A POSTMODERN JAPANESE MODEL: THE STRUGGLING FATHER

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ABSTRACT

Through a critical review of the extensive Japanese literature on fatherhood, this paper proposes a postmodern Japanese model: the Struggling Father, aiming to show the Japanese father's depressed status, swinging between work and family. On the one hand, keeping a harmonious balance between cash and care is of increasing value among young fathers. On the other, the new paternal attitudes do not necessarily lead to changes in their own paternal practice. This article also examines three primary factors which reconstructed the new paternal attitudes: family-friendly social policies, the de-patriarchalisation of the family and an increasingly individualistic society and culture. The findings also highlight three main barriers towards an Ikumen society: hierarchical corporate culture, "male-headedness" in the public arena and "housewife-keeping" in the private arena. To conclude, this paper further discusses a possible new lifestyle of fatherhood, with an increasing emphasis on the Nordic dual-earner and dual-caregiver system in Japan.
Key Words: Japanese Fatherhood, Ikumen, Struggling Father, Dual-Earner, Dual-Caregiver

INTRODUCTION

In 2016, three important events occurred: (1) On 1 June 2016, the number of "waiting children" who are waiting for entering to the nursery school reached 59,383. Some strategies have been advanced to prevent the increasing number of "waiting children", such as: reducing parents' long working hours, reaching a balance between work and home life and so on; (2) Starting on 21 July 2016, the drama Natusko Kira, reflecting the story of a female sales director struggling to balance her work and family life, was broadcast every Thursday by Fuji Television and immediately received high ratings. The issue of how a modern office lady deals with the traditional concept of men focussing on jobs and women managing family affairs and how a husband handles the conflict between being a "breadwinner man" (Daikokubashira) and a "caregiver man" (Ikumen) got widespread attention; (3) On 31 July 2016, Yuriko Koike, who was devoted to pursuing the advancement of women in workplace, was elected to be Tokyo's first female governor. This led to a heated discussion in her political party to promote mothers to return to workplace and to involve fathers more in family life. From the political, cultural and economic perspective, the traditional "father's role" is being challenged to an unprecedented extent. It is necessary to study the reality of the father's situation and the trajectories of shifting fatherhood to predict future family patterns and changing paternal roles.

Academic research on gender studies in Japan has been more prevalent since the late 1970s, and there are voluminous works regarding Japanese men and fatherhood dating from the second half of 1980s (Rush, 2015, p. 3; Fuess, 1997, p. 396). However, only a few papers explore the transitional Japanese fatherhood discourse from the historical perspective and speak of a post war trend. The Second World War is considered as a turning point for the decline in patriarchy and the increase in gender equality in Japan (Therborn, 2004, p. 74). Since then, the traditional image of the Japanese Confucian authoritative father has been undergoing a drastic transformation into that of a new 21st century democratic father. Additionally, the stereotyped Japanese father's dominant breadwinner role in the "economic miracle" era has been

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challenged by a more supportive and involved father in the "nuclear family era" (Makino et al., 2008, p. 4) and the "neo-liberal Japanese-type welfare era" (Rush, 2015, p. 105).

It is essential to identify more clearly the trajectory of shifting Japanese fatherhood in the past half century. Therefore, this paper, through a critical review of the increasing extensive Japanese fatherhood literature from 1970s, examines the following questions. Which path is the Japanese dynamic and multi-dimensional paternal role following in postmodern society? What factors have reconstructed or intensified attitudes about paternal role? What impedes putting new ideologies of fatherhood into practice? The first part of this article elaborates macro-trends about the influence of Japanese social and historical background on family patterns, gender divisions of labour and the father's role after the Second World War. Following this, a literature review is conducted to learn how attitudes towards, and practices of, the father's role have been altered by micro-trends. Based on the overview results, this paper proposes a postmodern Japanese model of a "struggling father", aiming to show the Japanese father's depressed status, swinging between work and family. On one hand, keeping a harmonious balance between cash and care is of increasing value among young fathers. On the other, these new paternal attitudes do not necessarily lead to changes in paternal practice. This article also examines three primary factors which accelerate the pace of Japanese fatherhood: family-friendly social policies, the de-patriarchalisation of the family and an increasingly individualistic society and culture. The findings also highlight three main barriers to a Japanese father-friendly orientated society: the hierarchical Japanese corporate culture, the "male vested interest power bloc" in the public arena, and the powerful/dominant Japanese "housewife keeping" in the private arena. To conclude, this paper discusses the possible images of future families as the postmodern Japanese model and transitional Japanese father's role evolve. A new lifestyle of fatherhood, a return to the tradition, or another path for Japanese struggling fathers with an increasing emphasis on the Nordic dual-earner and dual-career is crystallising in Japan, diminishing the idea of a devoted wife and caring mother (Ryosaikenbo) and enhancing the concept of a democratic and involved father (Ryofukenpo).

