

WORKING PARENTS AND CHILDCARE (2)
— A COMPARATIVE STUDY BETWEEN THE U.K. AND JAPAN —

Akiko FUSE

Abstract

Why is the provision of public funds for the under-fives childcare in the U.K. lower than in any other country in the European community as well as in Japan? This study presents an analysis of the prevailing conditions, problems and causes of childcare in the U.K. compared with Japan.

We analysed the distinctive characteristics of the U.K. and Japan's childcare focussing on five issues; the differences in the economic demand for the labour force, the influence of J.Bowlby, the thoughts on the relationship between the family and the State, the different definition of "children in need", the trend of citizens' movement. We hold that these five issues are deeply related to the existing childcare in both Countries.

Finally, we can say that the difference in the economic, social and political situation, both historically and recently, has resulted in the difference of expansion of childcare in the two Countries. However, we feel that the different relationships between the family and the State and enterprises and the State are the most relevant factors.

Keywords: working parents, childcare, comparison between the U.K. and Japan

【This thesis, WORKING PARENTS AND CHILDCARE (1)(2), is for Robert Pinker, Emeritus Professor of Social Work Studies, London School of Economics and Political Science, as a token of my gratitude】

3 FORMAL AND INFORMAL CHILDCARE — WHAT HELP DO WORKING PARENTS GET FROM THE STATE, EMPLOYERS AND THEIR INFORMAL NETWORKS?

In this Chapter, we compare the formal and informal childcare used by working parents in the U.K. and Japan.

First, we confirm the distinguishing characteristics of formal and informal childcare in the two countries.

Secondly, we clarify the common grounds and the differences between the U.K. and Japan.

When we use the word “formal” childcare, it means “statutory” childcare. It is fixed or controlled by the Government according to accepted rules. Whereas, when we use the word “informal” childcare, it means private childcare. There are many private childcare provisions, i. e. private childminders, voluntary childcare, work place childcare, childcare by relatives, childcare in the neighbourhood, childcare by friends etc. Private childcare which is registered, supervised or subsidised by local authorities is placed in-between formal childcare and informal childcare.

1) THE U.K.: A MODEL OF FAMILY FRIENDLY EMPLOYMENT POLICY

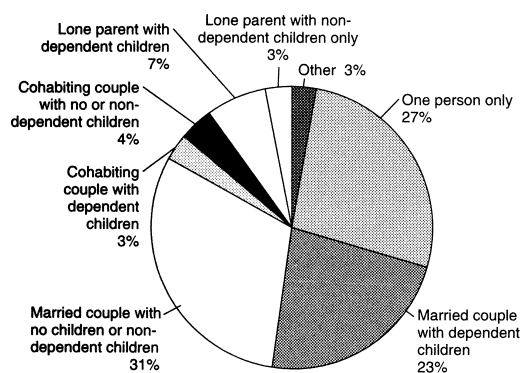
We can cite three distinguishing characteristics of childcare in the U.K.;

- (1) The role of grandparents as the most important providers of childcare,
- (2) The Government’s family friendly childcare policy,
- (3) Family friendly employment and childcare.

(1) The role of grandparents as the most important providers of childcare

The recent research by G. H. S.⁽³⁶⁾ shows that, since 1971, there has been a marked decrease in the proportion of families with dependent children where the parents were married or cohabiting couples. The proportion decreased from 92 per cent in 1971 to 78 per cent in 1993. Since when, there has been no significant change. In 1996, 33 per cent of all households in Great Britain were households with dependent children (Fig. 17). Statistics show that hardly any children in the U.K. live with their grandparents.

Fig.17 Households by type of household:
Great Britain, 1996



Living in Britain- G.H.S.1996, T.S.O.1998

However, when we examine arrangements made by working parents who care for pre-school and school age children during term time, the role of grandparents become apparent.

As Table 1 shows, working parents made a variety of arrangements for their children’s care⁽³⁷⁾. In 1980, only a very small proportion of working parents made use of day nurseries or creches run by their employers. Relatively few parents made use of private or publicly funded day nurseries. Childminding arrangements played a more important role, with one working woman in six using these provisions as the basis for pre-school care.

Table 1 Arrangements made by employed women for care of pre-school children and school age children, GB, 1980 and 1990 and preferred arrangements 1990

Type of arrangement	Percentage of employed mothers making different types of childcare arrangement by age of child					
	1980		1990			
	Pre-school Children	School children (term time)	Youngest child under 5		Youngest child 5-11	
			Actual arrangement	Preferred arrangement*	Actual arrangement	Preferred arrangement*
Father	47	57				
Grandmother	34	25	64**	64**	52**	55**
Friend/Neighbour	3	9	1	8	16	23
Childminder	16	6	17	8	12	10
Nanny/Employee in the home	4	3	7	11	2	9
Day nursery : Local Authority	2	-	-	14	1	5
Day nursery Private/Voluntary	1	-	17	14	-	-
Workplace nursery	1	-	-	20	1	8
Mother employed school hours only			8	39	34	64
Mother works from home			5	17	3	19
Children look after themselves			-	-	17	4

Source : Martin and Roberts 1984:39, Witherspoon and Prior 1991:139 and 141

*First and second choices given by women employees when asked which type of childcare they would choose if all were available.

**These figures include care by father and relatives, amongst whom the most common provider of care is a grandmother.

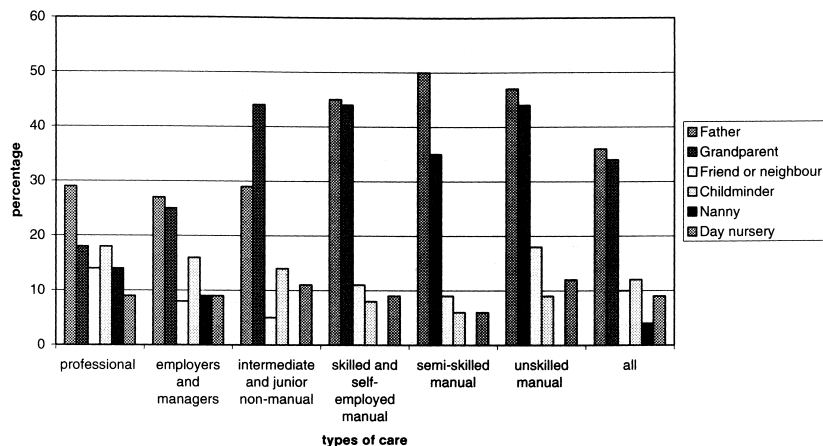
Fathers and grandparents played a major role in care provision. They provided 81 per cent of the care for pre-school children and 82 per cent of the care for full time school children.

The percentages for 1990 show a reduction in care by relatives and an increase in care by private and voluntary day nurseries. The 1990 investigation researched preferred arrangements as well as actual arrangements. The results showed that, when the youngest child was under 5, 64 per cent of correspondents preferred relative care, while 20 per cent of correspondents chose work place nurseries as their preferred option. It is interesting to note that 28 per cent of correspondents chose local authority day nurseries and private or voluntary day nurseries as their preferred option. On the other hand, although 17 per cent of correspondents actually used childminders, only 8 per cent chose them as their preferred arrangements. To sum up, in the 1990 survey, relative care was the preferred option followed by day nurseries and then nannies or childminders.

In the 1994 survey, 70 per cent of correspondents chose relatives as their preferred arrangement while 25 per cent chose childminders and 16 per cent chose day nurseries and work place nurseries. When we compare the data for children under five between 1980 and 1994, we see a decrease in care by relatives and an increase in care by childminders and nannies (approximately double), and day nurseries (approximately 4 times).

Many surveys of forms of childcare used by working parents have found that relatives and

Fig.18 Formal and informal childcare by social class—U.K.



OPCP 1994.

partners are the most important care providers for childcare (K. Thomson 1995)⁽³⁸⁾ and this is borne out by the above comparison. However the discrepancy between the actual and preferred arrangements show that some needs were not being met for childcare.

