

CHILDREN			
Resources	Legal or other provision	Take up rate of provision / feminisation of users	Impact on women's employment / other
Services	<p>Child care</p> <p>- for 0-3 years, with priority given to working parents (conditions vary depending on whether it is the French, German or Flemish-speaking Community)</p>	<p>No data; however, it may be noted that 77.5% of children aged two and a half in the French-/German-speaking Communities and 74.9% in the Flemish-speaking Community are enrolled in pre-school education</p>	<p>This service may be very significant in terms of female employment. The more efficient it is, the more positive the impact on female employment will be. On the other hand, the lack of childcare services may be a considerable obstacle to those women who wish to work. With regard to the situation in Belgium, it is worth pointing out that, for the 0-3 age group, there are on average only 30% of the places required. Furthermore, following the recent cancellation of employers' contributions as a source of funding for child care services, there is a risk of eventual closure of many crèches due to lack of resources.</p>

DISABLED			
Monetary allowances / benefits	<p>Special allowance for disabled children</p> <p>- granted to the parents of a child suffering from a physical or mental disability of at least 66%</p>	23,989 children receive this (not including those whose parents work in the civil service)	This allowance is granted to disabled people without regard to the occupational status of the person(s) on whom the disabled person is dependent
	<p>Income replacement allowance (ARR)</p> <p>- granted to a person whose earning capacity is reduced as a result of a disability of at least 66%</p>	106,270 recipients as of 31/12/96 (Ministry of Social Affairs, Administration of Social Integration, 1996 Annual Report). In 1996, there were 27,733 single AIs, 11,187 single ARRs and 67,350 aggregated ARRs and AIs. These two allowances may be granted singly or aggregated	This allowance is granted to disabled people without regard to the occupational status of the person(s) on whom the disabled person is dependent
	<p>Integration allowance (AI)</p> <p>- granted to a disabled person who, owing to a lack of autonomy, experiences difficulties integrating into social life</p>	106,270 (see above)	This allowance is granted to disabled people without regard to the occupational status of the person(s) on whom the disabled person is dependent
	<p>Attendance allowance</p> <p>- granted to an employee who is the victim of an industrial accident or occupational disease, where the victim's condition requires assistance from a third person</p>		
	<p>Tax reduction for a disabled child</p> <p>- a severely disabled child counts as two dependent persons</p>		Not relevant
	<p>Tax reduction for disabled people</p> <p>- for each dependent family member (except children) who is severely disabled, the taxpayer is entitled to a tax exemption of</p>		Not relevant

<i>ALL / UNSPECIFIED</i>			
Resources	Legal or other provision	Take up rate of provision / feminisation of users	Impact on women's employment / other
Time off work (Paid)	Career break - opportunity for workers to suspend occupational activity or to reduce their work commitment for whatever reason, with the granting of a flat-rate allowance and maintenance of social security entitlements	56,145 (1997), This measure (partial or full) is primarily aimed at women (86% of the total). It is no surprise to note that the proportion of women is even higher with regard to partial career breaks (nearly 88%)	Women very often make use of this measure with a view to taking care of their child(ren). Men often use it as a means of transition to self employment (guaranteed income and possibility of returning to paid employment) or retirement. This measure is not neutral with regard to female employment. Withdrawals from the labour market such as those resulting from a career break are often perceived by employers as denoting a lack of motivation to work. In addition, these temporary withdrawals from the labour market may have consequences with regard to hierarchical segregation (fewer promotion prospects)
	Special career break scheme - employees may suspend their employment contract or reduce their work contribution for one month (with a possible one-month extension) in order to take care of a seriously ill family member. With regard to the procedures (compensation, redundancy protection, etc.). Reference should be made to the general career break scheme. However, there is no obligation to take on a replacement.	Cf. overall figures on career breaks (there is no breakdown of career breaks by motive, which prevents us giving precise figures with regard to this measure)	Given the fact that the compensation for suspending the employment contract is not high, it may be supposed that women will be more likely to opt for this type of measure.
	Special career break scheme: palliative care - assistance for a terminally ill patient. Procedures: see above.	See above	See above
Time off work (Unpaid)	Leave for urgent reasons - may be granted in order to cope with certain events (accident, hospitalisation of a close relative, etc.). Maximum duration: 10 days		Not relevant
Monetary allowances / benefits	Employing a domestic worker - exemption from employer's social security contributions when taking on a domestic employee. These domestic employees may be given responsibility for childcare or for assisting a sick person.	133 in the first quarter of 1997	This employment measure is very little used. The main aim is to combat undeclared work.