MACRO-TRENDS ON FAMILY AND FATHERHOOD

The democratic and de-patriarchalising trend after the Second World War

Since democratic, individualistic and achievement-orientated values were introduced to Japanese families during the American occupation of Japan (1945–1952), the family type of the father as the main breadwinner and the mother as the domestic authority replaced the traditional Japanese family type of the father as family head in all respects, especially in the children's occupational training, moral education and economy (Lamb, 2004, p. 149). Therborn (2004, p. 74) also highlighted that postwar Japan was the centre of global de-patriarchalism.

The democratic and de-patriarchalising trend became one of main factors impacting on family patterns and father role changes.

Nuclear family trends from the 1960s

In 1947, the new Civil Code enacted that the nuclear family without a man as the leader of household was legal, replacing the extended family as the unit of "Koseki". Individual households and nuclear family households have undergone several transformations since the 1960s. More exactly, individual households grew from 25.6% in 1995 to 32.4% in 2010, whereas nuclear households slightly decreased from 58.8% in 1995 to 56.3% in 2010. Three-generation households also experienced a decline from 11.9% in 1995 to 7.1% in 2010, and the size of the average household is likely to continue decreasing (Statistics Bureau, 2015). Husbands and wives undertake domestic duties, rather than grandparents.

Low fertility rate and late marriage trends from the 1970s
According to the latest data from the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare (MHLW), the whole population of Japan is 127.08 million, in which the aged population accounts for 26.0% and the total fertility rate was 1.42 in 2014. The mean age of first marriage increased between 1950 and 2013 from 23 to 29.3 for brides and 25.9 to 30.9 for grooms (Statistics Bureau, 2015). To address the increasingly serious problem of low fertility, and to obtain gender equality, the Japanese government enacted a series of policies and carried out several projects. Makoto (2001, p. 1) also points out that the Japanese welfare society began in the middle of the 1970s.

The feminist movement and gender equality trends from the 1980s
The Matsui (1990) argued that "the Japanese feminist movement in the 1980s was based on the American feminist movement, which emphasised women's oppression in society; consequently, the movement was more vocal than previous feminist movements, focusing on the roles development for women." An Equal Employment Opportunities Law was enacted in 1986. With husband's frequent job transfers from one city to another, Japanese female migration sprung up from 1980s (Yasumoto, 2006). Within both the labour market and the family, the gender division experienced great changes.

"New Fatherhood" and "Househusband" trends from the 1990s
Like with the USA, Japan entered a period of "New Fatherhood" in the 1990s (Abe, 2006, p. 52-58) In 1995, Japan held the first International Men's Conference. Soon thereafter, a series of men liberation groups and men's centres were set up. These played an active role in the popularisation of the results of research on men. Paternity leave was introduced in 1992, and the Basic Act for a Gender Equal Society was enacted in 1991.

However, this was also a "men's problem era", when men reached a peak in deaths from overwork and their marriages were tough. There was a high suicide rate among middle-aged men. Lamb (2004) research shows that in 1997, only 6.8% of men considered childcare as more important than work, 63% believed that both were equally important, and about 30% thought that work was more important.

Work-life balance trends after 2000
The ideas that "the father should also participate in child-rearing" and that "paternal involvement has a more special role in children's development than maternal involvement" have been increasingly emphasised, although how to balance work and family life becomes a critical issue for both father and mother.

The Work-Life Balance (WLB) Charter was enacted in 2007, defined as "a society where each citizen works with a sense of satisfaction, finding his/her job rewarding, executes work-related responsibilities, and lives a variety of life styles according to different stages of life, such as the childrearing and midlife periods, within his/her family and community life". An "Action policy for Promoting Work-Life Balance" was formulated simultaneously. The idea of both men and women sharing work and family roles is increasingly valued. The Ikumen marketing and restaurant "papa park", which is a place for fathers and children to have fun, also became popular.

