Marriage intentions among never married Japanese individuals

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In spite of the trend of delayed marriage in Japan (e.g., Raymo & Iwasawa, 2008; Raymo & Ono, 2007; Tsuya & Mason, 1995), the majority of never married young Japanese report they want to marry someday (e.g., Kaneko et al., 2008b; Raymo & Iwasawa, 2008). Retherford, Ogawa, and Matsukura (2001) finds that marriage intentions among women do not vary much between 22 and 34 years but they are lower for those who are over 35 years old. This is probably because those who intend to marry are likely to marry early and thus exit the population of singles. Nevertheless, the average ages at first marriage for men and women in Japan have been increasing steadily, and the proportions of those who have never married at each five-year age interval between 20 – 49 (i.e., ages 20 – 24, 25 – 29, 30 – 34, 35 – 39, 40 – 44, and 45 - 49) have also been increasing (Raymo & Iwasawa, 2008). Hence, it is possible that there are now more never married individuals, including men and women, ages over 35 who intend to marry but have not yet found marriage partners.

Recent studies show that substantial proportions of never married men and women report having not met suitable partners as the reason for remaining single (Kaneko et al., 2008b; Raymo & Iwasawa, 2008). Additionally, never married individuals in their late 20s and older who are actively searching for marriage partners have recently received the media attention in Japan (e.g., Yamada & Shirakawa, 2008).

Similar to the United States (e.g., Cherlin, 2004), marriage has symbolic significance in adulthood in Japan (Lebra, 1984; Yamada, 2008). Moreover, the strong connection between

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marriage and childbearing in Japan (e.g., Lebra, 1984; Tsuya & Mason, 1995; Tsuya & Bumpass, 2004) could be a motivation for singles to marry. Stated differently, intentions of marriage are almost interchangeable with intentions of having children for the Japanese. On the other hand, there are factors often incompatible with marriage, making marriage less attractive to some individuals. For instance, the increase in female labor force participation followed by increased enrollment in higher education and an unchanged traditional gendered division of household labor makes it difficult for Japanese married women to balance work and family (e.g., Raymo & Iwasawa, 2005; Retherford et al., 2001; Tsuya & Mason, 1995). This paper examines factors related to marriage intentions among never married men and women, including both younger and older singles.

In the following sections, I first review the trend of delayed marriage as well as increasing life-time singlehood in Japan. Second, I discuss changes in the pathways to find marriage partners over the last few decades. Next, I review research findings on intentions of marriage to discuss possible motivations for marriage. Then, prior studies on the transition to marriage are reviewed to highlight potential barriers to marriage. Finally, I propose several hypotheses and describe the research design to test these hypotheses.

Literature Review

Delayed Marriage and Projected Increase in Life-time Singles

Similar to other industrialized nations, the average age at first marriage in Japan also has been increasing in recent decades. Japanese men married at around 27 years old and women married at around 24 years old, on average, in 1970 (Raymo & Iwasawa, 2008). In 2004, it was 30 years for men and 28 years for women (Raymo & Iwasawa, 2008), and these average ages are the oldest in

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the world (Raymo & Iwasawa, 2008; Raymo & Ono, 2007). Along with the average age at marriage, the proportion of those who have never married by age 49 has also changed. For instance, a majority (69 % of men and 54 % of women, respectively) of those between the ages of 25 and 29 were never married in 2000, although a minority of men and women in this age group were never married (47 % and 18 %, respectively) in 1970 (Raymo & Iwasawa, 2008). Among those between the ages of 30 and 34, the proportion of those who have never married has increased from 7 % to 27 % for women and from 12 % to 43 % for men between 1970 and 2000 (Raymo & Iwasawa, 2008). Furthermore, the proportion of those who have never married at ages 45 - 49 has increased in the last few decades, and this phenomenon appears more pronounced among men (Raymo & Iwasawa, 2008). It is expected that the proportion of those who never marry will continue to increase in the future (Raymo & Iwasawa, 2008; Retherford et al., 2001; Yamada & Shirakawa, 2008).

