

## 要 約

日本はジェンダー平等な社会の実現に対して、前進と後退を繰り返している。1985年に成立した男女雇用機会均等法をはじめ、男女平等な社会を実現するための法制度自体は徐々に整ってきている。1999年に施行された男女共同参画社会基本法は、職場のみならず家庭や地域社会においても、「男は仕事、女は家庭」という固定的な性別役割分業を解きほぐし、性別にかかわらず個人個人を尊重する社会の実現を目指すものである。そして、一見、女性の社会進出が進む一方、男性の家庭進出も進み始めているかのように見える。しかしながら、現実には、世界経済フォーラムによる男女平等指数を見れば、日本は142カ国中104位(2014)である。2013年の105位より順位を一つ上げたとは言え、まだまだかなり低い。98位(2011)、101位(2012)と続いていた後退に、ようやく歯止めがかかったに過ぎない。一向に順位が上がらない主な原因として挙げられているのが、依然として変化することのない性別役割分業観である。

固定的な性別役割分業観と密接に結びついているのが、日本の結婚のあり方である。夫は「稼ぎ手」「養う者」であり、妻は「家庭の守り手」「養われる者」というロールモデルはいまだに強固である。いまや結婚は絶対にせねばならないものではなく、人生の選択肢の一つでしかない。それにもかかわらず、結婚制度自体は変わることなく、また性別役割分業にも変化はない。出産後に就業継続する女性は増えていないし、夫の家事・育児参加も進んでいない。少なくとも育児期においては、固定的な性別役割分業を行っている夫婦は圧倒的に多数である。要するに、「夫は仕事、妻は家庭」という従来夫婦のあり方は、ほとんど揺らいでいないのである。

このような背景を踏まえ、本研究では女性たちが何を求めて結婚するのか、結婚から得られたものは何か、性別役割分業についてはどのように考えているのか、さらには夫婦の対等性というものをどのように捉えているのかを探った。従来結婚のあり方が根強く維持されている要因の一つとして、女性たちからの支持があると推測されるため、固定的な役割分業観に基づく結婚が維持されていく要因をその語りの中から見出していくことを目的として、本研究では既婚女性を対象にインタビュー調査を行った。調査にあたっては、既婚女性40名を対象に、機縁法による半構造化インタビュー法を用い、結婚の経緯について／結婚前の理想と結婚後の現実／結婚して良かったことと我慢していること／対等な夫婦関係について、の各項目を軸に聞いていった。調査対象としてはある程度の婚姻年数を経ていることが必要と考え、年齢は30歳前後から60代までとした。また、本調査では、都市部と地方の結婚観に差はあるのか、あるとしたらそれはどのようなものなのかを探るため、東京と九州地方(北九州市・熊本市)に協力者を募った。九州地方を選択した理由は、一般に九州はジェンダー規範意識、男尊女卑意識が根強いとされていること、また、他地域に比べて九州地方には多くの結婚情報誌が発行されていることから、「結婚に積極的な土地柄」であると

仮定したからである。内訳は、東京都 14 名、熊本市近辺 12 名、北九州市近辺 14 名となっている。

調査結果の分析は以下の通りである。まず、女性たちの結婚前の理想であるが、この点については、調査者が当初想定した程の明確な意識は見られなかった。

次に、結婚して良かったことについては、「経済的安定」、「精神的安定」、「子ども」が挙げられた。中でも「子どもを持てたこと」は突出していた。

さらに、性別役割分業観について見ると、積極的な受容から現実とのすり合わせによる消極的な受容まで程度の差はあるものの、多くの女性がそういうものとして受け入れている様子が伺えた。ただし、これは対夫との関係というよりは、子ども中心主義のようである。すなわち、女性たちは性別役割分業を「妻役割」として受け入れているというよりは、「母親役割」として受け入れているのである。また子どもを持つにあたっては、法的婚姻という枠組みが大前提であると考えていることが見て取れた。

最後に、夫婦の対等性についてであるが、これについては、性別役割分業を受け入れているとはいえ、けっして夫への従属・主従関係を望んでいるわけではなく、多くの女性が対等を望んでいることがわかった。ただし、何をもちて対等とするかについては多様性が見られた。対等に対する見解は大きく三つに分かれた。「経済的な対等性」、「互いに言いたいことが言える／主張し合う／話し合う関係」、「思いやって助け合う／尊重し合う関係」である。さらに、「夫婦それぞれ特性を生かして生きているのだから、人間関係としては対等」といった、性別役割分業が対等な関係を作るという語りも複数あった。