In brief, Japan has experienced a transformation into a modern and complicated society with gender equality and a challenge to the notions of fatherhood over the past six decades. Traditional Japanese gender division of labour with respect to childcare and housework are changing for three reasons: firstly, a low fertility rate, leading to four primary kinds of family supportive laws and policies from the early 1990s; secondly, an increase in nuclear family life, especially involving double-income families and highly educated females; and thirdly, men's family-orientated attitudes are being increasingly valued.

However, research conducted by Isshi-Kuntz in 2012 indicated that the extent of paternal involvement in housework and child rearing had not increased recently. The National

Women's Education Center Japan's research in 2005 showed that stereotype of gender division of labour within the family had changed little from 1994 to 2005. The Japanese father's involvement in child feeding had not increased at all, while in contrast the Swedish father's role had grown around three times to 16% in 2005 from 5.7 % in 1994. In 2005, 2.5% of Japanese fathers were mainly responsible for feeding their children. Only 4.2% of fathers took a disciplining role with their children, and 74.1% of fathers assumed the role of earning living expenses. Enjoyment of child rearing was lowest, compared with data from Sweden, the USA, France, Thailand and Korea (Makino et al., 2008, p. 4-9).

Therefore, it is necessary to clearly expound the trajectory of shifting fatherhood after the Second World War from the micro perspective.

MICRO-TRENDS ON FAMILY AND FATHERHOOD

Attitude Trends

Attitudes affecting the traditional image of the family and fatherhood

The traditional image of fathers was of an unpredictable and fearsome man, represented by "earthquake, thunder, fire and father" in the 1950s. Mothers were depicted as "good wives and wise mothers." However, with the gender equality movement, the traditional concept of "the man works outside and the women take care of the children" underwent a change, as Figure 1 shows:

**Figure 1: Japanese attitude about "the man works outside and the women take care of children"**
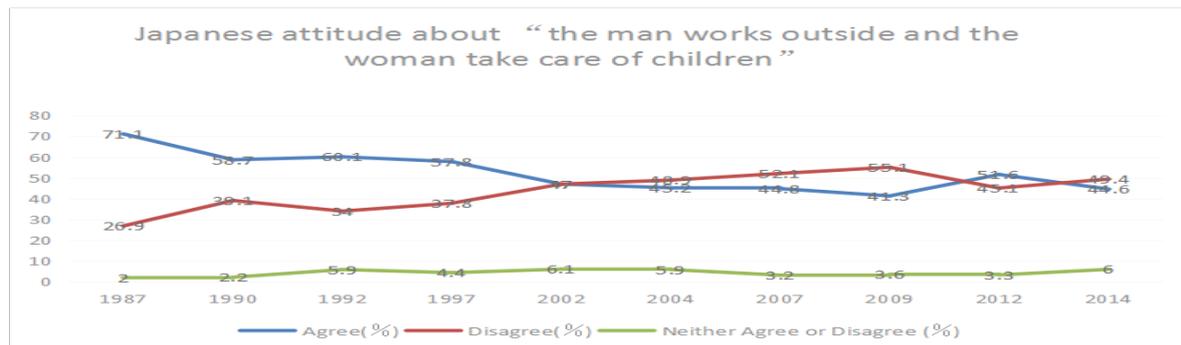
Source: Public opinion survey on females by the Cabinet Office, carried out every two years, 1987–2014

Overall, the percentage of disagreeing attitudes experienced an uptrend from 26.9% in 1987 to 49.4% in 2014, while the agree percentage showed a downtrend from 71.1% in 1987 to 44.6% in 2014. Thus, the gap between these two standpoints narrowed. One surprising result was that the percentage of agree attitudes on traditional family patterns and the gender division of labour turned out to be higher than the disagree attitudes, and that these two fluctuated after 2009. Gender equality consciousness had grown, but the Japanese were still struggling between traditional family patterns and the new lifestyle (dual-income families and supportive father-friendly families) after 2009. It can be predicted that in the near future, the Japanese will continue to struggle between a "happiness family role" and an "economy marriage role".

