension" is perceived not to affect women's attainment of marital status. This suggests that occupations that require high-quality human capital can offset the negative impact of choosing gender-neutral occupations, as was predicted by the hypothesis.

*Low-Status Gender-Neutral Occupational Dimension*

The hypothesis predicted that the low-status gender-neutral occupational dimension would have a significantly negative correlation with respondents' evaluations. The results show that this dimension is significantly negatively correlated with respondents' evaluation, supporting the hypothesis. Thus, those low-status gender-neutral occupations are perceived to affect women's marital- status attainment negatively.

As a result of the exploratory factor analysis on the occupational dimensions that are perceived to affect women's attainment of marital status, there appeared two dimensions that pertain to feminine occupations and two dimensions that pertain to gender-neutral occupations. Among the two types of feminine occupations, only one (female-dominated semi-professional dimension) was significantly positively related with people's evaluations, suggesting that only this type of feminine occupation is widely accepted as useful for women's attainment of marital status. Contrary to the prediction, another type of feminine occupation dimension (the status-signifying liberal arts-related dimension) did not have a significant correlation with respondents' evaluations, suggesting that we cannot conclude that people perceive status-signifying occupations like non-career-track clerical positions as affecting women's attainment of marital status positively. On the other hand, the gender-neutral occupational dimension was significantly negatively correlated with respondents' evaluations for low-status occupations, and the high-status gender-neutral occupational dimension has no significant association with respondents' evaluations. This supported the hypothesis that high-quality human capital can offset the negative effect of choosing a gender-neutral path.

## 5. QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEW COMMENTS

Why, then, are feminine occupations perceived to advance Japanese women's attainment of marital status more than gender-neutral occupations do (especially when they are not highly selective)? In this section, I report on the qualitative analysis on interview comments that I conducted to examine these questions. The results show that feminine occupations are perceived to advance women's attainment of marital status because of the cultural capital, social capital, and human capital associated with such occupations. In particular, the first two types of capital are the major reasons that feminine occupations are perceived to lead to easier attainment of marital status. This section also examines why one type of feminine path (status-signifying liberal arts-related occupations) is not perceived to affect women's attainment of marital status as predicted by the hypothesis. The advantages of status-signifying liberal arts-related occupations are perceived as rather outdated and, therefore, probably appreciated by a specific type of person rather than by the public at large. Moreover, the analysis shows the complexity and contradiction of the qualities that constitute advantage and disadvantage in the marriage market. One aspect of one occupation is perceived to be an advantage, but another aspect of that same occupation is perceived to be a disadvantage. Most interesting, there is a contradiction between qualities that are useful "before marriage" and those that are useful "after marriage".

### 5.1. *Cultural Capital*

The results of the analyses suggested that people perceive that female-dominated occupations (and education related to such occupations) enhance women's attractiveness in the marriage market due to the habitus that pertains to female-dominated occupations, such as emotional labor, glamour, and shelteredness – "a mechanism of generating tastes and behavioral patterns, which is internalized through socialization via family and education, and which is strongly determined by class difference" (Bourdieu 1984). The gender-neutral path, on the other hand, sits in a habitus that is viewed as unfeminine and works as a disadvantage.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> People seem to assume that such habitus is attained by selection and socialization. Those women who already reside in such a "feminine" habitus are more likely to be selected for feminine paths, and their "feminine" habitus will be further reinforced by the socialization process within such paths.

*Emotional Labor*

Female-dominated education and occupations are perceived to place women in a habitus that is compatible with their marital roles as wives and mothers (similar to qualities described in Hochschild's (1983) "emotional labor", which refers to presentation of certain types of emotions as a part of the task).<sup>11</sup> The most typical examples of such emotional labor are found among female-dominated service-related occupations, such as secretaries, nurses, and flight attendants, in which presentation of empathy, caring, and pleasantness is considered part of their task. Women in such occupations are perceived as having internalized the habitus that is related to this type of task and are, therefore, deemed desirable for caretaker roles as wives and mothers. The following are some comments made by respondents that state why engaging in jobs that require emotional labor enhances women's desirability in the marriage market.

[On nurses] Nurses will nurse you if you marry them (Mr Kiba,<sup>12</sup> 42, married, a self-employed part-time instructor at a vocational school).