Marked differences became apparent when the type of care used by employed parents was analysed by social class (Fig. 18)⁽⁴⁾. Some 25-33 per cent of families where the head of the household was either a professional or an employer or manager left their children in the care of childminders or nannies. However, almost all working class parents, i. e. semiskilled manual, unskilled manual, skilled and self-employed manual, placed their children in the care of husbands and grandparents.

Regardless of social class, however, most of the working mothers said that they would prefer their children to be looked after by relatives or their husband. However, “the supply of such childcare is not inexhaustible –it may have already reached saturation point” (K. Thomson, 1995)⁽³⁸⁾.

(2) The Government's Family Friendly Childcare Policy

The Government indicated in “Meeting the Childcare Challenge”, that parents “will always have the primary responsibility for the care and well-being of children”, “But we also want to ensure that parents—both mothers and fathers—can achieve a good balance between working and family life.” “Many parents prefer their partner, a grandparent or another relative to look after their children” “But not all parents can rely on such informal sources of care.” Therefore, “without formal childcare, such parents find it hard to enter the labour market.”⁽³³⁾

As we have already stated in Chapter Two, The Green Paper 1998 proposed the expansion of

formal childcare, such as nursery schools, registered childminders and registered private and voluntary day nurseries. The Green Paper also outlined the direction necessary to keep a good balance between working and family life; the so-called “family friendly policy.”

On the 28th of January 1999, the Secretary of State for Trade and Industry stated the following:

“Fairness at work is vital to the quality of our everyday lives and the success of a strong and competitive economy—The package as a whole represents significant improvements in rights at work. All of the family friendly proposals will be implemented, demonstrating Labour’s commitment to helping women and men cope with the dual demands of work and family life.”

The proposals include;

- a) extending maternity leave to eighteen weeks to align it with statutory pay,
- b) providing rights to extended maternity absence and to parental leave after one year’s service, as opposed to two years at present,
- c) making clear that contracts of employment continue during parental leave and extended maternity absence unless expressly terminated, thus ending the current uncertainty,
- d) providing the right for employees to return to their own jobs, or if necessary to suitable alternatives, after parental leave, so that parental leave is treated in the same way as maternity leave,
- e) providing three months adoption leave,
- f) providing the right to reasonable time off for family emergencies,
- g) ensuring protection against dismissal or detriment for exercising the right to parental leave or time off for urgent family emergencies,
- h) simplifying notice arrangements for maternity leave, thus helping women and their employers and reducing the scope for misunderstandings and disputes,
- i) providing powers to implement the EU Part-Time Work Directive and ensure equal pay for part-time workers.

The Part-Time Work Directive was adopted by the U.K. at a European Council in April 1998. Part-timers will have the same statutory entitlements as full time workers to paid holidays and occupational pensions, benefits such as staff discounts and bonus schemes, and opportunities for training and promotion. Better treatment for part-timers will make part-time jobs more attractive and promote a flexible labour market. The Directive will be implemented as part of the Employment Relations Bill and will come into force by April 2000.

(3) Family Friendly Employment and Childcare

The advocacy of “Family Friendly Employment” has continued for at least a decade. In 1990,

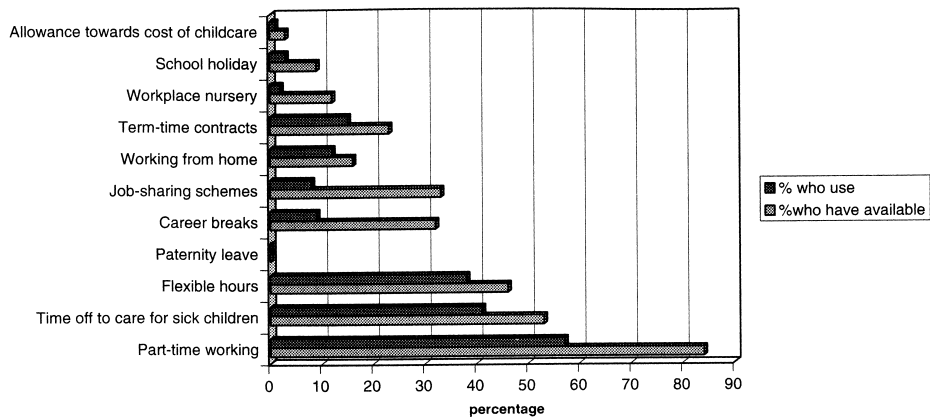
the IPM National Committee for Equal Opportunities and Pay and Employment Conditions reported on “Work and the Family”. In the foreword, the director of IPM, B. W. Lilley stated that “Facilitating working and caring will be essential to attract more women into work, since it is women who make up the vast majority of carers in the U.K.”⁽³⁹⁾. After extensive surveys among U.K. employers and intensive study in North America and Sweden, the report concluded that carer—friendly practices led to improved recruitment, improved employee retention, higher productivity, lower incidence of stress amongst employees, reduced absenteeism and knock-on-benefits of improved image. The report described flexible work patterns, i. e. more imaginative use of part-time work, job sharing, flexitime, time off in lieu, annual hours, the compressed working week, extended leave, compassionate leave, leave for sick dependents, career breaks for family reasons, home working, teleworking. The report indicated as financial care support, loans, allowances and contributory allowances towards the cost of care, children vouchers, work place nurseries, shared nurseries and company nannies.

The report compared childcare support and services in North America and Sweden. “In Sweden high activity rates for women in the economy are supported by publicly funded dependent care provision. Direct involvement by employers has been minimal.” “In North America employer provision has become more extensive. —There is much to be learnt from their example, in particular, the greater emphasis by employers on community links and collaborative care arrangements. One employer in ten is already providing childcare support or services to employees and this proportion is rising sharply.”

Nine years later, in 1998, a Green Paper pointed out that “childcare is not a perk—it is an investment for today and tomorrow.”⁽³³⁾ And it described several schemes which the Government expected employers to implement, i. e. workplace nurseries, flexible working patterns, especially improving conditions for part-time workers, maternity leave beyond the statutory minimum, paternity leave, limits of working hours, extension of holiday entitlements etc. According to the Green Paper, employers’ practical assistance towards childcare provision accounted for around 10 per cent of the total cost. The Daycare Trust estimated that the total annual expenditure by employers on childcare is around £ 60 million, whilst parents spent £ 2.6 billion. The Government suggested in the Green Paper that; employers “may also be able to obtain tax relief for the running costs of operating workplace nurseries. The cost of equipment for a nursery or play scheme and the capital costs of providing nursery or play scheme premises may qualify for capital allowances.”⁽³³⁾

British Social Attitudes 1995 surveyed “the availability and use of flexible working arrangements.” and concluded that “working mothers are, on average, far more likely to work for employers who provide flexible working arrangements.” (Fig. 19)⁽³⁷⁾

Fig.19 Availability and use of arrangements



British Social Attitude Survey 1995.

No less than 84 per cent of working mothers with children under twelve had access to part time working and, of these, 57 per cent were actually working part-time. 53 per cent had the opportunity to take time off to care for sick children. And, of these, over 40 per cent had done so. No less than 46 per cent of working mothers had access to flexible hours, of these, 38 per cent had made use of this right. A third had access to career breaks and job sharing schemes. However, less than 10 per cent had utilised this facility. Over half of working mothers answered that they would use school holiday care, term-time contracts and workplace nurseries if they could. However, few companies offered these possibilities. These results show that the demand for certain kinds of flexible working arrangements is still not being met by employers.

2) JAPAN; A WAY OF COPING WITH THE FALLING BIRTH RATE

We can cite three distinguishing characteristics of childcare in Japan;

- (1) The role of grandparents as important providers of childcare
- (2) The background to the family policy
- (3) Family friendly employment?

(1) The role of grandparents as important providers of childcare

Japan has long been known as the country of the extended family (stem family) even though nuclear families have shown a marked increase at certain stages in the life of the family. Despite this, the extended family was for a long time considered the ideal type of family. After the Second World War, however, the ideal type of Japanese family changed from the extended family to

the conjugal (nuclear) family. In the decade after the Second World War, there were still extended families in Japan although the number decreased as the Japanese economy developed.

