Residential Locations of Working Women in the Tokyo Metropolitan Area: A Case Study of Office Workers in the Central Business District

NAKAZAWA Takashi
Faculty of Economics, Oita University, Dannoharau, Oita 870–1192, Japan

Abstract: This study examines the characteristics of the residential locations of working women in the Tokyo metropolitan area, based on a questionnaire survey and some interviews. The spatial differentiation of residential location is discerned among groups of working women. In particular, the residential locations of married women in nuclear family households are more concentrated around inner Tokyo than those of married childless women. This is different from the spatial pattern suggested by the life cycle theory. Restrictions of time in women's everyday lives, location of husbands' workplace, and difference in the resignation rate between inner Tokyo dwellers and suburban dwellers are investigated as the factors that cause the residential location differentiation among groups of working women. Single working women are quite mobile in terms of residence and move mainly around inner Tokyo. Some single women purchase their own houses. Although the circumstances thus far do not easily allow single women to buy their own houses, the number of single female owner occupiers is expected to increase.

Key words: Tokyo metropolitan area, working women, residential location, gender, single women

Introduction

Recent studies have commented on the fact that many career-oriented women, both married and unmarried, choose to live in the inner city or gentrified areas (Rose and Villeneuve 1998; Bondi 1991; England 1991; Wakabayashi et al. 2002). Inner city living is regarded as a strategy for working women to maintain work-life balance because inner city areas offer a large labor market for women and supporting facilities such as day nurseries (Green 1995, 1997; Matsunobu 1996). The increase in the number of working women is a driving force for household diversification, thereby urging the reconsideration of previous models in urban geography, in which only male-breadwinner type nuclear families were considered. The purpose of this study is to reveal the characteristics of the residential locations of working women in various types of households in the Tokyo metropolitan area.

Japanese urban geographers have also implicitly or explicitly assumed the nuclear family in their studies. For example, the housing career in metropolitan areas has been explained by the life cycle theory. It states that marriage and child-birth create the desire for a larger living space and stimulate the household to make a residential move (for example, Watanabe 1978). In the model, the nuclear family household is presumed, which comprises a male breadwinner, a female caretaker, and children. In this household, the husband is presumed to be the decision maker of the residential location. Therefore, it is apparent that the findings of this study based on the life cycle model provide little information about the housing careers of diverse types of households, which may include a female worker (Kinoshita et al. 1999).

After World War II, most people married and raised children in nuclear families, and the housing career in Japan was practically well explained by the life cycle model. However, omitting the atypical household such as single household or female-headed household in the previous study is epistemologically inadequate (Burnett 1973; Monk and Hanson 1982; Kageyama 2004).
Recently, single and DINK (Double Income No Kids) households have also been increasing in Japan. Population census of 1980 shows that of women in the age group of 30–34, 3.1% constitute a one-person household and 4.9% are members of a household with a married couple only, which is equivalent to DINK households. The percentage rose to 8.9% and 12.3%, respectively in 2000. Their residential location within metropolitan areas is emerging as a new research topic in geographical studies. Since the latter half of the 1990s, the inner area of the Tokyo metropolitan area, which had been facing depopulation in the period between 1970 and 1995 except for a few years around 1985, has shown an increase in population (Shimizu 2004; Yabe 2003). Under the “Urban Renaissance” policy that is being eagerly promoted by both the national and metropolitan government, neighborhoods in the inner area have been “gentrified” into high-rise residences. Single women and households with working women are the major groups that move to the “gentrified” inner areas (Wakabayashi et al. 2002; Yui et al. 2004). The existing models of urban housing are challenged not only epistemologically, but also practically.

Women who pursue their working careers and who deliberately choose to stay unmarried are certainly increasing in number. If women choosing a career-oriented or single lifestyle can no longer be considered an anomaly, then the existing social structure as well as the urban structure will have to change to suit the emerging lifestyle (Nakazawa 2003). The author aims to describe a few aspects of the lifestyles of working women and to understand the new urban residential structure.

The Characteristics of Working Women in the Study

The analysis in this study is based on a questionnaire survey conducted in March 2001 with the assistance of Rengo Tokyo, a national labor union. The questionnaires were distributed to female union members working in offices located in the central three wards of Chiyoda, Chuo, and Minato. A total of 650 questionnaires were distributed and 271 valid responses were collected.

