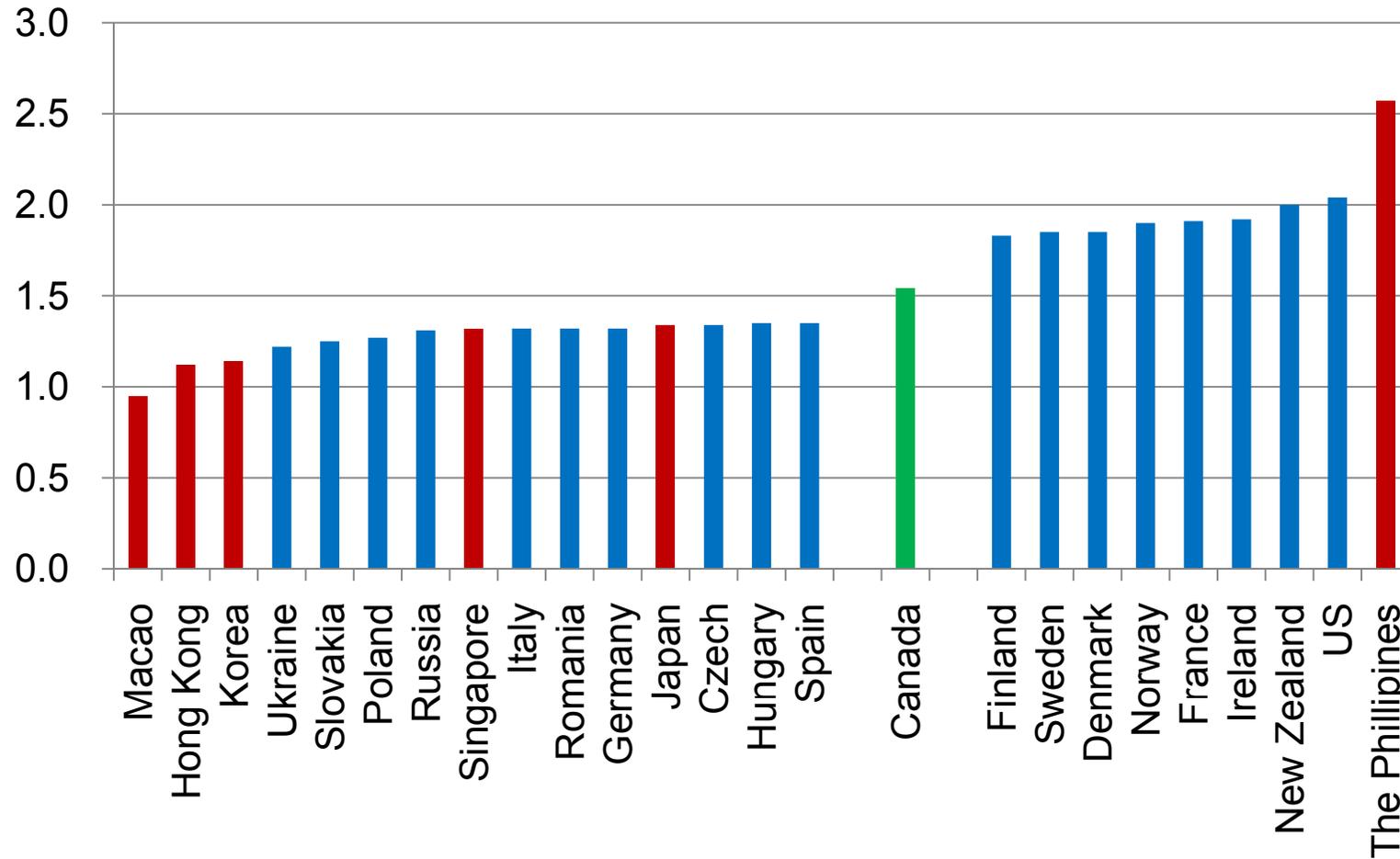


Care Diamonds in Asia Varieties of Familialism

OCHIAI Emiko (Kyoto University)