Changes in the Pathways to Find Marriage Partners

It is possible that there are never married individuals who intend to marry but are unmarried because they have not found marriage partners. The mate selection process has changed overtime. Under the traditional Japanese family system, *ie,* future spouses were typically chosen by the head of the household to preserve the family property and maintain the patrilineal family line (Taeuber, 1958). However, the proportion of arranged marriages has declined since the mid-1940s as the family system lost its authority (Lebra, 1984). Arranged marriages have fallen from roughly 69 % in the early 1940s to about 6 % in the early 2000s (Kaneko et al., 2008a; Raymo & Iwasawa, 2008). Thus, the transition to marriage has become more dependent on individual choices and love and less reliant on family involvement (e.g., Kaneko et al., 2008a; Lebra, 1984).

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Replacing arranged marriages, the most common occasion to meet a marriage partner among young adults is now in the workplace (Kaneko et al., 2008a; Raymo & Iwasawa, 2008), as female labor force participation has increased. Although marriages among coworkers still account for about 30 % of all marriages in the early 2000s (Kaneko et al., 2008a), these marriages have been declining for the last few decades, explaining a large part of the overall decline in marriage rates since the 1970s (Raymo & Iwasawa, 2008). Instead, "through friends or siblings" was the most common way to meet a marriage partner in the early 2000s, accounting for about 30 % of all marriages occurred (Kaneko et al., 2008a). This shift implies that finding a marriage partner became somewhat more difficult because young adults need to rely on or create social networks to meet potential partners. Indeed, Raymo & Iwasawa (2008:260) find that "a substantial proportion of unmarried men and women are postponing marriage because they have not met a suitable partner." Similarly, "have not been able to meet a suitable partner" was a common reason for remaining single among never married individuals between the ages of 25 and 34 (Kaneko et al., 2008b).

Intentions of Marriage among Singles

Positive factors associated with marriage intentions

Regardless of the trend toward delayed marriage, the overwhelming majority of Japanese single women and men expects and intends to marry at some point in their lives (Kaneko et al., 2008; Raymo & Iwasawa, 2008). In 2005, 90 % of never married women between the ages of 18 and 34 reported that they intend to marry someday (Kaneko et al., 2008). This is similar to the trend in the United States (Cherlin, 2004; Thornton & Young-DeMarco, 2001). There are a few possible explanations for factors positively associated with the strong marriage intentions among singles.

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First, marriage intentions could be related to symbolic meanings attached to marriage. For instance, Lebra (1984) explains that "marriage can be viewed as a key stage which the Japanese believe everyone must go through in their lives" (p.78). Marriage is associated with social recognition as an adult in Japan (Lebra, 1984; Yamada, 2008). It symbolizes personal achievement in the United States as well. For instance, marriage symbolizes the couple's financial stability, indicated by, for instance, stable employment, savings, an automobile, independent housing, and the ability to afford the wedding ceremony (Cherlin, 2004; Edin & Kefalas, 2005; Smock, Manning, & Porter, 2005). Furthermore, individuals across socioeconomic statuses tend to have these standards as the requirement for the transition to marriage (Edin & Kefalas, 2005; Smock, Manning, & Porter, 2005). Thus, marriage is considered an important marker of adulthood in the life course.

Second, the strong intention of marriage could also be associated with the importance of having children in Japanese families. Marriage and childbearing traditionally have been strongly connected in Japan (Lebra, 1984; Tsuya & Mason, 1995; Tsuya & Bumpass, 2004). Although the prevalence of premarital sex in Japan has increased in the last few decades (Retherford et al., 2001), and the proportion of single women between the ages of 20 and 24 who experienced sexual intercourse had increased from 32 % in 1987 into 52 % in 1997 (Tsuya et al., 2004), childbearing still occurs almost exclusively within marriage (Tsuya & Mason, 1995; Rindfuss et al., 2004). The proportion of births to unmarried women accounts for roughly 2 % of all births (Tsuya & Mason, 1005; Rindfuss et al., 2004). While nonmarital pregnancy has been increasing among those who are relatively less educated, these pregnancies often lead to marriage prior to the births (Raymo & Iwasawa, 2008b), which keeps nonmarital childbearing rates at a low level. Kaneko et al. (2008) find that about 45 % of single women and 33 % of single men aged 18 – 34