The questionnaires were distributed to people aged 30 years or older. The author restricted the age of working women because, in Japan, women in their thirties stand at a crossroad: some women marry and some do not, some have children and some do not, some continue working and some find it difficult to continue, and so on. They also begin to think about where they should live in the coming years, whether they should get married or not. The age restriction would enable us to focus the analysis on the diverging point in the life course of working women.

The above three wards are equivalent to the central business district of the Tokyo metropolitan area (Figure 1). The Tokyo metropolitan area comprises Tokyo prefecture and the three prefectures of Saitama, Chiba, and Kanagawa. Within the metropolitan area, the inner area covering the administrative areas of 23 ward of Tokyo prefecture (inner Tokyo) is distinct from

Figure 1. Study area.
the suburban areas. This area had been already well urbanized before World War II and incorporated into the commuter area of the central three wards (Tani 2004).

According to the 2000 Population Census, as many as 526,000 women work as regular employees in the central three wards. This implies that 13% of the regular female employees within the Tokyo metropolitan area are concentrated in only 0.3% of the area. Many of the well-known Japanese companies have their headquarters in this area. The workers in this area are mostly employed in white-collar jobs. The census shows that 58% of the women working in the above three wards are engaged in clerical jobs, and most of the respondents in this study are also clerical staff.

Fifty-eight percent of the women in the study are in their thirties. Of these, 43% are unmarried, 52% are married, and the marital status of the remaining women is unknown. Thirty-three percent of those who are in their forties are unmarried. According to the 2000 Population Census, the percentage of unmarried Japanese women in their thirties is 20% and that of unmarried women in their forties is 7%. The percentage of unmarried women in the study is relatively higher. The educational background of the sample is as follows: 34% are in high school; 12%, in professional school after completing high school; 24%, in a two-year college; 27%, in a university; and 2%, in graduate school.

Sixty-nine percent of the respondents grew up within the Tokyo metropolitan area, in particular, 51% are originally from metropolitan Tokyo. In other words, only few women involved in the study were born outside the Tokyo metropolitan area, and this fact is an indication of gender discrimination. There exists a cultural norm that woman should live with their parents before marriage. Unmarried women who live alone tend to have difficulty finding employment in Japan. According to the white paper on women's labor, 20.8% of companies set a recruitment condition that women should live with their parents. So, unmarried women would leave their parental homes for the first time only after they turned forty. Now, there are no explicit conditions about women's co-residence; however, I think my company hardly accepts female students who live alone. If an unmarried female staff lives apart from her parents, male colleagues tend to consider that she leads an indecent life. People would gossip about single women who begin to live on their own.

In my company, there used to be a recruitment condition that women should live with their parents. So, unmarried women would leave their parental homes for the first time only after they turned forty. Now, there are no explicit conditions about women's co-residence; however, I think my company hardly accepts female students who live alone. If an unmarried female staff lives apart from her parents, male colleagues tend to consider that she leads an indecent life. People would gossip about single women who begin to live on their own.

In general, a candidate's tenure in the company is given importance when making an appointment to a supervisory post in a Japanese company. According to the 2000 Basic Survey on Wage Structure, women in the post of chief of unit or upper grade comprise only 5% of the total female employees aged from 30 to 59 years in companies with over 100 employees. Of the women in the study, 11% are unit heads or work in the upper job grades. The sample in this study includes some career-oriented women.

Marital status and household formations influence women's ability to maintain work-life balance. Both housekeeping and child rearing are still considered women's jobs. For working women, marriage and motherhood can be a hurdle that restricts them from working outside the home, whereas women who live with their parents or their husbands' parents can share their housekeeping duties with them or they can get help in raising their children (Nakazawa and Kamiya 2005). Taking these aspects into consideration, the author classified working women into six groups.

Unmarried women in the study are divided into three groups: those who live with their parents (27%), those who live alone (14%), and single parents (3%). The proportion of these groups reveals that many unmarried women live with their parents even after the age of 30. About one-third of the unmarried women who live alone are owner occupiers, whereas those who live with their parents live in houses owned by their

—597—
Women in the married sample are classified into three groups: those in childless marriages (23%), those who have children and live in nuclear family households (21%), and those living with their own parents or their husbands' parents (8%). Most of the married childless women in the sample are in their thirties (68%), while over half (57%) of the married women with children are over 40 years of age. The law on equal job opportunities for men and women was enforced in 1986; it encouraged women's participation in the workplace, although with limitations. Judging from their age, a section of the married women with children included in the study began working before the enforcement of the law, and continue working on a full-time basis. In this study, 56% of the married childless women, 75% of the married women with children, and 86% of the married women who live with their parents are owner occupiers.