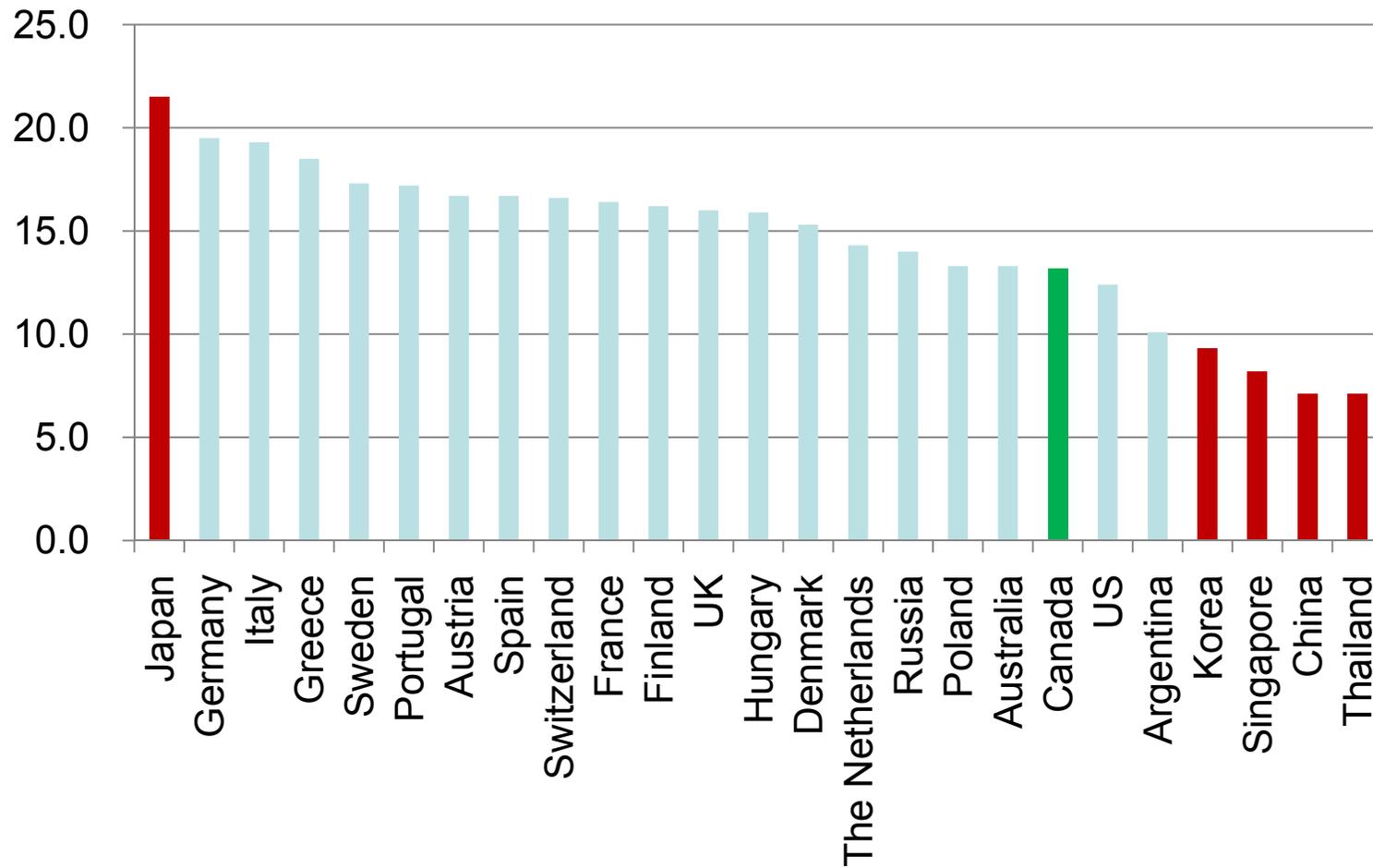
Total fertility rates (2004-06)

Lowest low fertility in East Asia



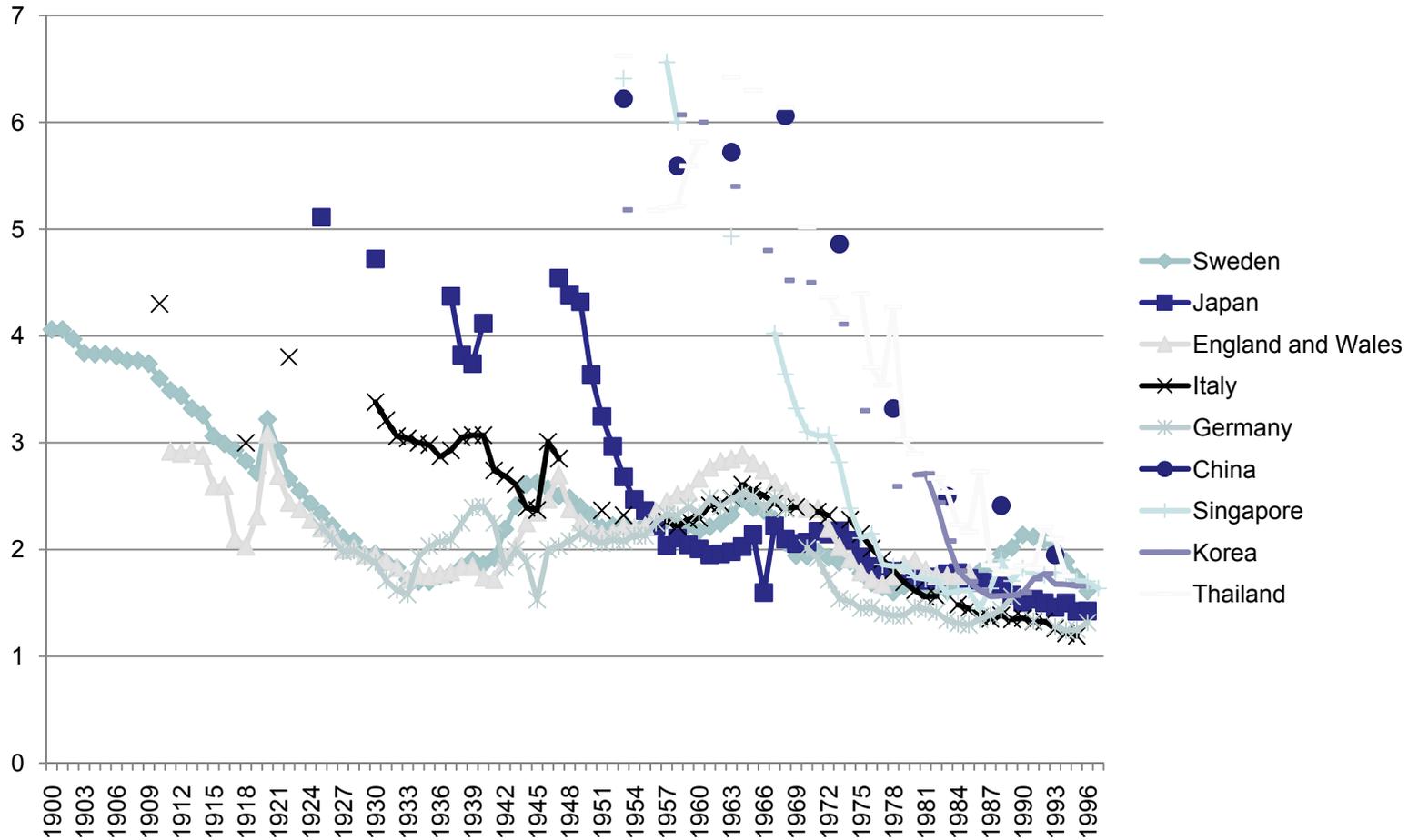
Proportion of population 65+ (2005-07)