[On women in secretarial studies] They seem sensitive toward other people's needs (Mr Urayasu, 23, single, a college student studying engineering).<sup>13</sup>

One thing to note regarding emotional labor is that this type of cultural capital may be useful for improving the incidence of marriage, but it might not necessarily lead to upward mobility through marriage. Since emotional labor is not a quality that signifies class distinction, engaging in emotional labor may not necessarily be useful in finding a mate with high social status. This point needs further investigation.

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<sup>11</sup> A previous study suggests that occupations that entail "emotional labor" lead to economic disadvantage in the labor market (Kilbourne et al. 2001). It suggests that occupations that require nurturing as a social skill entail a significantly negative economic return through occupations, for both men and women. The advantage of such occupations for attainment of marital status, however, may explain (at least partially) why many women choose them. While these occupations may not lead to economic advantage through work, they may be perceived to lead to economic advantage through attainment of marital status.

<sup>12</sup> The names of the respondents that appear in this chapter are pseudonyms.

<sup>13</sup> The more detailed background information of the respondents is presented in the appendix.

*Goffmanian Glamour*

The habitus of glamour is also perceived to play an important role for women's attainment of status through marriage.<sup>14</sup> Female-dominated occupations are perceived to endow women with glamorous demeanors, which help them attract high-status men. The element of glamour is also related to the level of contact with guests from outside of the organization that an occupation requires. Occupations, especially in the female-dominated semi-professional categories, like flight attendants and secretaries, allow frequent contact with outsiders and opportunities to be seen by others, and, therefore, are considered glamorous, while occupations in the low-status gender-neutral path are considered to be the least glamorous because there is little contact with outsiders.

This element of glamour is similar to what Collins (1993) described as Goffmanian labor. Goffmanian labor refers to tasks that are often held by women that involve frontline impression management and projection of organizational images and status display toward guests from outside of one's own organization.<sup>15</sup> Although Collins did not refer to its implications for marriage, I suspect that Goffmanian labor may have a positive effect on marital chances. Women in Goffmanian occupations are considered attractive because people assume that those hired for these positions have good looks and good manners, and once they are hired, their looks and manners are polished even more due to intra-organizational socialization. The following are comments made by the respondents on female-dominated occupations that entail Goffmanian labor:

[On newscasters, stewardesses, and models] Only women with good looks are hired into these occupations.

[On stewardesses] They serve passengers. They come in contact with many people. They wear uniforms and most of them are beautiful. They can go abroad, and buy nice (foreign designer) clothes at cheaper prices. It is a glamorous world. They stand out to attract men's

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<sup>14</sup> Glamour is particularly applicable to those occupations that are "open" to people from outside (most applicable to the "female-dominated semi-professional dimension"). They are also applicable to the "status-signifying dimension" and the "gender-neutral high-status dimension" to a lesser extent, since they also provide more opportunities to be "seen" by others, compared to low-status gender-neutral occupations.

<sup>15</sup> This type of "glamorousness" of Goffmanian labor exists not only in occupations, but also in school cultures of female-dominated universities in Japan. Construction of such a glamorous image owes much to the media.

attention, being in a glamorous world (Mr Awaji, 22, single, college student studying law).<sup>16</sup>

In particular, the education and occupations in the low-status gender-neutral path are perceived to have the most severe disadvantages. They are perceived to lack glamour because it is thought that their work provides little opportunity to be in contact with guests and to be seen by them and they can include tasks that are unclean (e. g., contact with dirt and oil):

[On engineers and agricultural workers] They are *dorokusai* (literally translated as “smells muddy”, meaning “unrefined”) (Mr Awaji, 22, single, a college student studying law).

#### *Non-Feminine Habitus*

The gender-neutral occupations are thought to be unattractive to men, since they are perceived to reside in the non-feminine habitus of aggressiveness, independence, and glamourlessness, which are contrary to the feminine habitus of emotional labor, glamour, and tractability of those in a sheltered path.

[On women law majors] They appear to be too argumentative (Ms Nakayama, 38, single, a clerical worker).

However, some respondents did recognize the positive aspect of the habitus related to the gender-neutral education and occupations.

[On women engineering majors] We will share the same interests and topics (Mr Urayasu, 23, single, a college student in engineering).

It seems that the negative images of gender-neutral paths are derived from sources like the media rather than from real-life experiences. As people get to know women in such gender-neutral paths in real life, they possibly discard the superficial negative images and recognize the positive aspect of gender-neutral paths.