The younger generation does not prefer traditional concepts of family types compared with the older generation. The younger generation hopes to overcome complex patterns of discrimination based on gender. However, there are two interesting points: firstly, the percentage of Japanese males between the age group of 30-39 years who agree on traditional family patterns (the man working outside and women taking care of children) is higher than that of older men in the age group of 40-59 years; and secondly, the percentage of Japanese

males between the age group of 50-59 years having an opposite view on traditional family patterns is higher than that of the younger generations in the age group of 20-49 years (Figure 2). Japanese males in their 30s were born when education on gender equality was at its peak and are now the main force looking after infants or school children. The majority of Japanese males in their 50s have become leaders or managers of companies, enterprises and public institutions. They might consider the happiness of the family to be more valuable than making money.

Figure 2: Japanese male attitudes to "the man works outside and the women take care of children", 2014
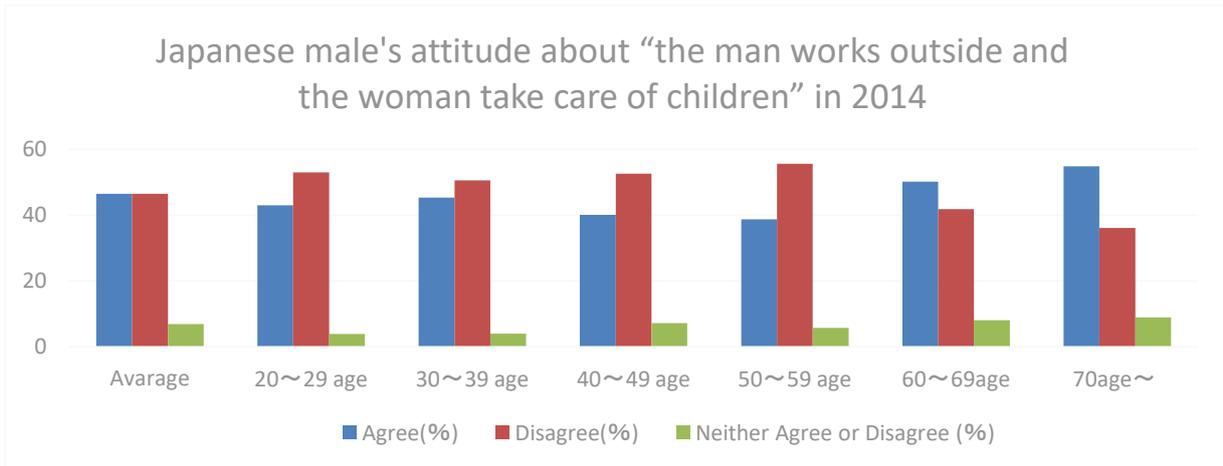
Source: Public opinion survey on females by the Cabinet Office, 2014

Attitudes towards the modern image of the father
According to Takabashi and Aramaki's research on the image of the modern father (2014), the vast majority of mothers (83%) and fathers (62%) chose an authoritative father as their ideal image, while 65% of children preferred viewing a father as a friend with whom they can chat about anything. In terms of the actual image of fathers, 30% of fathers thought they were strict with their children, and 78% of children thought their fathers were very kind and openhearted. A majority of fathers (71%) agreed that they were kind to their children and that their children trusted them.

Attitudes towards the ideal image of the family and the father
According to the NHK Broadcasting culture research institute's survey (2014) on the changing Japanese value orientation of an ideal household over 40 years, the most ideal family type changed from the type in which the father worked away and the mother took care of the children ("Division of roles", 39% in 1973), to the type in which both mother and father were involved in housework and childcare ("Cooperation at home", 48% in 2013). The second most ideal family type also changed from the type in which the father was the leader of family ("Dominant husband, supportive wife", 22% in 1973), to the type in which both father and mother were independent ("Independent husband and wife", 24% in 2013). Women's belief that they can balance between work and childcare after birth has increased steadily from 20% to 56% over 40 years, although 10% fewer men hold this view. According to recent public opinion surveys, more Japanese men seek fulfilment in their work than in their family life. By contrast, the view that women should be "devoted to the family" and "prioritise childcare" has decreased from 35% to 11% for women and from 42% to 31% for men.

In terms of whether husbands should or should not take on housework and childcare ("household duties"), over half (51%) of Japanese men agreed "it is quite natural to help in

carrying out housework and childcare" in 1973. This ratio increased to 88% in 2013. The percentage of Japanese men who thought "men don't have to help do household duties" decreased from 38% in 1973 to 8% in 2013.