Japan is an exception in Asia



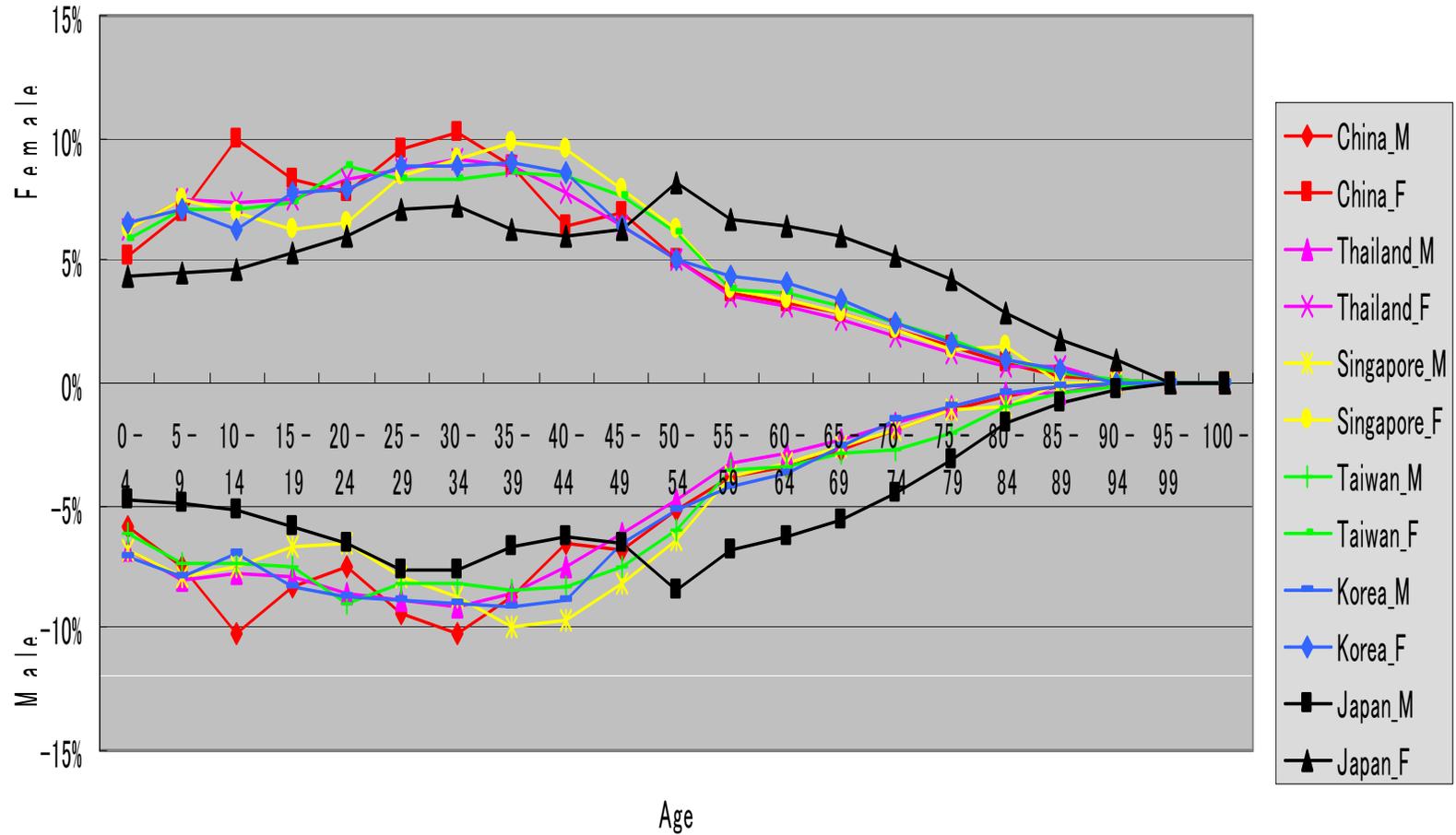
Fertility Decline in Asia and Europe

Compressed modernity in Asia



Age Structure in Asian Societies

Demographic dividend except for Japan



Questions

- Care regimes in contemporary Asia for childcare and elderly care
- The roles of policies in creating care regimes

Theoretical Framework

Key concepts

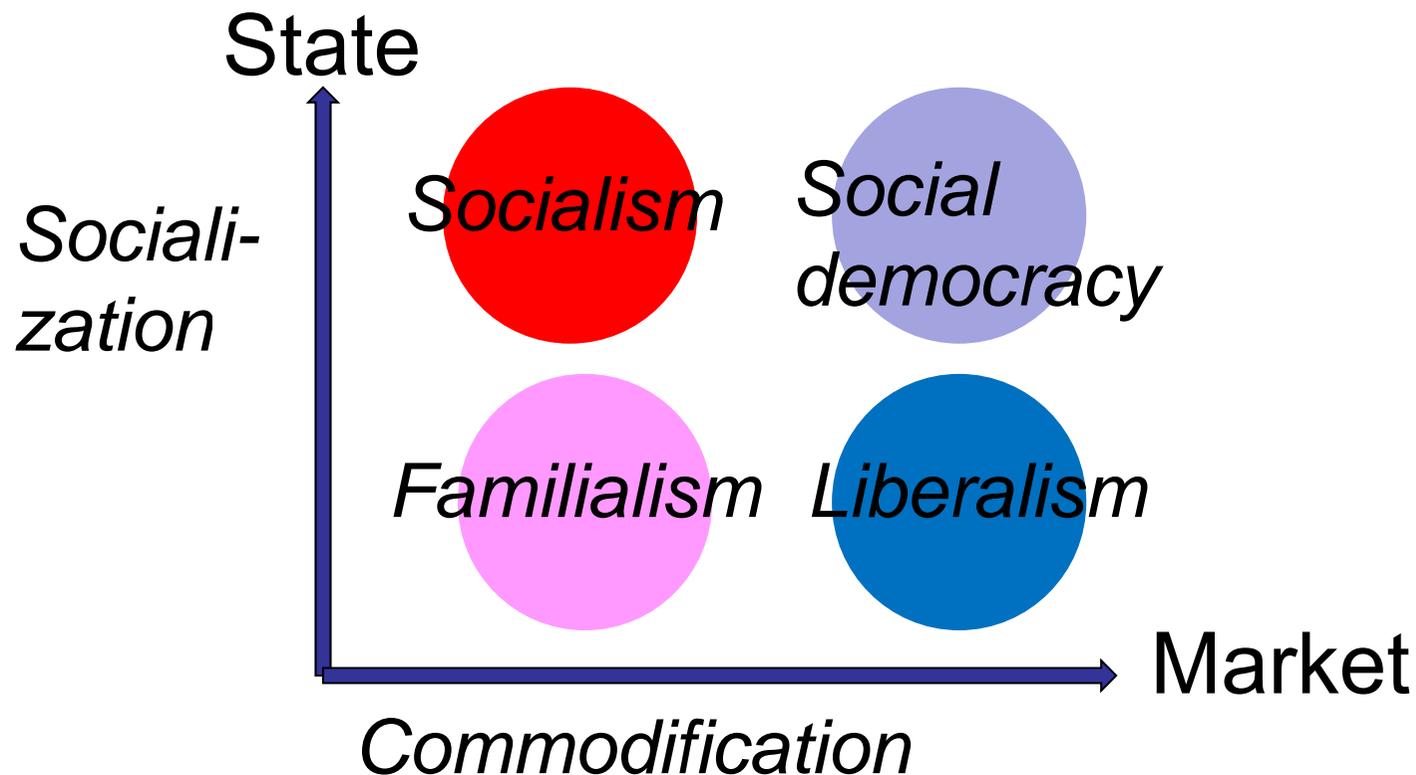
- Familialism

A familialistic system... is one in which **public policy assumes that** households **must** carry the principal responsibility for their family members' welfare. (E-A 1999)

- Defamilialization= The degree to which individual adults can uphold a socially acceptable standard of living, independently of family relationships, **either through paid work or through the social security system** (Lister 1994)

Two directions of defamilialization

- Def. by the state and def. through market
- Particularly important in the study of care regimes in Asia Ochiai(2009)



Theoretical framework for this study

- Def. by the state / def. through market
- Def. of service / def. of finance
- Familialism as a social regime
(not only as a type of social policy)
- Care diamond
(Adding community to the care triangle
as a key to understand changes)