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<sup>16</sup> Social prestige for female-dominated semi-professional occupations, such as secretaries and flight attendants, is higher in Japan than in the U.S. For instance, the prestige score for airline stewardesses is 70 in Japan, compared to 47.8 in the United States (Tsuzuki 1998; Treiman 1977).

*Shelteredness*

One type of feminine occupation (the status-signifying liberal arts-related occupations) is perceived to be useful for attainment of marital status due to its habitus of “shelteredness”, but this advantage is now perceived to be rather out of date. The status-signifying liberal arts-related occupations are perceived to entail an environment that is sheltered from open competition and the roughness of the harsh outside world. Such an environment is perceived to endow women with an aura of innocence and chastity, both of which used to be considered desirable traits in the marriage market.

[On women who are not employed, which is another item that had large factor weights on the status-signifying liberal arts-related dimension] They are not stained with the filth in the world (Mr Hamamatsu, 65, married, a company director).

However, many people point out that the well-bred mild-mannered demeanor from this sheltered upbringing is rather outdated nowadays, which may explain why the general public no longer perceives the status-signifying liberal arts-related occupations to be useful.

A long time ago, “having no work experience”<sup>17</sup> used to be an expressway to marrying elite men. Women become engaged while they were still in college. But nowadays, even a bride of a crown prince of the royal family is a Tokyo University graduate and former diplomat. Things are changing rapidly (Ms Morishita, 59 a full-time homemaker).

The status-signifying function may be trading places with the status-signifying function of familial background. That is, the gender-neutral high-status education and occupation may have gradually replaced the role that has been traditionally played by the status-signifying liberal arts-related education and occupations. This is possible because the

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<sup>17</sup> “Having no work experience” was an occupational category that had large factor weights on the “status-signifying liberal-arts-related dimension”. This is because it implies that the family of the woman is wealthy enough so she does not have to work. It was especially true at a time when there were not enough openings of “decent” jobs for highly educated women. Especially after the recession in 1990, however, “having no work experience” seems to have lost its status-signifying power almost completely since the increasing number of youth, including those who are not from wealthy families, failed to obtain jobs and are included in the “having no work experience” category. Thus, it no longer signifies familial wealth.



high-status gender-neutral path can signify familial status as well. It is often costly (e.g. one must attend top-notch private or national high schools as well as cramming schools), and it reflects good parental educational background (children's educational and occupational attainment is related to those of parents). As women's college attendance rates and participation rates in the paid labor force have risen, the gender-neutral high-status education and occupation have become more desirable as a more complex and harder-to-achieve way of signifying one's superior social status and of distinguishing oneself from others.<sup>18</sup> This may suggest that women's entrance into the previously male-dominated fields is occurring more rapidly in the high-status fields than in the low-status fields, since the former have a status-signifying function and, therefore, possess fewer stigmas associated with choosing an unfeminine path.<sup>19</sup>

## 5.2. *Social Capital*

People perceive that women in female-dominated occupations have more opportunities to meet men with higher status than themselves (in terms of education and occupation), through channels such as inter-college circles and joint parties and organizational structures.

### *Inter-college Circles and Joint Parties*

Respondents emphasize the role that meeting paths play in women's status attainment through marriage. Most conspicuous of such meeting paths are *saakuru* (circles) and *gokon* (joint parties), which are most commonly utilized by those in feminine paths.

*Saakuru* refers to groups for joint extracurricular activities, such as various sorts of sports, that are formed mostly among college students (as well as among young workers). They can be formed among members

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<sup>18</sup> The high-status gender-neutral occupation, however, still has serious problems with "compatibility with marriage", and therefore it is questionable whether these "high-status gender-neutral occupations" will completely replace the role that the status signifying liberal-arts-related occupations have formerly played.

<sup>19</sup> However, the low-status gender-neutral field may have gained popularity as well due to its compatibility with marital life. As the number of women who wish to continue working after marriage and childbirth rises, an increasing number of women may choose this "low-status field", despite its negative effect on attainment of marital status.

within the same institution (e.g., university or company), but people across institutions can also join.

*Gokon* is an abbreviation for *godo-compa* (joint party). It is a joint blind-date-like party, arranged through mutual friends and commonly held by college students and young workers. It is usually held between a group of women in one institution and a group of men in another institution (e.g. a group of women from Japan Airlines might meet a group of men from Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi UFJ).