As we can see in Fig. 20⁽⁴⁰⁾, kinship households, including three generation households, decreased dramatically from 30.5 per cent in 1960 to 15.4 per cent in 1995. Whereas, the percentage of households of the nuclear family type has remained at approximately 60 per cent for the past two decades. However, we should note that the percentage of nuclear families without children increased rapidly from 13.8 per cent in 1960 to 29.6 per cent in 1995.

Statistics show that few children lived with their grandparents. In 1970, 16.1 per cent of families lived in three generation family kinship households but by 1995, this figure had decreased to 10.5 per cent.

However, when we check the arrangements made by working parents for pre-school and school age children during term time, the role of grandparents, particularly grandmothers, becomes apparent. As Fig. 21⁽⁴¹⁾ shows, working parents made a variety of arrangements for their children.

Fig.20 Household structure in Japan

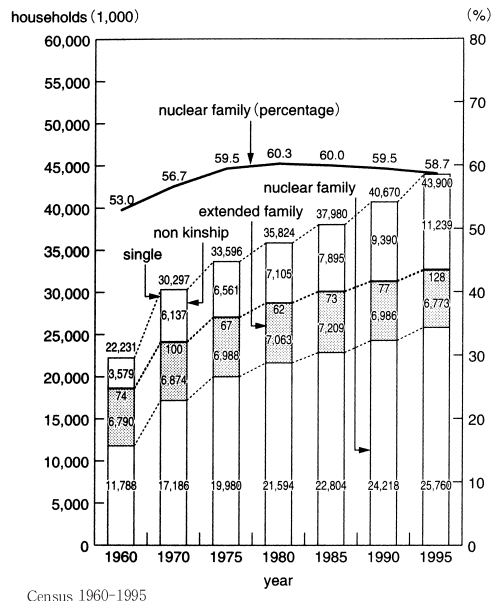
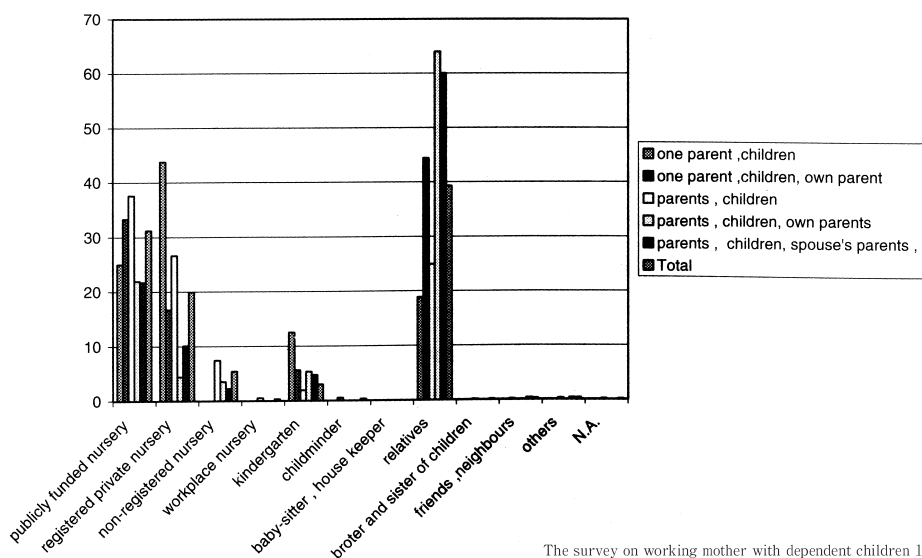


Fig.21 Places where children are left



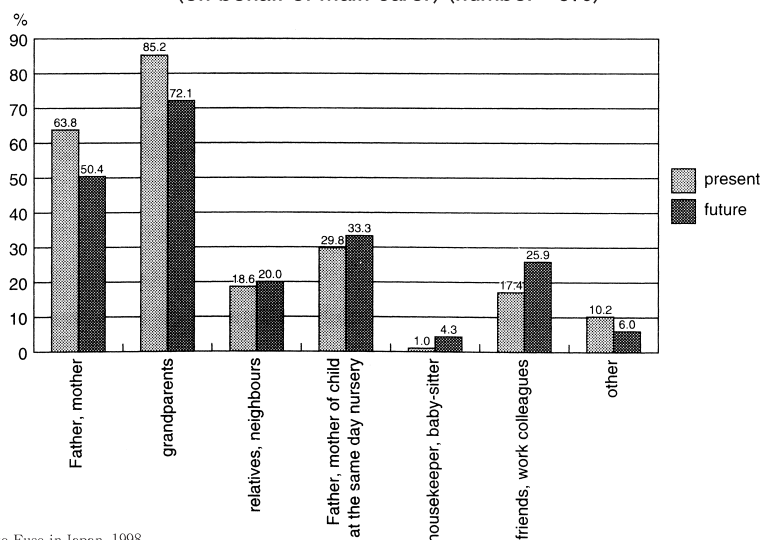
The same survey asked respondents where they felt happy leaving their children for long hours while they were working. 56.8 per cent opted for day nurseries. This included publicly funded nurseries, registered private nurseries, non-registered nurseries and workplace nurseries, but the publicly funded nurseries were the most popular type of day nursery.

The second choice was to leave the children with relatives including grandparents, sisters, etc. Most parents still living with their own parents preferred to ask the grandparents to look after their grandchildren. 60 per cent of them relied on their parents. For those young parents not living with their own parents, the percentage was naturally lower. Nonetheless 20 per cent still asked their parents for help. The younger the grandchildren were, the more likely the parents were to ask their own parents to look after their children. This survey shows that nurseries played a more important childcare role than relatives did.

However, a more detailed survey ⁽⁴²⁾ shows that almost all working parents who used day nurseries had asked their own parents to look after their children in certain unavoidable circumstances such as; when their children were sick, when they had to work overtime, or when they themselves were not able to take their children to the nursery for some reason (see Fig. 22). Working parents also relied on their own parents when they wanted advice on child rearing subjects such as child development, home discipline, toilet training etc (Fig. 23).

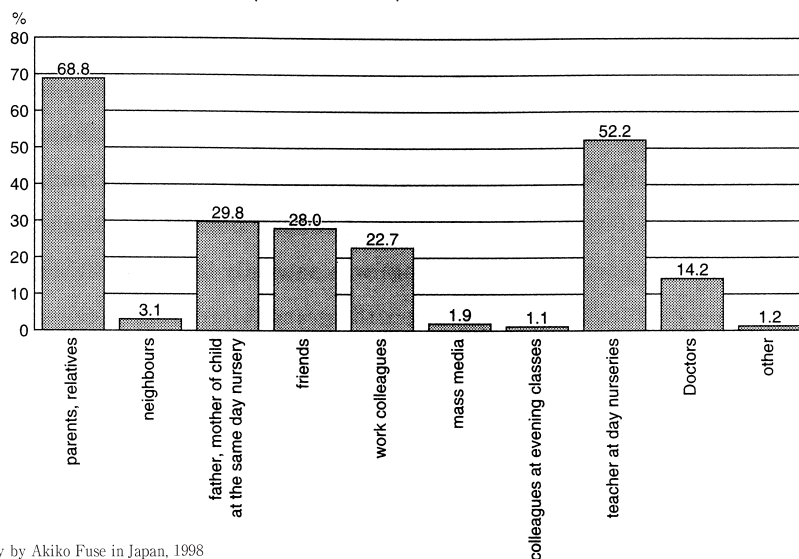
Other statistics ⁽³⁵⁾ show that the percentage of working mothers differs according to family structure. The percentage of working mothers is higher for those who live with their own parents than for those who live in nuclear family (Fig. 24).