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report that to "have your own children or family" is one of the merits of marriage. Similarly, in her in-depth interviews with highly educated women, Nemoto (2006) finds they want to marry because they want to have children. Thus, the strong connection between marriage and childbearing could be a key motivation for marriage for never married individuals.

Negative factors associated with marriage intentions

Although behavior is not entirely predicted by intentions, prior research on factors related to the transition to marriage (e.g., Becker, 1974; Lichter et al., 1992; Goldstein & Kenney, 2001; Sweeney, 2002; McLanahan, 2004; Ono, 2003; Raymo & Iwasawa, 2005; Tsuya & Mason, 1995) provides insights on factors that might be associated with marriage intentions. I begin by reviewing two perspectives on the transition to marriage; the specialization framework and the economic independence framework. Then, I review the role of economic status in Japanese young adults' preferences for marriage partners. Finally, young adults' co-residency with parents and its relation to marriage intentions is discussed.

Researchers have traditionally utilized the specialization framework to explain the association between women's economic resources and the transition to marriage in the United States. This perspective (e.g., Becker, 1974) suggests that men and women tend to marry when they can benefit from each other's specialization (i.e., men's paid work and women's domestic work). However, the gains to marriage are reduced when women are also in the paid labor force. Several more recent studies have tested the economic independence perspective and found that women's economic resources are actually positively related to the transition to marriage (e.g., Lichter et al., 1992; Goldstein & Kenney, 2001; Sweeney, 2002; McLanahan, 2004). Furthermore, the positive relationship between women's economic resources and the transition to

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marriage is found in societies with egalitarian gender relationships, such as the United States or Sweden (Ono, 2003).

Contrary to the recent trends in the United States, but consistent with the specialization perspective, women's economic resources are negatively associated with the transition to marriage in Japan (Ono, 2003; Raymo & Iwasawa, 2005). Ono (2003) found the negative relationship between women's economic resources and the transition to marriage in societies where traditional gender relationships remain strong, such as Japan. This is because marriage creates stresses and inefficiencies for women living in these societies (Ono, 2003). Thus, Japanese women with a higher level of income are less likely to marry than those with a lower level of income or who are unemployed (Tsuya & Mason, 1995; Ono, 2003). Married women still take overwhelming responsibility for household tasks and childcare in Japan (Tsuya & Bumpass, 2004), which makes it difficult for them to combine work and family (Raymo & Iwasawa, 2005; Retherford et al., 2001). Thus, marriage has become less attractive to some women, particularly those with economic opportunities outside the home (e.g., Raymo, 1998, 2003; Tsuya & Mason, 1995).

Japanese men and women's preferences for marriage partners in terms of socioeconomic status and changes in gender composition in higher education might be related to marriage intentions. As mentioned above, the delayed marriage and non-marriage in Japan are most pronounced among highly educated women (Raymo, 2003; Raymo & Iwasawa, 2005). The proportion of never married women ages 25 - 29 increased the most for those with a college degree (Raymo & Iwasawa, 2005), from 36 % to 69 % between 1970 and 2000. To interpret this increase in the proportion of never married women, Raymo & Iwasawa (2005) provide an alternative explanation called the "marriage market mismatch" perspective. In addition to