Although both *saakuru* and *gokon* are available to anyone, respondents suggested that such channels are more available to those in female-dominated educational and occupational institutions than to those in gender-neutral educational and occupational institutions. This is probably because women in feminine paths are perceived as more desirable because of their cultural capital (e.g. emotional labor and glamour), and, therefore, the offers to join *saakurus* and *gokons* are more likely to be extended to them.<sup>20</sup> One respondent stated:

[On non-career assistant clerical workers in trading firms] Those girls in trading firms are very popular in *gokon* (Ms Tsukishima, 32, a full-time clerical worker).

#### *Work Settings and Organizational Structures*

Occupations in feminine paths (especially those in female-dominated semi-professional paths) are perceived to provide more opportunities for being in contact with people (including those who have high status) from both within and from outside of the organization. They are therefore perceived to provide more chances of meeting promising men.

[On flight attendants] Stewardesses are on the first-class and on the business class. They know how rich their passengers are (Mr Kiyosumi, 37, married, a clerical worker).

[On secretaries in large companies] They get to be introduced (to a promising man) by a company director (whom she works for). (Mr Iida, 35, married, a clerical worker).

The built-in structure of the organizational career ladder also endows women in the female-dominated path with access to prospective hus-

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<sup>20</sup> This may be probably also true with channels other than listed above. For instance, in more traditional channels of meeting a spouse such as a matchmaker (*miai*), which has been a common way of finding a spouse in Japan, those women with feminine occupations and education probably had similar advantage due to the feminine habitus.

bands. For instance, women with less education than male-career workers tend to be hired into non-career track positions.<sup>21</sup> Since both men and women get to work in the same setting, women have access to men with higher educational and occupational attainment than themselves.

My parents thought if I start working [in a female-dominated non-career path] for a large company, I will get to meet elite men [who are in the male-dominated elite career path within the same company] (Ms Yanagi, 31, married, a part-time clerical worker).

The gender-neutral path, on the other hand, is assumed to be deprived of channels like joint parties and inter-college circles that enable the women to meet men from outside their own institutions. However, by taking a gender-neutral path, some people feel that women have the advantage in finding a partner since the gender ratio is advantageous for those women, both at school and at work.

[On women in engineering departments] (They have relative advantage because) they have technical skills, get jobs (in a technology-related field), and get married to a fellow engineer (Mr Iida, 35, married, a clerical worker).

In this case, however, it is more like marrying one's equal (marrying colleagues at the same level of educational and occupational attainment as the women themselves) rather than marrying men with more educational and occupational resources than women's own, as happens with women in female-dominated education and occupations.

### 5.3. *Human Capital*

Human capital that pertains to feminine paths is also perceived to be useful for roles as wives and mothers, and, therefore, those feminine paths are perceived to be advantageous for attainment of marital status. Human capital also pertains to gender-neutral paths, however, and is also perceived to affect women's attainment of marital status positively.

Some education and occupations are perceived to be advantageous for women's status-attainment through marriage. People perceive that the knowledge and skills gained through education and occupations are useful for the marital roles of wives and mothers.

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<sup>21</sup> This, however, has been changing in recent years. After the introduction of the Equal Employment Opportunity Law in 1985, increasing numbers of women have been hired into career tracks.

[On women education majors] They can educate their own kids well (Ms Ootsuka, 22, single, a college student in economics).

However, the knowledge and skills related to occupational experience that are not directly related to roles as wives and mothers are also perceived to be useful for marital life, and, therefore, human capital in the gender-neutral paths can also be perceived as advantageous for marriage.<sup>22</sup> This shows that the human capital associated with non-feminine paths also can be also perceived as useful for women's attainment of marital status.

Types of occupations do not matter as long as they don't do something extremely strange, and as long as they work for a company. (Ms Ayase, 23, single, a clerical worker).

## 6. FEMININE CAPITAL BEFORE AND AFTER MARRIAGE

I found another element beyond the distinction between feminine paths and gender-neutral paths that affects women's attainment of marital status, in addition to the functions of cultural capital, social capital, and human capital that mostly show why feminine paths are perceived to be more useful in this respect. It also helps to explain why highly educated women often leave the work force. This is the gap between qualities that are useful before marriage and those useful after marriage. The kind of feminine capital that is perceived as useful *before* marriage (in searching for a husband) is different from the feminine capital that is perceived as useful *after* marriage (for compatibility with household responsibilities). These two types of feminine capital are often in conflict with each other, which poses problems for both types of paths (feminine paths and gender-neutral paths).

