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# **Double Responsibilities of Care: Emerging New Social Risks of Women Providing both Elderly Care and Childcare in Japan**

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# Definition of double responsibilities of care

Situations in which women (or men) have to simultaneously provide elderly and childcare

# Double Responsibilities of Care Project

## Project Aims

- To examine the reality of women facing the double responsibilities of care
- To identify future risks to women, family, communities, and social policy in Japan and other EA societies
- To contribute to the development of feminist social policy theories

# Double Responsibilities of Care Project

A Part of a wider project '**Double Responsibilities of Care**' in East Asia'

- Dr. Raymond K.H. CHAN, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong
- Dr. Dayoung SONG, Incheon National University, South Korea
- Dr. Kate Yeong-Tsyr WANG , National Taiwan Normal University, Taiwan

A paper on comparative analysis on DRC in Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Japan will be presented RC 19 session 343 ( Saturday 19<sup>th</sup> 12:30-14:20)

# Emerging Double care: Background

Japan

Late marriage (29.2 years old)

+ later age at first birth (30.3 years old)

+ low birth rate (TFR1.43)

+ aging society (25.1%)

+ related policy and institutional limitations and influence



Number of “double-care households”



- smaller number of siblings
- relying to some degree on existing long-term care and childcare services.

# Care policy and practice

## **Elderly care**

The introduction of LTCI Act (2000), a relatively generous coverage (17.46% of over 65 are eligible to receive LTCI services), providing comprehensive institutional and home based services. A stronger state's financial commitments than other EA societies.

