

I want to take care of both
my children and parents,
but I cannot do any more:
Multigenerational Care
and Accumulation of Care

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Today's questions

- What is multigenerational care?
- Why do multigenerational care continue to accumulate on women in Japan, against;
 - The expansion of public funded care
 - Changes in caring patters
 - The increase of men's involvement with care

Multigenerational care

Activities and relations involved in simultaneously meeting the physical and emotional requirements of dependent adults and children

ひとりでやらない 育児・介護の ダブルケア

相馬直子 山下順子



Multigenerational care

- The population of multigenerational carers are expected to increase; longer life-expectancy, childbirth in later life stages, population aging.
e.g., about **5 %** was over 35 years old when they gave a birth in 1975, and the same figure is about **30%** in 2019
- Not a contemporary phenomena, but not so 'traditional' practice.
 - Elderly care became a social issue in the late 1970s in Japan.
 - The current forms of multigenerational care differ from that in the 1970s and 1980s
Changes in social policy frameworks, family relationships and norms, the labour market structure.

Care policy reforms

- Policy matters
- The expansion of public care = a key to redress gendered distribution of paid and unpaid care

Japan= The state responsibility of providing and financing both elderly and childcare has been **expanded**; Japan implemented one of the most generous elderly care scheme among the developed country and expanded childcare services dramatically.

The U.K. = The state responsibility of providing and financing both elderly and childcare has been **weakened**; UK took austerity measures for both elderly care and childcare.

Care policy reforms in Japan

- **Elderly care:** With the implementation of the Long-Term Care Insurance Act in 2000, regardless of income and family type, older people judged to be in need of care can receive public care services. **The coverage and finance of these care services are relatively comprehensive and generous (OECD 2020)**
- **Childcare:** Services of and support to childcare (e.g., childcare support centres) have also been expanded in 2012 with the implementation of Children and Childcare support system as part of the policy response to the low fertility rate. In 2019, **childcare for all 3-5 years old and for 0-2 years old in low-income households became publicly funded**

Care policy reforms in the U.K.

- **Elderly care:** The emphasis on older persons and their family's responsibility of care provision is evident as the policy reforms in 2000s formalised the central role of informal cares for elderly care. **Public-funded adult social care services are limited to those whose care needs are relatively severe and whose household income and assets are low**
- **Childcare:** the last decade of austerity measures resulted in the closures of one in six children's centres nationally. **Limited financial support (child benefit) is available but little public-funded services for children aged under two years old**

Recent changes in caring relationships and activities in Japan

1. Changes in care giving expectations for the elderly care
2. Sustained, but shifting gendered care work
3. Strengthened motherhood and intensive mothering

1. Changes in caregiving expectation for elderly care

From the dominance of daughter in law to multiple models of elderly care.

- Norms of 'traditional' filial obligation emphasising the role of the eldest son (and his wife) who 'were' expected to provide care to aging parents are weakened
- The increasing preference of people, especially female aged over 65, to be cared by professional care worker (1st) or their own daughter (2nd) (MHLW, 2017)
- Daughter become the dominant informal carer (*ibid*)
- A larger part of elderly care are provided by qualified professional care worker as main carer (MHLW 2018).

2. Norms of gendered care work are sustained, but are shifting

- The proportion of male informal carer, both spouse and son, has been increasing ; 34% of informal carer are male in 2016
- The number of male professional care workers has dramatically increased since the LTCI Act's implementation, now consists 32.6% of institutional care worker and 23.7% of domiciliary care worker (Care Work Foundation 2015)

3. Strong Motherhood and Intensive Mothering

- Parallel policy discourses of ‘promotion of women’ in employment and ‘promotion of motherhood’ (Miura 2015)
- Sustained strong gendered norms and division of childcare work: Intensive Mothering / Strong Maternalism (e.g., Motohashi 2019)
- Even though the increase of female labour market participation has occurred in Japan, the increase of male participation to care work is very slow in comparison to the European counterparts (e.g., OECD Family database 2017, Hook 2006).

Methodology: Mixed methods approach

Quantitative data : 4644 samples

Qualitative data: **49** semi-structured and **13** focus group.

Conducted between 2012-2019

- N= 2260: purposive sampling

1st Stage (n = 559): **questionnaire survey** at 3 childcare support centres in Yokohama, in Sep 2012.

2nd Stage (n = 933): **mobile survey** of childcare email magazine subscribers in Yokohama, Shizuoka, Kyoto, Kagawa and Fukuoka, bet. Dec 2012 and Jan 2013.