**Fig.22 Taking children to and from day nurseries
(on behalf of main carer) (number=810)**



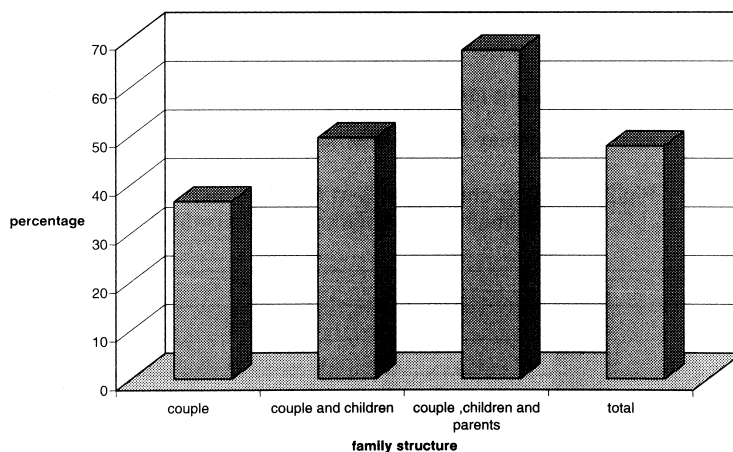
Survey by Akiko Fuse in Japan, 1998

Fig.23 Advisers-on the development of children
(number=810)



Survey by Akiko Fuse in Japan, 1998

Fig.24 Working couples and family structure—Japan: 1997



Labour force survey, 1997.

So the role of grandparents should not be underestimated, on the other hand it shouldn't be overestimated either. These surveys show that the role of grandparents was decreasing relatively, and the roles of nurseries and acquaintances made at nurseries were gradually increasing.

In Japan, when the three generation family began to decrease, some scholars indicated that it had changed to the modified extended family. This is true. However, according to our data, some Japanese families have become nuclear families as a result of being transferred, for example,

away from village farms to large cities or from one city to another.

(2) The background to the family policy

As we previously indicated, the policy on working mothers in Japan changed considerably after 1990⁽³⁵⁾ ⁽⁴³⁾. This was due to apprehensions about the dramatic fall in the birth rate. The Government decided to overcome the crisis by supporting women who wanted to combine work with raising children. Even nowadays, most working parents still find it hard to enter the labour market without formal childcare. We have already outlined the expansion of day nurseries in Japan. In addition, maternity leave of 14 weeks became a legal entitlement. In the case of twins, 22 weeks maternity leave was granted.

The legal framework for childcare leave was established in 1991 and in April 1995 it became compulsory for every employer to provide childcare leave arrangements.

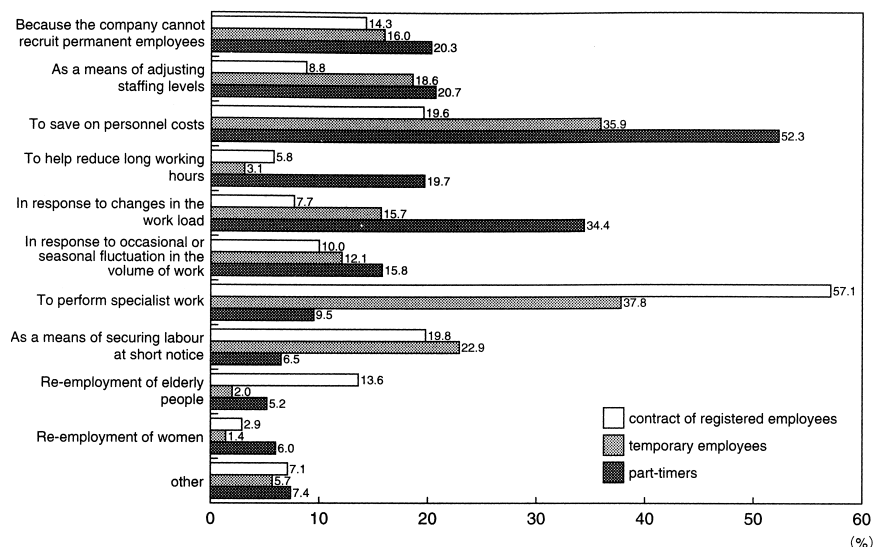
(3) Family Friendly Employment?

According to “The survey on Women Workers’Employment Management” (Ministry of Labour, 1996)⁽⁴³⁾, childcare leave provisions are incorporated in the employment rules and regulations of 60.8 per cent of all enterprises. A breakdown in the scale of enterprises reveals that large companies with 500 employees or more have the highest per cent of child care leave provisions. It amounts to 97.1 per cent. But, in small companies, the proportion decreased to almost half. In Japan, there are considerable differences between the major enterprises and minor ones. As the financial base of small enterprises is very weak, it is very difficult to improve the conditions of working mothers. The Japanese Government is making efforts to improve the working conditions of part timers. However, as part timers are hired mainly to save personnel costs in Japan, improvement is very slow. Fig. 25⁽⁴⁴⁾ is one item in the “General Survey on Diversified Types of Employment” by the Ministry of Labour in 1994. It investigated the reasons for companies hiring contract employees, temporary workers and part timers. According to these statistics, part-timers are usually hired in order to reduce personnel costs, in response to changes in the workload or to help reduce long working hours.

In 1996, 44.5 per cent of those who gave birth took up the option of childcare leave. 48 per cent of those who did not take childcare leave said this was due to “the atmosphere of the working place and work conditions”.

As we have already mentioned in Chapter two, there are 9,644 non-registered nurseries in Japan. Of these, 3,861 (59.6 per cent of which are in medicine and 22.6 per cent are in retail) are workplace nurseries which are used by 58,000 children. Some enterprises have baby-sitter

Fig.25 Contract or registered employees are taken on “to perform specialist work”, part-timers “to save on personnel costs”



Notes:

1. Compiled from Ministry of Labour, "General Survey on Diversified Types of Employment" (1994)

2. The chart shows the proportion of respondents choosing each of various responses to the question "Why do you employ non-permanent staff?" (multiple responses allowed), broken down with respect to the employment of contract or registered employees, temporary employees and part-timers.

company contracts, subsidised by the employer, but such cases are very rare. On average, child rearing support expenditure accounts for 0.1 per cent of all non-legal welfare expenditure of enterprises in Japan.

It is, therefore, extremely difficult to describe the workplace in Japan as family friendly.

3) COMPARATIVE STUDY BETWEEN THE U.K. AND JAPAN

First, we confirmed the distinguishing characteristics of childcare in the two countries.

Now, we shall clarify those characteristics which are common to both countries and those which differ.

(1) Common characteristics

We can indicate three characteristics of childcare which are common to both the U.K. and Japan,

- a) The care of grandchildren by their grandparents within the modified extended family,
- b) The movement towards the extension of maternity leave and child care leave,
- c) The reform of the working conditions of part-timers.

a) The care of grandchildren by grandparents within the modified extended family

Our research showed that grandparents were very important providers of childcare in both countries. However, statistics show that hardly any children in the U.K. live with their grandparents. There must, therefore, be some other form of intimate relationship between the old and the young parents families; the so-called modified extended family.

Grandparents also played an important role in Japan. As we have already indicated, the family structure in Japan has changed dramatically from the extended family to the nuclear family. Only one in ten Japanese families is a three generation family. Therefore, the care of the grandchildren by grandparents, particularly by grandmothers, for the most part took place in nuclear families. There was therefore a modified extended family relationship. One Japanese survey showed that some parents left their children in day nurseries but relied on grandparents when in urgent need, such as, when their children were sick or the parents had to work overtime etc. It is clear that grandparents in Japan play a less important childcare role than they do in the U.K..

If we compare the two countries historically, the family structure in the U.K. changed to the nuclear family before the Industrial Revolution (P. Laslett)⁽⁴⁵⁾. Whereas in Japan, the family structure changed from the extended family to the nuclear family after the Second World War. Despite this, the role of grandparents as carers is more important in the U.K. reflecting the difference in the degree of childcare provisions available.