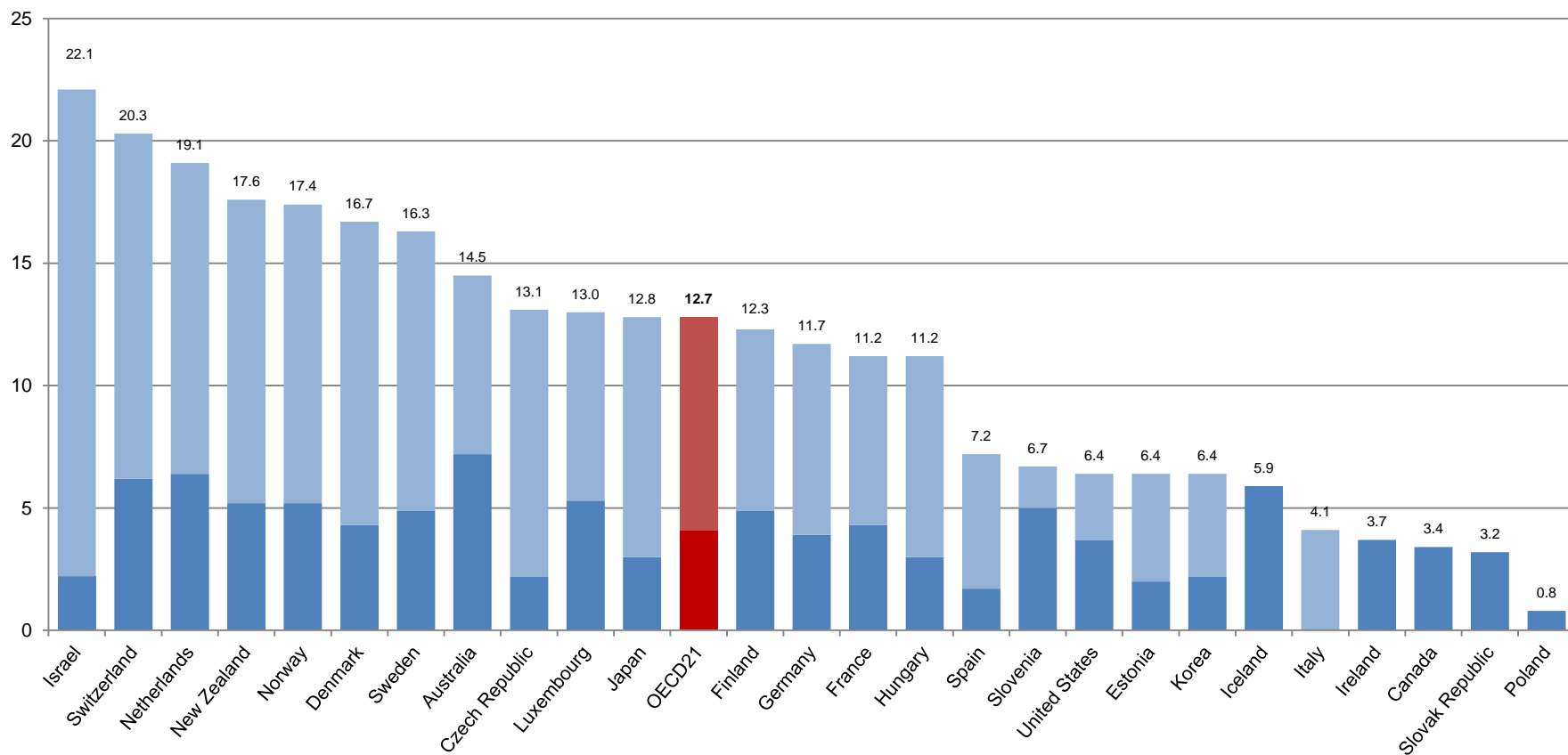
## **Child care**

The deregulation of childcare providers and the mechanism of quasi market have been promoted since 1990s resulted in the expansion of for-profit organisations. The problem of 'care deficit (whole day nursery and short-term nursery)' has been a serious issue especially in urban area, while in local areas kindergartens do NOT meet student's quota.

# Population aged 65 years and over receiving long-term care, 2011

% of population aged 65 years and over

Institutions Home



# Research on Double Responsibilities of Care

- Concept of 'double responsibilities of care' missing in research in the following areas...
  - Social care
  - Feminist social policy
  - New social risks
  - Family policy, particularly sandwich generation and generational relations
- In addition, little available data exists regarding double responsibilities of care.



# Definition of care

An expanded definition of care is introduced to participants

Subjective judgement of what consists of providing care

Critical evaluations against the list of services/activities defined by care services by care policy

Care includes activities, such as shopping in place of someone or providing mental support by listening to complaints, making regular phone calls and managing care services

# Methodology:

## Mixed method approach

- Quantitative approach (1894 cases)

1<sup>st</sup> Stage: questionnaire survey at 3 childcare support centres in Yokohama, in late September 2012. (n = 559)

2<sup>nd</sup> Stage: mobile survey of childcare email magazine subscribers in Yokohama, Shizuoka, Kyoto, Kagawa and Fukuoka, between December 2012 and January 2013. (n = 933)

3<sup>rd</sup> Stage: questionnaire survey at daycare centres, after-school day-care centres, and childcare support centre in Yokohama, Kanagawa and Kyoto, from November 2013 to February 2014. (n=402)

# Methodology:

## Mixed method approach

### Qualitative approach

All respondents in the quantitative survey that are currently engaged in or have previously been engaged in double care who agreed to be interviewed.

