The Effect of Family Friendly Regulation on Fertility:

Evidence from Japan Using Natural Experiments

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Abstract

Low fertility in Japan is a major policy focus. Many policies, such as an increase in replacement allowances during parental leave, have been rolled out with little evidence that they have had any effect on fertility nor on labor supply during 90's and early 2000's. This study assesses the impact on childbirth and labor supply of regulations designed to promote a family-friendly work culture from mid 2000's. The causal effects are identified by investigating two reform policies targeted at two different sized firms. The paper contributes to the literature on the effect of laws that impact changing organizational culture in a society where both gender and organizational norms are strong. The short-hour option reform significantly increased childbirth in working women who had been childless. Birth intent itself significantly increased among childless women at the treated firms. Return to the pre-birth employer, on the other hand, has increased from mid-2000's but the effect of policies was not significant.

1.Introduction

East Asian economies experienced an ultra-low fertility rate in the 2000s, with the total fertility rate around 1.3 or lower. They are in search of policies that could positively affect fertility, even though it may not be easy to impact fertility through policy levers. The policy motive behind the 1991 passage of the law in Japan mandating unpaid parental leave with job protection was to increase fertility by reducing the opportunity cost of children for the working mothers. Research found that in the 1960s, fertility was higher in countries where more women stayed at home. After the 1990s, however, the relationship reversed so that fertility was higher in countries where more women participated in the labor market and had both work and family (Morgan (2003), Feyrer, Sacerdote and Stern (2008)). Interestingly, despite the series of leave provision enhancements, the employment behavior of women changed little.

Economic theory predicts that more women will exit the work force when there is no leave. But if there is leave, more women who have to quit will return to the pre-birth employer. Therefore, the labor supply of mothers will increase. (Leibowits and Klerman(1997)).

Instead, fertility continued to decline until it hit a historic low of 1.26 in 2005. Prior studies that focused on the effect of parental leave on fertility found that motivation to obtain a higher allowance can speed up the timing of fertility (Hoem

(1993), Walker (1995), Laive and Zweimuler (2009)), and protected leave can increase the level of fertility in some cases (Averett and Whitingon (2001) for US, Ronsen(2004) for Finland and Norway). An employment insurance-based replacement allowance introduced in 1995, which gradually increases over the years, nevertheless, seemed to show little if any influence on Japan's total fertility rate.

The unresponsiveness of rates of total fertility and labor force participation to these policy initiatives in Japan is baffling, especially since many studies using Japanese data show that full-time employment of women with children increased when companies provided leave (Higuchi(1994), Morita and Kaneko(1998), Shigeno and Ohkusa(1998), Higuchi and Abe(1999), Suruga and Cho(2003), Nagase(2003a), Takeishi(2011), Sato and Ma(2013)) and that fertility rose in the working population (Morita and Kaneko (1998)). Most research analyzed the provision of leave by company and, as a result, could have a potential bias based on the unobserved differences of the mothers who were hired at firms that provide access to leave. Research also might have been biased in that it mostly analyzed only the working population, while more women experience childbirth after deciding to leave the labor force. Asai (2014), using the difference-in-difference method, found that the 2001 leave allowance increase had no significant effect on the maternal labor supply.

Even though leave entitlement with job protection is an important device for allowing women to continue their employment, this paper hypothesizes that—for women to choose to work after childbirth, and for employed women to be able to have children--the policy must be accompanied a family-friendly workplace culture.

This is especially true for a country in which group norm and group culture are strong. Akerlof and Kranton (2000) stated that norms are the important determinants of the utility one gets from one's own action and also from the action of others. Japanese firms have a strong organizational culture requiring a high commitment by full-time regular workers. At the same time, society has also placed strong emphasis on motherhood. Unless the norms at the workplace and at home are changed to recognize them as legitimate members of the work team, mothers will feel penalized at work. In interviews in 1997 of workers at large enterprises in the Tokyo metropolitan and non-urban areas, Nagase (2006) found skepticism about leave-taking among many women—especially those in the Tokyo area who do not expect to live with extended families, where parents-in-laws can help with childrearing. Some women without children described how women who returned after parental leave had to apologize to their colleagues before dashing to day care centers after work; the childless women do not want to lead that kind of life. Another woman said she would prefer to be a full-time mother and take good care of any future children, even though she was not ready to leave the work force yet. In the Japanese long-term employment setting, one is often not hired for a *specific* job, but rather is hired for the long term and assigned by managerial initiative to a team. The job description of an individual worker, therefore, is not clear, and it is those workers who can flexibly cover a wide range of work within the team who gain high evaluations (Ishida((1989)). The workplace also expects employees to work overtime whenever required. In the 2008 interviews, Nagase and Yamaya (2011) found that, because they must put in long hours of team work as well as keeping up their homemaking role, many women are still skeptical of the feasibility

of balancing work and family. When these workers who once leave employment at marriage or at childbirth re-enter the labor market, they are often employed as "part-time" workers who are low paid by hour (Nagase (2003b)).

In an attempt to change work cultures that are not sympathetic to workers with families, government-mandated firms with 301 employees were required to set up action plans to increase the work and life balance. The schemes, for no shorter than two and no longer than five years' duration, had to be registered by 2005 with the local office of Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare. In 2009, the government announced that workers with children under three can request shorter work hours (*e.g.,* six hours a day), and that the company cannot reject this request without legitimate reasons. This paper will empirically estimate the effects of these two policies as natural experiments. It will also see whether the birth intent among childless women increased as a consequence of improved feasibility of balancing work and family.

The reminder of the paper is as follows. Section 2 gives background information on the law change and previous research results. Section 3 discusses the estimation methodology. Section 4 describes the data. Section 5 presents the results. The first parts in Section 5 deal with the effect of two policies on fertility, second part on child intention, and the last part on work continuation. Section 6 discusses the results and concludes the paper.

2. Background

After the total fertility rate fell to 1.57 in 1989, the Japanese government passed the Child Care and Family Care Leave Act in 1991, hoping to reduce the opportunity cost of children for women workers, and to give women the opportunity to have both children and careers. This law applied to *seishain,* full-time employees without termination of contract, and for those with more than one year of tenure. It protected them of their job during the leave that can last til their child reached one year of age. It applied to both mothers and fathers, though the take-up rate of fathers was near to zero. It did not apply to employees with a fixed-term contract—*e.g.* for one or two years. The mandate had a grace period until 1995 before it was extended to smaller enterprises with fewer than 29 employees. Maternity leave with job security has been available in Japan since 1947. Female employees are eligible to take six weeks off before and six weeks (later extended to eight weeks) after childbirth. The drop in fertility initiated passage of a law that extended job-protected leave to a maximum of one year. Figure 1 shows that the average number of children declined by cohort, especially for the cohort born after 1963. University graduates in the 1963 cohort would feel the changing mood of society that followed passage of Gender Equal Employment Opportunity Law of 1985.

<Figure 1>

However, despite the leave entitlement, many mothers continued to quit after marriage or the birth of a first child. Childbirth continued to decline. Returning to full-time work with a one-year-old was not easy, especially since a full-time worker was expected to take on many responsibilities and to work overtime when

necessary. When their children grew older, many mothers who had left the labor market, re-entered it as "part-time" workers, but at much lower pay, and pay by the hour. Therefore, the opportunity cost of leaving full-time regular work was high.

One line of reform designed to increase the use of the leave was to increase the monetary allowance during the leave. The government started to give leave allowance. Starting in April 1995, the government gave the 25% (5% withheld) equivalent of daily salary from employment insurance. It increased to 40% (10% withheld) in January 2001 and to 50% (20% withheld) from October 2007 to 2010. To incentivize mothers to return to their pre-birth employers, the withheld portion of the allowance was refunded six months after they returned to their original workplaces.[1] Because the birth rate continued to stagnate, from April 2010, the government abolished withholding portion, and after April 2014, the monthly replacement became 50% and then 67% for the first 180 days.

The percentage of new mothers in labor force did not increase despite the policy. Figure 2 show the long-term trend of new mothers in the labor force when their children are age one. The *National Fertility Survey* shows the longest time trend for a five-year average. The percentage of first-time mothers in the labor force was 23% in the late 1980s, 23% in the early 1990s after the introduction of the parental leave, 24% in late 1990s, and 26% in the first half of the 2000s. Using the Millennium Panel Survey of Adults' yearly average of mothers who had children,

[1]About 85% of the leave-takers received the withheld portion, meaning about 15% quit work after taking the leave.

we see that the trend followed the National Fertility Survey, but the ratio jumped in 2009 and 2010.