Differences in Residential Locations among the Groups and Associated Factors

Residential location

The residence of each respondent is plotted on the map (Figure 2) and the distances of the residences from Tokyo station are measured in terms of four major groups (Figure 3). In reality, Tokyo station is the center of the Tokyo metropolitan area. The residential locations of the unmarried women who live alone and the married women with children tend to be concentrated in inner Tokyo, whereas those of the unmarried women who live with their parents and the married childless women are relatively dispersed.

Two-thirds (66%) of the unmarried women who live alone reside in inner Tokyo. For them, the proximity to the workplace in the central three wards is a key factor in choosing the lo-

Figure 2. Distributions of locations of residence by the four major groups of working women.
Source: Questionnaire survey.
cation so long as the rent is affordable. The distribution of the residential locations of the unmarried women who live with their parents is more dispersed than that of the unmarried women who live alone. The residential locations of the unmarried women who live with their parents are based on their parents' decisions, not their own and as many as 58% of these women live in inner Tokyo. This implies that those women who have to commute long distances from their parents' houses tend to deliberately leave their parental homes.

Although some of them live in the suburban area, the houses of married women in nuclear family households are mainly located around the center. Sixty-eight percent of them live in inner Tokyo, and 9 out of 56 households live in Minato, one of the central three wards. There are more suburban residents in the group comprising married childless women than in the group of married women in nuclear family households.

Various studies recognize DINK households as a typical gentrifier (Bondi 1991; Butler and Hamnett 1994). Both husband and wife pursue their own occupational careers in DINK household and they enjoy urban amenities, leisure, and consumption (Warde 1991; Gregson and Lowe 1994). Thus, they prefer to live in the inner area of metropolitan area rather than in suburbs. DINK households are defined by their lifestyle rather than by demographic characteristics in previous studies.

Married childless couples in this study is only a demographic category; it may be a transitional status for some couples that may have children and become a nuclear family in due course. They are not equivalent to DINK households of previous studies, which are defined by lifestyle. This is one of the reasons why the married childless women who participated in this study are not typical inner-city dwellers.

The life cycle theory, which is well established as an explanatory concept of housing history or residential location, states that as the family progresses to the next family stage, there is a desire for a larger living space, and households move to the suburban areas where land is cheaper. Based on this theory, the unmarried women who live alone should be located closest to the center, the married women who have children and live in nuclear families should be primarily suburban residents, and married childless couples should live in between. However, the residential distribution of the married women in nuclear families is more concentrated around central Tokyo than that of married childless women.

As mentioned earlier, the life cycle theory presumes an archetypical nuclear family based on the conventional gender division of labor. It is unable to explain the residential locations of women who work in the central business district. In the following part of the paper, the author examines the factors that cause residential location differentiation among the groups of working women. In particular, the author focuses on the

Figure 3. Distance from Tokyo Station (city center) to respondent's house.
Source: Questionnaire survey.
reasons why the married women who have children and live in nuclear families tend to reside in the inner area.

**Factors of Residential Location Differentiation among the Groups**

**Restrictions of time in women's everyday lives**

Figure 4 shows the cumulative percentages of the time at which working women and their husbands leave their offices after work in terms of the four major groups. A comparison of the married and unmarried groups reveals that the latter stay in the office later than the former. Unmarried women are less responsible for housework if they live with their parents. After working hours, 37% of the unmarried women who live alone and 37% of the unmarried women who live with their parents visit places that offer adult educational programs or places where they can pursue their hobbies. Forty-seven percent of the unmarried women who live alone usually buy daily necessaries on their way home, whereas 36% of the unmarried women who live with parents buy daily necessaries on their way home. Those who live alone have to support themselves, whereas some unmarried women who live in their parental homes leave the chores for their parents.

For married women, a part of their commuting time is also spent on housekeeping. Fifty-six percent of the married childless women and 52% of the married women who have children and live in nuclear family households stop to make a purchase on their way home. Some of the married childless women drop in at recreational or other places to spend their free time after work, but this activity cannot be discerned in the diaries of the working women who have children. It is an important duty after business hours for this group of women to pick up their children. Preschool children have to be entrusted to a day care center, except for those who can be looked after by their grandparents or others.