The dimension of compatibility with marital life is the area that presents the starkest contradictions. Those occupations that have provided an advantage in the search for a high-status husband (e. g. frequent contact with guests) are often perceived to have disadvantages in compatibility with household responsibilities once a woman gets married. The heavy workload and hectic schedule of the female-dominated semi-professional occupations and gender-neutral high-status occupations are often perceived to be incompatible with marital life. Thus, the respondents perceived that the advantage that these occupations have for women's marital attain-

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<sup>22</sup> This coincides with Wakisaka's (1990) claim that in Japan, women with any work experience are socially perceived as more "mature" and, therefore, deemed more desirable as wives than those without work experience.

ment is valid only on the condition that she will quit upon marriage (or upon childbirth).

[On announcers] Whether they have an advantage [in attaining marital status] depends on men. They have erratic work schedules. If a man wants to marry a career woman, he will be OK. But, if a man wants to give priority to family life, he wants her to quit her job (upon marriage or childbirth) (Ms Yanagi, 31, married, a part-time clerical worker).

#### *Additional Findings – Prestige of Company Size*

This section discusses additional findings in the qualitative analysis of the data on people's perception of which elements in an occupation are perceived to affect women's attainment of marital status. Many respondents pointed out the effect of the company size on women's attainment of marital status. The prestige is attached more to company size than to the content of the job.

Larger companies have good images. [While making this point, she rated all three job categories in large companies – career track, corporate sales position, and non-career assistant track – as 5 on the five-point scale, or most useful for attainment of marital status] (Ms Kamiya, 33, single, a clerical worker).

The fact that you are working for a large company raises your value [in the marriage market] (Ms Yanagi, 31, married, a part-time clerical worker)

These comments also show why many women have chosen non-career jobs over career jobs. Since the prestige of the organizational size and industry is often valued over job content in the marriage market, women probably are motivated to give priority to industry and company size over job content when they have to choose between them. Thus, a woman who is incapable of pursuing a high-status gender-neutral occupation is likely to choose a non-career job in a large, prestigious company over a career job in a small company.

## 7. CONCLUSION

I hypothesized that female-dominated occupations are chosen partly because they endow women with greater advantage in attaining marital status than non-selective gender-neutral occupations and that female-dominated occupations would be perceived as more advantageous. The results

partially supported this hypothesis. One set of the female-dominated occupations (the female-dominated semi-professional occupations) is perceived to be significantly more useful for women's attainment of marital status than gender-neutral occupations, which are perceived to have a negative effect on women's attainment of marital status, unless they are selective gender-neutral occupations. Against the prediction, however, one type of female-dominated occupation (status-signifying liberal arts-related occupations) was not significantly related to the evaluations, suggesting that these occupations are not perceived to be useful for women's attainment of marital status. This statistical insignificance may be attributed to its limited popularity among people with traditional gender values.

The reason female-dominated occupations are perceived as advantageous for women's attainment of marital status may be attributed to the cultural capital, social capital and human capital which pertain to female-dominated occupations (especially the first two). Habitus of femininity, such as habitus of emotional labor and Goffmanian glamour, which pertain to such female-dominated occupations, are perceived to affect women's attainment of marital status positively. Social capital, that is, social networks to meet potential spouses, is represented by meeting channels like *gokon* (joint parties) and *saakuru* (circles). Work settings and organizational structures are perceived to endow women in female-dominated occupations with more chances than women in non-selective gender-neutral occupations to meet men with higher educational and occupational resources than themselves.

However, both female-dominated occupations and gender-neutral occupations face the problem of a contradiction in the qualities required "before marriage" and "after marriage". Female-dominated occupations that entail contact with those from outside of their own organizations, and are most effective while searching for a husband, are perceived as disadvantageous after marriage because of the demanding schedule at work. They are often perceived as useful for attainment of marital status, on the condition that those women leave their jobs upon marriage or child birth. This contradiction between qualities useful "before marriage" and qualities useful "after marriage" may result in those women leaving their jobs.

The status-signifying liberal arts-related occupations are increasingly perceived as obsolete. Their function of signifying the status of the family is gradually replaced by the high-status gender-neutral occupations, shown in the trend toward high-status gender-neutral occupations for women.