Source: European Commission (1998), *Care in Europe. Joint report of the "Gender and Employment" and the "Gender and Law" Groups of Experts*, Directorate General V, Bruxelles, pp. 54-56.

Determinants of Non-Formation of Partnership: A French-Japanese Comparison

(パートナーシップの未形成の規定要因 — 仏日比較 —)

フランス国立人口研究所 ジャン・ルイ ラリュ
国立社会保障・人口問題研究所 小島 宏

本研究では日仏両国のサンプル調査の個票データに基づいて出生力低下の背景を成す恋愛・同棲・婚姻（パートナーシップ）の規定要因の比較分析を行った。日本については1992年の「出生動向基本調査」、フランスについては1994年の「家族・雇用調査」を用いたが、両国のデータの各変数について比較可能性を検討し、日本のものと比較できそうなフランスの変数についてはできるだけ比較可能になるように加工し、多項ロジット・モデルによるパートナーシップの状態に関する分析と、比例ハザード・モデルによる婚姻・同棲（ユニオン）の形成タイミングに関する分析を行った。日本ではいわゆる「パラサイト・シングル」が注目されていることもあるし、理論的に親との同居がパートナーとの同居と競合する可能性も考えられるため、欧米の分析ではあまり分析対象とならない未婚時の居住形態（親との同居）の影響も検討することにした。

従属変数の一つとしてのパートナーシップ（恋愛・同棲・婚姻）の状態を日本については「異性の友人なし」、「異性の友人あり」、「恋人・婚約者あり」、「有配偶」に4区分し、フランスについては「未婚・パートナーなし」、「未婚・パートナーあり」、「同棲中」、「有配偶」に4区分した。最初のユニオン（同棲はフランスのみ）のタイミングについては比例ハザード・モデルによる分析が可能であるので、その開始年齢を従属変数とする分析を行ったが、それ以外のパートナーシップ状態についてはそれらの内部が異質である可能性があるし、細かい情報が得られないため、タイミングの分析を行わなかった。男女において独立変数の影響が異なる可能性が強いことが過去の研究から予想されるため、それぞれの手法による比較分析は男女別に行った。また、分析対象の年齢を21～34歳に限定した。両国に共通な独立変数は年齢、親との同居、教育水準、就業状態・職業、都市・農村・首都居住といった基本的な属性に絞った。なお、日本でもこの年齢範囲で同棲中の男女が数パーセントいると思われるが、一部は届け出なしの夫婦として夫婦調査の対象となっている可能性があるし、一部は独身者として独身者調査の対象となっている可能性があるが、同棲者を区別できるような情報がないため、同棲に関する分析はできない。