Practical trends

Time spent on housework and childcare

In general, the attitude has moved towards more gender-equality and sharing of domestic roles. Yasumoto argued that there was no strong correlation between a father's actual attitude and his practice. (Yasumoto, 2006). Does attitude match practice in the gender division of labour and the father's involvement in family life? (Figure 3)
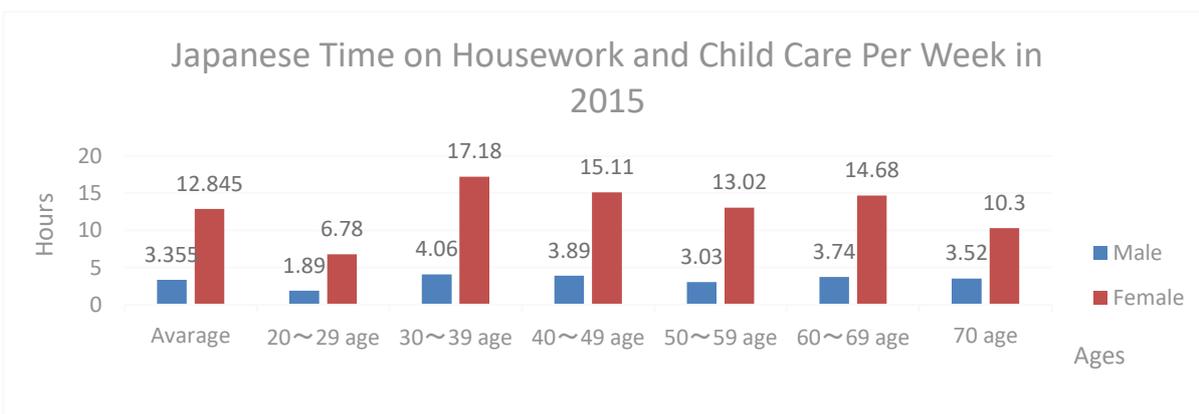
Figure 3: Japanese time spent on housework and childcare on weekdays, 1970–2015
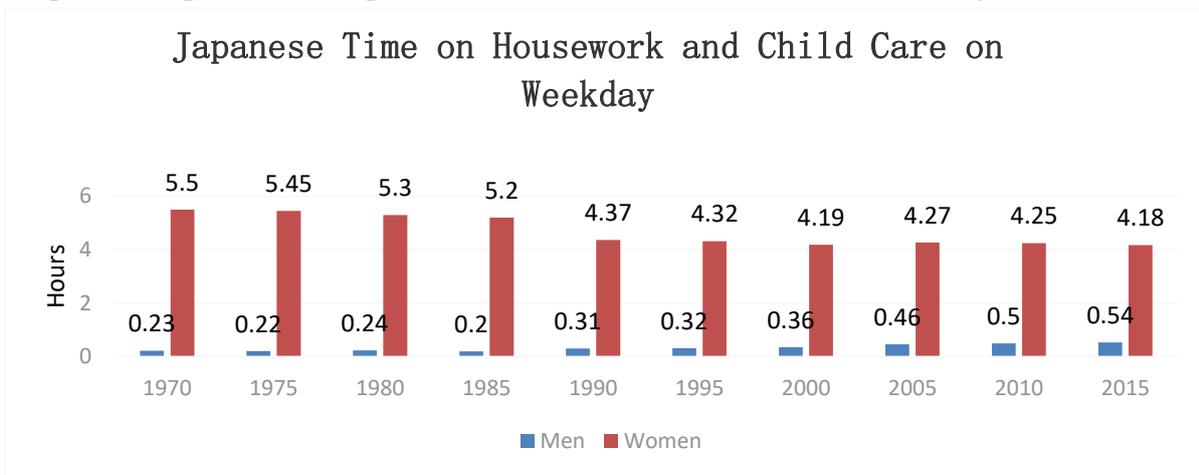
Source: Japanese use of time survey by the NHK Broadcasting Culture Research Institute, carried out every five years, 1995–2015
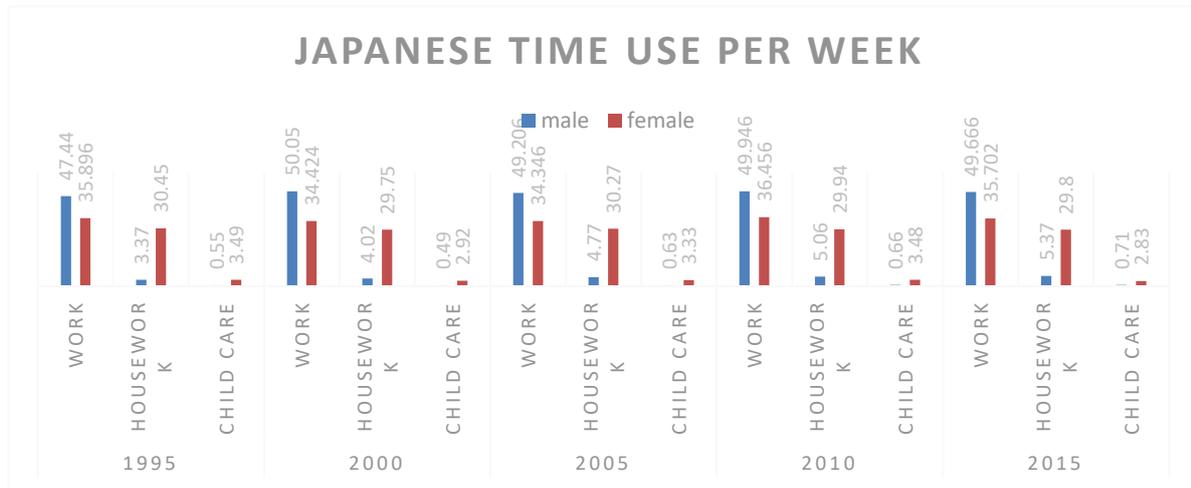
As shown in Figure 3, there was a slight increase in men's time spent on housework and childcare between 1970 and 2015. Correspondingly, women's housework time declined overall, and there was a dramatic decrease between 1985 and 1990, after which the changes were flat. Figure 4 also illustrates that in 2015, Japanese females spent over three times as much time on housework and childcare per week as Japanese males. Some scholars suggest that frozen foods and the popularisation of the microwave oven has reduced the housework time. Japanese people in their 30s are the first generation in which both men and women have begun learning the subject of domestic science.