<Figure 2 >

Another line of reform by the government was to offer flexible work hours and encourage a supportive culture within firms to balance work and family. Plus One Measure to Halt the Declining Birth Rate, announced by Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare in 2002, pointed out that "revision of working patterns, including men's" was important. Changing men's working pattern of putting in long hours would make it easier for families to have children. When the legislature passed Act on Advancement of Measures to Support Raising Next-Generation Children of 2003, the government mandated firms with more than 300 employees to plan their work and family policies to meet their employee needs and to register a two- to five-year action plan at the local Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare offices by 2005. Firms with good practices would be awarded a "*kurumin* seal" that could be printed on their products. In late 2007, the government, the main employers' organization, and the National Center of Labor Unions adopted The Work and Life Balance Charter.

The reform, proposed in December 2008 and passed in June 2009, was another large amendment to introduce flexible work hours for working parents. It mandated a short-hours option for workers with children under the age three. Sick leave to care for children, introduced in 2005, was doubled to ten days for parents with more than one preschool child. In addition, to encourage fathers to use the

parental leave benefit, the leave was extended two months for fathers.[2] After 2009, fathers were also allowed to take leave during the first eight weeks after a child's birth and a second leave sometime later. In December 2008, the action plan mandate for firms was also expanded to companies with more than 100 employees.

With the short-hour option legislated, starting in June 2010, companies with more than 100 employees were mandated to offer workers the a six-hour-a-day working option until the child reached three, and were barred from assigning overtime work to parents of preschool children. Firms with fewer than 100 employees were given a two-year grace period until July 2012. Therefore, if women working at firms with more than 101 employees had a child in 2009 or 2010, they could return to work with the short-hour option and no overtime work, while those women at firms with fewer than 100 employees would have the same benefit if they waited until 2011 to have a child.

The action plan register of 2005 and short-hour option of 2009 were aimed at easing child rearing along with full-time regular work. This change may increase marriage and childbirth among working women if the policy really eases the option to have both a full-time regular job and a child.

This paper will look at the effect of policies to increase work flexibility on fertility and work continuation. Our model predicts that leave policy will have positive impact on fertility only when females see that having both work and family

[22]This increase in length may not have had much impact in major urban cities, however, since the law already had a clause extending the leave period by six months in 2005 if it was verified that government approved child care facilities were full, which was often the case in urban centers.

improves their utility. We will utilize the "registration mandate" for employees at firms with 301 or more employees in 2005, and the "short-hour option" introduced in 2009 for firms with 101 or more employees.

3. Conceptual Framework and Estimation Strategy

3.1 Policy Change

We will use the *difference-in-difference* method to compare workers at firms with 101 or 301 or more employees and those at firms with 100 or fewer employees, and see if fertility or work continuation changed before and after the regulatory changes, controlling for other factors such as mother's age and educational level.

It is important to establish the causal effect of the policy on fertility, in light of the facts that leave policy enhancements intending to reduce the cost of quitting work after childbirth seemed to exert little influence on labor supply nor fertility in the past, and that policymakers as well as the media are becoming skeptical of the policy's effectiveness.

By using these policy changes as natural experiments, and by estimating whether significant change in birth and labor supply was evident right after the implementation of the policy in workers at mandated firms, compared to those at non-mandated firms, we can identify the causal effect of the policy. Workers at mandated firms (the larger enterprises) may, in their unobservables, be more qualified than workers at smaller firms. Yet, if the change in fertility behavior in

workers at the larger firms, as compared to those at smaller firms is evident right after the implementation of the reform, the change must be due to the policy—not the result of the self-selection of workers to work at the mandated firms.

It is important, then, to identify when the employees knew about the reform. As to the short-hour mandate, the discussion about the reform started in August 2008, the Ministry of Health Labor and Welfare (MHLW) announced the policy proposal in December 2008,[3] and the law was passed in June 2009. According to Google trends, i*kuji tanjikan* (short-hour option for child care) was first discussed as a new term in May 2007, when the short-hour option for public servants was mandated. Use of the term increased from January to March 2009, shortly after the MHLW's December 2008 announcement of its policy proposal for the private sector. The law was on the table of the Diet beginning in April 2009, discussed at the House of Representatives on June 12, and passed into law by the House of Councilors on June 24, 2009. But by then, because the law was expected to pass, attention had already halved. Attention rose again in June 2010, at the start of implementation. We should consider the public announcement of the short-time

[3]The MHLW states that the revision of the leave law was discussed starting with the Cabinet's adoption of New Measure against the Declining Fertility in June 2006, and following the *Expert Group Report on Supporting the Work and Family Life for the Future,* released in August 2007. The Labor Policy Council Employment Equality Subgroup discussed leave reform at its 82nd meeting in August 2008. The final report of the National Commission on Social Security (November 2008) stated that the child care leave system should emphasize supporting flexible work styles, including a short working hour system. At the same time, the general workplace need to be changed by reducing long working hours for men (fathers) and by encouraging them to take childcare leave. www.mhlw.go.jp/english/policy/affiars/dl/05.pdf. At its 91st meeting in December 2008, the MHLW then proposed reform of mandating the short-hour option and implementation of a no-overtime for private employees who had children under three upon their request. Discussions and papers can be seen at the MHLW website.

option as late 2008 to early 2009. (See the google trend in Appendix.) Since workers were required to have one year of tenure before they were eligible for parental leave, they could not have self-selected into covered firms quickly enough to account for any positive relationship between childbearing and firm size by 2009 (short hour option).

It is more difficult to define policy timing for the mandated firms with 301 or more employees to make action plans to accommodate the work-life balance. Based on Act on Advancement of Measures to Support Raising Next-Generation Children of 2003, firms were required to make plans that suited the needs of their employees and to register them with local MHLW office by 2005. But because the action plans could vary from two to five years, and there were no specific requirements for their content, the result was that timing and content varied by firms.[4] However, in interviews I conducted in 2008 with personnel officers at eleven large enterprises, many officers said that the mandate resulted in personnel departments strongly recognizing the need for higher utilization of female employees and thinking about

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Beginning in April 2005, firms with 301 or more employees were mandated to register an action plan to improve their work environments with the local office of the Ministry of Health Labor and Welfare. For firms with 101 to 300 employees, the plans were not mandatory, but recommended. The MHLW also started acknowledging *nintei kigyou* (approved firms) beginning in 2007, allowing the use of "*kurumin*" or family-friendly seals on their goods and advertisements. To get approval for a *kurumin* seal, a firm must: have action plans for more than two and less than five years; realize the stated action plan goals; have some measures for workers with children between three and school age; have at least one male parental leave-taker; and have female take-up of child care leave exceeding 70%.

the future labor force structure. On December 3, 2008, an amendment to the law ordered firms with 301 or more employees to announce the action plan to the public beginning in April 2009; firms with 101 to 300 employees were required to publically announce in April 2011. This rollout partly coincides with the short-hour option period. Therefore, I will estimate the policy period as 2005 to 2008 for action plans. For 2009 onward, the policy effect of the action plan mandate will be measured together with the short-hour option.

3.2 Estimation Model

We can measure the causal effects of the regulations on the child birth hazard for working mothers, especially for the 2009 reform, since they needed to be employed for at least one year to be eligible for the parental leave. Consequently, if the child birth hazard rose right after the reform in 2009, it should not be the selection effect, but rather the effect from the change in regulation of 2009.

The first-, second-, and third-child birth hazard for women in labor force one period before will be estimated. $Y1_{it}$ takes 1 among those who had their first child among those with no children, or second child among those with one child, the third child among those with two children. Hit is the vector of covariates, such as educational attainment and age category dummies and birth intentions at t-1.