まず、クロス集計の結果をみると、フランスと比べて日本では男女いずれの年齢階級においてもパートナーがいない者の割合が低い。しかし、30～34歳を除き、日本の方がユニオンの状態にいる者の割合が低い。次に、パートナーシップの状態に関する多項ロジット分析の結果をみると、両国の男女いずれにおいても年齢が大きな影響をもち、年齢が高くなるにつれて「有配偶」のオッズが上昇し、他の状態のオッズが低下する。未婚時の親との同居は日本において男子の「有配偶」のオッズを低める一方で「恋人・婚約者あり」のオッズを高めるが、女子の「有配偶」のオッズを高める。フランスでは男子において「パートナーなし」のオッズを低めるが、女子では「有配偶」のオッズを高める。高学歴は日本の男女いずれにおいても「有配偶」のオッズも低めるが、フランスでは女子のみにおいて有意である。低学歴は日本の男女の「有配偶」のオッズを高めるが、フランスでは男子のみにおいて有意である。自営業従事は日本の男女いずれにおいても「有配偶」のオッズを低め、男子のみについて情報が利用可能なフランスでも男子のユニオンの状態にいるオッズを低める。都市居住は日本の男女の「有配偶」のオッズを高めるが、首都居住は女子におけるオッズを低める。しかし、フランスでは有意な効果がみられない。

さらに、最初のユニオン形成のタイミングに関する比例ハザード分析の結果をみると、日本では男女いずれにおいても未婚時の親との同居が婚姻のハザードに対して有意な効果をもたないが、フランスでは男女いずれにおいてもユニオン形成のハザードに正の効果をもつ。多項ロジット分析の結果と同様、日本の男女いずれにおいても高学歴はユニオン形成のハザードを低めるが、低学歴は高める。しかし、フランスでは女子においてのみ初婚ハザードに対する高学歴の有意な負の影響がみられが、低学歴は同様に男女のユニオン形成のハザードに対して正の効果をもつ。就業状態・職業についてみると、日本では男女いずれにおいても自営業従事と不安定就業が初婚ハザードを低下させ、男子においては専門管理職従事と現業労働従事も初婚ハザードを低下させる。フランスの男子では日本とは逆に専門管理職従事がユニオン形成のハザードを上昇させるが、「非就業等」が初婚のハザードを低下させる。フランスの女子では「非就業等」が初婚ハザードを上昇させるが、フランスの場合はこの変数が調査時点での属性を表すため、逆の因果関係を示している可能性もある。最後に居住地であるが、日本の男女では都市居住の場合に初婚ハザードが高いが、女子では首都（東京都）居住の場合に初婚ハザードが低い。フランスの男子の場合も都市居住の場合にはユニオン形成のハザードが高い。結局、パートナーシップの状態ないしユニオンの形成に対して有意な影響を及ぼす変数のなかには、日仏両国で影響の方向が同じものもあれば逆のものもあることが見いだされた。

Determinants of Non-Formation of Partnership:
A French-Japanese Comparison.

Jean Louis RALLU (INED), Hiroshi KOJIMA (NIPSS)

Institut National d'Etudes Démographiques,
133 Bd Davout, 75980 Paris Cedex 20.
National Institute of Population and Social Security Research,
Ministry of Health and Welfare,
1-2-3 Kasumigaseki, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo 100, Japon.

INTRODUCTION

Recent changes in living arrangements at young adult ages : longer coresidence with parents and increase in one-person households, have been seen as a threat to family formation leading to low levels of fertility and rapid aging in developed countries. Causes of non-formation of partnership need to be analysed to understand recent trends in union formation. We previously studied the trends in fertility in France and Japan (Kojima, Rallu, 1998) and realized the necessity to compare nuptiality patterns at the individual level in the two countries with very different types of union formation and different advancements in the process of non-formation of unions.

DATA AND METHODS

This study has used the data from the French FFS (1994) and of the 10th Japanese NFS (National Fertility Survey – sample size around 8000) conducted by the Institute of Population Problems (currently, the National Institute of Population and Social Security Research) in 1992. The analysis has been limited to respondents aged 21-34 in both surveys, i.e. lower age limit in FFS data and because most marriages