Figure 4: Japanese time spent on housework and childcare per week, 2015

Source: Japanese use of time survey by the NHK Broadcasting Culture Research Institute, 2015

Figure 5: Japanese use of time per week

Source: Japanese use of time survey by the NHK Broadcasting Culture Research Institute, carried out every five years 1995–2015

Figure 5 indicates that, although there was a slight increase in paternal involvement in housework (from 3.37 hours per week in 1995 to 5.37 hours per week in 2015) and childcare (from 0.55 hours per week in 1995 to 0.71 per week in 2015), men still shoulder the major responsibility in work as they did 20 years ago. There is a trend among Japanese men of leaving work early to help with housework, especially among men in 20s and 30s (Yasuike, 2011). On the other hand, Ishii-Kuntz (2012:6) points out that Japanese paternal involvement in household duties has increased at a slower pace over the last 15 years. Japanese statutory working hours per week reduced from 48 hours a week in 1947 to 40 hours a week in 1997. Data collected between 1986 and 2015 by the Statistics Bureau (2015) showed that as fathers worked longer, a mother's work hours became shorter. The NHK Broadcasting Culture Research Institute research (2015) verified that those males who worked less than eight hours per day spent more time on housework. Therefore, to promote their involvement in household duties, the practice of reducing working hours is required.

Cross-cultural comparisons on attitudes and practices towards housework and childcare
Compared to the UK, the USA, France and Norway, Japanese fathers spend the least hours exclusively on childcare (0.33 hours) and housework including childcare (1.00 hours). Japan had the highest percentage of fathers working over 49 hours per week at 28.5% (Nakatsuka 2011:6). In contrast to Korea, Thailand, the USA, France and Sweden, the gender gap on the division of household duties was the largest: 2.5% of fathers shared in feeding, and 4.2% of fathers shared in disciplining. These roles were mainly undertaken by mothers (Makino et al., 2008, p. 5).

Daikokubashira *vs* Ikumen
The image of the father is transforming from Daikokubashira to modern Ikumen. However, during this transformation, Japanese fathers are struggling: do they choose traditional family patterns, or modern dual care as dual earners to fit better with a high tax welfare society? How

do they balance work and life, and deal with the conflict between the attitude of a supportive father and the practice of a breadwinning father?