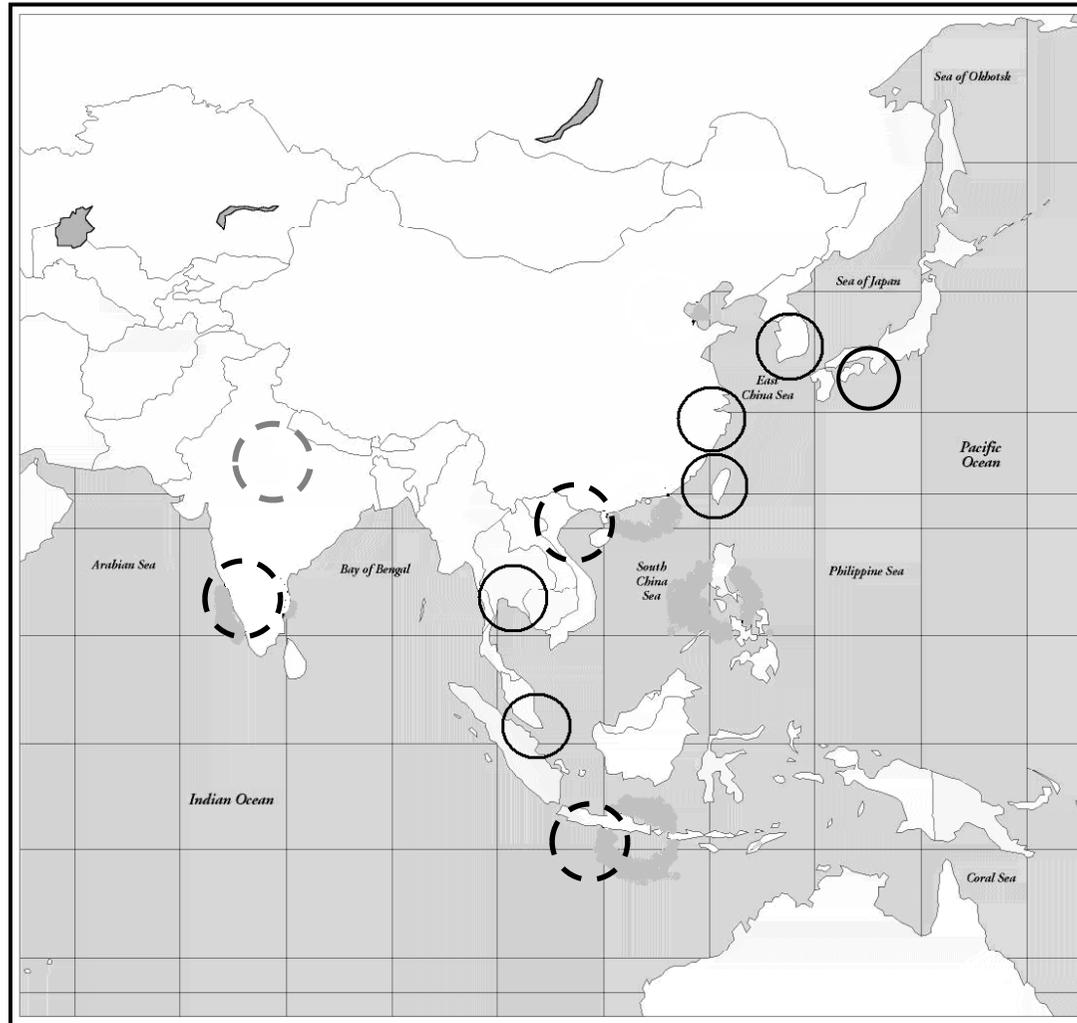
Comparison of Six Asian Societies

“Asian Gender Project”

- Purpose: To reveal family and gender role changes in East and Southeast Asian societies focusing on the patterns of care provision in childcare and elderly care.
- Research areas: China, South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, Thailand, Japan. (India, Indonesia, Vietnam were added later.)
- Focus: Urban middle class.
- Method: Semi-structured interview supplemented by surveys in some areas.
- Research period: 2001~2003~present.

Research Areas

EAST ASIA



Produced by the Cartographic Research Lab
University of Alabama

Background

- Ethnicity:
Chinese/Korean/Thai/Japanese
- Religion:
Confucianism/Buddhism/Taoism/
Shintoism
- Kinship system: Patrilineal/Bilateral/
- Social regime: Capitalism/Socialism