$firmsize_{i\,t-1}$ is a dummy variable that applies if one is employed at a firm included in the mandated policy. The short-hour option for firms with 101 and more employees was mandated to apply to employees who had birth after 2009. The

action plan mandate for firms with 301 and more employees took effect in 2005. Since the timing ambiguities may make assessing the action plan mandate more difficult, the effect of the 2009-2010 policy will be estimated first. Due to the firm-size categories asked in the questionnaire, we will use 100 instead of 101 and 300 instead of 301 for the firm size. Then, in another regression, we will have two cross terms with firm size of more than 300 and years 2005 to 2008, and the firm size more than 100 and the years 2009 and 2010. If $d_1$in equation (1) is statistically significantly positive, we will know that the action plan mandate, or short-hour option increased first child birth. I will estimate by fixed linear probability model.

$$Y1_{it} = a_1 + b_1 H_{it} + c_1 firmsizei_{t-1} + d_1 firmsize_{it-1} * (years\ after\ enactment\ of\ mandate\ of\ policies) + e_1 year\ dummy + u_{it} \quad (1)$$

As a next step, difference-in-difference-in-difference will be estimated to see the varying effects of the policy. The policy should affect those who wanted children, but were delaying because child rearing and continuing to work at the same time seemed very difficult due to long work hours and work culture. d_2 in equation (2) should be statistically significant if the policy especially affected those females who had high child intention.

$$Y1_{it} = a_1 + b_1 H_{it} + c_1 firmsizei_{t-1} + c_2 high\ birthIntentioni_{t-1}$$

$$+c_3 firmsizei_{t-1} * high\ child\ intentioni_{t-1} +$$

$$c_4 high\ child\ intentioni_{t-1} * (years\ after\ enactment\ of\ policies)$$

$$+c_5 firmsize_{it-1} * (years\ after\ enactment\ of\ policies)$$

$$+ d_2 firmsize_{it-1} * high\ child\ intention i_{t-1} * (years\ after\ enactment\ of\ policies) +$$

$$e_1\ (year\ dummy\ including\ years\ afte\ enactment\ of\ policies) + u_{it}\ (2)$$

3.3 Parity Specific Effects, Childlessness and Child Intention

Policies to change work culture should have had the strongest impact on women who wished to have a child and continue to work, but hesitated because workplace norms did not support women with children taking on responsible work. In Japan in the past, around 40% of women left the workforce at marriage and another 40% at the first childbirth. But the large adjustment ends mostly at the first childbirth, as evidenced in the National Fertility Survey (Nagase (1999)). Figure 3 using the Millennium Panel Survey of Adults (the data this paper uses for its analysis), shows a similar picture for period from 2002-2010, in that leaving the work force at marriage and at the first birth is much more prevalent than leaving the work force at the birth of the second child.

<Figure 3 >

Therefore, the change in work culture may have the largest impact on women who hope to work as full-time regular employee after marriage and after having their first child. The work culture should also be important for the second and also the third birth, but other factors, such as a husband's sharing of child rearing, marital relationship, and the availability of daycare centers may be of equal importance to working mothers. Since we have questionnaires on husbands' domestic work hours on weekdays and on weekends, we added weekly logs of their

domestic hours as explanatory variables by multiplying the weekday hours by five, and the weekend hours by two and dividing by seven and used the results in log to estimate the second- and third-child birth hazard.

As for explanatory variables other than firm size and policy years, we have educational attainment to account for differences in human capital, and year dummies to account for periodical influences such as economic fluctuation. Age dummies were also included as controls, since childbirth is related to age by biological limitations at the higher end and social norms at the lower end.

We will also focus on women's intention to have a child to see if fertility declined because more women did not want a child or because they were constrained in their wish. The following question was asked to all the respondents each year, "Do you want to have any or another child?" The response options were "definitely yes," "yes," "cannot say," "no," and "definitely no." We made a dummy variable of one when the respondent answered "yes, definitely."

Figure 4 shows the change in childlessness by age group in the past ten years using the Millennium Panel Survey of Adults. At ages 31 to 32, when the samples were surveyed in 2002-2003, nearly 60% had a child. For the same age group, when the samples were surveyed in 2009-2010, only 40% had any children.

<Figure 4>

On the other hand, when we focus on those who are childless, more women in the same age group reply that they "definitely want a child" in the more recent survey. Figure 5 shows the trend. For example, among the childless women in the

age group 33 to 34, in the 2005-2006 period when the total fertility rate in Japan was lowest, 20% replied that they "definitely want a child," while in the 2009-2010 period, the percentage rose to 30%, even though childlessness increased, as shown in Figure 4. The two figures show that even though the fraction of women who are childless are increasing, the larger percentage of them have high child intention. This will be explored in the analysis.

<Figure 5>

Marital status was also added as an explanatory variable. In Japan, pre-marital sexual intercourse has become more socially accepted, but out-of-wedlock birth still not. Today, around one fourth of marriages in Japan occur after the conception of a child, either planned or unplanned. Out-of-wedlock childbirth is still rare (1.63% in 2000, 2.15% in 2010, and 2.21% in 2013), and cohabitation of non-married females in the age group of 18 to 34 is still low (2.8% in 1987, rising to 7.6% in 2002, but declining to 5.8% in 2010), according to the National Fertility Survey. On the other hand, premarital conception resulting in marriage, identified by a marital period less than the pregnancy period, was 12.6% in 1980, 21.0% in 1990, 26.3% in 2000, and levelled off to 25.3% in 2009. For women in age group 20 to 24, the figure was over 60% in 2009; for women in age group 25 to 29, around 25% in 2009; while for women in the age group 30-34, it was little over 10%, according to Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare Vital Statistics Special Report on Childbirth. Since certain portion of decision of having child starts before marriage, we will estimate the first-child birth hazard to females including non-married ones, with marital status as an explanatory variable. However, we will also

examine the first-child birth hazard of married females following the tradition of demographic research in Japan.

4. Data

The paper will use the Millennium Panel Survey of Adults (MPSA), a nationally representative panel survey that follows cohorts of Japanese youth and was collected by the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare. Beginning in 2002, the MPSA has collected yearly information on labor market experiences, housework hours, birth and marriage intent and outcome, and the background characteristics of people between the ages of 20 and 34 and their spouses. They are interviewed annually; this paper uses up to the eighth wave, surveyed in 2010. These are data on cohorts born from 1967 to 1982, who were 20 to 34 year of age in 2002, and 28 to 42 year of age in 2010. Therefore, we can follow their family formation. The original sample contained 14,150 females. The effective response rate was 82.8% for the first year, and then the follow-up rate was 82.2, 85.1, 87.9, 89.0, 90.0, 91.3, 92.4, 85.5 percents respectively for the following years. These allows us to examine women of child-rearing age and how they responded to the change in the parental leave law.

The panel structure allows us to control for individual differences in unobserved preferences and individual abilities. Birth timing may differ by unobservables, such as desire for children and fecundity. The advantage of these data is the large sample size and high response rate. Other existing panel data in

Japan, such as Panel Data on Consumers, or KHPS (Keio Household Panel Survey) or JHPS (Japan Household Panel Survey) are smaller, with a lower response rate in the initial year as compared to the Millennium Panel Survey of Adults. The data have not been explored until very recently owing to restrictions on the use of micro-data imposed by the governmental statistics law.[5]

The shortcoming of these data is that they start in 2002. Even though we have retrospective data on past childbirth and marriage, we do not know past parental leave use, birth intent, and other variables, so we will only estimate the impact on behavior of law changes after 2002. For the purpose of analysis, we selected a sample of people who were working.

5. The Results

5.1 Effect of Action Plan Mandate and Short-Hour Option on Fertility

Table 1 shows the result of the effect of 2009-2010 policy. The first column shows that the short-hour option policy had a significantly positive effect on the first-child birth hazard. Women working at firms with 100 and more employees are less likely to have any children. However, after controlling for the age of the women, year, educational attainment, birth intent, and marital status, the first childbirth of childless women at such firms was increased by 1.1% in 2009 to 2010, as estimated by a fixed effect linear probability model. The second column makes estimates for married women who were childless in the previous period. After

[5] Even today, one needs to go through the long application process, and the permission whether one is eligible and the document proper takes time. The term of use is also restricted.

controlling for the same variables, the married women are also less likely to have any children when employed at firms with 100 and more employees, but the first-child birth hazard was increased by 5.7% at such firms during 2009-2010. The average first-birth hazard during this period was 14.1% for those who are married and working. Therefore, the policy effect on the rise in first birth can be seen as significant and large. The result, however, for the second and the third birth was not significant.

High birth intention in the previous period also exerted significant influence only for the first birth, but interestingly not for a second or the third birth.