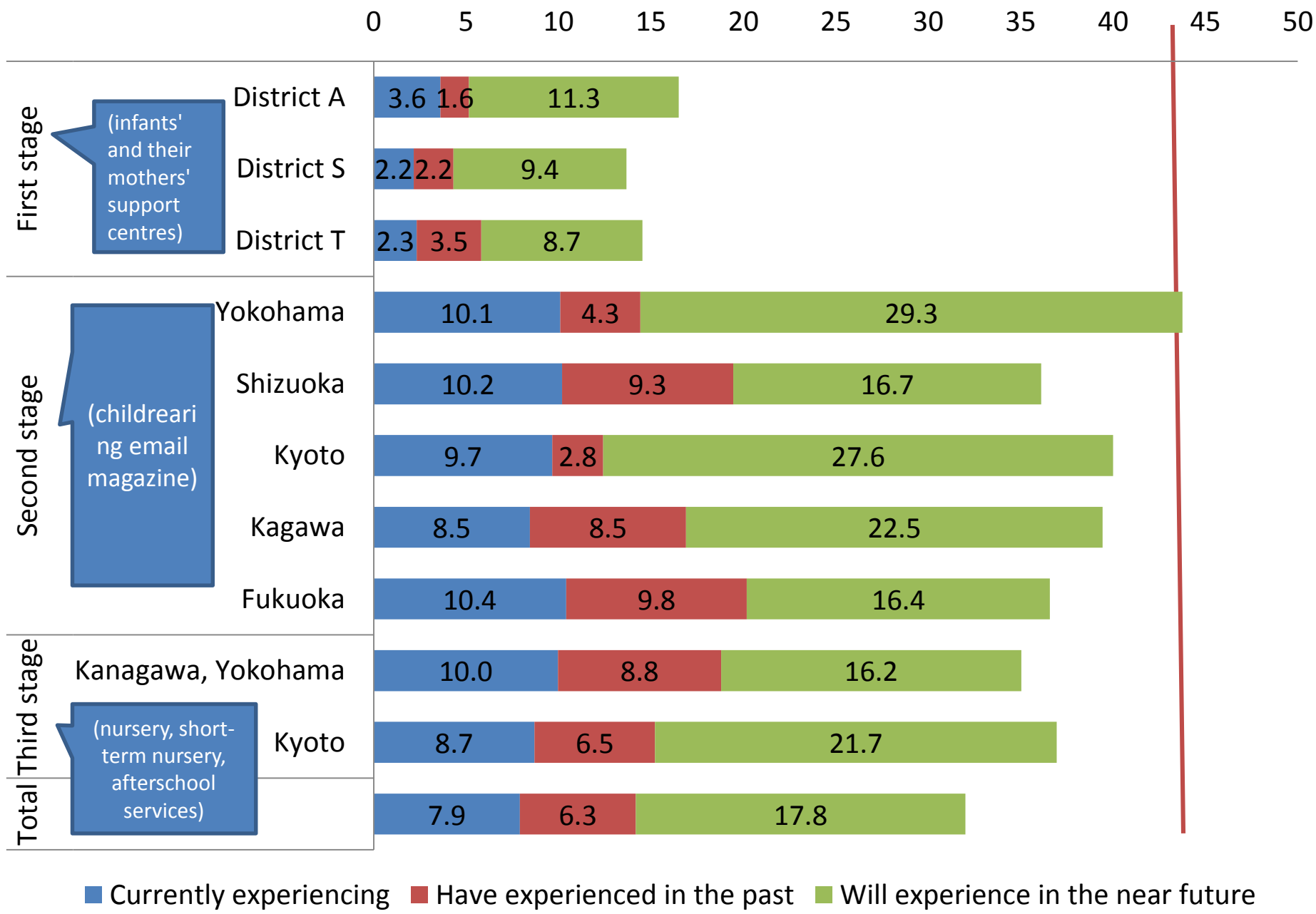
- 45 minutes— 2 hours
- Face-to-face or by phone
- 23 cases – on going → 32 cases will be interviewed

# Methodology (Comparative)

- Quantitative survey: purposive sampling, mothers who are with a child aged under 6 (for Taiwan and Hong Kong, also parents/parents-in-law to be taken care of) in 2012-2014.

Sample size:

- Japan – 1,894
  - Korea – 556
  - Taiwan - 331
  - Hong Kong – 591
- Qualitative in-depth interview held in 2013/14 from respondents drawn from the survey who are with / have experienced double-care and agreed to be interviewed. 20 to 30 samples in each countries.