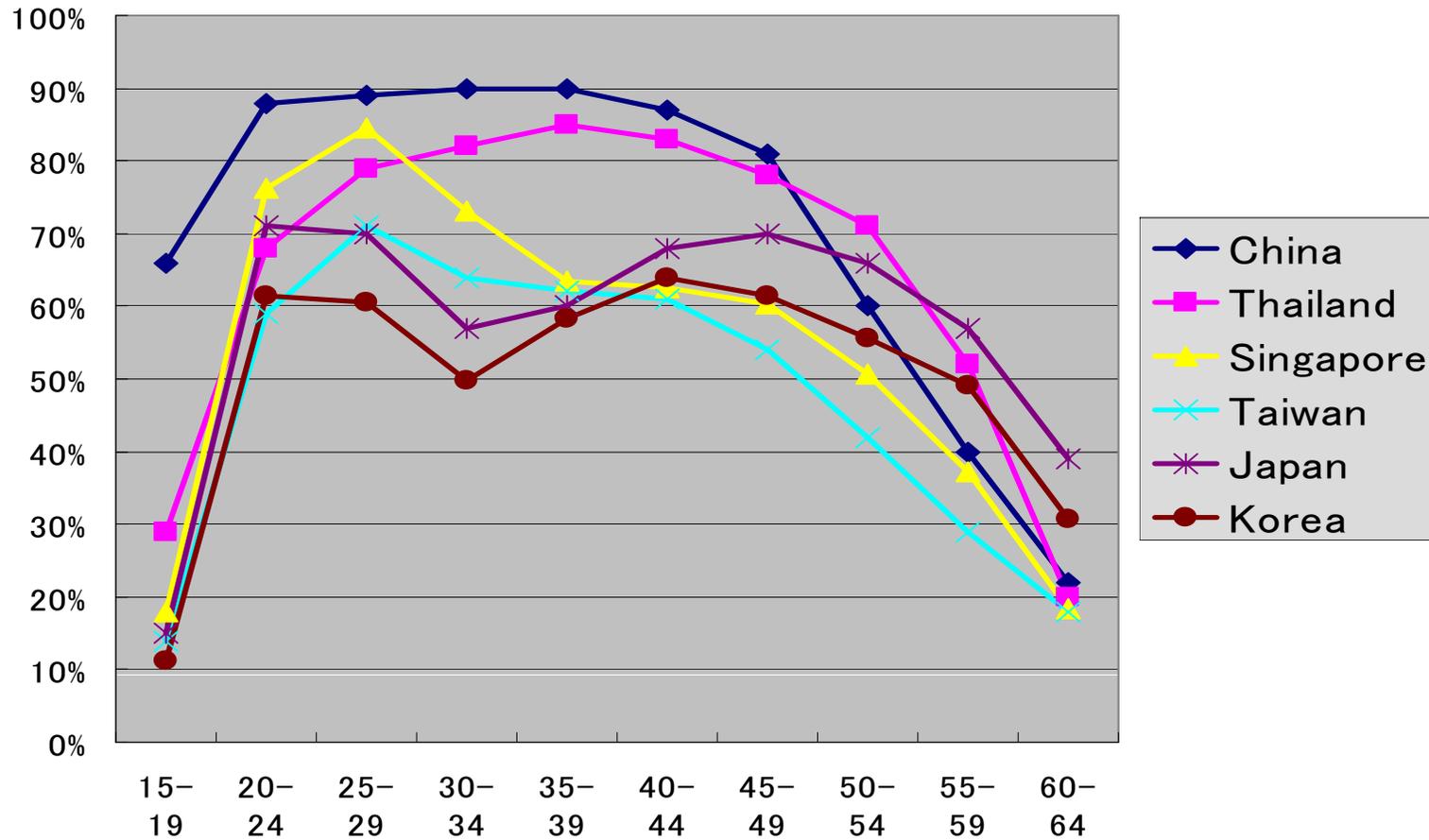
Huge diversity

Gender

Three Types of Female Lifecourse

- Type 1: a high employment rate is maintained (China, Thailand)
- Type 2: a decline starting from the 30s or children's reaching a certain age (Singapore, Taiwan)
- Type 3: a temporary decline in the late 20s followed by a rise ("M-shape pattern") (Korea, Japan)

Female Labor Force Participation Rates by Age in Six Asian Societies



Research outcome: Patterns of care provision

Providers of Childcare

	Mother	Father	Relative	Community	Domestic worker	Institution for children under 3
China	A-	A	A	B	C (B for large cities)	A
Thailand	A	A	B	B	B	D
Singapore	A-	B	A	C	A	A
Taiwan	A	B	A	C	B	C
Korea	A+	C	B	B	C	C
Japan	A+	C (B for dual-career family)	C (B for dual-career family)	B	D	C (B for dual-career family)

Providers of Elderly Care

	Child	Child's spouse	Relative	Community	Care worker	Institution
China	A *All children	B	B	A	B	C
Thailand	A *All children with a bias on daughters	B	B	B	C	D
Singapore	A *All children with a bias on sons	B	B	C	A	C
Taiwan	A *All children with a bias on sons	B	B	C	A	C
Korea	A *Eldest son	A	B	B	B	C
Japan	A *Eldest son	A	C	C	C (Changed by LTCI)	B