以上が今回の調査で得られた結果であるが、ただし、当初想定していたような地域差は見られなかった。また女性たちの見解において、年齢差、職業による差（正規か非正規か、専門職か一般職かなど）もあまり見られなかった。このことから、少なくとも今回の調査においては、性別役割分業や対等性への考え方に、地域差・年代差・職業による差はないと言える。全体的に、女性たちは母親役割意識を強く内面化しており、女性自らが、程度の差はあれ、自発的に性別役割分業を受け入れている傾向がみられた。多くの女性たちは、子ども及び子どもを育てられる環境を得たことに結婚の最大の意義を見出していた。夫婦間の性別役割分業は、女性を強く抑圧・拘束する制度とはもはや意識されておらず、性別役割分業を維持することと夫婦の対等な関係を保つことは、両立が可能であると意識されている。「夫は仕事、妻は家庭」という従来の性別役割分業を前提とした夫婦の関係は、多くの女性たちにとって、経済的・精神的安定を得られる仕組みとなってしまうっており、解体する方向に持っていく積極的な理由は今のところ見出しにくいケースが多かった。しかし、他方で、葛藤や迷いを抱えている女性たち、変化を求めている女性たちの存在も明らかになった。注目すべきは、妻の全面的な家庭責任に対して全く疑問を持たない夫への、主に就業している妻からの抵抗や反発である。性別役割分業を基本的には受容していても、夫の家事育児参加を全く期待しない女性は少数派であった。母性主義はいまだ強固ではあるが、父親の育児参加が

必要という意識も一般化してきているようであった。女性の平均賃金が男性の 7 割に過ぎない現状のままでは、経済的な貢献を夫婦で半々ずつ担うとなると妻の労働時間が長くなってしまふ。さらに、育児も含めて家庭責任を果たすのは女性の役割となると、妻の負担が増すばかりである。しかしながら、既婚女性の就業はもはや当たり前のこととなり、稼ぎがあるということは、多少なりとも夫婦関係に対する妻の意識に自信を与えているというケースが、本調査ではいくつもあつた。家庭責任を強く感じながらも、女性の就業への意欲は強い。家庭と仕事の両立を可能にしようと、多くの女性たちは資格を取ったり自ら起業したりなど、結婚後に柔軟な働き方を選択していた。そうになると、次に求められるのは、夫に対していかに家庭責任を自覚させ家事育児をもっと主体的に担うようにさせるか、またそういった男性の家庭進出をいかにして社会が受け入れていくかという課題の克服である。

## Abstract

Japan, moving forward and backward repeatedly, has made little progress towards realization of a gender-equal society. However, the legal system to realize a gender-equal society, including the Equal Employment Opportunity Act for Men and Women enacted in 1985, has developed steadily. The Basic Act for Gender-Equal Society enacted in 1999 aims to realize a society in which everyone, regardless of gender, is respected as an individual. The Act aims to achieve this by breaking down the fixed view of the division of gender roles, such as, men should work outside the home while women should do all the housework, which exists not only in workplaces but also in homes and communities. At a glance, it appears while women's participation in society has been promoted, men's participation in housework has also been increasing. However, in reality, looking at the World Economic Forum's gender gap index score, Japan was ranked 104<sup>th</sup> out of 142 countries in the world (2014). Although it went up from 105<sup>th</sup> in 2013, this is still a low position. The main reason for Japan's lower ranking is the unchanging view throughout society about the division of gender roles.

What is closely associated with the fixed idea about the division of gender roles is the Japanese way of marriage. There still remains the role models of a husband as an "income earner" and a "person who supports his family", while a wife is a "dependent spouse" or a "person who manages a household." Now marriage is one of life's options in life, not the only option. Nevertheless, in Japan, there is no change in the marriage system nor in the division of gender roles. Specifically, the number of women who continue working after childbirth has not really increased. Moreover, husbands' participation in housework and child-rearing has not advanced. At least during the child-raising period, an overwhelming majority of married couples' division of labor is based on the fixed view of the division of gender roles. In other words, the traditional form of a married couple, "a husband should work outside the home, while a wife should do all the housework," remains almost unshaken.

Given this background, we examined the following points: what women want from marriage; what they gained from marriage; how they think about the division of gender roles; and how they define equality between a husband and a wife. Presumably, one of the reasons why the traditional ways of marriage still remain deeply rooted is that women themselves support those ways. Therefore, we conducted an interview survey with 40 married women for the purpose of finding out the reason why marriages continue to be based on a fixed view of the division of gender roles. The survey method was semi-

structured interviews based on the personal connection method.