The third and fourth columns show the estimated result for the second childbirth. While the short-hour option policy significantly increased probability of working women with no children gaining their first child, the policy was not significant for a second child. The fourth column shows the result when a husband's log of domestic work hours is added as one of the explanatory variables. The effect of husbands' domestic work hours on the second-child birth was significant and large. It was found that the increase in husbands' domestic work contribution has much explanatory power on whether the working women have a second child or not.

The base year for year dummies is 2003. Since we used 2002 data to obtain information of the previous year, the year dummy starts from 2003. It was the year when a bad economy raised the unemployment rate to 5.24%. The rate went down to 3.98% in 2008, but jumped to 5.06% in 2009 after the economic stagnation that followed the world financial crisis. Despite the upturn and then the downturn of the

economy, the birth hazard for working women continued to rise as years went on, as shown in positive significant signs of the year dummy for the first-, second- and the third-child birth hazard.

< Table 1>

Table 2 shows the separate effect of the action plan registration mandate and short-hour option mandate. Even though the short-hour mandate is still barely significant for the treatment group of the first child as shown in the first column, we see that the cross term of the firm size and 2005-2008 dummy was not significant in all of the estimates. While short hour option mandate has significantly increased working women who had no children to gain one child, the action plan mandate did not exert statistically significant influence.

< Table 2>

In order to focus on those who have high birth intention, we will make a *difference-in-difference-in-difference* estimate of the policy, to see whether the policy affected those with high birth intention in the previous period more than those without. The greyed row in Table 3 shows whether the policy had a significant effect on those who was affected by the policy. The sign of the cross term of firm size, year, and high child intention was not significant in all of the cases, so we cannot say the policy has raised the fertility of those who had high child intention at treated firms.

However, we found that for women with strong birth intention, who "definitely wanted a child" in the previous period and were in the labor force during

the 2005-2008 period and also during 2009-2010 period, fertility significantly rose—not only for the first childbirth, but also for the second birth, regardless of the firm size. The fertility went up at a 10% significance level for the third birth as well for the 2009-2010 period when the women "definitely wanted a child." The effect of a strong intention to have a child was much stronger for the 2009-2010 period compared to the 2005-2008 period. Even though the increase in fertility was not confined to those who worked at the affected firms, during the period that policy covered, working women with high birth intention realized a higher birth hazard, especially so in 2009-2010 period.

< Table 3>

5.2 Birth Intent among Childless Women and Unmet Demand for Children

High Intention to have child will further be explored. Female fecundity declines with age, especially in the late thirties. Therefore, for those who definitely want, but are postponing a child, the mid-thirties may be a good time to seriously consider their schedule.

Figure 6 shows percentage of women who have a child or children at age 35 to 36. Termed workers, who have only limited access to parental leave entitlement, are the lowest percentage of those with children: 37% as of 2009-2010. Full-time regular workers, *seishain,* follow at 45%. Part-time workers, mainly hourly paid workers hired by hour, follow with 60% in 2009-2010. Those out of labor force have the highest percentage of motherhood at age 35 to 36: 81%.

<Figure 6>

High child intention was expressed by 35% of childless, full-time regular workers *(seishain),* and by 24% of childless females who were out of the labor force on average. When we see stronger desire, even though there is higher childlessness among full-time, regularly employed 35-36 year old females, such as *seishain* and fix-termed workers, it must be that they have preference for children, but their demand is unmet.

Reasons for an unmet demand for children can be various. For example, it could be not meeting the right partner, or waiting for the right time. However, it could also be difficulty in balancing work and family.

We will examine the unmet child demand by looking into the change in the strong intention to have a child $Y2_{it}$, for the working population without any children. The group that replied that they definitely want a child is a dependent dummy variable. This paper will see whether the policy change not only influenced the birth timing but also whether it increased the birth intent itself. If d_4 in equation (3) is positive for childless females, it shows that the reform increased their desire for children by reducing the child cost. Xit is the vector of covariates, such as educational attainment, and age category dummies. The intent will be regressed by fixed effect linear probability model, with the difference-in-difference setting, to see whose birth intention is most affected by the policy change.

$$Y2it_2 = a_2 + b_2 Xit + c_2 firmsizei_{t-1} + d_4 firmsizei_{t-1} * (year\ after\ the\ mandate\ of\ policies)$$

$$e_3 * year\ dummy + u_{it} \quad (4)$$

Table 5 is the linear probability fixed effect model of strong desire to have a child among childless working women. We would like to see if the natural experiment of 2005-2008 and 2009-2010 increased the strong desire among those without children.

We find the action plan mandate increased the women's strong desire to have child by 3.3% and the short hour option by 4.7%. Another factor affecting the strong demand for children is the women's age. The strong desire decreases with aging.

The significant effect of policy implies that for many working women, having child is less attractive when the work environment lacks family-friendly practices. When the work environment changed as to allow combining work and family, a larger fraction of childless working women expressed that they definitely want a child. Strong desire to have a child is a good predictor of child birth in next year, as evidenced in Table 1, and also for the second and third child when the work environment is accommodating, as shown in Table 3. Therefore, increase in attractiveness of having a child should help to increase fertility in the long run.

5.3 Return to Pre-Birth Employer After the First Child Birth

Lastly, we will examine whether work continuation as full-time employee without termination of contract of first time mothers increased with the policy. $Y3it$ takes 1 among those who had full-time regular work if one continued as full-time regular worker in the next year the child was born. The panel probit model is used.

$$Y3_{it} = a_3 + b_3 H_{it} + c_3 firmsizei_{t-1}$$

$$+ d_5 firmsize_{it-1} * (years\ after\ enactment\ of\ mandate\ of\ policies)$$

$$e_3 year\ dummy + u_{it} \quad (3)$$

Xit is individual characteristics affecting the decision, such as educational level and age category, and also values, such as want to equally share income burden and child care burden with husband. d_5 will be significant if the policy affected labor supply of new mothers.

Table 4 show the estimation result. On contrary to our expectation, when we made regression on work continuation of first time mothers as full-time employee, seishain, by panel probit estimate, even though those working at 100 and more employees had higher attachment, but year 2009 and 2010 gave no special boost as shown in Table 5. The work continuation of 2009 and 2010 was high and strong, but it went across firm size.

< Table 5>

6.Concluding remarks

Despite the series of enhancements in parental leave law, childbirth has continued to be delayed in Japan for the past twenty years, and the number of births per population for the same age group has continued to decline for younger cohorts. Additionally, the proportion of females who returned to a pre-birth employer has not shown any significant increase in the past twenty years, despite favorable law changes. Because of long-term employment practices that predict a large drop in wages after a worker quits long-term employment, along with long and inflexible work hours, more women must have thought it more optimal to delay birth timing. The favorable law change was not enough to prompt women to have a child while continuing work until the implementation of new laws that increased work flexibility among long-term, regular workers in 2008 and 2009.

The contribution of this paper is in showing the importance of organizational and cultural changes that increase work flexibility by using the natural experiment of the two laws that increased work hour flexibility passed in 2003: to mandate the action plan register by 2005, and the short-hour option proposed in the late 2008 and legislated in June 2009. We used the largest and best suited panel data in Japan for this purpose.

Using these natural experiments that vary by firm size, we estimated the effect on fertility and job continuation using a linear probability fixed effect model. The result showed the first-child birth hazard effectively went up in the 2009-2010 period for those working at firms with more than 100 employees the year before

the introduction of the short-hour option mandate. The effect of the registration mandate was not significant. However, when crossed with high intention to have child in the previous period, during the policy years 2005-2008, and more strongly during the period of 2009-2010, not only the first child birth but also the second and the third hazard during 2009-2010 period significantly increased. This effect was not confined to the affected group of firms, but all the working females, that we cannot say the policy increased fertility among those who definitely wanted a child a year before. Since these were the period when the government were eagerly making campaigns on work and life balance, we might say the campaign had given legitimacy to working women who wanted children while continuing their employment using leave entitlement, and thus was effective in increasing fertility across firms.

We also found that, during the policy period, the high intention to have a child significantly increased among the childless working women of the treated firms. The result can be interpreted as a new "flexibility" in work hours that made balancing work and family more possible and more attractive option.

This delay in fertility may partly explain why the gap in the proportion of working mothers stayed about the same from 80s to early 2000s—in contradiction to the findings of previous research that leave entitlement increased return to pre-birth employers. Since a substantial fraction of women were delaying birth, and many births were still realized after quitting a job up to the early 2000s, the time series data showed small change until very recently in the fraction of women with and without work after the first child birth, while fertility declining. When the

prospect of balancing both work and family improved, delayed birth among working population made an upturn.