Summary of findings

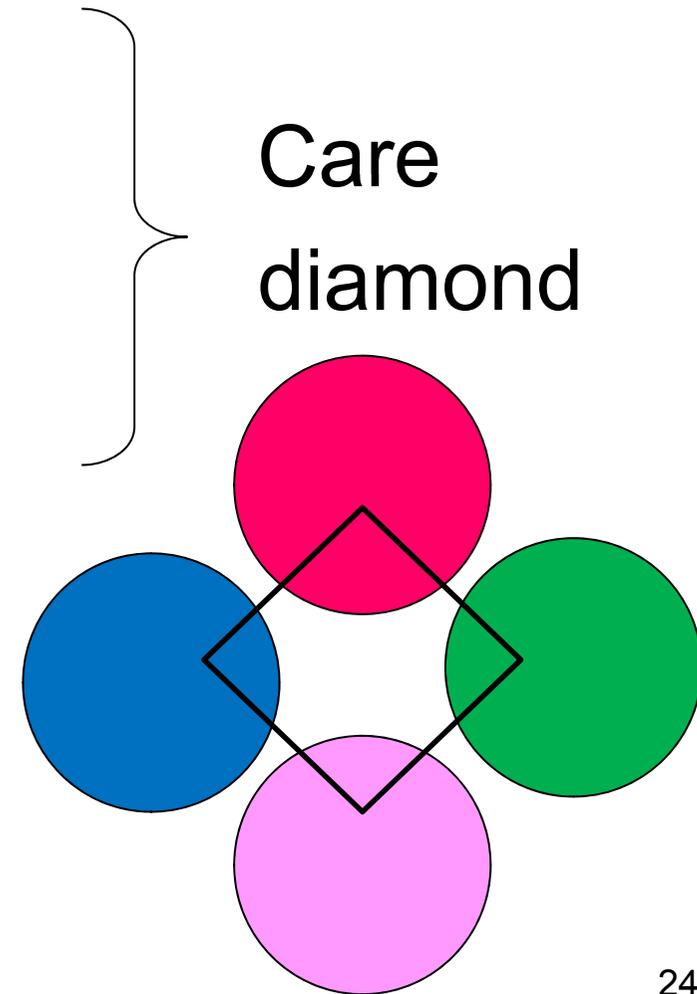
- (1) Relatives are most effective providers of both childcare and elderly care. Chinese and Thai fathers are most active in childcare, while daughter-in-laws are active in Japan and Korea.
- (2) Foreign domestic workers are used in many societies except for Japan particularly for elderly care in Taiwan and both childcare and elderly care in Singapore.
- (3) The institutional childcare is developed in socialist China and developmentalist Singapore for utilizing female labor, while the institutional elderly care is most developed in Japan.

- (5) Various kinds of effective providers for childcare exist in the societies where mothers with small children usually work. (Type 1 and 2 societies, especially China and Singapore), while support networks are poor in the “M-shape” societies where mothers with small children usually stay at home (Type 3 societies, namely Korea and Japan), particularly in Japan.
- (6) The community is officially activated for elderly care in China.

Analysis:
**Care diamonds and
the roles of policy**

Care diamond

- State
 - Market
 - Family
 - Community or voluntary
- Care triangle



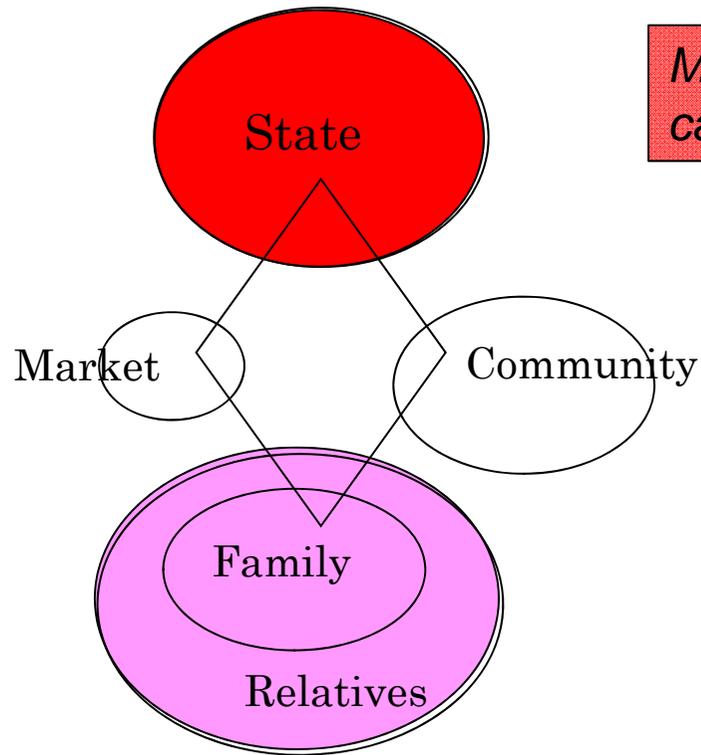
- For applying this model for Asian societies, the third sector should be renamed as “Family and relatives”.
- Institutional care can be divided into the state sector (public institution) and the market sector (private institution).
- The use of care worker with public subsidies can be partially attributed to the state sector.