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economic independence among these women, they find that fewer opportunities to marry relatively economically attractive men are associated with delayed marriage and non-marriage among highly educated women in Japan. Women tend to choose men with the same or higher level of socioeconomic status as their spouses (female status hypergamy), and men tend to choose women with lower socioeconomic status (male status hypogamy) in Japan (Yamada, 1996; Raymo & Iwasawa, 2005). Moreover, in 1997, over 90 % of single women cite earnings potential as "important" or "a consideration" for the potential spouse, while only about a third of men do (Raymo & Iwasawa, 2005). However, women between the ages of 25 and 29 with post-secondary education outnumbered their male counterparts in 2000 (Raymo & Iwasawa, 2005). Thus, improvement in women's educational attainment has made it harder for them to find economically attractive men (Raymo & Iwasawa, 2005). This might be related to a growing proportion of singles who report that having not been able to find a suitable partner is a reason for not marrying, as described above (Kaneko et al., 2008b; Raymo & Iwasawa, 2008). At the same time, Raymo & Iwasawa (2005) argue that this "marriage market mismatch" is evidence that even highly educated women still depend on men's economic resources in marriage, perhaps because of difficulties in maintaining full-time employment for women after childbearing. This suggests that highly educated women may not strongly intend to marry because of the declining availability of men with the same or higher levels of socioeconomic status.

Co-residence with parents among Japanese women, particularly those with economic resources, is associated with later marriage (Raymo & Ono, 2007; Rindfuss et al., 2004; Retherford et al., 2001). Contrary to most of the Western nations including the United States, slightly over 80 % of Japanese single men and women between the ages of 20 and 28 lived with parents in 1994 (Rindfuss et al., 2004). Studies show that those young employed individuals

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living with their parents enjoy their significant disposable income as well as their parents' resources and have few responsibilities for household tasks (Raymo & Ono, 2007; Rindfuss et al., 2004; Retherford et al., 2001). Given the fact that married women perform most of the household labor (e.g., Tsuya & Mason, 1995; Ono, 2003), co-residence with parents might provide a more comfortable life style, particularly for employed young women, over marriage (i.e., providing care for husbands and children).

<div align="center">Current Investigation and Hypotheses</div>

This paper examines marriage intentions among never married individuals ages 20 – 49 in Japan. This study adds to the literature on marriage intentions among the Japanese in several ways. First, I examine marriage intentions among younger and older singles. Second, this study examines both women and men's marriage intentions. Retherford et al. (2001) finds that marriage intentions are lower for women aged 35 and older since they tend to be a selective group of those who least want to marry. To my knowledge, apart from this study, marriage intentions among older singles have not been examined, although Retherford et al. (2001) did not examine men's marriage intentions. Nevertheless, as seen in other industrialized countries, the average age at first marriage for both men and women has been steadily increasing in Japan (Raymo & Iwasawa, 2008; Retherford et al., 2001). Moreover, the proportion of those never married at age 45 - 49 has dramatically increased, particularly for men, in the last few decades (Raymo & Iwasawa, 2008). This suggests that, although changes in women's lives, including higher educational attainment and increases in labor force participation, have been significantly associated with trends of delayed or forgone marriage, men are also delaying or forgoing marriage. Furthermore, recent studies report that difficulty in finding potential marriage partners due to the shift in the

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mate selection process is one of the reasons for remaining unmarried (Kaneko et al., 2008b; Raymo & Iwasawa, 2008).

In order to examine marriage intentions among never married individuals, I have several hypotheses. First, considering the selection of singles at older ages (e.g., Retherford et al., 2001), I expect that (H1) older singles have weaker marriage intentions relative to younger singles. In this study, I define younger singles as those who are 20 – 34 and older singles as those who are 35 - 49. However, it is also possible that age group is not significantly associated with marriage intentions, given the trend of postponement of marriage (Raymo & Iwasawa, 2008; Retherford et al., 2001) and the reported difficulty of finding potential partners (Kaneko et al., 2008b; Raymo & Iwasawa, 2008).

Second, due to the symbolic significance of marriage in adulthood (Lebra, 1984; Yamada, 2008), I hypothesize that (H 2) those who strongly believe in the importance of marriage in life are more likely to intend to marry, relative to those who do not believe so. Given the historical connection between marriage and childbearing in Japan (Lebra, 1984; Tsuya & Mason, 1995; Tsuya & Bumpass, 2004), I also hypothesize that (H 3) men and women who desire to have a child are more likely to intend to marry, compared to those who do not want to have a child.