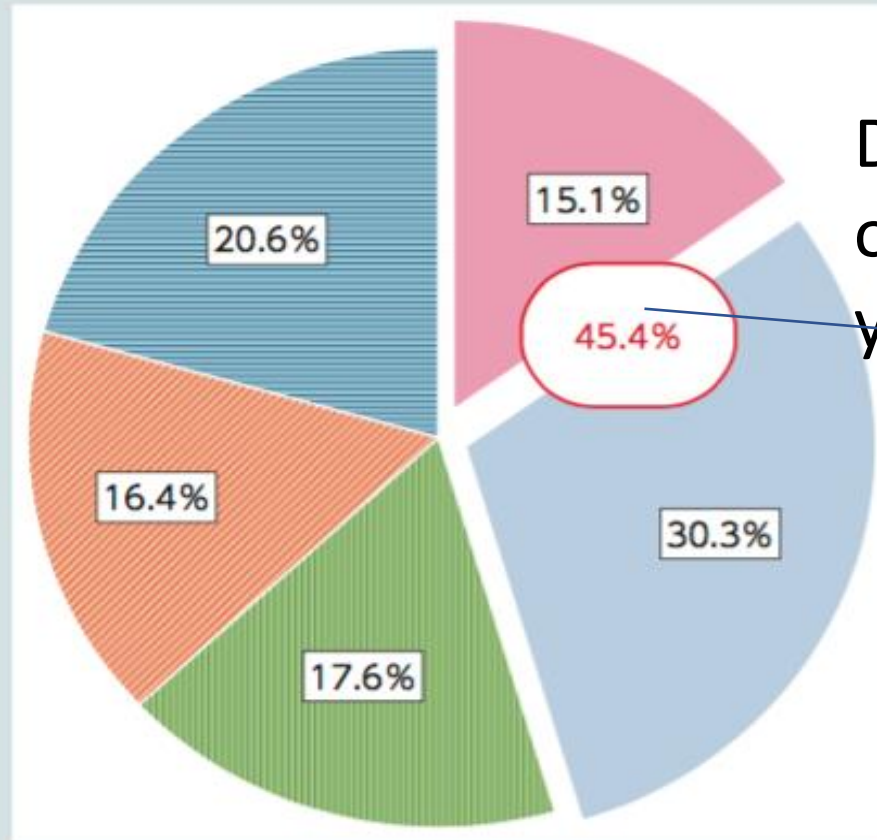
3rd Stage (n=402): **questionnaire survey** at daycare centres, after-school day-care centres, and childcare support centres in Yokohama, Kanagawa and Kyoto, from Nov 2013 to Feb2014.

4th Stage (n=375) : Web based survey via Double care project home page July 2015 – Sep2015

- N= 4375: random sampling and co-conducted
- Sony life insurance company's survey (n= 1000): questionnaire survey with mothers with child/ children under 18 years old. August 2015
- Workers collective organisations (n=***): questionnaire survey with care workers and care services users.
- 2nd Sony Life insurance company's survey (n=1000): questionnaire survey with mothers and fathers with child/children under 18 years old, November 2016 and 2018

Do you think 'Double Responsibility of care' is a familiar problem to you?

Yes



■ 思う ■ どちらかというと思う
■ どちらかというと思わない ■ 思わない ■ わからない

資料：厚生労働省政策統括官付政策評価官室委託「高齢社会に関する意識調査」(2016年)

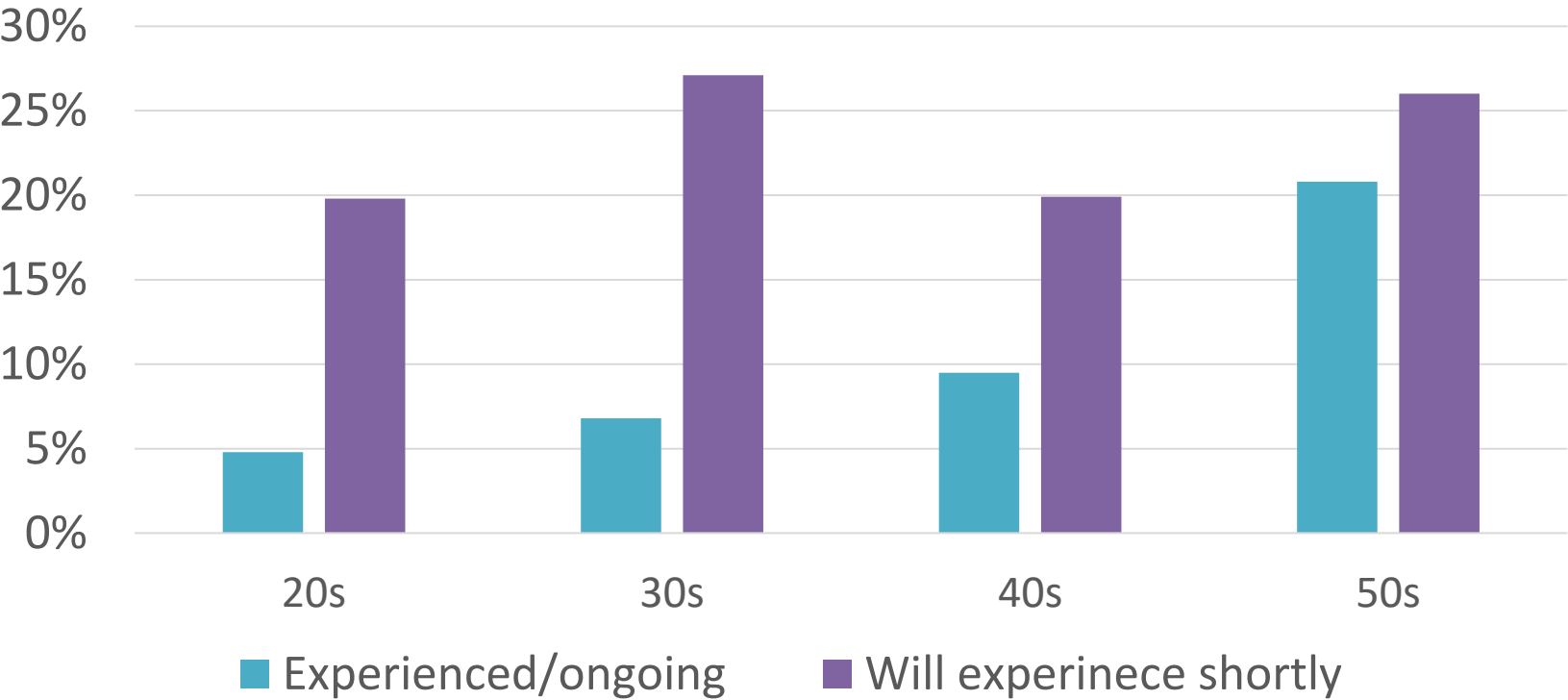
(注) 1. 「「ダブルケア」の問題(※)はあなたにとって身近な問題だと思うか」との質問に対する回答の割合。