■ Currently experiencing 
 ■ Have experienced in the past 
 ■ Will experience in the near future

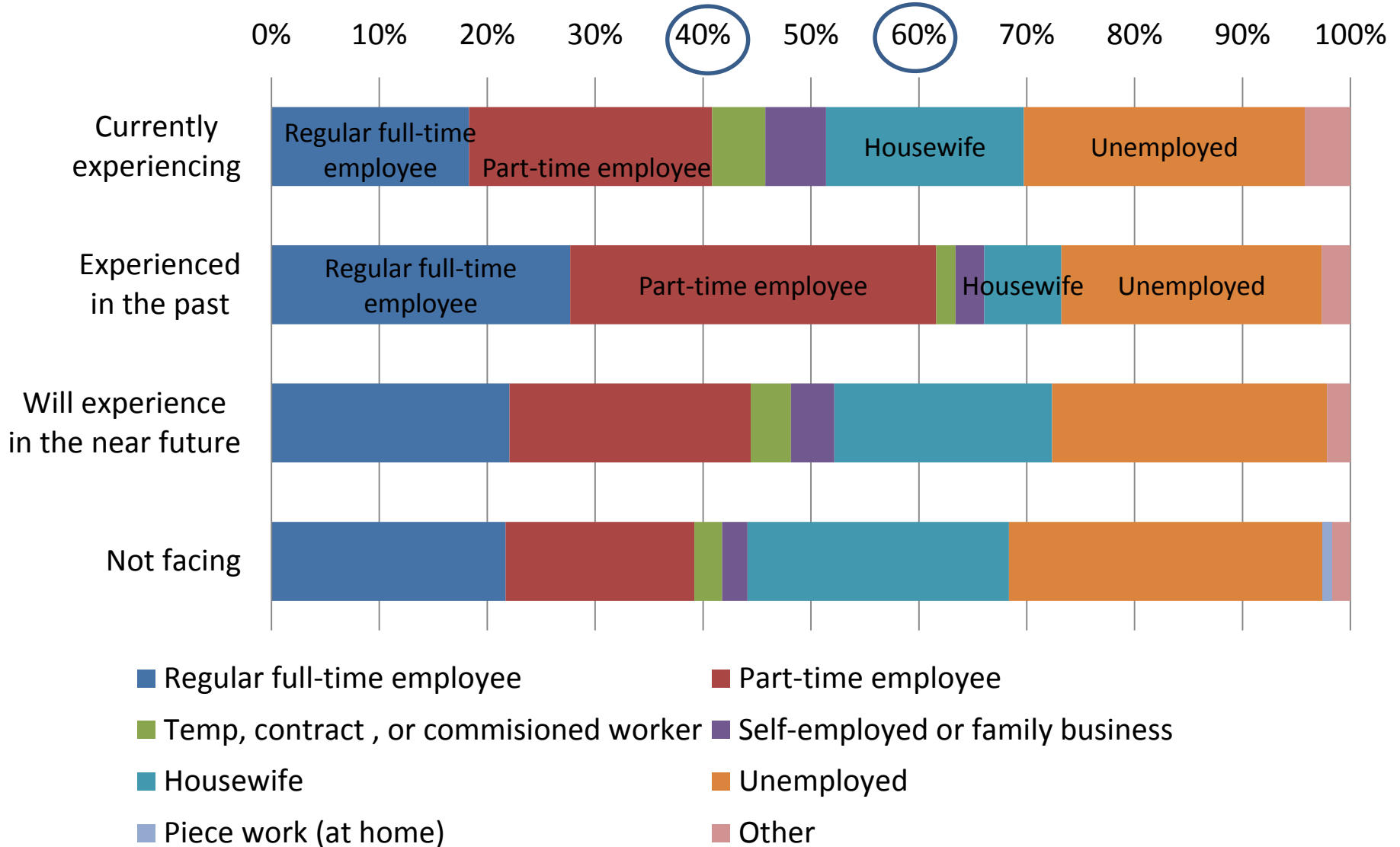
# Quantitative Survey Results

(4) Age of respondents and respondents' children

	Respondent	1st Child
<b>(A) currently engaged :</b>	<b>41.13</b>	<b>7.74</b>
<b>(B) previously engaged :</b>	<b>42.75</b>	<b>10.36</b>
<b>(C) expecting to be engaged :</b>	<b>39.61</b>	<b>5.56</b>
<b>(D) not engaged :</b>	<b>37.58</b>	<b>4.34</b>