Next, given the reported difficulty of finding potential partners (Kaneko et al., 2008b; Raymo & Iwasawa, 2008), I hypothesize that (H 4) dating status might not be significantly associated with marriage intentions because many individuals who are not in the steady relationships may intend to marry. Nevertheless, it is also possible that those who are in steady relationships are more likely to intend to marry, relative to those who are not in steady relationships.

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Then, due to the incompatibility of work and family for women (e.g., Raymo & Iwasawa, 2005; Retherford et al., 2001; Tsuya & Bumpass, 2004; Tsuya & Mason, 1995) and the relative decline in highly educated men (Raymo & Iwasawa, 2005), I expect that (H 5) women's economic resources are negatively associated with marriage intentions. For instance, women with higher education, income, or are employed full time are less likely to intend to marry, compared to those who are less educated, have less income, and work part-time or are not working. However, for men, I hypothesize that (H 6) economic resources are positively associated with marriage intentions. This is because, as male status hypogamy in Japan (Yamada, 1996; Raymo & Iwasawa, 2005) suggests, for those with higher education, higher income, and full-time employment it is easier to find women with lower socioeconomic status, compared to those with fewer economic resources.

Finally, because of a large gap between young adults' few responsibilities for household tasks in co-residence with parents and women's overwhelming domestic responsibilities in marriage, I hypothesize that (H 7) women who are living with their parents are less likely to intend to marry relative to those who are not living with parents. However, I expect that (H 8) co-residence with parents has no effect on marriage intentions for men primarily because married Japanese men do not generally perform much household tasks relative to married women (e.g., Tsuya & Mason, 1995).

I control for several factors might be associated with marriage intentions, such as size of current residence, gender role attitudes, the importance of success in work, and the importance of spending time with family. Gender role attitudes are controlled because, as previously discussed, traditional gender roles still remain strong in Japan, which makes it difficult for married women to balance work and family (e.g., Tsuya & Mason, 1995). Given the situation, women with less

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traditional gender role attitudes might be less likely to intend to marry, compared to women with more traditional gender role attitudes. I control for whether the respondents report that success in work is the most important for life satisfaction because those who think that doing well in work is the most important for their life satisfaction might not strongly intend to marry. Finally, I control for whether the respondents report that spending time with family is the most important for life satisfaction. Those who believe that spending time with family is the most important for their life satisfaction might strongly intend to marry.

<div align="center">Data</div>

I use data from the Japan 2000 National Survey on Family and Economic Conditions (Tsuya, Bumpass, & Rindfuss, 2008, N = 4,482). It is a national sample of Japanese men and women between the ages of 20 and 49, and those who are between the ages of 20 and 39 were selected at twice the rate of those between the ages of 40 and 49 (Tsuya et al., 2008). These data are appropriate to this study because they include a wide age range of never married men and women. In this study, I include never married women and men (n = 1,866). I exclude divorced individuals and the widowed, because I focus on marriage intentions among those who have a risk of entering into marriage for the first time. Means and proportions described in this study are weighted.

Measures: Dependent variables

Marriage intentions

Marriage intentions is coded such that 1 = *definitely not*, 2 = *probably not*, 3 = *uncertain*, 4 = *probably yes*, and 5 = *definitely yes*, so that a higher score indicates stronger marriage intentions. The weighted mean score for this item is for 3.76 (standard deviation = 0.94) for men, and 3.92 (standard deviation = 0.88) for women.

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Measures: Independent variables

Age group

Age group is distinguished for those who are in ages 20 – 34 or age 35 and over. Among the never married, about 14 % of men and10 % of women are 35 years old and over.