※晩婚化と出産年齢の高齢化により、育児と介護に同時に携わる際の負担等の問題

2. 調査対象は、全国の40歳以上の男女。回答数は3,000人。

Ministry of Welfare, Health and Labour (2016) 'Opinion Survey on Aged Society'

Percentage of women with child/children under 18 year old who have / will shortly experience double responsibility of care



Sony life insurance, Soma and Yamashita (2018) 'Double care survey'

Remaining norms of filial obligation?

- Most of the respondents' older parents use Long-Term Care services as their maximum eligibility
- 62% of multigenerational carers says 'there were nobody else than me to be the main carer'
- Norms of 'traditional' filial obligation are weakened in daughters in law and parents relationships, but still exist, especially in daughters and parents relationships.
- *I was doing it all by myself, then one day, I could not stop crying, or I was feeling that my family will be ok even if I disappeared. That kind of unusual thought came to my mind even though I have small children. So, I talked with our care manager. Then she kindly said, 'care helper should come to help you more often'. Since then, the care helper comes in the morning to help with brushing teeth or looking after other staff around my mother, or when my mother needs to go to do dialysis, the care taxi comes and takes her to hospital. Then, I feel like I am just looking over her but not actually taking care of my mother.... (YA)*

'not taking care of children enough'; Intensive Parenting and Mothering

- 39.8% of female multigenerational carers in their 30s feel 'they cannot take care of children sufficiently', which is higher than those who feel 'mentally exhausted (39.5%)' 'physically exhausted' (39.2%).
- *'I have been leaving it later than I want to take care of my son's mental status then. I feel difficult being sandwiched' (YB).*
- *'I want to be with my children more as other mothers do. I wish they can do more extracurricular as their friends do. But with my work and caring my father, I don't have much time for them. I need to save money for the time I need to drive up to my father more often in the near future when he needs more support' (KA) .*

Solo Provider of Multi- generational Care

- When daughter take care of their parents, their husband (partner) often do not get involved in the actual provision of elderly care
- Daughters accept non-support from their husband, rather they 'appreciate' their husband's support in the form of 'not complaining that they take care of their parents' or 'listen to what is happening', referring to the filial obligation 'in the past'.
- *'My husband is really supportive. He doesn't complain that I take care of my mother. He listens to when I talk about my parents staff' (YF)*

Gendered care work: Solo Provider of Multi- generational Care

- Sustained gendered division of care work makes women to be main carer for both child care and elderly care.
- These multigenerational carers need to simultaneously respond to different types of needs from children and frail elderly and constantly make a priority between child care and elderly care.
- *'It is like supporting my father not to fall with my one hand, and holding my son not to run away with my other hand (YB)'*
- *'I make my child sleep, then my mother wakes up so I need to calm her down and take her to bed, then my child wakes up and needs to feed her....(YC)'*

Concluding remarks

- Apparent shifts in familial elderly care practices: More daughters are taking care of their own parents.
- Policy discourses of 'promotion of women' in employments and 'promotion of motherhood' are individualising women's responsibility of multigenerational caring

Concluding remarks

- The difficulties and tensions experienced by multigenerational carers are not solely derived from the accumulation of providing both childcare and elderly care, but structurally constructed by policy frameworks, shifting family norms and sustained gendered division of care work
- The expansion of public funded services in both elderly and childcare have not had significant impact on gendered division of care work in Japan