In both countries, the Government have made realistic efforts to legislate for the expansion of maternity leave and implement new trials of child care leave. In the U.K., these trials were pursued in competition with other EC countries.

The Governments have made efforts to legislate for the rights of part-timers. In both countries, particularly in the U.K., the employment of working mothers as part-timers was thought to be the best way in which one could reduce the conflict between the dual demands of work and family life.

(2) Differences

We can indicate two principle differences between the childcare in the U.K. and Japan:

- a) Policy difference
- b) Nursery difference

a) Policy difference

"I believe this is one of the most important and most exciting initiatives which this Government is undertaking." So said Tony Blair in the forward to "Meeting the childcare Challenge"⁽³³⁾.

Why is this national childcare strategy considered to be one of the most important and exciting policies? Is there a certain perception that “childcare (in the U.K.) has been neglected for too long.”

When we look at the influences behind the strategy in the U.K., we find that there are strong expectations of the women’s work force. For decades, the Government has called on enterprises to provide “family friendly employment.”

The Government has pointed out “Childcare is not a perk—it is an investment for today and tomorrow.” “All employers need to be aware of the business gains from childcare support as well as the benefits to their employees, their employees’ children and the wider community ⁽³³⁾.”

Philosophically, the suggestion is that employers must invest in childcare because they too gain benefit by employing working mothers. Employers are basically the beneficiaries. The principle is that when somebody benefits from a project, they must pay to implement it. In other words, the Government in the U.K. has called enterprises “self-supported” ⁽³³⁾.

By contrast, the Government in Japan has focussed not only on the expectations of working mothers, but also on reversing the falling birth rate. The Government has consistently encouraged an increase in the birth rate. Even during the Second World War, the Government did not encourage the employment of young women as this would have led to a decrease in the birth rate. The Government of Japan considers it an absolute responsibility to maintain the birth rate.

In addition, the Japanese Government has not demanded that enterprises support childcare provision. From the beginning of the modern Japanese state in the Meiji era, the Government encouraged enterprises to compete with those in the industrialised, advanced nations. It supplied both the capital and the work force.

The Japanese Government support for enterprises has continued from the Meiji era to the present day. The so-called “self-help” philosophy simply does not apply to enterprises in Japan.

b) Nursery difference

There are clear policy differences between the U.K. and Japan as regards type of day nurseries. Approximately ten years ago, when the first intensive meeting on “Work and Family” ⁽³⁹⁾ was held in the U.K., the Report declared that the U.K. would adopt the same model of childcare expansion as North America, where a tenth of enterprises were already providing childcare facilities. At that time, research was also undertaken in Sweden, but The Report made it clear that the U.K. would not adopt the Swedish model of providing publicly funded day nurseries.

New Labour’s “Meeting the childcare challenge” demands that enterprises arrange workplace childcare provisions. In my opinion, these demands differ little from those made in the Thatcher

era in 1990.

In contrast, the Government of Japan adopted the Swedish model of providing publicly funded day nurseries. In Chapter two, we showed that 60 per cent of day nurseries in Japan were publicly funded. The Government also subsidised the private nurseries which make up 40 per cent of all nurseries. The Government of Japan has been Conservative for over half a century, but Japanese childcare policy has resembled that of a typical Welfare State. However, nowadays, the situation in Japan is changing drastically, it is much closer to that of North America. The Government in the U.K. is now a Labour Government, but, the childcare policy is that of a typical capitalist country, such as North America too.

4 WORKING PARENTS AND CHILDCARE

Why is the provision of public funds for the under-fives childcare in the U.K. lower than in any other country in the European Community as well as in Japan?

We want to know why it is that the expansion of childcare is far more progressive in Japan, where social welfare is historically far less advanced than in the U.K. which has always been considered a model of social welfare. There must be some fundamental factors which account for the expansion of childcare provisions. There must be other fundamental factors which explain the failure to expand the U.K.'s childcare provision further.

A number of scholars have researched this issue in the U.K. The excellent report by B. Cohen was presented in "Caring for Children" to the Commission of the European Communities, in 1988. She set out four main issues ⁽²⁷⁾.

- a) Economic and social factors; "At the end of the war there were 1,300 nurseries providing places for over 62,000 children, more than twice as many places as are now available in public day nurseries."
- b) The traditional argument over the role of women; "In the immediate post-war period there was support for the principle of educational provision from the age of two, —however, a growing assertion of the view that mothers of children under 2 should not go out to work".
- c) The huge impact of psychoanalytic theory; "in particular the work of the psychiatrist John Bowlby—".
- d) The continuous influence of the Plowden Report; "Nursery education should be part time because young children should not be separated from their mothers."

As regards economic and social factors, J. Vernon and C. Smith (1994) have also pointed out; "the quantity and range of provision has been determined by a range of economic, ideological

and social factors.” “during both World Wars, day nurseries were publicly provided in order to free women, in the national interests, –with the removal of that stimulus and the subsequent influence of writers such as Bowlby---”.⁽⁴⁶⁾

As regards the role of women, J. Gardiner (1997)⁽⁴⁾ has also pointed out; “The view was thus well established some years before John Bowlby published his influential report ‘Maternal Care and Mental Health’ in 1951.”

V. Coppock⁽⁴⁷⁾ pointed out that; “The Beveridge Report was clear that the state should provide social support and services in maintaining the family in its traditional form– the relationship of the family to the State was considered to be so natural and obvious that it attracted what Mishra (1984) call a ‘bipartisan political consensus’”.

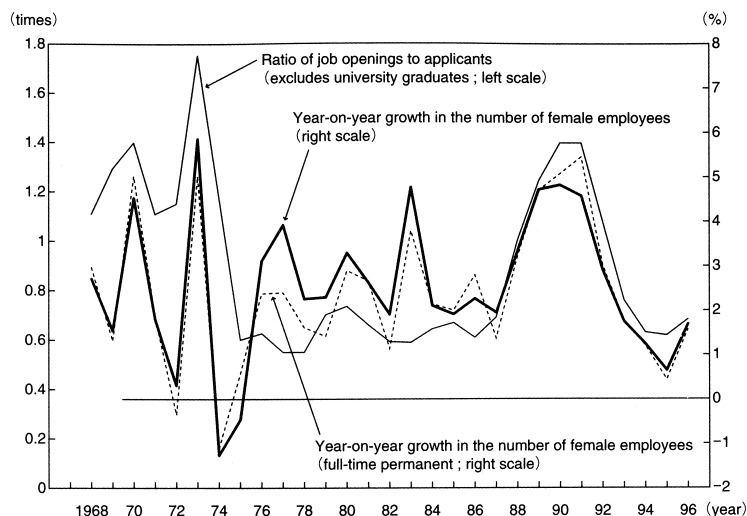
For our part, we feel that the following 5 factors are relevant to the question of why childcare has expanded for more in Japan than in the U.K.

- (1) The differences in the demand for the labour force,
- (2) The influence of J. Bowlby,
- (3) The different Japanese and U.K. attitudes towards the relationship between the family and the State,
- (4) The different definition of “children in need”,
- (5) The different demands of the citizen’s movements in Japan and the U.K..

We will now analyse the distinctive characteristics of childcare in the U.K. and Japan taking into account these 5 factors.

(1) The difference in the demand for the labour force

There is no doubt that the position of working women in both countries has been greatly influenced by the prevailing economic and political conditions at any given time. During the Second World War, women in both countries worked in industries and in the armed forces. After the War, a great number of working women were obliged to return home. In the 1950s and 1960s, the innovation and prosperity of tertiary industries resulted in the absorption of the women’s labour force in both countries. Why is it, therefore, that day nursery provision increased in Japan and not in the U.K.? If we focus on economic factors we can cite the different timing of the increased demand for women workers in the two countries. We noted that from the 1960s onwards there was a rapid rise in the number of students going to high school in Japan. This resulted in a decrease in the labour force between the age of 15 and 19. Employers were keen to employ middle-aged women to make up for the shortage of young workers. At that time, many women moved from villages and established nuclear families away from relatives and reliable friendly neighbours.