occur before mid-thirties and there might be misreporting of marital status due to the stigma attached to singlehood in late 30s for Japanese women. A 4-category partnership status variable has been constructed 1) « has no partner », 2) « has an intimate friend » ('relation amoureuse stable' (France) or 'has friend(s) of the opposite sex' (Japan), 3) « cohabitant » (France) or « has a lover/fiancé » (Japan), and 4) « currently married ». In France, cohabitants include 6% persons who declared to live « in couple » but are not residing together and persons having a friend include 2% persons who declared a date of beginning of current union as 'couple life'. Cohabitants can be included in both « single » and « married » persons in the Japanese data because 1% of single males and females reported to be in cohabitation and because the married couples include those married consensually, which are small numbers. We do not mean to say that partnership categories are always comparable between the two countries. Even the meaning of being married might be different between France with a high prevalence of cohabitation and Japan with a low prevalence. However, each categorization of partnership status seems appropriate for each country. Independent variables : education, labour force status-occupation and residence have been made as similar as possible in French and Japanese data (Table 1).

The multinomial logit (logistic regression) and proportional hazards (Cox regression) models have been applied to French and Japanese data sets. For ease of computation and interpretation, only categorical variables in dummy coding have been used for independent variables. We have also conducted multinomial logit analysis for living arrangements in which « living alone », « living with parents before union » and « living with a partner (in cohabitation or marriage) » are distinguished because living with parents is hypothesized to compete with living with a partner in some cases.

In the proportional hazards analysis of first union formation, we have analyzed the timing (age) of first cohabitation or first marriage without cohabitation for France and first marriage for Japan. For France we have also analyzed the determinants of first marriage either with or without previous cohabitation. For the proportional hazards analysis of Japanese data only never-married and first-married subjects are used because the information on the timing of first marriage is not available for other kind of marital status.

RESULTS

Partnership status at the time of survey (Figure 1) shows that Japanese are less frequently alone (no partner) than French at all ages and for both sexes. They are also less frequently with a friend, except for males aged 30-34. Married persons are more frequent in Japan than in France. However, total persons in union (married or cohabitants) are more frequent in France, except at ages 30-34. Japanese with a lover or a fiancé actually represent the category where cohabitation is beginning. If social norms were different, cohabitation would certainly be much more important and the proportions married would be lower in Japan. It is noticeable that the proportions « having no partner » among this category plus « having a friend » are rather similar in both countries, except for females aged 25-29 where Japanese are more often without partner and among males aged 30-34 where French are more often alone.

(1) Multinomial Logit Analysis of Partnership Status

Table 2 shows the results of multinomial logit analysis for determinants of partnership status. Each column presents the effects of independent variables on the odds of « having no partner », « having a stable partner without cohabitation » and

« being cohabitant » relative to « being married ». Among French men, age as a whole has a negative effect on « having no partner », « having a stable partner without cohabitation » and « cohabitant » in relation to « being married » and the effect becomes larger as they get older. This means that unmarried men including cohabitants are increasingly more likely to get married as they age, which is as expected. Coresidence with parents before union has a significant and negative effect only on « having no partner » relative to « being married », which may mean that living with parents before union encourages French men to have a marriage partner but not an unmarried partner with or without cohabitation. This may suggest that living with parents competes only with living with an unmarried partner.

Among educational levels over 2-year university education does not have any significant effect on partnership status among French men, but 2-year university education has a significant and positive effect on « having a stable partner without cohabitation » presumably because those with 2-year education have chances to meet a partner at university but possibly because they have financial difficulty to cohabit or marry - actually most of them were still students. French men with technical college education or with the lowest education are generally more likely to be married possibly because of their orientation towards traditional family life.

Among occupational groups (note that LF status-occupation is the situation at time of survey in French data and therefore subject to the reverse causation), the self-employed French men are more likely to have a stable partner without cohabitation and less likely to cohabit. Perhaps, this reflects their traditional life style of proceeding to a stable relationship and then to marriage without going through cohabitation. French men in professional and managerial occupations are less likely to have no partner in relation to being married. In other words, they are more likely to be married relative to

having no partner possibly because of their attractiveness as marriage partners. French men in part-time employment are more likely to have a stable partner without cohabitation. Unemployed French men are more likely to have no partner and to have a stable partner without cohabitation, which may reflect their difficulty to have a partner and to cohabit or marry if they have one, probably due to their lack of financial resources, which also applies to men in part time employment. Regional variables do not have any significant effects on partnership status among French men.