The change in climate came in place slowly, along with series of efforts such as the adoption of the work and life balance charter by the business, union, and government, as well as with changes in the parental leave law, short hour option, and publicity around the firms' mandate of action plan.

Yet, we have to add that while the proportion of women who are able to continue work and have children is increasing, it remains a small fraction of females in Japan. On one hand, the portion of women who have a regular, full-time employment contract without contract termination at graduation is decreasing. The portion of women with a fixed-term contract is rising. The latter have much weaker leave entitlement. Because of the difference in the job protection, companies may well increase this type of employment after considering that most of the regulation extends only to long-term, regularly employed workers.

The evidence from Japan shows that implementation of parental leave policy, if it is not easy to use, may not increase fertility. On the contrary, it may even cause a delay in fertility. Only after the series of mandates created strong pressure on firms, combined with companies' own recent internal effort to change the work climate and increase flexibility (as evidenced in qualitative researches), did the laws finally show an impact on women's job continuation and fertility. However, there is still much unmet desire for children. Further steps to increase work flexibility, so that Japanese women can combine work and family, and so that men can be involved in more domestic work, should be one of the measures

undertaken to help fill the unmet demand in Japan's fertility rate in. The effect of the constraint caused by the inadequate number of subsidized day care facilities should be pursued in future research.

The limitation of this paper is the small number of years that have passed since the reforms. We need to see if fertility went up permanently, or if it only changed birth timing. Whether the law changes really eased constraints on having both work and family, or whether it only released some of the long awaited child demand is yet to be determined through further developments and the release of panel data gathered after 2010.

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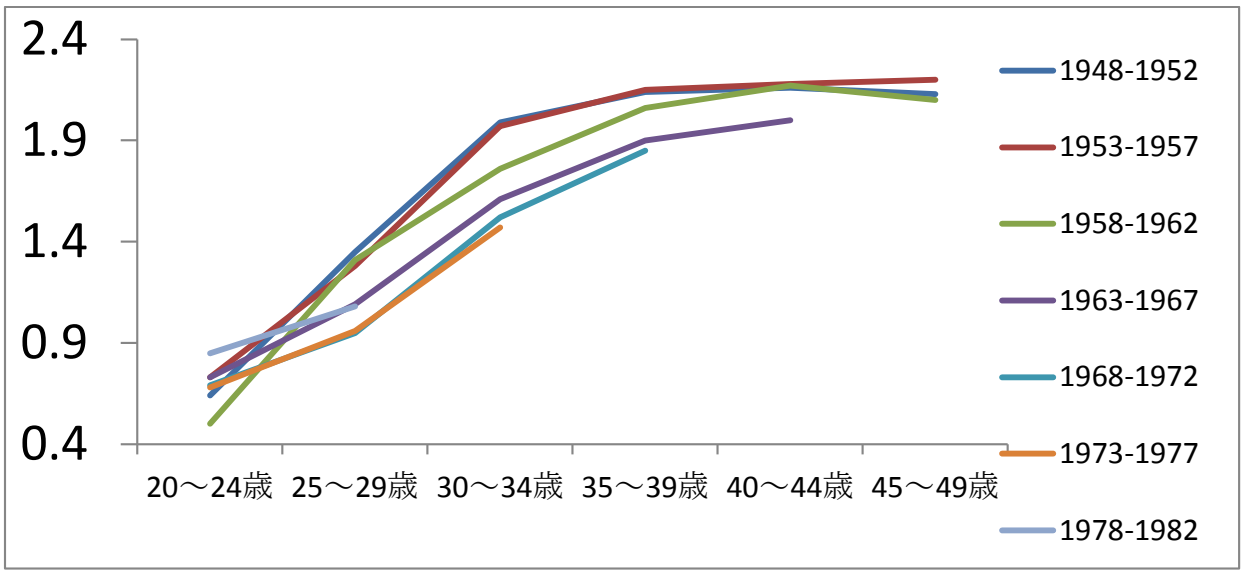
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Acknowledgement

We would like to acknowledge that this research is one of the results of the competitive fund, obtained from MEXT and JSPS *Kinmirai no Kadai Kaiketsu wo mezashita Jisshoteki Shakaikagaku jigyo;* Empirical Social Science Research for the Impending Issue of Japanese Society)," "*Jenda Kakusa Sensitive na Hatarakikata to Sekatsu no Chowa;* Work and Life Balance from Gender-Sensitive Perspectives—Designing Work Style that Enables Career Development, Family and Community Activities program," (Fiscal years 2008-2012, Nobuko Nagase, principal investigator) and the *Abe Fellowship* (2013-2015). The micro-data use of *Panel*

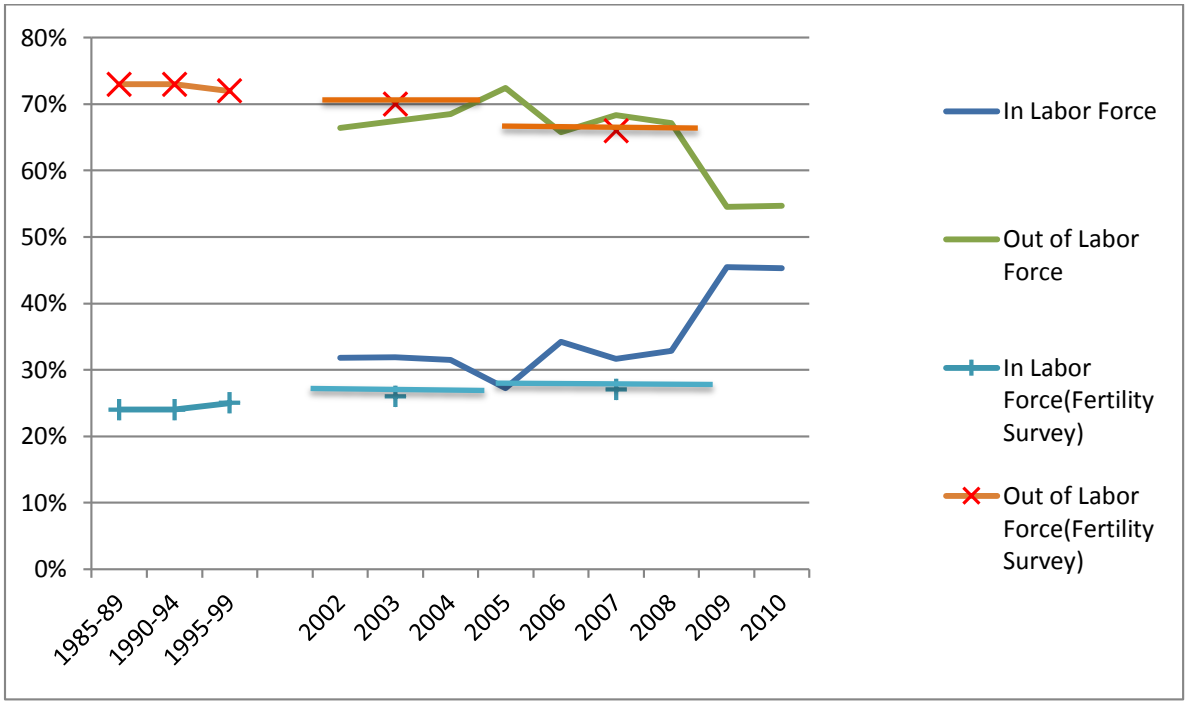
Survey of Adults of 21st Century collected by Ministry of Health Labor and Welfare was made under the due application process and permission required by Japanese Statistics Law.