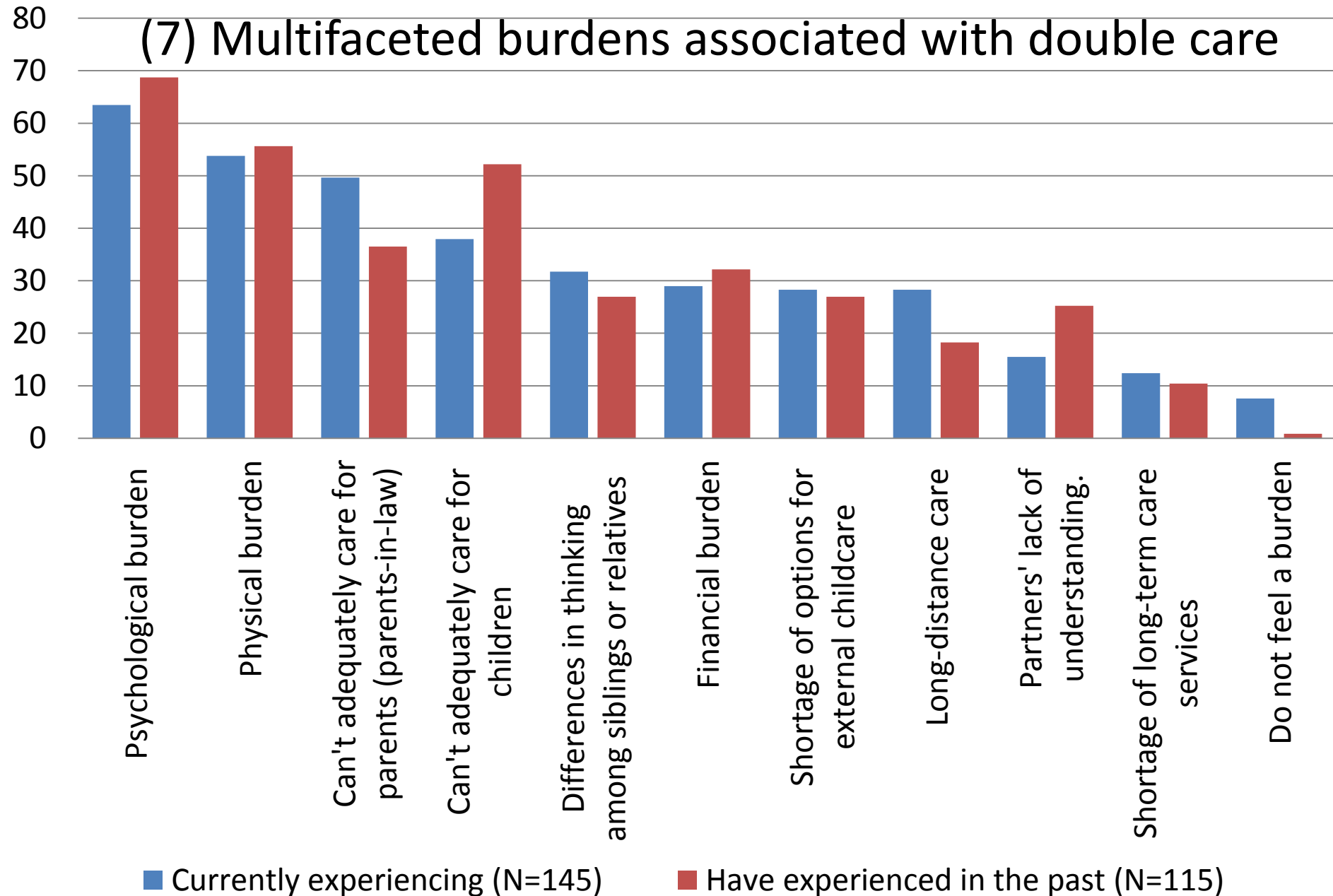
# Quantitative Survey Results

## (5) Employment Status of respondents