It is thus necessary to investigate the positive factors or barriers impacting on a father's Ikumen. Isshii-Kuntz (2012) summarises that paternal involvement has a positive correlation with eight factors: a father's active identity, the children's attachment to their father, a father's knowledge and skills about child-rearing, an egalitarian gender division of labour, father/family-friendly support service and social policies, a work-life balance friendly workplace, time allowance, and family requirements. However, Allen and Daly emphasise the mother's role in paternal involvement: if mothers encourage, support and believe in the father's engagement, fathers are more likely to "feel recognised as a parental figure, active father role identity, feel more satisfaction, pleasure, competence, and comfort in the paternal role and to be involved in, and responsible for their children" (Allen and Daly, 2007, p. 14). Based on the literature review, this research highlights three main factors: social policy, popular culture and economy.

Social policy

Welfare is being challenged by social and economic changes in contemporary Japan. The government has put forward a series of social policies and laws to deal with various social problems, such as declining birth rates, delayed marriage, an aging society, and economic issues. Based on the Ishii-Kunze (2004, p. 6) classification methods, this research focuses on work-related and financial support in social welfare.

Work-related

Taking paternity leave is a key step towards building a good relationship with child and wife. On February 1992, Ota Mutsumi became one pioneer in Japan to take paternity leave. That was two months before the national law on child-care leave policy took effect, establishing the right to time off following the birth of a child for all employees, male or female. In December 2015, Kensuke Miyazaki became the first politician to enjoy paternal leave. An opinion poll showed as many as 53.2% of respondents did not support male lawmakers taking childcare leave. Miyazaki did take his paternal leave, but gave up his seat in the House of Representatives, the lower chamber of the Diet, and left the Liberal Democratic Party. After this, no Japanese politician is believed to have ever taken paternity leave.

Although parental leave fees grew to 67% from Apr. 2014, the percentage of men who enjoyed parental leave was 2.3% in 2014, with a slight increase from 1.72% in 2007. Paternal leave has a long way to go before achieving the goal of 10% in 2017 and 13% in 2020. As for the action policy for promoting a work-life balance (2007), it aimed to achieve 55% of women continuing to work after the birth of their first child, but only 38% of women did in 2007.

In order to achieve 80% of male enjoying parental leave during their wives' postpartum, the postpartum father project was enacted by Cabinet Office in March 2015. However, according to Fathering Japan (FJ)'s survey in 2015, only 46% of men enjoy parental leave after their wives' postpartum period.

Childcare Hours for Men and Women Network and Renrakukai (Ikujiren), established in June 1980, aimed to reduce parents' work hours to alleviate the burden placed on day care teachers who work extended hours, as well as the burden on the children themselves. According to the Declining Birthrate White Paper of 24 May 2016, 16% of men in their 30s and 16.6% of men in their 40s work 60 hours per week. A cross-culture survey showed that men's time spent on childcare was very low (39 minutes per day). Therefore, on 2 June 2016, the Cabinet Office proposed the "Japan Revitalisation Strategy" to shorten men's long working hours, strengthen implementation of new labour Standards Act enacted in 2010 and promote a national work-life balance (WLB) project.

Financial Support

Fathering Japan (FJ) proposed the "Papa Quota System", under which fathers can enjoy an allowance of 80% of their salary if they enjoy at most 54 weeks paternal leave, or 100% of their salary if they take fewer than 44 weeks. This is to promote the IkuBoss Project, which started in March 2014.

An increasing number of companies are awarded The "Kurumin Mark", a certification provided by the MHLW in recognition of company efforts to support child-rearing by employees. Japan is currently implementing the 2nd Next-Generation Child-Rearing Action Plan.

In short, although father-friendly social policies and laws are powerful factors to encourage and support father's involvement in family to some extent, they are not as vital as the following popular culture and economy factors.

Popular culture

The hierarchical company corporate culture and the individualistic culture

Young generations are facing a dilemma. On the one hand, they tend to pursue individual happiness and disagree that they should sacrifice their life to their company. On the other, their predecessors stayed longer at work. The hierarchical company corporate culture sets the young generation's dilemma. In order to encourage more employees and managers to take parental leave and spend more time with children and family, a series of award are issued such as IkuBoss Award which honors family-friendly managers, Family-Friendly Company Award, IkuBoss Supporting Company Award and so on. However, there are still a very few managers who take parental leave and spend more time with children and family.