Picking up children is primarily a woman's task in Japan. Although service after regular hours has become a popular option in day care centers, 57% of the nationally authorized day care centers closed before 6 p.m. in 2001. There are only a limited number of day care centers that provide around-the-clock services. There are numerous private day care centers, but these are expensive. Therefore, most of the married women who have children and live in nuclear families leave their offices before 6 p.m.

It is true that Japanese males spend little time on housework. However, Japanese male employees are expected to commit fully to their organization. In Japan, the long hours that one works as well as the tasks that one performs are taken into account at the time of promotion. Employment status survey 2002 revealed that over 20% of Japanese men in the 25–44 years age group work for over 60 hours a week (Figure 5). There-
fore, greater male participation in housework is impracticable, unless the working style in Japanese organizations is entirely changed. Consequently, married women, even in full-time jobs, have to do all the housework.

Living in the inner area is convenient for working women to manage their scarce time. It decreases the time taken for commuting and economizes the time spent on other activities. There are several housekeeping, nursing, and daily food supply services located in the inner area. These are beneficial to working women who have children and render the inner city attractive to such women.

**Location of the Husbands’ Workplace**

The residential locations of married women do not reflect only the women’s individual decisions because the husbands’ preferences have a strong influence on their decision. Even in a dual career household, the location decision tends to depend on the husband’s convenience in commuting (Snaith 1990). All the women in this study work in the central business district of the Tokyo metropolitan area, but their husbands do not necessarily work in that area. Previous studies show that the marriage partner with the higher income takes the initiative in deciding the residential location (Mincer 1978; Singell and Lillydahl 1986). Most husbands in Japanese households earn higher salaries than their wives, and this holds true for the households in this study. Therefore, the author analyses the relationship between the residential location and the location of the husband’s workplace.

The residential locations of those who commute to the central three wards are spread widely across the suburbs of the Tokyo metropolitan area. According to the 2000 Population Census, in many municipalities located more than 30 km from the central Tokyo, over 10% of the workforce commutes to the central three wards. A sizable number of the husbands in this study live in the suburban areas and commute to the central three wards, while the workplaces of 22% of the husbands are located within the suburban area (Figure 6).

Many research and development (R&D) facilities and main factories of manufacturing companies are located in the suburbs of the Tokyo metropolitan area and the workers in these facilities are predominantly male. Studies on office location show that the suburbanization of office location, including R&D facilities, has been in process in the Tokyo metropolitan area since the latter half of the 1980s, backed up by the progress in information technology (Sato 2001; Sato and Arai 2003a, b). Sato and Arai (2003a) revealed that many employees changed their residence near the workplace when office functions are positioned in the suburbs. The fact that some husbands in this study have their workplace in the suburban area can reflect the above mentioned suburbanization of office location.

On average, the married women in this study who live in inner Tokyo spend 41 minutes on commuting daily. This increases to 72 minutes in
the case of the suburban dwellers. The average commuting time of the husbands who live in inner Tokyo is 48 minutes per day and that of the husbands who live in the suburbs is 60 minutes per day. The difference in the husbands’ commuting time is considerably smaller as compared with the difference in the wives’ commuting time. Hence, it is clearly evident that the households in this study chose their residential location by giving greater preference to the husbands’ commuting time.

Commuting from the suburban area to the city center consumes time and makes it difficult for working women to manage both housework and paid work. It is also difficult for married women to find a new full-time job in the suburbs. Therefore, married women who move to suburban areas and want a full-time job have no choice but to continue in their current job despite the long commuting hours.

In the study, working in a suburban workplace is more common in the case of married childless men than in the case of husbands in nuclear families. This is consistent with the fact that the married women in nuclear families reside closer to the city center compared with the married childless women. However, the study was unable to uncover persuasive reasons for why working in suburban workplaces is more common in the case of married childless men. A different logic is required to comprehend this situation.

**Difference in the Rate of Resignation according to Residential Location**

It is reasonable to assume that married women who have children and live in nuclear families have a greater desire to reside in the inner area than married childless women because the existence of children requires tighter time scheduling. However, living with children also leads to a demand for a larger space, and this can be a reason for shifting to a suburban area. But only the difference in restrictions on time is an insufficient explanation for the residential differentiation among the groups of working women. A different type of logic is required to explain why the married women in nuclear family households are more concentrated in the center as compared to the married childless women.