Fig.26 Employment of women tends to rise under tight labour market conditions**Notes:**

1. Compiled from Management and Coordination Agency, "Labour Force Survey", and "Employment Security Statistics".

2. The regression line for the relationship between growth in the number of female employees and the ratio of job openings to applicants was estimated as follows (t-values in parentheses):

$$y = 0.174 + 3.77[x1] - 2.47[x2]$$

$$(0.24) \quad (4.42) \quad (3.92)$$

$$R^2 \quad 0.423$$

Where,

y : year-on-year growth in the number of female employees

[x1] : ratio of job openings to applicants

[x2] : set 1 until 1975 and 0 from 1976 onwards

Remarks:

The regression line for the relationship between the increase in the proportion of employees in total employees and the ratio of job openings to applicants was estimated as follows (t-values in parentheses):

$$y = 0.0288 + 0.39[x1] - 0.56[x2]$$

$$(0.19) \quad (2.23) \quad (-4.28)$$

y : increase in the proportion of female employees in total employees

[x1] : ratio of job openings to applicants

[x2] : set at 1 until 1975 and 0 from 1976 onwards

Source : The White Paper on the National Life Style Fiscal Year 1997, Economic Planning Agency Government of Japan, 1997

Therefore, if they wanted to work and be away from their homes for most of the day, they had to get someone to care for their children. In those circumstances, the Government was forced to provide day nurseries.

When labour market conditions are tight and there is a perceived labour shortage, women are relatively easily absorbed into the labour force. Thus, in the second half of the 1980s, female employment increased in Japan (Fig. 26). The problem of the declining birth rate arose at about the same time. The Government responded by expanding childcare provisions ensuring not only the quantity but also the quality of such care.

Japan was a society which set a greater value on the academic career rather than on the individual's actual ability. The U.K., by comparison, was not a society which set great store by academic career, at least not among the working class. Therefore, the percentage of pupils in the U.K. who continued to study after the statutory leaving age increased only gradually. In 1961, 21.5 per cent of 16 year olds were pupils, whilst the figure for 17 year olds was 11.7 per cent. There was a gradual change and by 1971 the figures had increased to 35.6 per cent and 20.3 per cent

respectively. In the U.K., the statutory leaving age was raised by one year to 16 in the education year 1972/73. As a result, the percentage of 16 year olds who were pupils increased to 48.5 per cent in 1974. Although the figure for 17 year olds remained at 20.3 per cent. By 1976 the figures had increased to 50.6 per cent and 20.7 per cent respectively.

Another factor which affected demand for the labour force in the U.K. was immigration from the New Commonwealth Countries of Southern Asia and the Caribbean which was encouraged in the 1950s and 1960s. Some of the immigrants became labourers whilst others worked as nannies or baby-sitters.

These two factors meant that the demand for working mothers as an alternative to the young labour force was not so strong in the U.K. as it was in Japan. In the second half of the 1980s, however, the level of education began to increase and the birth rate fell.

J. Vernon and C. Smith (1994) ⁽⁴⁶⁾ commented, “changes in the labour market itself are increasingly placing women’s employment at a premium. Whilst the so-called ‘demographic time bomb’—the drop in the number of young workers available to join the labour market in the early 1990s—may have been temporarily defused, the shift in the work force from manufacturing to service industries is likely to be of longer term benefit to women workers.”

The latest Government initiatives from “The Children Act 1989” to “The Childcare Challenge 1998” are a response to these “economic” factors. Therefore, the Government called on employers to arrange workplace nurseries themselves under the slogan “family friendly employment.”

(2) The influence of J. Bowlby

As we have already indicated in the Introduction, several psychologists and psychiatrists emphasised the harmful influence of separation from the mother in the 1950s. J. Bowlby (1953), a representative of these specialists, opposed the idea of lengthy substitute care below the age of two. He said “the three and four -year-old is going to be upset if he is away from his mother for long. His security is still inextricably bound up with her”. Bowlby did, however, say that it would be acceptable for mothers to work if there were some one who could care for the young children instead of their mothers. “If your own mother is living nearby or a dependable neighbour can be a daily guardian it may work out all right.” He emphasised care by an individual rather than care in a group ⁽¹¹⁾.

“This climate of opinion helped to promote part-time rather than full time nursery education, and was conducive to the acceptance of childminding rather than group care in the form of nurseries as substitute care for working parent.” (B. Cohen, 1988) ⁽²⁷⁾.

The Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education on Children and their Primary

Schools (The Plowden Report) came out in 1967. It emphasised that nursery education should be part time. "Because young children should not be separated from their mothers" (The Plowden Report—J. Bowlby was a member of this Committee). The effect of the Plowden Report was remarkable. From 1975 to 1985 the number of children receiving nursery education in England increased by 47 per cent, and 83 per cent of all nursery education was part time.

J. Bowlby was also extremely influential in Japan. The citizen's movement demanding the expansion of publicly funded childcare provisions began in the early 1960s in Japan. The Government of Japan made considerable efforts to oppose this movement, sometimes quoting the viewpoint of J. Bowlby. In 1963, The Central Council of Child Welfare produced "The Seven Principles of Nurture" which emphasised that "the increase of working mothers resulted in the negligence of efforts in the upbringing". "the increase of working mothers resulted in the loss of mothers' loving care."

(3) The different Japanese and U.K. attitudes towards the relationship between the family and the State

Attitudes to the relationship between the family and the State differ considerably in the two countries. The relationship between the family and the State in the U.K. can't be denied on the grounds of the influence of the ideology of individualism.

It is well known that A. Smith termed a society based on capitalism "the commercial society." He thought that in principle it stood for an exchange of equal value and it was composed of entirely independent and free people. He believed firmly that a "laissez faire" policy resulted in the growth of the wealth of the nation. He believed that since God had given people selfishness people must seek their own reward and happiness. However, at the same time, as people had feelings of pity and sympathy, they would behave morally (A. Smith, 1759)⁽⁴⁸⁾.

A. V. Dicey (1905) indicated that individualism in the U.K. was similar to the classical liberalism suggested by A. Smith. He described the meaning of the absence or minimisation of national intervention in individualism, economically and in other fields. He pointed out the emphasis on independence and self help at the heart of classical liberalism⁽⁴⁹⁾.

S. Smiles (1859) interpreted self help as a synonym of individualism in the middle of the 19th century⁽⁵⁰⁾.

It seems, therefore, at first glance, very strange that the U.K. which considers self help to be an essential element of the peoples character, they should prefer the way of the Welfare State.

L. T. Hobhouse (1964)⁽⁵¹⁾ explained this apparent anomaly. He stated that to maintain the freedom and equality of the individual and his family, it is necessary to enlarge the range of social control. Therefore, when individualism tackles actual problems, it may appear similar to socialism.

L. T. Hobhouse gave this as the reason the U.K. adopted the Welfare State.

Despite this, however, individualism in the U.K. has been maintained in the following ways:

a) the emphasis on self-support, b) the emphasis on the avoidance and minimalisation of government intervention and c) the willingness to enlarge the range of social control.

There are three distinctive characteristics of individualism within the family in the U.K.; a) the expectation that each family will be self-supporting, b) the rejection of Government intervention in “private matters”, c) the existence of the individualism of each family member. M. Thatcher promoted this type of individualism when she demanded that people “Return to the Victorian value system and tradition! In those days, people supported themselves. People should rely on their own power” (M. Thatcher, 1988).

R. P. Dore ⁽⁵²⁾ described the ideological background of Thatcherism as follows; Thatcherism follows faithfully the traditional refusal of dependence. She encouraged the minimalization of social support by the Government and expected people to support themselves completely. She believed that the refusal to be dependent on others was more desirable from a moral point of view.

The concepts of self help and private matters led to the attitude which refused Government intervention. This self-help led to the expectation that enterprises should provide “family friendly employment”, as the enterprises themselves would reap the benefit of the employment of workers.