The main questions they were asked to answer were as follows: how and why they got married; their ideal image of marriage before getting married vs. the reality after getting married; how they have benefited from marriage and what they put up with; and how they think about equal partnership between a husband and a wife. Survey targets ranged from those aged around thirty to those in their 60s, considering that respondents should have a certain number of years of marriage. In order to examine whether there were any differences in views about marriage between urban and rural areas, and, if any, what the difference it is, we sought cooperation from residents in Tokyo and the Kyushu region (Kitakyushu City and Kumamoto City) as respondents. We chose the Kyushu region based on the assumption that “local people tend to take a more positive stance toward marriage.” Moreover, Kyushu is generally recognized as a region where the consciousness about gender norms as well as the predominance of men over women remains strong. In addition, there are more bridal magazines issued in Kyushu than in other regions. The respondents consisted of 14 women in Tokyo Metropolitan Prefecture, 12 in Kumamoto City and its suburbs, and 14 in Kitakyushu City and its suburbs.

The analysis of survey results is shown below: The answers to the question about the ideal image of marriage they had before getting married showed that they had a less clearer image of marriage than we had expected. For the question about what they gained from marriage, they answered “economic stability”, “mental stability”, and “child(ren)”. In particular, the rate of those who answered “having a child” was remarkably high.

Regarding their views about the division of gender roles, there was a difference in the level of acceptance between those who positively accepted the view, and those who could not help but accept it given their actual situation. In either case, many women seemed to accept the view as such. It also appeared that the respondents were also more focused on a child-centered family life, rather than a husband-centered family life. In other words, women accepted a gender role as a mother vs. that of a wife. It was also found that they considered legal marriage as a precondition for having a child.

For the last question about equality between husbands and wives, many women, while accepting a division of gender roles, never accepted a master-subordinate relationship with their husbands. The respondents had a desire to build an equal partnership with their husbands. However, their views about the definition of equal partnership varied greatly, and were broadly divided into three separate perspectives:

“being economically equal”; “saying to each other anything they want to say / arguing with each other / discussing with each other”; and “helping each other with compassion / respecting each other.” Moreover, some expressed their views that the division of gender roles could help build an equal partnership. In line with this thinking, some respondents insisted that a husband and a wife were equal from a human relations perspective because they played different roles, making use of respective gender-specific characteristics.

As shown above, the results obtained from the survey did not indicate as many regional differences as we had expected. There were little differences in women’s views among age groups and occupations (e.g., between regular employees and non-regular employees, or between specialist jobs and general duties). This means there were little regional, age and occupational differences in views about the division of gender roles and equal partnership at least in this survey. Principally, women tended to internalize a strong awareness of their maternal roles and accept the division of gender roles voluntarily to a greater or lesser extent. Many women found the greatest meaning of marriage to be having a child and securing an environment where they were able to raise a child.

The division of gender roles between a husband and a wife was no longer recognized as a system to strongly suppress and constrain women. Instead, women thought that the division of gender roles could be compatible with equal partnership between a husband and a wife. The relationship between husband and wife based on the traditional view of the division of gender roles that men should work outside the home while women should do all the housework became a system in which many women were able to gain economic as well as mental stability. In most cases, it seemed difficult at the moment to find any persuasive reason for destroying the system. On the other hand, the survey results revealed the existence of women who felt conflict or uncertainty, or who sought a change.

It is noteworthy that wives, mostly those who had a job, felt uncomfortable or dissatisfied with their husbands who had no doubts about their wives bearing the full burden of household affairs. Although most women basically accepted the division of gender roles, there were a few wives who did not expect their husbands to participate in housework and child-rearing at all. The mother-centered family system has still stayed firm, while the idea that fathers need to participate in child-rearing has become commonplace. Under the existing circumstances where the average wage of women is only 70% of that of men, if a husband and a wife try to share the financial burden equally,

the wife must work longer hours. Additionally, if she accepts the conventional notion that women should take responsibility for managing a household including child-rearing, she has to bear a heavier burden. However, presently, it is normal for married women to have a job. At the same time, earning money may give wives some confidence that they can establish a fifty-fifty relationship with their husbands. This kind of thinking applied to some respondents to this survey. The survey also showed that women felt a strong sense of responsibility to their family and home, while being highly motivated to get a job. In order to balance work with family life, many women chose flexible ways of working after marriage by obtaining a qualification, starting their own business, etc. Finally, in order to achieve a gender equal society, what may be needed next is the solution of issues regarding husbands, namely, the realization of their responsibility toward their family life as well as more active participation in housework and child-rearing. Moreover, it is important that society accept men's greater involvement in family life.