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APPENDIX

| ID | Pseudonym | Age | sex | Mar <sup>a</sup> | Occupation         |           | College  |                |                    |                        |                    | High School          |
|----|-----------|-----|-----|------------------|--------------------|-----------|----------|----------------|--------------------|------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
|    |           |     |     |                  | Occup <sup>a</sup> | Status    | Type     | Y <sup>a</sup> | Sex R <sup>a</sup> | Hensa-chi <sup>a</sup> | Major              | Type                 |
| 1  | Ayase     | 23  | f   | s                | clerical           | full-time | Private  | 4yr            | 0.57               | 54.4                   | Art                | Private (affiliated) |
| 2  | Machiya   | 21  | f   | s                | clerical           | full-time | Private  | 2yr            | 1                  | 48.8                   | Literature         | Public               |
| 3  | Nishida   | 21  | f   | s                | student            | N. A.     | Private  | 4yr            | 0.2                | 53.4                   | Sociology          | Private (affiliated) |
| 4  | Senda     | 34  | f   | m                | homemaker          | N. A.     | Private  | 2yr            | 1                  | 46.4                   | Literature         | Public               |
| 5  | Nezu      | 27  | f   | s                | clerical           | full-time | Private  | 4yr            | 1                  | 58.3                   | Domestic science   | Public               |
| 6  | Yushima   | 29  | f   | s                | clerical           | full-time | Private  | 2yr            | 0.63               | 43                     | Literature         | Private              |
| 7  | Ogawa     | 27  | f   | s                | professional       | full-time | Private  | 4yr            | 1                  | 55.8                   | Domestic science   | Public               |
| 8  | Akasaka   | 33  | f   | s                | clerical           | full-time | Private  | 4yr            | 1                  | 51.2                   | Literature         | Public               |
| 9  | Akabane   | 32  | f   | m                | unemployed         | N. A.     | Private  | 2yr            | 1                  | 47.2                   | Domestic science   | Public               |
| 10 | Iwabuchi  | 28  | f   | m                | homemaker          | N. A.     | Private  | 4yr            | 1                  | 58.1                   | Literature         | Private              |
| 11 | Shimoda   | 27  | f   | s                | clerical           | full-time | Private  | 2yr            | 1                  | 45.3                   | Liberal arts       | Public               |
| 12 | Kamiya    | 33  | f   | s                | clerical           | full-time | Private  | 2yr            | 1                  | 48.8                   | Literature         | Private (affiliated) |
| 13 | Ouji      | 28  | f   | s                | clerical           | full-time | Private  | 2yr            | 1                  | 47.4                   | Domestic science   | Public               |
| 14 | Nishihara | 27  | f   | s                | unemployed         | N. A.     | Private  | 4yr            | 1                  | 50                     | Literature         | Public               |
| 15 | Komagome  | 29  | f   | s                | clerical           | full-time | Private  | 2yr            | 1                  | 47.2                   | Domestic science   | Public               |
| 16 | Meguro    | 20  | m   | s                | student            | N. A.     | Private  | 4yr            | 0.38               | 54.5                   | Art                | Public               |
| 17 | Ootsuka   | 20  | f   | s                | student            | N. A.     | Private  | 4yr            | 0.28               | 66.5                   | Economics          | Private (affiliated) |
| 18 | Awaji     | 21  | m   | s                | student            | N. A.     | Private  | 4yr            | 0.18               | 50.5                   | Law                | Public               |
| 19 | Nakano    | 28  | f   | m                | homemaker          | N. A.     | Private  | 2yr            | 1                  | 48.9                   | Domestic science   | Public               |
| 20 | Nakai     | 24  | f   | s                | clerical           | part-time | Private  | 4yr            | 1                  | 54.6                   | Literature         | Private (affiliated) |
| 21 | Ekoda     | 30  | f   | s                | secretary          | full-time | Private  | 2yr            | 1                  | 44.8                   | Domestic science   | Public               |
| 22 | Nagasaki  | 28  | f   | m                | homemaker          | N. A.     | Private  | 2yr            | 1                  | 45.1                   | Literature         | Public               |
| 23 | Haraki    | 21  | m   | s                | student            | N. A.     | Private  | 4yr            | 0.28               | 66.5                   | Economics          | Private (affiliated) |
| 24 | Nakayama  | 34  | f   | sw               | clerical           | full-time | Private  | 4yr            | 1                  | 57.2                   | Literature         | Public               |
| 25 | Myoden    | 50  | f   | m                | homemaker          | N. A.     | Private  | 2yr            | 1                  | 55.6                   | Literature         | Private              |
| 26 | Gyotoku   | 27  | f   | s                | clerical           | full-time | Private  | 4yr            | 0.52               | 50.7                   | Music              | Public               |
| 27 | Urayasu   | 23  | m   | s                | student            | N. A.     | National | 4yr            | 0.11               | 61.6                   | Engineering        | Public               |
| 28 | Kasai     | 28  | f   | s                | unemployed         | N. A.     | Private  | 4yr            | 0.28               | 66.4                   | Philosophy         | Private              |
| 29 | Kiba      | 42  | m   | m                | instructor         | part-time | Private  | 4yr            | 0.24               | 50.2                   | Economics          | Public               |
| 30 | Azuma     | 23  | f   | s                | student            | N. A.     | Private  | 4yr            | 0.29               | 60.3                   | Sociology          | Private              |
| 31 | Wakamatsu | 23  | m   | s                | student            | N. A.     | National | 4yr            | 0.27               | 63                     | Veterinary science | Public               |
| 32 | Kawata    | 35  | m   | s                | clerical           | full-time | Private  | 4yr            | 0.21               | 49.7                   | Engineering        | Public               |
| 33 | Yanagi    | 31  | f   | m                | clerical           | part-time | Private  | 4yr            | 1                  | 57.9                   | Domestic science   | Private (affiliated) |