Although the results are not presented in the form of table here, a model using LF status (stable, unstable employment and unemployed) before first union : either cohabitation or marriage, shows rather similar results as the model presented above, but men in unstable employment or unemployed are more likely to have no partner or a stable partner without cohabitation (effects are above 1.0 and significant at 1 p.1000 and 1 percent levels respectively for unstable employment and unemployed) ; they are also more likely cohabitant (effect of 0.7 significant at 5 percent level). This means that they are less likely to being married. In the latter model, men with highest education are less likely to have no partner and those living in Paris are more likely to be cohabitant, with significant effects at levels of respectively 10 percent and 5 percent. We have also conducted the multinomial logit analysis of living arrangements. The results show that self-employed and unemployed French men are highly likely to live with parents in relation to living with a (unmarried or married) partner. Therefore, these French men are considered to be more likely to have a stable partner without cohabitation because they face competition for living with a partner from living with parents.

For French women (Table 2, col. 4,5,6), as among French men, age as a whole has negative effects on all non-married status in relation to « being married » and the effects become larger as they get older. This also means that unmarried women

including cohabitants are increasingly more likely to get married as they age. Coresidence with parents has negative effects on all the three unmarried partnership status, which means that French women living with parents are more likely to marry in relation to staying unmarried whatever the partnership status may be. This may suggest the existence of parental control over the partnership formation of French women living with parents.

Among educational levels, over 2-year university education has weakly significant and positive effects on « having a stable partner without cohabitation » and « cohabitant ». Perhaps, some of the relationship and /or cohabitation with the partner continue from their school days. French women with technical college education are less likely to have a stable partner in relation to being married. These women may quickly proceed to marriage once they find a suitable partner. It may be the same for French women in blue-collar occupation because they are also less likely to have a stable partner without cohabitation. Although the table is not presented here, French women in blue-collar occupation are less likely to live with parents relative to living with a (unmarried or married) partner. This may also suggest that these French women face less competition for living with a married partner from living with parents.

French women in part-time employment are weakly less likely to be cohabitant in relation to being married, which reflects the opposite causal relationship between work and marriage (i.e., married women are more likely to work part-time than cohabitant women). Similarly, the strong negative effect of French women's unemployment on cohabitation mainly reflects the opposite causal relationship (i.e., married women are more likely to be unemployed due to children, change of residence, etc.). – When LF status before union is used, part time employment has similar effects as for males, but unemployment still retains a slightly negative effect (-0.4 significant at

5 percent level) on cohabitation, meaning that unemployed women tend to marry more than employed ones. - Regional variables do not have any significant effects among French women, either.

The seventh to twelfth columns of Table 2 show the results for Japanese men and women. As among French men, age as a whole has negative effects on each unmarried partnership status relative to « being married » and the effect becomes larger as they age. Coresidence with parents before marriage has a positive effect on « having no partner » and a negative effect on « having a lover or a fiancée ». This suggests that Japanese men living with parents are less likely to form an intimate partnership except marriage.

Like French men with the lowest education, Japanese men with junior highschool (lowest) education are less likely to be unmarried as a whole or, alternatively, more likely to be married. They are particularly less likely to have friends of the opposite sex, which may suggest that they have less chances to meet single women, less skills to communicate with single women or lower desirability as a casual partner for single women and that they tend to immediately go into marriage once they meet a suitable woman presumably through introduction because of their orientation towards traditional family life. On the other hand, Japanese men having graduated from technical schools after senior highschool are more likely to be unmarried as a whole. This may suggest that they need more time to build up their professional career before going into marriage with an unmarried partner which they tend to have. Junior (2-year) college education does not have any significant effects possibly because of small number of cases among Japanese men. Japanese men with (4-year) university education are more likely to be unmarried as a whole like technical school graduates partly for the same reasons. This may be also caused by their less traditional family attitude and less

parental pressure for marriage which are related to the fact that they are highly likely to live alone relative to living with a married partner, as found in the analysis of living arrangements.