# Quantitative Survey

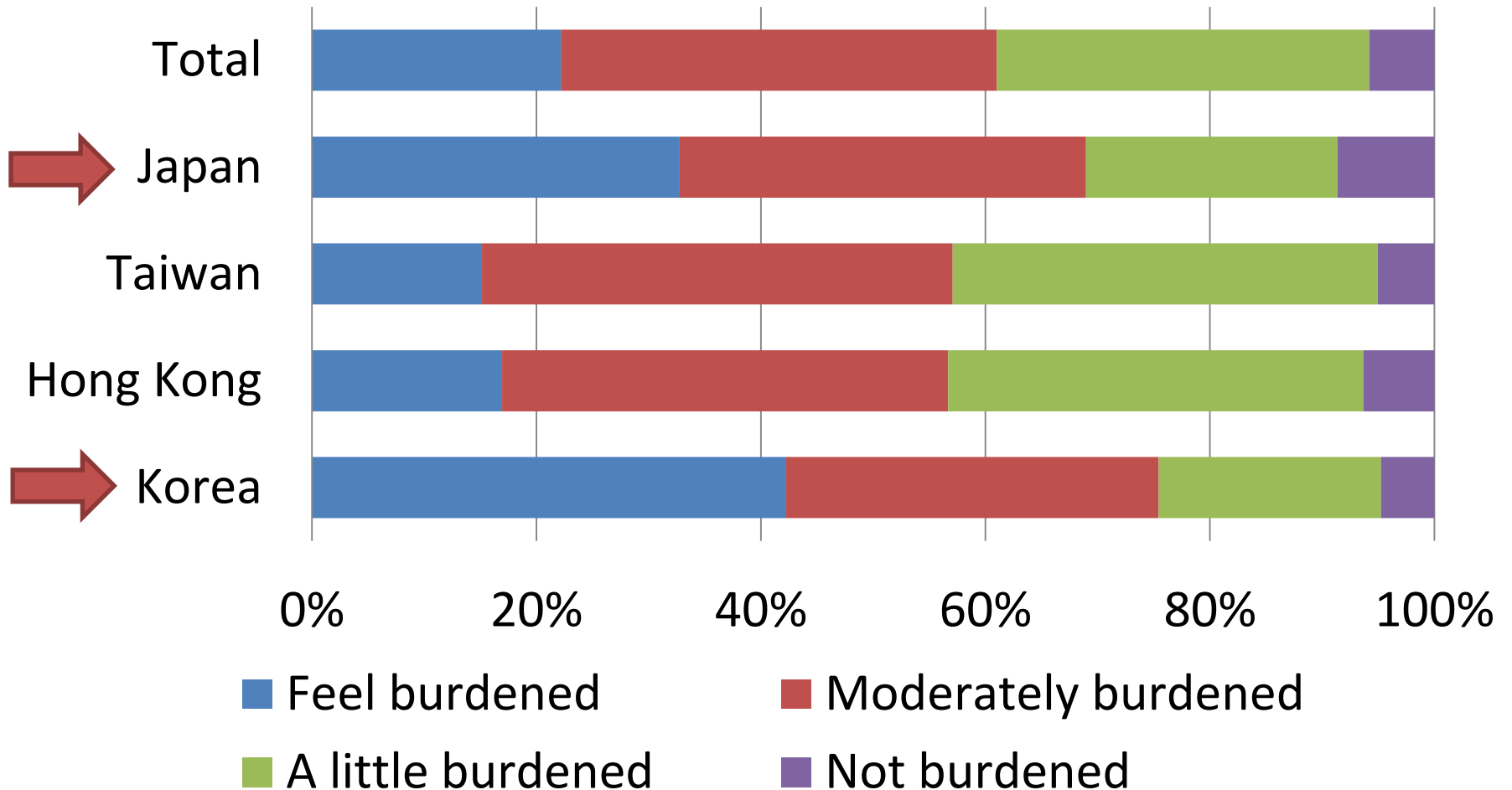
## (7) Multifaceted burdens associated with double care