Traditional Man-headed culture and Mother keeping culture

Yasumoto said that "Japanese paternal modifications influenced by expectations from close associates are due not to their embracing American fatherhood, but rather to their 'situational adjustment'. ... Japan adopted many aspects of Western lifestyles, but it seems that the Japanese kept their own family values for a long time rather than assimilating Western values" (Yasumoto, 2006, p. 2 and p. 53). The traditional male-headed culture is still dominant in Japanese society, although the power of Japanese females within the public sphere is increasingly valued.

At the same time, the mother's power within the domestic sphere sets barriers to keep fathers away from the family. For instance, the popular slogan among mothers, "A husband is most appreciated when they are healthy and out of the home", suggests that fathers should be healthy breadwinners, but also implies that wives can say they are happier if they do not have to take care of their husbands. It is quite a contrast to the previous image of the "good wife and wise mother." Mothers are not always satisfied with the father's childcare: 27% of mothers thought fathers were usually too kind to the children (Takabashi and Aramaki, 2016). Yasumoto (2006) examined women characters in television dramas in the 1970s and reported that many of the characters were home-orientated. Producers reinforced the theme that women can be happy as long as they are at home by depicting women struggling in the workplace.

In short, with the introduction of the democratic, de-patriarchalising, individual culture in Japan, there is a long way to go before exploding and assimilating the traditional hierarchy company corporate, male-headed and domestic mother cultural stereotype. Therefore, people are struggling with the contrast between the traditional and modern ideologies of ideal family patterns.

Economy

According to the Dai-ichi Life Research Institute, during the economic fast-growing period (1956–1973), over 68% "workaholic" Japanese men left home before 7:30am and came back after 9pm. The absent father problem became serious in the 1960s, but the Japanese media

promoted such ideas. In terms of the Japanese woman's ideal man, Yasuike (2011) argues that the ideal man usually had different requirements in different periods: from "three high", i.e., a high educational level, high salary and high height" in the bubble economy era (1985–1990), to "three normal, i.e., a normal income, normal appearance, normal character" during the economic downturn era (1974–1990), and a further "four low, i.e., low paternalist, low authority, low dependence on female in household duties, low spending and low risk of being laid off" in the contemporary era (after 1990).

Although, the low fertility problem began from the 1970s, the Japanese government started to take a series of policy responses to this issue of the "1.57 low fertility shock" in 1990. With the economy recession from 1991, the Japanese government fuelled economic growth by encouraging mothers and professional women to return or enter the labour market. Thus, strategies emerged such as childcare leave in 1999, the action policy for promoting work-life balance in 2007, and the new growth strategy in 2010. However, the rise in the direct and indirect costs of childcare, and the decline in income levels, made this a burden on the family. The salary gap between males and females, and the Japanese high taxation rates, meant it made more sense for the wife to quit her job or take on a part time job to take care of children. The practical situation demands are always focused on economy.

In short, in contrast to social policy and popular culture, economic orientation is the core factor influencing the shifting gender division of household duties and the father's role.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Traditional Japanese social expectations regarding the father's role as a "breadwinner man" (Daikokubashira) has been undergoing a socio-cultural transition, especially after the Second World War. Fathering in contemporary society requires Japanese men to be simultaneously a provider, guider, household helper and nurturer. However, these social expectations do not necessarily lead to big changes in men's practical household duties and childcare. The difficulties and tensions inherent in Japanese Ikumen roles, and the challenges of balancing work and household duties, make issues about gender and the modern Japanese family much more complicated than before. In postmodern Japanese society, Japanese fathers are in the "situational adjustment" of struggling with the traditional/modern family type and the work-life balance. This study offers a historical perspective to verify how the pace of Japanese economic growth has mainly influenced the gender division of the labour market and modern family policies. Concepts of gender equality and a father-friendly epistemology dating back to post-Second World War era are being exploded and assimilating with traditional concepts of the man as head of the family and of the hierarchy of company corporate culture, essentially rooted in Japanese society. To conclude, this study suggests that the Japanese father in the near future will still be struggling, but with an increasing emphasis on the concepts of Nordic dual-earners and dual-careers that is crystallising in Japan – thus diminishing the idea of the devoted wife and caring mother, and enhancing the concept of the democratic and involved father.

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