The importance of marriage in life

The importance of marriage in life is measured by the items: "*A man can have a full life without marrying*" for male respondents and "*A woman can have a full life without marrying*" for female respondents. Responses range from 1 = *strongly agree*, 2 = *agree*, 3 = *neutral*, 4 = *disagree*, to 5 = *strongly disagree*. A higher score indicates a stronger belief that marriage is important in life. The weighted mean score for this item is 2.89 (standard deviation = 1.08) for men and is 2.44 (standard deviation = 1.03) for women.

Desire to have a child

The desire to have children is originally measured by the item "*Do you want to have a (another) child?*" Since none of single men and women in this sample has a child, I simply use this item to measure the desire to have a child. Responses range from 1 = *definitely not,* 2 = *probably not*, 3 = *uncertain*, 4 = *probably yes*, to 5 = *definitely yes*. A higher score indicates a stronger desire to have a child. The weighted mean score for this item is 3.73 (standard deviation = 1.00) for men and is 3.89 (standard deviation = 0.96) for women.

Dating status

Current dating status is originally coded as 1 = *engaged to be married*, 2 = *have a steady boy/girl friend but am not engaged to be married*, 3 = *dating but have no steady boy/girl friend*, 4 = *not dating now but have in the past*, and 5 = *have never dated*. I construct a dummy for current dating status such that 1 = having a steady partner and 0 = not having a steady partner. The first

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category, have a steady partner, represents 1= *engaged to be married* and 2 = *have a steady boy/girl friend but am not engaged to be married,* and the second category, not having steady partner, represents the rest of the responses [1]. About 28 % of single men and 34 % of women have steady partners, respectively.

Educational attainment

Educational attainment is originally measured as 1 = *junior high school*, 2 = *high school,* 3 = *professional training*, 4 = *junior college* (two year college), 5 = *college or more*, and 6 = *other*. About 6 % of never married men and 3 % of women completed junior high school, and 50 % of men and 37 % of women completed high school. About 14 % of men and 15 % completed professional training. Roughly 4 % of men and 27 % of women completed junior college, and 25 % of men and 17 % of women completed college or higher education. Finally, about 0.5 % of men and women are in the "other" category, which I recode to the reference category. I construct dummies for educational attainment, and treat high school degree as the reference category.

Employment status

Current employment status is originally measured as 1 = *work full time*, 2 = *work part time*, 3 = *homemaker*, 4 = *student*, 5 = *unemployed*, and 6 = *other*. The majority of men and women (68 % and 66 %, respectively) work full-time, and 6 % of men and 12 % of women work part-time. No men are homemakers and about 0.6 % of women are homemakers. Roughly 17 % of men and 12 % of women are students. Around 8 % of men and 7 % of women are unemployed. Finally,

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[1] One of the response categories is translated in English as "dating but have no steady boy/girl friend." However, in my opinion, the category sounds closer to "having opposite-sex friends but being steady as boy/girl friend" in the original Japanese questionnaire. That is why I treat the response as "not having a steady partner."

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roughly 1 % of men and 2 % of women are in the "other" category, which I recode to the reference category. I construct dummies for current employment status to distinguish among work full-time, work part-time, and not-working, by combining homemaker, student, and unemployed as not-working, and treat part-time employment as the reference category.

Income

A more direct measure of economic resources is income. Last year's income is measured in 1 = = *no inco*me, 2 = *less than 1 million Japanese yen* (equivalent to approximately 10,000 U.S. dollars or less[2]), 3 = *1 – 1.99 million yen* (equivalent to 10,000 – 19,999 U.S. dollars), 4 = *2 – 3.99 million yen* (equivalent to 20,000 – 39,999 U.S. dollars), 5 = *4 – 5.99 million yen* (equivalent to 40,000 – 59,999 U.S. dollars), 6 = *6 – 7.99 million yen or more* (equivalent to 60,000 – 79,999 U.S. dollars or more. The modal category is *2 – 3.99 million yen* (equivalent to 20,000 – 39,999 U.S. dollars) for men and women.