# Higher burden in Korea and Japan

Degree of DRC burden



# Quantitative Survey Results

## (8) Who supports double care providers?

	Currently engaged (N=145)	Previously engaged (N=115)
Husband	57.24	48.70
Friends	22.76	26.96
Care manager	19.31	16.52
Relatives	17.24	18.26
Home helper of long term care insurance	13.10	13.04
<b>No one available to help</b>	<u>12.41</u>	<u>16.52</u>
Nursery school staff	10.34	7.83
Staff of community comprehensive support centers	6.90	5.22
Preschool/kindergarten teachers	6.21	6.06
Parents/parents-in-law	5.52	5.22
Staff of childcare support centers	2.76	2.61

# Semi-structured interviews

## Key questions:

- Events leading to the interviewees' care of parents,
- Content of elderly care,
- Use of elderly care and childcare services,
- Parent-child relationships, marital relationships,
- Difficult and positive aspects of double care,
- Relative prioritization of childcare vs. elderly care,
- Preferences related to types of services, and future plans.

# Example of cases : YD

Cohabitate / Fulltime-housewife / Only Child

3 years old and 5 years old

## Double Care situation

Mother is diabetes, almost blind and wheelchair user. Husband is not around home much due to his occupation as fire-fighters. A week schedule is filled with double care activities.

High burden and stress. Really exhausted. Financial burden is high as well. Previous job is kindergarten teacher, so YA is dedicated to childcare, but she cannot do what she wants to do for children due to mother's care. YD struggles to go out with mother and two small children.

# Example of cases : YB

Living in the same neighbourhood / Fulltime-housewife / One older sister  
6 years old and 2 years old

## Double Care situation

Supporting father's everyday life who had a stroke, and paralysis in his half body, and mild dementia. She visit him every day and help him to go to day care centre twice a week. Mother is the main carer, but is still working. Her mother is very upset about his health situation. YB listens to her complaint. YB had good relationships with father and respects him.

High burden and stress. Wishing if she did not have the second son, her life would be better and could have provided more care to her farther. Tried to use short term/temporal nursery services, but was difficult. Feel sorry for the first son as her involvement with father's care gave him some burden and stress. Cannot talk about caring father with friends, feeling isolatedWanted to 'Disappear' when her first son was reluctant to go to school and required her intensive support, but had to keep taking care of father as well.

# Example of cases : YB

- After sending my older kid off (6 years old) to elementary school by 8:30, I immediately go to my parents' home with my second son (2 years old) and help my father to leave home and go to physical therapy. I can't relax at all. My kid's squirming around, and my hands are full of stuff I'm carrying for my father. If my father were then to fall over or something, I'd have to hold him up with my head. That's how I often feel (YB)

# Example of cases : YA

Long distance / Fulltime housewife / Only child / Father is in Institution / Mother is at home

2 years old

## Double Care Situation

Her father has dementia and physical disability after a surgery for a brain tumour. His care needs is assessed as level 5 'in need of care' (the most severe level) and lives in a medical institution. Her mother has depression and has been suffered from bad health after a surgery for a bile duct cancer. Her care need is assessed as level 2 'in support of care'. YA lives in Okinawa, which is 2.5 flights from the town her parents live. She was staying at parents' house with her daughter with a plan of 3 months-stay to help her mother getting out of hospital and find an institution for further.