Among occupational groups (occupation before marriage for married persons and current occupation for unmarried persons) the self-employed Japanese men are more likely to have friends of the opposite sex in relation to being married. This may be related to their higher probability to be unmarried and to live with parents relative to living with a married partner, which is found in the analysis of living arrangements. Japanese men in professional and managerial occupations and blue-collar occupations as well as those in part-time employment or without employment are more likely to be unmarried as a whole and less likely to be married. Japanese men in professional and managerial occupations are more likely to live alone and they may have less traditional family attitude and less parental pressure for marriage. On the other hand, Japanese men in blue-collar occupation may have less chances to meet single women. Japanese men in part-time employment or without employment are highly unlikely to be married probably because of their lack of financial resources to marry, which is similar to the situation of French men.

Among regional variables living in Tokyo (currently for the unmarried and premaritally for the married) has no significant effect on the unmarried partnership status among Japanese men. But living in other urban areas has negative effect on being unmarried as a whole, which may suggest the existence of marriage squeeze in rural area.

For Japanese women (Table 2, col. 10,11,12), as among men as well as French women, age as a whole has increasingly negative effects on each unmarried partnership status relative to « being married ». As among French women, coresidence with parents

before marriage also has a negative effect on each unmarried partnership status relative to « being married » although its negative effect on « having no partner » is barely non-significant. This encouragement of marriage as a whole suggests that Japanese women living with parents face more parental pressure to marry.

Like French and Japanese men with the lowest education, Japanese women with junior highschool education are less likely to be unmarried as a whole or, alternatively, more likely to be married although its negative effect on « having no partner » is not significant and they may tend to immediately go into marriage once they meet a suitable men presumably through introduction because of their orientation towards traditional family life. On the other hand, Japanese women having graduated from technical schools, (2-year) junior college and 4-year university are more likely to be unmarried as a whole, which is similar to Japanese men with 4-year university or technical college education. This may suggest that they need more time to build up their professional career before going into marriage. This may be also caused by their less traditional family attitude and less parental pressure for marriage which are related to the fact that they are more likely to live alone relative to living with a married partner, as found in the analysis of living arrangements.

Among occupational groups the self-employed Japanese women are more likely to have no partner and to have a lover or a fiancé relative to being married. This may be related to their higher probability to live with parents before marriage relative to living with a married partner, as regards living arrangements. Japanese women in blue-collar occupation are less likely to have a lover or a fiancé perhaps because they may have less chances to meet single men. Japanese women in part-time employment or without employment are unlikely to be married probably because of their lack of financial

resources to marry, which is similar to the situation of French and Japanese men, as well as French women in part time employment.

Among regional variables living in Tokyo has positive effect on having no partner and having a lover or a fiancé relative to being married, which suggests that they are less likely to be married as a whole. Among Japanese women as among Japanese men, living in other urban areas than Tokyo has negative effect on being unmarried as a whole, suggesting the existence of marriage squeeze in rural area.

(2) Proportional Hazards Analysis of Age at First Union Formation

The first column of Table 3 presents the results of proportional hazards analysis for determinants of age at first cohabitation or first marriage without cohabitation among French men, the second column shows the results for determinants of age at first marriage either with or without previous cohabitation and the third column presents the results for first marriage without previous cohabitation. Coresidence with parents before union has a weakly positive effect on the hazards to have a first union, which suggests that living with parents encourages French men to start either cohabitation or marriage. But the second column showing a non-significant effect of coresidence on first marriage and the third column showing a weakly positive effect suggest that coresidence with parents encourages first marriage without cohabitation.