Co-residence with parents

I construct a dummy for co-residence with parents such that 1 = *yes*, and 0 = *no*. A large proportion of men and women (68 % and 75 %, respectively) live with parents.

Size of residence

The size of residence is originally measured in 1 = *large metropolitan cities*, 2 = *medium-sized cities*, 3 = *small cities/town*, and 4 = *rural areas*. I construct dummies for the size of residence and treat medium-sized cities as the reference category. Approximately 25 % of men and women live in large metropolitan cities, 40 % lives in medium-sized cities, 17 % lives in small cities or towns, and 18 % lives in rural areas, respectively.

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[2] U.S. dollars equivalent to Japanese yen are based on author's calculation

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Gender role attitudes

Gender role attitudes scale is created by the following 5 items; (1) *When jobs are scarce, men should have a priority for a job than women*, (2) *Preschool children are likely to suffer if their mother works*, (3) *Wives should work only when extra income is needed by the family*, (4) *It is much better for everyone if the man earns the main living and the woman takes care of the home and family,* and (5) *A working mother can establish just as warm and secure a relationship with her children as a mother who does not work*. Responses range from 1 = *strongly agree* to 5 = *strongly disagree*. I recoded some items such that higher scores indicate more traditional gender role attitudes. The coefficient for the Cronbach Alpha of the scale is 0.69. The mean score for this scale is 2.80 (standard deviation = 0.72) for men and 2.36 (standard deviation = 0.65) for women.

Success in work as the most important component for life satisfaction

Roughly 18 % of men and 5 % of women report that success in work is the most important for their life satisfaction.

Spending time with family as the most important component for life satisfaction

About 24 % of men and 28 % of women report that spending time with family is the most important for their life satisfaction.

<div align="center">Analytic Plan</div>

First, descriptive statistics of all variables used in the analyses are presented. Next, I will conduct an Ordinary Least Square (OLS) regression analysis to examine factors associated with marriage intentions. I will first run models with both men and women to examine gender effect on marriage intentions. Then, I will run analyses for men and women separately. For both analyses, in the first model, age group is included. The importance of marriage in life and the desire to

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have children are added in the second model. Then, dating status is added in the third model. In the fourth model, educational attainment, employment status, and income are included. In the fifth model, all other demographic characteristics are included. In the final model, gender role attitudes, the importance of success in work for life satisfaction, and the importance of spending time with family for life satisfaction are added. In order to support my hypothesis, stronger belief in the importance of marriage in life, desire to have children, having a steady partner, and men's economic resources should be positively associated with stronger marriage intentions. In contrast, being age 35 or over, women's economic resources, and women's co-residency with parents should be negatively associated with stronger marriage intentions.

Discussion

Average age at the first marriage has been rising over the last few decades in Japan (e.g., Raymo & Iwasawa, 2008). Nevertheless, the majority of never married young Japanese report they want to marry someday (e.g., Kaneko et al., 2008b; Raymo & Iwasawa, 2008). Recent studies (Kaneko et al., 2008; Raymo & Iwasawa, 2008) find that some singles remain unmarried because they have not found marriage partners yet. This might be associated with changes in the pathways to marriage, from family-based to more individual-based mate selection process (Kaneko et al., 2008a; Lebra, 1984; Raymo & Iwasawa, 2008). The proportions of those who never marry for life time have also increasing, particularly among men (e.g., Raymo & Iwasawa, 2008). Thus, this study examines marriage intentions among never married individuals, including older singles (i.e., around 35 years old and over) and men. This paper also examines whether and how individual characteristics, including socioeconomic status, gender role attitudes, and the

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most importance aspect in work (i.e., success in work, spending time with family), are associated with marriage intentions.

Note: Results section is in progress, and I am confident that the entire paper will be prepared well before the 2010 annual meeting of the Population Association of America. Preliminary results support many of my hypotheses. For instance, age is negatively associated with marriage intentions for both men and women. In contrast, desire to have children and having steady partner are positively related to marriage intentions for men and women.