## Example of cases : YA (c'd)

Parents have not had good relationships. Mother does not want father to come home. Father's medical institution does not provide a good quality of care. Thus, she is looking for a caring institution for him, but with her small daughter it is difficult to have a meeting with professionals and institutions. Very stressed about a next time when she would receive a call regarding care of her parents. Her husband supports her. She talks about double responsibilities of care situation to her old friend who has experience.



# Discussion: empirical findings

## 1. Multifaceted burdens

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} \mathbf{1} & + & \mathbf{1} & + & \mathbf{1} & \neq & \mathbf{3} & \rightarrow & \mathbf{1} & + & \mathbf{1} & + & \mathbf{1} & \gg & \mathbf{3} \\ \text{Elderly} & & \text{Child} & & \text{Work} & & & & \text{Elderly} & & \text{Child} & & \text{Work} & & \text{Multi-} \\ \text{care} & & \text{care} & & & & & & \text{care} & & \text{care} & & \text{Work} & & \text{faceted} \\ & & & & & & & & & & & & & & \text{burden} \end{array}$$

- Age and health of the parents/parents-in-law
- Relationship with the parents/parent-in-law
- Relationship with husband
- Household financial condition
- Utilization of different types of services

# Age/Health Status of Parents / Parents-in-law (Comparative)

- In Japan, the most severe cases often in LTC institutions, thus ill-health (level of care needs) does not necessary increase the level of burden (e.g., Japan case YD, FA)
- In Hong Kong, Aging parents who are in ill-health (such as old-old elderly in ill-health) exhibits a higher level of burden (e.g., Hong Kong case 26 and case 390).

# Relationship with Parents/Parents-in-law

- A few cases that daughter supports mother who is the main carer for father expressed a higher level of stress with mediating parent's relationships and offering mental support in JAPAN
- Those with better relationship with parents/parents-in-law = higher level of burden in HONG KONG ( $-.119$  &  $-.121$ ,  $p < .01$ ).
- KOREA still has more numbers of siblings. Adult child living close to the elderly is likely to provide daily life support and care arrangement. Other siblings share finance and give the second help, which often causes familial conflicts.
- For KOREA cases, financial situation of parents /parents-in-law affects their relationship.

# Discussion: Japan

In addition to childcare, housework, and work, as daughters, women provide a wide range of support to their parents...

- Actual care services
  - Support of everyday activities (shopping, laundry, and etc)
  - Communication and check up
  - listening to complaints
  - **Care management** and making decision (expanding role under the LTCI scheme = commodification of care)
  - Mediating the relationship between parents,
  - Mental support for children and elderly
- Covered by LTCI

# Discussion: Comparative

Women finds difficulties in providing both children and elderly care:

- The introduction of LTCI has 'created' care activities which generate 'new' types of caring responsibilities = care management
  - The LTCI made it possible for those who live away from the elderly parents to get involved in providing care.
- Mainly with providing elderly care which are not covered by the LTCI Act = not commodified care activities
  - Care management & decision making, emotional support, responding to different needs from children and elderly at the same time

# Conclusion

- The expansion of elderly and child care services in the last two decades
- Double responsibilities of care creates /multiples issues from providing both care

We need

- to consider childcare and elderly care as a unit in social policy research and process
- to understand policy issues and organise statistical information
- social services to deal with childcare and elderly care together.
  - flexible, short-term childcare, home help services for both children and elderly
- to have professional coordinator who can overview and support caring relationships/ties

# Conclusion(C'd)

- We need to examine the configuration of multiple women's roles as mother, wife, employee and **daughter/daughter in law** and re-examine feminist social policy in order to incorporate such multiple roles of women.