French men with the lowest education have significantly higher hazards to have a first union, presumably a first cohabitation followed or not by marriage as suggested by the non-significant effects in the third column ; in other words, they are less likely to go into direct marriage. French men in professional and managerial occupations also have significantly higher hazards to have a first union, but it is presumably a first cohabitation without marriage as suggested by the non-significant effects in the second

and the third columns. – A model using LF status before union shows that men in part time or without employment are less likely to have a first marriage (after or without cohabitation), and the latter are even less likely to be cohabitant or married. - French men living in urban areas other than Paris have higher hazards to have a first union, perhaps first cohabitation without marriage rather than first marriage.

As for women (Table 3, col. 4,5,6), coresidence with parents before union has highly positive effect on the hazards of first union and a positive effect on first marriage as a whole, particularly first marriage without previous cohabitation, which suggests that living with parents encourages French women to marry without cohabitation. These results are similar to those for French men perhaps because French young adults are subject to higher parental pressure to marry without going through cohabitation when they live with parents.

French women with the lowest education have significantly higher hazards to have a first union, particularly a first marriage without cohabitation as suggested by the sixth column. The sixth column also shows that French women with technical college education have somewhat higher hazards to have a first marriage without cohabitation. On the other hand, women with the highest education have somewhat lower hazards to have a first marriage as shown by the fifth column, which may reflect the opposite orientation or their investment of time and efforts to build up their career before marriage. The fifth column also shows that unemployed French women have higher hazards to have a first marriage, which actually reflect the causation in the opposite direction from marriage to work. - When using LF status before union, women in part time employment are less likely to marry, like for men, however, unemployed women are more likely to be cohabitant or married (0.13 significant at 5 percent level), but not

significantly for being married with or without previous cohabitation. - The regional variables do not have any significant effects among French women.

In contrast to the French results, coresidence with parents before marriage does not have any significant effect on the hazards to have a first marriage among Japanese men and women (Table 3, col. 7,8). However, the previous analysis of the same data set with a larger model by Kojima (1994 :100) shows that it has a positive effect on the hazards to have a first marriage among Japanese women aged 18-34. Therefore, the similar effect of coresidence may appear at least among Japanese women in a more elaborate model.

Japanese men and women with the lowest education have higher hazards to have a first marriage while those with post-secondary education (technical schools and 2-year and 4-year college) have lower hazards, except for men with 2-year college education without statistical significance. Therefore, education as a whole has a negative effect on union formation among both men and women in Japan, which is somewhat different from the results for France.

Japanese men with all the occupational categories have significant and lower hazards to have a first marriage (for different reasons for higher and lower occupations), which means that those in clerical and sales occupation (reference category) have higher hazards because of their greater chances to meet single women or higher desirability as a prospective marriage partner. Among Japanese women only those in self-employment and those in part-time employment or unemployment have lower hazards to have a first marriage. Living in Tokyo does not have a significant effect among Japanese men but a significant and negative effect on the hazards to have a first marriage among Japanese women, suggesting the difficulty for unmarried women to marry in Tokyo. On the other hand, living in urban areas other than Tokyo has positive effects on hazards to have a

first marriage among both men and women, again suggesting marriage squeeze in rural areas.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The results presented above exhibited the differences and the similarities between the two countries. Although the effect of coresidence with parents as a family demographic variable has been less often analyzed for the West, it has turned out to encourage marriage for French women ; for Japanese women, proportional hazards analysis does not show significant effect of coresidence with parents on marriage in this study but other models have shown such effect (Kojima 1994). The effects of education also seem to be similar in the sense that higher one tends to encourage less « traditional » partnership behavior. Similarly, persons in professional and managerial occupation tend to have more « modern » partnership behaviors while the self-employed young adults in the two countries tend to have more « traditional » ones. Unstable employment and unemployment seem to restrict partnership behavior in the two countries. Regional variable do not always have clear effects on partnership behaviors, but they seem to constrain them in some cases possibly through marriage squeeze.