Thus, the Government of the U.K. demands that enterprises provide “family friendly employment” as a link in the chain of self-help. At the same time, the Government demands that every family be self supporting.

If the U.K. in the 18th and 19th century, was a model of “Laissez-faire”, Japan in the 19th century was a model of Centralisation of administrative power. As they aimed to catch up with the West, the Government of Japan did their utmost to help all enterprises economically. Welfare functions however were provided by “IE and MURA” (the networks of kinship and neighbourhood). The Government demanded self-help in each family and in each community. After the Second World War, some politicians in the U.K., including Mrs. Thatcher, proudly advocated the pre war value systems, such as those of the Victorian era. However, in Japan, there weren't any politicians who could openly defend the self help provided by the IE and MURA. This was because, after the Second World War, the new Constitution and the Civil Code in Japan denied the existence of the institution of the patriarchal family (IE) and of the village community (MURA). In addition, the dissolution of the Zaibatsu and agricultural land reform promoted egalitarianism. It was under these circumstances that the Government of Japan launched social welfare, including the care for children of working parents. In addition to this the Government continued to support enterprises even after the Second World War.

It was due to these different Japanese and U.K. attitudes to the relationship between the family and the State that different Government support systems for working parents developed in the two countries.

(4) The different definitions of “children in need”

As we have previously pointed out, there is a clear line drawn between the family and the State in the U.K.. As L. T. Hobhouse put it, people in the U.K. founded the Institution of Social Welfare to maintain the freedom and equality of the individual and the family. The Social Welfare State was made up of the employment policy, the pension scheme, the national health service and mutual support services, such as the cooperative society. However, social welfare was constituted presupposing self-help at the individual level as well as at the family level.

In the U.K., “children in need” in general means “the children with only one parent who has no other option but to go to work”. From the start, in W. Beveridge’s Report, the target of full employment was only for men. He stated; “Women achieve a very important role as mothers for nearly 30 years after their marriage. It is their job to bring up their children, especially their English children who will eventually succeed in obtaining the culture and the moral welfare not only for themselves but for the next generation” ⁽⁷⁾.

This division of labour with men as they only breadwinners and women as housewives, had long existed. As the U.K.’s social policy encompassed the ideology of the traditional family from the beginning of the Welfare State, it was difficult for the children with both parents to be considered “children in need”. Only divorced families with children were at risk, therefore the State considered them to be “children in need”.

By contrast, in Japan, the term “children in need” is applicable to “all children whose parents are working and there is no one to look after them during working hours.” It is said that Japan experienced a Second Industrialisation in the 1960s. Many families left village farms for large cities. The situation resembled that of the 18th and the 19th century in England. At that time, many mothers had to work sacrificing the welfare of their children as described by F. Engels in “The condition of the working class in England.” (1845) ⁽⁵³⁾

In the middle of the 20th century, however, the Government of Japan had to cope with the demands of the citizen’s movement.

(5) The different demands of the citizen’s movement in Japan and the U.K.

The citizen’s movement demanding the expansion of publicly funded childcare provisions began in Japan in the early 1960s. The slogan of the movement was: “The same number of childcare

provisions as the number of post-boxes !”. In those days, several specialists in nursery education and a lot of teachers at day nurseries were active in the citizen’s movement. The movement began in 1933, when a small study group was organised at Tokyo University. The main members of the group were members of a nursery (settlement) of Tokyo University. They were led by Bantaro Kido, a scholar of Education. They began to study the problems of nurture working with nurses and scholars. Though the group was dispersed as a result of Government oppression under the 15 year war regime, the idea of scientific nurture was taken up again after The Second World War.

The main members of the citizen’s movement in the 1960s promoted the same ideas. There were also other excellent people in Japan such as; Dr. Michio Matsuda, a pediatrician, who always encouraged working parents to obtain appropriate child care provisions.

In the late 1960s, the Conservative prefectural governors in large cities, such as Tokyo, Osaka, Kyoto and Fukuoka were replaced by Reformist governors one after another. In these same local authorities, publicly funded nurseries, including nurseries for the under two’s, increased. These local authorities began to subsidise non-registered nurseries. During the period of high economic growth, the citizen’s movement demanding childcare provisions was granted certain concessions.

After school activities and clubs began in Osaka in 1948 and many types of out of school clubs were opened in Tokyo and Osaka between 1948 and 1962. From 1962 to 1973, discussions took place about the institutionalisation of the out of school clubs. A signature-collection campaign and a petition movement for Parliament developed. The petition for the institutionalisation of out of school clubs was adopted in the 102nd National Diet. But, the out of school club project by the Ministry of Welfare only took place in 1991. These developments were supported by persistent public campaigns by many working parents, teachers of out of school clubs and scholars. Employers demanded working mothers. Working parents demanded day nurseries. Specialists supported the movement demanding day nurseries. As a result, day nurseries increased steadily in Japan.

By contrast, in the U K., it was the feminist movement which developed rapidly from the 1960s to the 1980s. However, the feminist movement did not lead directly to campaigns for day nurseries.

J. Gardiner (1997) comments; “The feminist movement of the 1970s and 1980s was pulled in two opposing directions. On the one hand there was the need to assert that women had an identity apart from children, and an entitlement to lives without children. Most feminists were rightly critical of both naturalism, which attributes social relationships to biological factors, and of essentialism, which attributes to women, as a sex, qualities that are specifically appropriate to mothering. On the other hand, feminists also wanted to improve women’s lives and therefore

to recognise the pressing needs of mothers. They committed themselves actively to improving conditions for mothers such as the campaign to retain the mother's right to child benefit, the campaign for married women's financial and legal independence, the campaign for lone mothers and many local nursery and under-fives campaigns." ⁽⁴⁾

The movement also focussed on carers, but with the exception of a small number of scholars; i. e. H. Land (1978) ⁽⁵⁴⁾, A. Graham (1985) ⁽⁵⁵⁾, H. Joshi (1987) ⁽⁵⁶⁾ etc, almost all feminists adopted the British official definition of carer, excluding people who care for healthy able-bodied children.

From the 1980s to the present, the Equal Opportunities Commission and the European Commission Child Care Net has stimulated public discussion of the situation of childcare in the U.K.. And some feminists have begun to research children, childcare and parenting including "working mothers and children". There are many important research contributions from social psychologists. The situation of childcare in the U.K. should change as a result of this activity and the New Labour Government Policy.

CONCLUSION

Why is the provision of public funds for the under-fives childcare in the U.K. lower than in any other country in the European community as well as in Japan?

To answer this question; firstly, we looked into the movement of married women into paid work in the U.K. as compared with Japan. Secondly, we looked at some forms of childcare used by working parents in both countries. Thirdly, we investigated formal and informal childcare. In other words, we examined what help working parents get from the State, employers, their relatives etc.

To sum up. After the Second World War, the number of married women workers increased remarkably in both countries as it did all over the world. The growth rate for working mothers with dependent children was higher in the U.K. than in Japan and indeed many of them worked as part-timers. The Governments in both countries have been somewhat reluctant to fully meet the need for an expansion of day nurseries, particularly the demand for day nurseries for the under 3's.

In Japan, however, the number of day nurseries and the places available expanded dramatically between the 1960s and the 1980s and nowadays, there are more children in day nurseries from day one to compulsory school than children in kindergarten. 60 per cent of day nurseries are funded publicly and the Government also subsidises registered private nurseries.

In the U.K., there are more childminders places than places in day nurseries. Full-timers tend

to rely on care by childminders or nannies whereas part-timers ask fathers and grandparents to help with care.

There is also a distinguishing tendency for middle class working parents, that is those families where the head of the household is either a professional or an employer of some kind, to rely on nannies or childminders, while working class parents must rely on relatives or fathers.

According to statistics hardly any children in the U.K. live with their grand parents. However, grandparents perform a very important role in care provision for their grandchildren. This gives rise to some intimate relationship between the old and the young families: the so-called modified extended family. Grandparents also play an important role in Japan. However, the position of grandparents as childminders in Japan is relatively less than in the U.K. reflecting the difference in the degree of childcare provisions.