Figure 1　Decline in Average Number of Children by Cohort



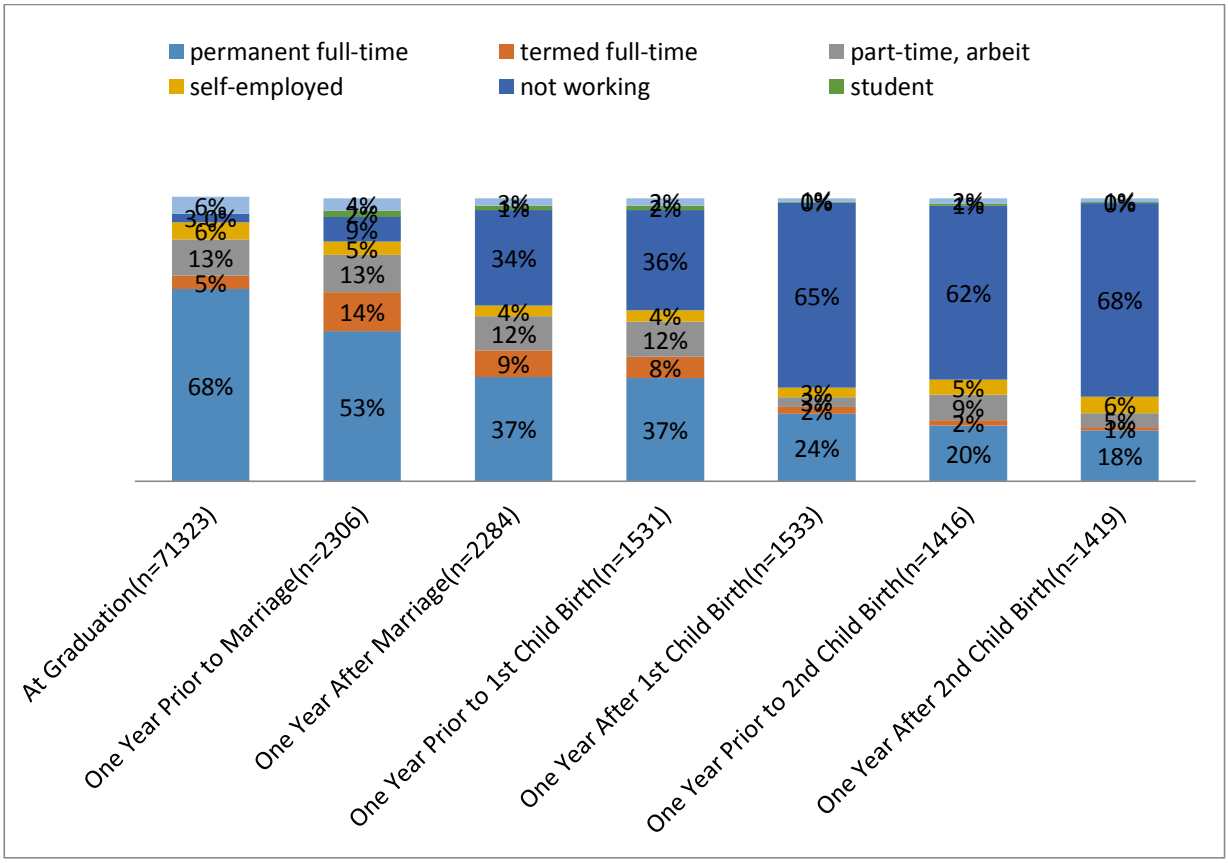
Source: IISPR Statistics on Population

Figure 2 Percentage of Women in the Labor Force When the First Child is Age Zero to One



Source: IISPR *National Fertility Survey* for five-year average for 1985-1989, 1990-94, 1995-99, 2000-2004 and 2005-2009. 2009 until June, as the survey was conducted in June of 2009. The yearly data from 2002 are made by the author using the data of Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare *Millennium Panel Survey of Adults*

Figure 3 Change in Labor Status at Major Life Events



Source: Made by the author using the data of Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare *Millennium Panel Survey of Adults*

For marriage and births that occurred during 2002-2010

Figure 4 Percentage of Women without Any Child

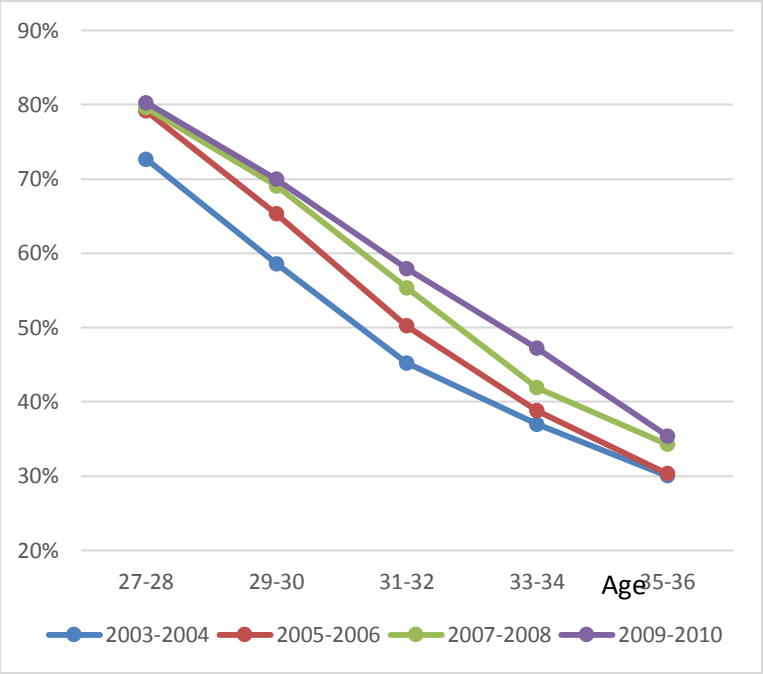
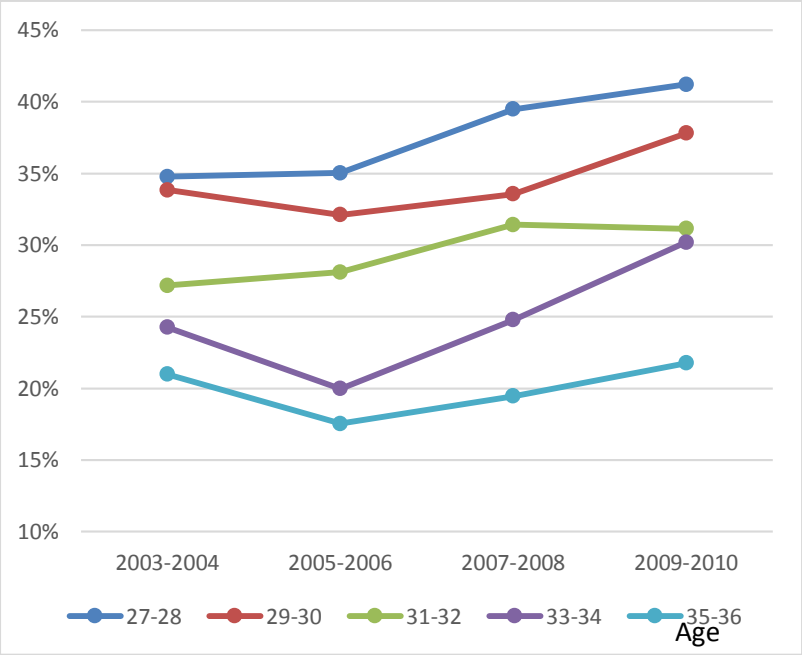


Figure 5 High Intention to Have Child among Childless Women



Source: Made by the author using the data of Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare *Millennium Panel Survey of Adults*

Table 1 The Effect of 2009-2010 Policy on the First-, Second- and the Third-Birth Hazard Using Linear Probability Model