Marriage is the creation of a new household, and in most cases the man or woman moves to a new residence. This creates the need for a larger space than that required by a single person and stimulates the household to move out. If a woman gets married to a man whose workplace is located in the suburban area, the possibility of moving to a suburban area increases. In reality, 13 of the 63 married childless women and 8 of the 56 women who have children and live in nuclear family households moved from inner Tokyo to the suburban area immediately after marriage.

It is obvious that a married mother has crossed the stage of being a childless woman. When she was married and childless, she would commute to the same workplace as before her marriage. When she becomes a mother, the difficulty of maintaining a balance among housework, childcare, and paid work becomes a reality. This difficulty is more severe for the suburban women who commute to the central business district, and they are more likely to retreat from the labor market than those who live in the inner area. Working mothers living in the inner area do confront this difficulty; however, the urban convenience and lesser commuting time are favorable for them to continue their paid work. In other words, the author believes that the selection process works according to the residential location of the working woman.

The sample of the study covers only those women who were employed in full-time jobs during the survey period, and it does not include women who are no longer engaged in paid work. The hypothesized concept of selection requires more studies for its verification.

**Single Women’s Residential Moves and Becoming Owner Occupiers**

Any culture has specific norms about when men and women should leave their parental homes. Japan is different from European and North American countries in that men leave their parental homes earlier than women (Suzuki 1997). This is related to the previously mentioned norm that women should live with their parents before marriage. Presently, this norm has become relatively flexible. The women who earn
as much as coeval men need not expect to live on their partners' incomes. The average number of years that people work before marriage is increasing. Some women value the lifestyle of a single person and choose to live their lives as single people. Subsequently, more women decide to leave their parental homes before marriage (Wakabayashi et al. 2002).

The rise in single households is a common phenomenon in developed countries. Studies on gender and regional differences of the age at which people leave the nest and the analysis of the distribution of one-person households are conducted in various countries (Billari et al. 2001; Mulder and Clark 2000; Holdsworth et al. 2002; Hall et al. 1997).

In Japan, Wakabayashi et al. (2001) and Kinoshita et al. (1999) are typical researches on single female households on the basis of location. They reveal that single women are concentrated in the western part of inner Tokyo, and their residential location depends on income level. In this section, the author focuses on the residential moves of single women, which have rarely been mentioned in the previous studies.

The upsurge in the number of single female households produces a new market for housing. Housing information services for single women have already been commercialized. More single women prefer to be owner occupiers as compared with single men. In metropolitan areas, flats targeted at female owners are a rising housing submarket, and they record excellent sales (Yui 1999, 2003). Thus far, there are a limited number of single women who are owner occupiers. If more women become owner occupiers, the existing urban spatial structure will be forced to change because the residential location decision of single women differs in various aspects from that of nuclear families or single men. Single women becoming owner occupiers is another topic that will be discussed in this section.

In the sample, there are 13 single women who live in their own houses. In the analysis of the condition to be an owner occupier, two cases were omitted because of incomplete information (Table 1). The participants are mainly over 40 years of age and have their origins within the Tokyo metropolitan area. They are not necessarily highly educated or have high income levels. Due to the sample frame, single women in the study are biased toward being employees of large companies and public organizations. This can influence the accessibility of housing loans. In an interview, one single woman who owns a 55 m² room stated the following:

Being an employee of a well-known company or a public service is beneficial when one decides to become an owner occupier. Even if she cannot obtain the expected amount of the loan from the Housing Loan Corporation (public corporation for housing loans), she will obtain favorable responses from private banks.

Private banks consider single women less risky loan customer than male counterparts: single women tend to deposit more than single men who maintain their own cars and spend much money in eating, drinking, and entertainment (Yui 2003).

In deciding the residence, most of them give primary importance to locational factors such as accessibility to public transportation or the environment of the neighborhood. None of the participants mentioned affordability as the most important factor. However, the actual residential lo-
Table 1. Profiles of single women who have their own house

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Experience of divorce</th>
<th>Educational background</th>
<th>Grown up in the Tokyo metropolitan area</th>
<th>Annual income (million yen)</th>
<th>Commuting time (minutes)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>50s</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>high school</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>600–999</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>40s</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>two-year college</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>600–999</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>40s</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>high school</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>600–999</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>40s</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>two-year college</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>600–999</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>40s</td>
<td>university</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
<td>300–599</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>50s</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>two-year college</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>600–999</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>40s</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>two-year college</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>300–599</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>30s</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>professional school</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>300–599</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>30s</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>high school</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>300–599</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>40s</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>high school</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>300–599</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>30s</td>
<td>university</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
<td>600–999</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Questionnaire survey.