In both countries, the Governments are making considerable efforts to cope with the problems of working parents. However, there is a clear difference in policy. In the U.K., the Government calls on enterprises to invest in childcare because they reap the benefits of employing working mothers. In Japan, however, the Government does not require enterprises to support childcare provisions. The so-called self help philosophy does not yet apply to enterprises in Japan.

There is a clear difference in policy as far as day nurseries are concerned. The position of the U.K. on childcare is much closer to that of North America. Whereas, the position in Japan is much closer to that of Sweden, although the situation is now changing.

Briefly, the distinctive characteristics of childcare provision in the U.K., are “diversity”, “choice” “private initiative” and “acquiescence of inequality”. On the other hand, in Japan, they are “uniformity”, “public initiative” and “equality-oriented”.

Taking all this into consideration, we tackled our main theme from the following five standpoints: (1) the difference in the demand for the labour force, (2) the influence of J. Bowlby, (3) the different Japanese and U.K. attitudes towards the relationship between the family and the State, (4) the different definition of “children in need”, (5) the different emphasis of the citizen’s movements in the two countries.

We feel that these five issues are closely related to the development of childcare in both countries.

There is no doubt that J. Bowlby’s work influenced the provision of childcare in the U.K.. However, the following factors are more important in explaining the delayed development of childcare provision in the U.K..

- a) Firstly, the system of the Welfare State in the U.K. is linked to the ideology of individualism. That ideology presupposes the “self-help” of each family in the relationship between the family and the State. The definition of “children in need” is very severely restricted. The

first key word therefore is “self-help”.

- b) Secondly, the system of the Welfare State in the U.K. presupposes the existence of a family in which childminding is a “private matter,” the business of parents, especially mothers. Thus, the second key word is a “private matter”.
- c) Thirdly, the basic principle of self help was bipartisan and totally accepted by Government administrators. For this reason, the Government expected enterprises to arrange work place nurseries as an investment of “family friendly employment”, in addition to the private and voluntary nurseries which existed. The third key word, therefore is “family friendly employment”.

The Government is now changing its former attitude to childcare provision in order to cope with the shortages in the labour force. In the U.K., the demand for the working mother is currently increasing. Forseeing this economic demand, the New Labour Government declared they would make concerted efforts to encourage the expansion of childcare. Working parents in the U.K. are hoping that the demand for workers will result in the expansion of childcare. Nonetheless, the distinctive characteristics of diversity, choice, private initiative and acquiescence of inequality will continue.

By contrast, the main factors which influenced the expansion of childcare in Japan are as follows;

- a) Firstly, the dramatic economic development and the decrease in the number of young labourers in the 1960s and 1970s which resulted in the increase in the number of working mothers. The ‘so-called’ Second Industrial Revolution, persuaded the Government to expand childcare provisions and the citizens’ movement encouraged further expansion. The first key word is “dramatic economic development.”
- b) Secondly, the Government of Japan had a strong traditional ideology of patriarchal family and division of labour by sex. However, after the Second World War, the new Constitution and the Civil Code denied the existence of the institution of the patriarchal family (IE) and the village community (MURA). Therefore, there weren’t any politicians who could openly defend the self-help given by IE and MURA. The second key word is the “dissolution of IE and MURA.”
- c) Thirdly, the past Japanese Government position of supporting enterprises meant that it could not call on enterprises to provide “family friendly employment.” Consequently, the Government itself took the decision to provide the facilities needed by working parents. This decision was reinforced by apprehensions over the dramatically declining birth rate. The third key word is “enterprise friendly government.”

Presently, the Government of Japan is changing its attitude to childcare and coping with the

many demands from working parents. The Government is now advocating “diversity and choice”. Nonetheless, the distinctive characteristics of uniformity and public initiative will continue as these characteristics are linked to the egalitarianism which was promoted after the Second World War.

We conclude that the difference in the expansion of childcare in the two countries is the result of the different economic, social and political background, both past and present. However, we feel that the different relationships between the family and the State and the State and enterprises are the most relevant factors.

References:

- (36) Living in Britain, G. H. S. 1996, T. S. O. 1998
- (37) British and European Social Attitudes Survey, Ashgate, 1995
- (38) Tomson, K., “Working Mothers”, in British and European Social Attitudes the 15th report, Ashgate, 1995
- (39) I. P. M. National Committees for Equal Opportunities and Pay and Employment and Condition, Work and the Family, I. P. M., 1990
- (40) National Census 1960-1995, Management and Coordination Agency
- (41) White Paper on the Condition of Working Women, Ministry of Labour in Japan, 1998 & 1999
- (42) Fuse, A., Working Mother and Social Policy in Japan, Report for Ministry of Education, 1998
- (43) The Survey on Women Workers' Employment Management, Ministry of Labour, 1996
- (44) General Survey on Diversified Types of Employment, Ministry of Labour, 1994
- (45) Raslett, P., The World We have Lost, Curtis Brown Ltd, 1965
- (46) Vernon, J & Smith C., Day Nurseries at a Crossroads, National Children Bureau, 1994
- (47) Gardiner, J., Gender, Care and Economics, Macmillan, 1997
- (48) Smith, A., The Theory of Moral Sentiment, 1759
- (49) Dicey, A. C., Law and Public Opinion in England, London, 1905
- (50) Smiles, S., Self Help, London, 1859
- (51) Hobhouse, L. T., Liberalism, 1911, Galaxy Book, 1964
- (52) Dore, R. P., Will the 21st Century Be The Age of Individualism?, The Simul Press, INC, 1990
- (53) Engels, F., Die Lage der Arbeitenden Klasse in England, 1845
- (54) Land, H., “Who Cares for the Family?” Journal of Social Policy. Vol. 7, No. 3, 1978
- (55) Graham, A., “Providers, Negotiators and Mediators; Women as the Hidden Carers”, in Lewin E. and Olesen V., (eds) , Women, Health and Healing, Tavistock, 1985
- (56) Joshi, H., “Participation in Paid Work: Evidence from the Women and Employment Survey” in Blundell R. and Walker I. (eds) Unemployment, Search and Labour Supply, Oxford University Press, 1986

要 旨

本稿の主題は、共働き家族の子どものケアに関する日英の比較研究である。問題意識の基盤には、福祉国家体制のジェンダー・パースペクティヴに基づく再検討という理論的課題の追求が据えられている。本稿の論点をクリアにするための予備的作業として、第一に、日英両国における既婚女性の就労状況の推移、第二に、共働き家族における子どものケアの相違について日英両国のデータに基づく比較分析を行った（以上、札幌学院大学『人文学会紀要』第70号、2001.12所収）。次いで、第三に、家族及び保育に関わる国家を中心とするフォーマルな政策とインフォーマルなネットワークのあり方等に関して、日英両国の特徴を比較検討し、第四に、以上の作業に先だって措定した五つの仮説的論点—1. 既婚の女性労働力への経済的要請の相違、2. J.ボウルビイの影響の相違、3. 家族と国家の関係をめぐる認識の相違、4. 「チルドレン・イン・ニード（要援護児童）」についての認識の相違、5. 市民運動の展開にみる相違—について検証作業を試みた（以上、本第72号所収）。

以上の一連の作業を通じて、共働き家族の子どものケアに見る日英両国の相違の検証にあたって提示した五つの仮説的論点が一定の検証に耐え得ること、さらには、主題の解明が、福祉国家体制のジェンダー・パースペクティヴに基づく再検討という理論的課題の追求につながるものであることが明らかになった。後者に関しては、本稿では諸般の事情から試行的展開に止まらざるを得なかったが、他日を期したい。なお、本稿の要約的日本語バージョンについては、拙稿、「共働き家族の子どもケア—日英比較研究—」（『現代社会学研究』Vol.14/2001 北海道社会学会）を参照されたい。

（ふせ あきこ 本学人文学部教授 家族社会学専攻）