In both countries, marriage is in competition with other forms of union with or without cohabitation. In Japan, proportions of women aged 25-29 having a partner but not cohabiting (Iwasawa, 2000) have steadily increased from 7% in 1982 to 11 % in 1987 and 17% in 1992. At ages 30-34, increase is from 2% in 1982 to 5% in 1992. Moreover, proportions of women aged 30-34 without an intimate friend also increased from 9% in 1982 to 15% in 1992. In France, proportions of women having a friend and not cohabiting are not negligible with 13% at ages 25-29 and 6% at 30-34, but trends are

unknown. Whenever proportions of non cohabiting couples are still low with 6% of cohabitants or less than 1% of females aged 20-49 (Toulemon 1996), 12% of first unions started that way for women born 1960-1964 and 1965-1969, but it has increased to 17% for cohorts 1970-1974 (for men figures are resp. 17% and 21%).

However, it may not be just ideology or culture that differentiate the partnership behaviors within and between the two countries (Iwasawa, 2000), but it may be structural constraints (Ekert-Jaffé et Solaz, 1998). Demographic and financial constraints seem to exert strong structural effects on the partnership behavior of both « traditional » and « modern » young adults in the two countries and the seemingly different partnership behaviors may be different representations of their limited choice or adaptive strategy under somewhat different constraints.

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ABSTRACT

Besides cohabitation, new forms of union without common residence : friends, lover, fiancé, not cohabiting couples, are (re)appearing as revealed by FFS. These types of union are more common in Japan than in countries with high cohabitation. However, France also has sizeable numbers of unions without cohabitation. Determinants of these various types of unions and of the non formation of unions are social and cultural (coresidence with parents) as well as related to socio-economic status (education, LF participation, occupation) of men and women on the marriage market. Thus, trends in economic situation, specially unemployment and precariousness, have important effects on union formation.

Table 1 : Definition and frequency distribution of independent variables used in multinomial logit analysis and proportional hazards. France and Japan

		France		Japan	
		Males	Females	Males	Females
Union st.	Alone	34.3	24.1	25.9	15.9
	Having friend	14.4	14.0	11.0	8.3
	Cohab./Lover-f.	21.6	22.1	17.6	16.9
	Married	29.7	39.8	45.4	58.9
Age	21-22	12.1	12.4	15.2	14.2
	23-24	16.1	17.0	13.8	14.3
	25-26	15.0	12.9	12.3	13.3
	27-28	13.2	14.9	13.9	14.8
	29-30	15.5	14.9	14.2	13.7
	31-32	13.7	13.1	15.4	14.6
	33-34	14.4	14.8	15.2	15.1
	Coresidence w. parents *	60.8	62.3	60.8	76.8
Education	Univ. > 2 years	10.3	10.8	(1) 39.2	12.8
	Univ. 1-2 years	2.9	2.7	(2) 4.3	23.6
	Tech. soc. dipl.	8.6	11.8	(3) 9.0	12.6
	Bac. gen./tech.	18.8	21.7	(4) 41.6	46.7
	<= 2ary 1 st cycle	59.5	53.1	5.9	4.3
LF st - occ.	Agri. craft. trades	3.6	0.8	(5) 5.9	1.6
	Manag., prof.	5.7	4.6	26.9	20.3
	Clerical, serv. w.	16.4	30.4	37.6	59.7
	Production w.	30.7	5.6	18.3	5.8
	Part time	12.9	16.6	(6) 11.3	12.6
	Not LF	30.7	42.2		
Residence	Rural	3.6	2.8	4.8	4.6
	Urban	73.5	76.7	84.4	83.9
	Paris/Tokyo	22.8	20.5	10.8	11.5

* at time of survey or until union if any.

(1) university 4 years, (2) junior college, (3) technical sch., (4) junior high sch., (5) self empl., (6) unstable employment.

Due to small numbers 'part-time' and 'not working/not LF' have been included in the same 'unstable employment' group for Japan.