		First Child Birth Working Females		First Child Birth All Working Married Females			Second Childbirth Working Females				Third Childbirth Working Females		
		coefficient	t value	coefficie	t value		coefficie	t value		coefficie	t value	coefficient	t value
20–22	base age over 39	−0.004	−0.15	−0.183	−0.88		−0.284	−1.48		−0.641	−3.59 ***	−0.288	−4.80 ***
23–24		−0.014	−0.56	−0.181	−1.33		−0.179	−1.55		−0.322	−1.91 *	−0.200	−2.33 **
25–26		−0.018	−0.82	−0.044	−0.38		−0.167	−1.78 *		−0.314	−2.35 **	−0.088	−1.65
27–28		−0.017	−0.88	0.100	1.02		−0.052	−0.67		−0.146	−1.33	−0.032	−0.97
29–30		−0.019	−1.10	0.159	1.88	*	0.016	0.26		−0.024	−0.27	0.015	0.64
31–32		−0.009	−0.63	0.204	2.91	***	0.084	1.68		0.064	0.90	0.023	1.25
33–34		0.000	−0.01	0.213	3.93	***	0.094	2.40	***	0.105	1.85 *	0.028	1.96 **
35–36		0.004	0.50	0.191	4.79	***	0.089	3.24	***	0.111	2.75 ***	0.033	3.32 ***
37–38		0.000	0.01	0.090	3.42	***	0.048	2.77	***	0.050	1.92 *	0.016	2.73 ***
2004	base year 2003	0.017	6.33 ***	0.119	6.59	***	0.119	7.23	***	0.161	7.25 ***	0.020	2.94 ***
2005		0.024	6.20 ***	0.148	6.20	***	0.137	6.86	***	0.166	6.07 ***	0.036	4.05 ***
2006		0.028	5.40 ***	0.194	6.55	***	0.128	5.45	***	0.182	5.52 ***	0.037	4.03 ***
2007		0.034	5.02 ***	0.259	6.89	***	0.171	5.83	***	0.215	5.19 ***	0.049	4.33 ***
2008		0.031	3.72 ***	0.300	6.72	***	0.183	5.51	***	0.237	5.01 ***	0.058	4.44 ***
2009		0.034	3.47 ***	0.350	6.76	***	0.191	5.02	***	0.252	4.69 ***	0.074	4.98 ***
2010		0.030	2.64 ***	0.414	7.05	***	0.247	5.82	***	0.329	5.51 ***	0.069	4.51 ***
married		0.153	23.67 ***				0.128	4.12	***	0.086	1.70 *	0.046	3.81 ***
high child intention(t−1)		0.011	2.70 ***	0.062	3.08	***	0.018	0.80		0.049	1.64	−0.009	−0.47
log of husband's domestic work hour(t−1)										0.037	3.70 ***		
firmsive 100& over (t−1)		−0.007	−2.78 ***	−0.029	−1.76	*	−0.012	−0.84		−0.030	−1.35	−0.004	−0.69
firmsize100 & over(t−1)*(2009 to 2010)		0.011	1.95 **	0.057	2.13	**	0.018	1.02		0.024	0.87	0.000	−0.06
below high school (base high school)		−0.005	−0.19	−0.038	−0.59		−0.102	−1.91	*			−0.041	−2.45 **
junior college		0.001	0.03	−0.059	−0.81		−0.044	−1.23		0.021	0.60	−0.019	−1.15
university		0.024	0.67	0.164	1.06		0.054	1.44				−0.030	−1.61
graduate school		0.015	0.38										
constant		−0.021	−0.71	−0.223	−2.05		−0.180	−2.69	***	−0.356	−3.25	−0.064	−2.74 ***
number of obs		32693		6611			5118			3428		8821	
number of groups		7542		2908			1697			1341		2209	
R2	within	0.0980		0.1309			0.0879			0.1258		0.0282	
	between	0.1564		0.0213			0.0248			0.0517		0.0197	
	overall	0.1070		0.0007			0.0010			0.0011		0.0001	

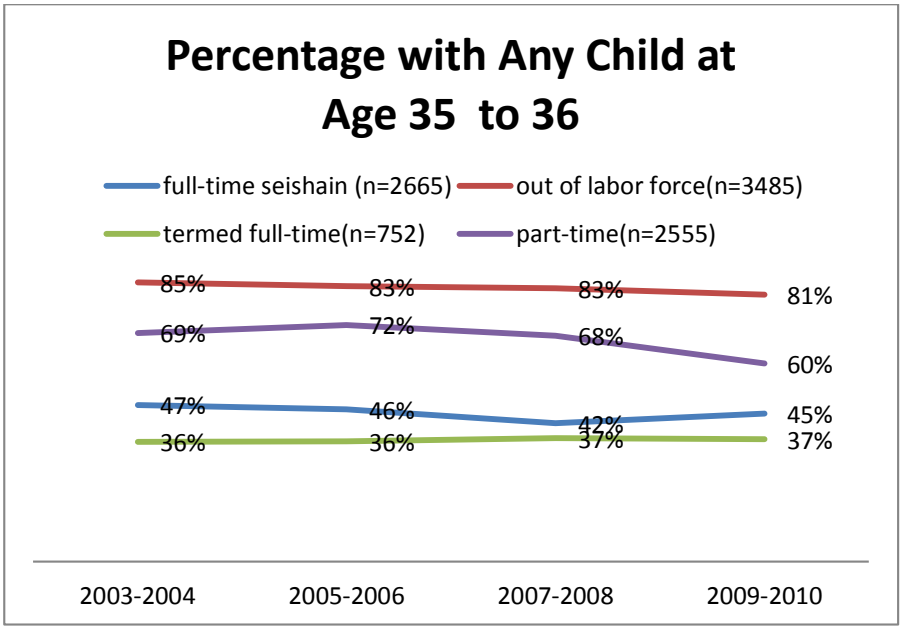
Table 2 The Effect of Action Plan Mandate and Short-Hour Option on First-, Second- and Third-Birth Hazard Using Linear Probability Model

		First Child Birth All Working Females		First Child Birth All Working Married Females		Second Childbirth Working Females		Third Childbirth Working Females	
		coefficient	t value	coefficie	t value	coefficient	t value	coefficient	t value
20–22	base age over 39	−0.004	−0.15	−0.179	−0.85	−0.285	−1.48	−0.288	−4.80 ***
23–24		−0.014	−0.56	−0.183	−1.35	−0.179	−1.55	−0.200	−2.33 **
25–26		−0.019	−0.82	−0.047	−0.41	−0.167	−1.78 *	−0.088	−1.64
27–28		−0.017	−0.88	0.099	1.00	−0.053	−0.68	−0.032	−0.96
29–30		−0.019	−1.10	0.158	1.87 *	0.016	0.25	0.015	0.64
31–32		−0.009	−0.63	0.203	2.90 ***	0.084	1.68 *	0.023	1.25
33–34		0.000	−0.01	0.212	3.92 ***	0.094	2.39 **	0.028	1.95 *
35–36		0.004	0.50	0.192	4.81 ***	0.089	3.25 ***	0.033	3.32 ***
37–38		0.000	0.00	0.089	3.40 ***	0.048	2.78 ***	0.016	2.74 ***
2004	base year 2003	0.017	6.35 ***	0.120	6.64 ***	0.119	7.25 ***	0.020	2.93 ***
2005		0.025	6.08 ***	0.162	6.48 ***	0.137	6.49 ***	0.036	4.01 ***
2006		0.029	5.39 ***	0.208	6.85 ***	0.128	5.21 ***	0.037	3.87 ***
2007		0.035	5.04 ***	0.273	7.15 ***	0.171	5.66 ***	0.049	4.24 ***
2008		0.031	3.77 ***	0.314	6.95 ***	0.183	5.37 ***	0.058	4.37 ***
2009		0.034	3.52 ***	0.361	6.94 ***	0.191	4.93 ***	0.074	4.94 ***
2010		0.030	2.68 ***	0.425	7.21 ***	0.247	5.73 ***	0.069	4.47 ***
marital status dummy		0.153	23.67 ***			0.129	4.12 ***	0.046	3.81 ***
high child intention		0.011	2.71 ***	0.063	3.13 ***	0.018	0.79	−0.009	−0.47
firmsize 300 & over (t−1)		−0.001	−0.23	0.017	0.66	−0.016	−0.71	0.003	0.41
firmsize 300 & over(t−1)*(2005 to 2008)		−0.002	−0.43	−0.037	−1.64	0.002	0.11	0.000	−0.05
firmsize 100 & over (t−1)		−0.006	−1.88 *	−0.024	−1.12	−0.004	−0.26	−0.006	−0.76
firmsize 100 & over(t−1)*(2009 to 2010)		0.010	1.74 *	0.036	1.24	0.020	0.94	−0.001	−0.09
below high school		−0.005	−0.18	−0.040	−0.63	−0.104	−1.90 *	−0.041	−2.46 **
junior college		0.001	0.04	−0.060	−0.83	−0.046	−1.28	−0.019	−1.18
university		0.025	0.67	0.157	1.01	0.050	1.34	−0.031	−1.66
graduate school		0.015	0.38						
constant		−0.021	−0.72	−0.228	−2.10 **	−0.178	−2.66 ***	−0.064	−2.72 ***
number of obs		32693		6611		5118		8821	
number of groups		7542		2908		1697		2209	
R2	within	0.0981		0.1315		0.0881		0.0282	
	between	0.1564		0.0215		0.0256		0.0198	
	overall	0.107		0.0007		0.0009		0.0001	