| ID | Pseudonym  | Age | sex | Mar* | Occupation   |           | College  |     |        |            |                              | High School       |
|----|------------|-----|-----|------|--------------|-----------|----------|-----|--------|------------|------------------------------|-------------------|
|    |            |     |     |      | Occup*       | Status    | Type     | Y*  | Sex R* | Hensa-chi* | Major                        | Type              |
| 34 | Iida       | 35  | m   | m    | clerical     | full-time | Private  | 4yr | 0.52   | 65.6       | Business administration      | Private           |
| 35 | Kasuga     | 31  | f   | m    | professional | full-time | Private  | 4yr | 0.52   | 66.5       | English language             | Private           |
| 36 | Hongo      | 30  | m   | m    | professional | full-time | Private  | 4yr | 0.52   | 69.1       | Int'l law                    | Public (national) |
| 37 | Ueno       | 33  | f   | s    | clerical     | full-time | Private  | 4yr | 0.28   | 66.4       | Literature                   | Public            |
| 38 | Kuramae    | 29  | f   | s    | operator     | full-time | Private  | 4yr | 1      | 53.2       | Literature                   | Private           |
| 39 | Ryogoku    | 59  | f   | m    | homemaker    | N. A.     | Private  | 4yr | 0.41   | 70.3       | Literature                   | N. A.             |
| 40 | Morishita  | 59  | f   | m    | homemaker    | N. A.     | Private  | 4yr | 0.24   | 61.2       | Literature                   | N. A.             |
| 41 | Kiyosumi   | 37  | m   | m    | clerical     | full-time | Private  | 4yr | 0.14   | 51.9       | Administrative - engineering | Private           |
| 42 | Shirakawa  | 32  | f   | m    | homemaker    | N. A.     | Private  | 4yr | 0.61   | 51.3       | Art                          | Private           |
| 43 | Tsukishima | 32  | f   | s    | clerical     | full-time | Private  | 4yr | 0.5    | 58.7       | Mass communication           | Public            |
| 44 | Hamamatsu  | 65  | m   | m    | managerial   | full-time | National | 4yr | 0.11   | 63.7       | Engineering                  | Private           |
| 45 | Aoyama     | 35  | f   | m    | homemaker    | N. A.     | Private  | 2yr | 1      | 54.6       | Literature                   | Public            |

**Table 4: Backgrounds of the Respondents**

Note: \*"Mar" refers to marital status (s = single; m = married). "Occup" refers to occupational position and title. \*"Y" refers to the distinction between four year college/university and junior colleges (4yr = university/college; 2yr = junior colleges) attended by the respondent.\* "Sex R" refers to rate of women in that institution (Thus, 1 = women's single sex institutions). \*"Hensa-chi" refers to the selectivity score of college and department the respondent attended. The higher the score, the more competitive the institution is.