Judging from interviews and the responses in the questionnaires, single women decide to purchase houses in order to secure stability in their own lives as they approach middle age. They consider the house as a reliable asset which they can sell or rent out if they are married in the future (Yui 2003). The desire to improve their liv-
ing standard is another major reason to purchase houses. Most of the houses that they bought are apparently large for a single person to live in. After the bursting of the speculative bubble in the early 1990s, the continual fall of land prices enabled them to purchase larger rooms. Another important factor is that the Housing Loan Corporation confined its applicants for financing to owners of houses that have a floor space of over 50 m².

In reality, most of the unmarried women in this study live in rented houses or their parental homes. Is it possible for them to become owner occupiers? The married women who live in rented houses have a strong will to be owner occupiers. Sixty-eight percent of them answered that they plan to purchase a house in the future. Nearly one-fifth (18%) of the unmarried women mentioned that they are also planning to do so; however, 73% of them said, “I don’t know” or “Totally no idea.” These answers do not obfuscate the truth. The women may marry in the future. If so, the thought of being owners of their own houses may not occur to them. With the exception of one woman, none of the unmarried women prefer rented houses as their future residence. Therefore, unmarried women who live in rented houses can purchase their own houses, if they decide to live alone.

Concluding Remarks

In this paper, the author analyzes the residential location of women working in the center of the Tokyo metropolitan area. The results obtained should be interpreted considering the biases in the attributes of the sample, i.e., the questionnaires were distributed through a labor union and most of the participants in the sample were either employees of large companies or public servants. However, this study can function as a pilot study and provide important information about the condition of working women in the Tokyo metropolitan area.

The life cycle theory does not enable us to draw definitive conclusions with regard to the spatial differentiation of residential location discerned in the groups of working women. In particular, it demands an alternative explanation that the residential locations of married women who have children and live in nuclear family households are more concentrated around the city center than those of married childless women.

Some possible causes of this phenomenon were investigated. The first was the difference in the restrictions on time. Marriage increases a woman's housekeeping duties, and childbirth imposes the additional burden of childcare. Living in the inner area is regarded as a strategy for married working women who have children and live in nuclear family households to make better use of their time in order to manage both housework and paid work. The location of their husbands' workplace is another possible cause. The workplaces of childless men are more likely to be located in the suburbs, so they tend to live in the suburban area. However, the author was unable to find a persuasive reason for this fact. Subsequently, another cause is investigated. When a married childless working woman who lives in the suburban area becomes a mother, she fully confronts the difficulty of balancing housework, childcare, and paid work. Working mothers living in the inner area do confront this difficulty; however, urban convenience and the short commuting time are favorable for them to continue their paid work. This remains a hypothesis and needs to be verified in future studies.

This study also includes a preliminary study on the residential activities of single women, who are quite mobile in terms of residence. They move mainly around central Tokyo and short distance moves are predominant. Some single women purchase their own houses. The circumstances thus far do not easily allow single women to buy their own houses. There are still very few single women who would like to live alone in rental houses, and the number of single female owner occupiers is expected to increase.

In this paper, the residential locations of some groups of working women were compared and the differences in their residential location patterns were investigated. However, it is not an intensive study that will unravel each household's dynamic decision-making process with regard to residential location. In particular, the power relations between the husband and wife while choosing the location has to be comprehended.
The survey sample does not include women who have already quit their full-time jobs. To gain further insight on the reciprocal relationship between the residential location decision of households and women's work, it is necessary to conduct studies that also include the data of women in part-time jobs, and not only those of women in paid work.

Acknowledgments

A summary of this paper was presented at the 3rd International Conference of Asia Scholars, Singapore, in August 2003. This study was supported by Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research by JSPS ((B) (1), No. 14380026).

(Received 3 February 2006)
(Accepted 18 July 2006)

References


Shimizu, M. 2004. An analysis of recent migration

(J): written in Japanese
(JE): written in Japanese with English Abstract