Table 3 The Effect of Two Policies to Those Who Had Strong Birth Intent in Previous Period in DDD Model

		First Child Birth Working Females		First Child Birth All Working Married Females		Second Childbirth Working Females				Third Childbirth Working Females	
		coefficient	t value	coefficient	t value	coefficier	t value	coefficie	t value	coefficient	t value
20-22	base age over 39	-0.003	-0.12	-0.106	-0.51	-0.232	-1.30	-0.473	-2.56 ***	-0.282	-4.70 ***
23-24		-0.016	-0.62	-0.148	-1.11	-0.139	-1.19	-0.158	-0.93	-0.193	-2.26 **
25-26		-0.021	-0.94	-0.019	-0.17	-0.139	-1.49	-0.235	-1.71 *	-0.081	-1.54
27-28		-0.021	-1.08	0.107	1.10	-0.037	-0.48	-0.073	-0.64	-0.026	-0.81
29-30		-0.023	-1.36	0.154	1.85 *	0.027	0.43	0.045	0.48	0.017	0.77
31-32		-0.014	-0.96	0.191	2.76 ***	0.082	1.66 *	0.105	1.42	0.025	1.37
33-34		-0.004	-0.39	0.197	3.69 ***	0.088	2.28 ***	0.132	2.26 **	0.029	2.02 **
35-36		0.001	0.10	0.176	4.48 ***	0.084	3.09 ***	0.137	3.27 **	0.033	3.34 ***
37-38		-0.002	-0.29	0.078	3.04 ***	0.043	2.53 ***	0.052	1.91 *	0.016	2.66 ***
2004	base year 2003	0.018	6.56 ***	0.126	7.04 ***	0.124	7.54 ***	0.170	7.17 ***	0.021	3.07 ***
2005		0.015	3.66 ***	0.126	4.99 ***	0.125	6.10 ***	0.192	6.17 ***	0.037	4.09 ***
2006		0.020	3.65 ***	0.179	5.89 ***	0.120	5.00 ***	0.198	5.47 ***	0.038	4.01 ***
2007		0.026	3.78 ***	0.247	6.57 ***	0.166	5.61 ***	0.260	5.71 ***	0.050	4.37 ***
2008		0.023	2.72 ***	0.291	6.53 ***	0.182	5.41 ***	0.295	5.69 ***	0.060	4.56 ***
2009		0.020	2.08 **	0.291	5.71 ***	0.166	4.45 ***	0.261	4.60 ***	0.072	4.94 ***
2010		0.017	1.45	0.361	6.23 ***	0.223	5.35 ***	0.345	5.47 ***	0.068	4.49 ***
married		0.151	23.28 ***			0.120	3.80 ***	0.359	6.27 ***	0.044	3.50 ***
strong birth intention		-0.014	-2.41 ***	-0.035	-0.96	-0.073	-1.67 *	-0.045	-0.73	-0.031	-0.92
log of Husband' Domestic Work Hour								0.028	3.02 ***		
firms 300+ (t-1)		-0.001	-0.23	0.035	1.23	0.006	0.26	0.036	1.06	0.003	0.39
strong birth intentin(t-1)*firm 300+(t-1)		-0.002	-0.17	-0.060	-1.13	-0.073	-1.04	-0.098	-1.15	-0.007	-0.14
strong birth intention (t-1)*(2005 to 2008)		0.031	5.58 ***	0.123	3.58 ***	0.103	2.38 **	0.082	1.42	0.018	0.51
firms 300+(t-1)*(2005 to 2008)		-0.001	-0.34	-0.026	-1.08	-0.022	-1.20	-0.045	-1.60	-0.002	-0.21
strong birth intention (t-1)*firms 300+(t-1)*(2005 to 2008)		0.002	0.17	-0.023	-0.41	0.086	1.25	0.081	0.96	0.020	0.35
firms 100+ (t-1)		-0.005	-1.55	-0.020	-0.89	0.003	0.20	-0.002	-0.06	-0.004	-0.65
strong birth intentin(t-1)*firm 100+(t-1)		-0.003	-0.38	-0.014	-0.33	-0.041	-0.75	-0.024	-0.35	-0.015	-0.23
strong birth intention (t-1)*(2009 to 2010)		0.048	4.30 ***	0.257	4.58 ***	0.272	3.90 ***	0.291	3.24 ***	0.174	1.73 *
firms100+(t-1)*(2009 to 2010)		0.010	1.70 *	0.036	1.25	0.003	0.19	0.005	0.15	-0.001	-0.16
strong birth intention (t-1)*firm100+(t-1)*(2009 to 2010)		0.004	0.23	0.015	0.21	0.028	0.30	-0.040	-0.37	-0.067	-0.53
below high school		-0.002	-0.06	-0.013	-0.19	-0.089	-1.90 *			-0.042	-2.42 **
junior college		0.004	0.14	-0.035	-0.47	-0.052	-2.08 **	-0.074	-1.58	-0.016	-0.93
university		0.028	0.75	0.185	1.16	0.022	0.79			-0.026	-1.36
graduate school		0.018	0.46								
constant		-0.012	-0.40	-0.223	-2.07 **	-0.160	-2.45 ***	-0.612	-5.34 ***	-0.065	-2.76 ***
number of obs		32693		6611		5118		3412		8821	
number of groups		7542		2908		1697		1352		2209	
R2	within	0.1008		0.1446		0.1042		0.1432		0.0315	
	between	0.1438		0.0253		0.0468		0.0649		0.0162	
	overall	0.1048		0.0008		0.0001		0.0012		0.0000	

Figure 6 Percentage of Those Who Have Children at Age 35-36, by Work Status



Source: made by the author using Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare *Millennium Panel Survey of Adults*

Table 4 The Effect of Two Policies on the Strong Intent to Have Child

		coefficient	t value	
20-22	base age over 41	-0.001	-0.01	
23-24		0.040	0.87	
25-26		0.070	1.65	*
27-28		0.068	1.76	*
29-30		0.073	2.08	**
31-32		0.068	2.13	**
33-34		0.055	1.90	*
35-36		0.035	1.36	
37-38		0.010	0.47	
39-40		-0.017	-0.97	
2004	base year 2003	-0.005	-1.58	
2005		-0.026	-2.71	***
2006		-0.030	-2.69	***
2007		-0.023	-1.81	*
2008		-0.017	-1.11	
2009		-0.016	-0.89	
2010		-0.043	-2.15	**
firms 300+ (t-1)		-0.014	-1.36	
firms 300+(t-1)*(2005 to 2008)		0.031	2.85	***
firms 100+ (t-1)		-0.002	-0.19	
firms100+(t-1)*(2009 to 2010)		0.040	3.12	***
below high school		0.138	1.76	*
junior college		0.004	0.06	
university		0.083	1.00	
graduate school		0.043	0.36	
constant		0.255	3.85	***
number of obs		32989		
number of groups		7606		
R2	within	0.0049		
	between	0.0003		
	overall	0.0015		

Table 9 Work Continuation as Seishain of First Time Mothers

		coefficient	t value	
high school		0.83292	1.56	
junior collage		0.80415	1.54	
university		0.77302	1.47	
more than university		0.22785	0.32	
20-22	base age over 39	-6.08411	0	
23-24		-0.35512	-0.68	
25-26		-0.19170	-0.42	
27-28		-0.10826	-0.27	
29-30		-0.01439	-0.04	
31-32		-0.10892	-0.29	
33-34		-0.02136	-0.06	
35-36		-0.62399	-1.62	
37-38		-0.54691	-1.34	
2004	base year 2003	0.03052	0.13	
2005		0.68018	2.97	***
2006		0.25504	1.01	
2007		0.52265	2.25	**
2008		0.56986	2.34	**
2009		0.90109	3.15	***
2010		1.01939	3.4	***
worked at over 100 employees(t-1)		0.92285	6.41	***
over 100 employees(t-1)*(2009 or 2010)		-0.19378	-0.65	
value: hope to equally share income maintenance		0.52795	4.05	***
value: hope to equally share child care with husband		0.43244	2.1	**
want child		0.49413	2.63	***
relatively want child		0.62494	3.39	***
constant		-2.30826	-3.38	***

Appendix

Google Search for *"ikuji tanjikan,"* short-hour option