The roles of policy in forming care diamonds

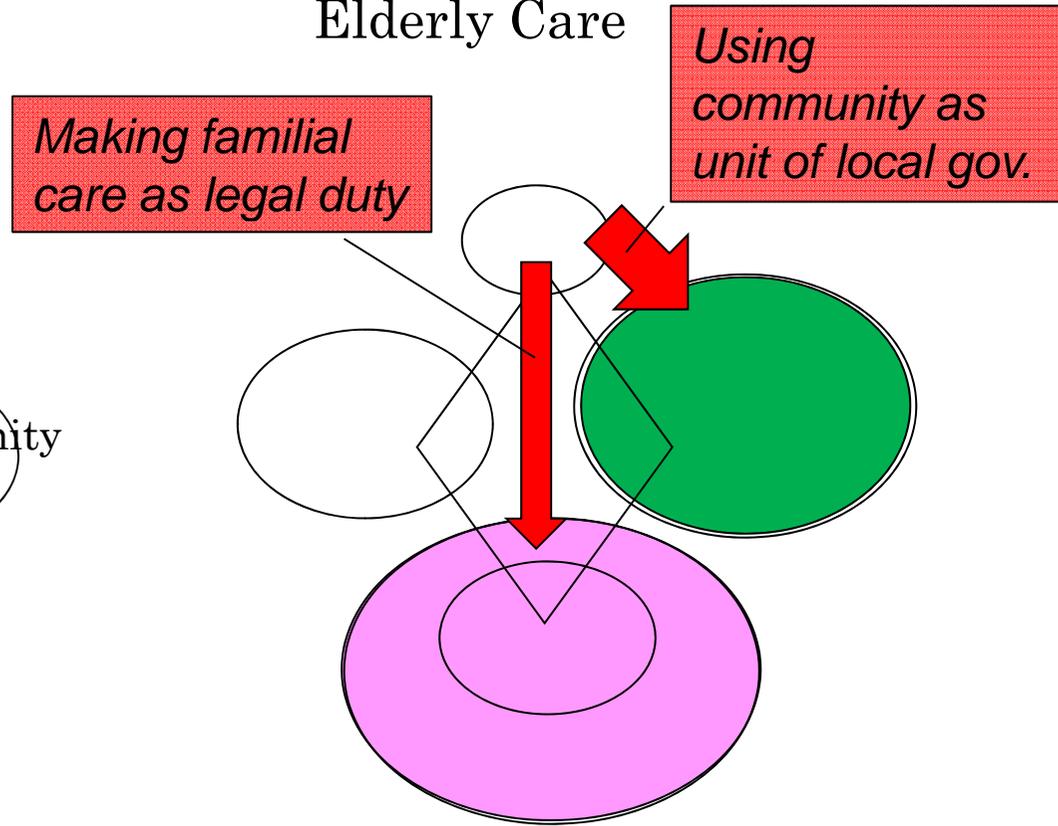
- The role of policy is not only related to the provision of care services or financing of care cost by the state.
- The policies also promotes or restricts care provision from other sectors either by financing or by regulation.

The Care Diamonds in China

Childcare

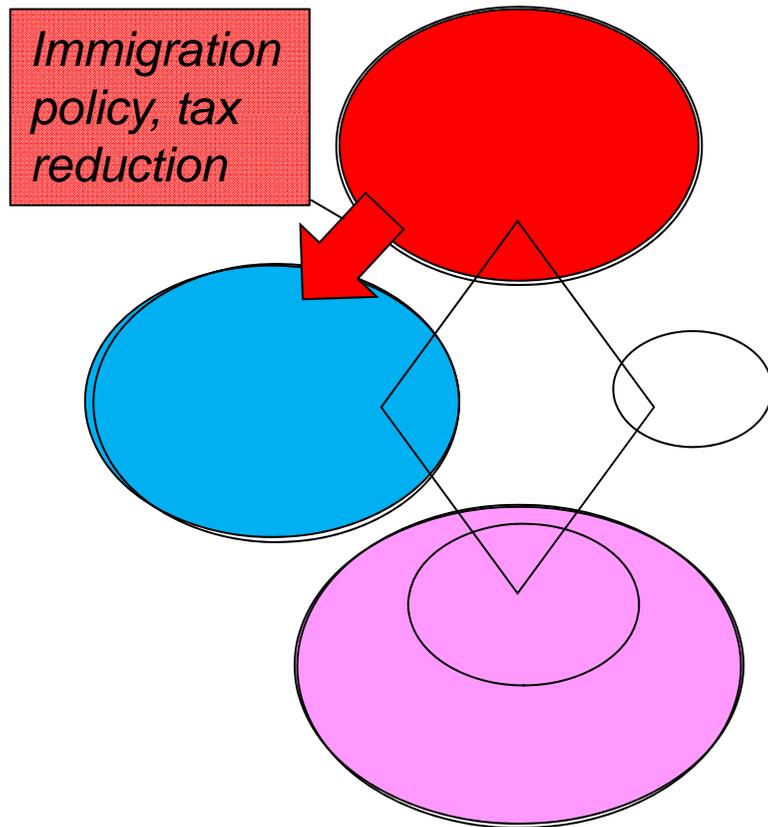


Elderly Care

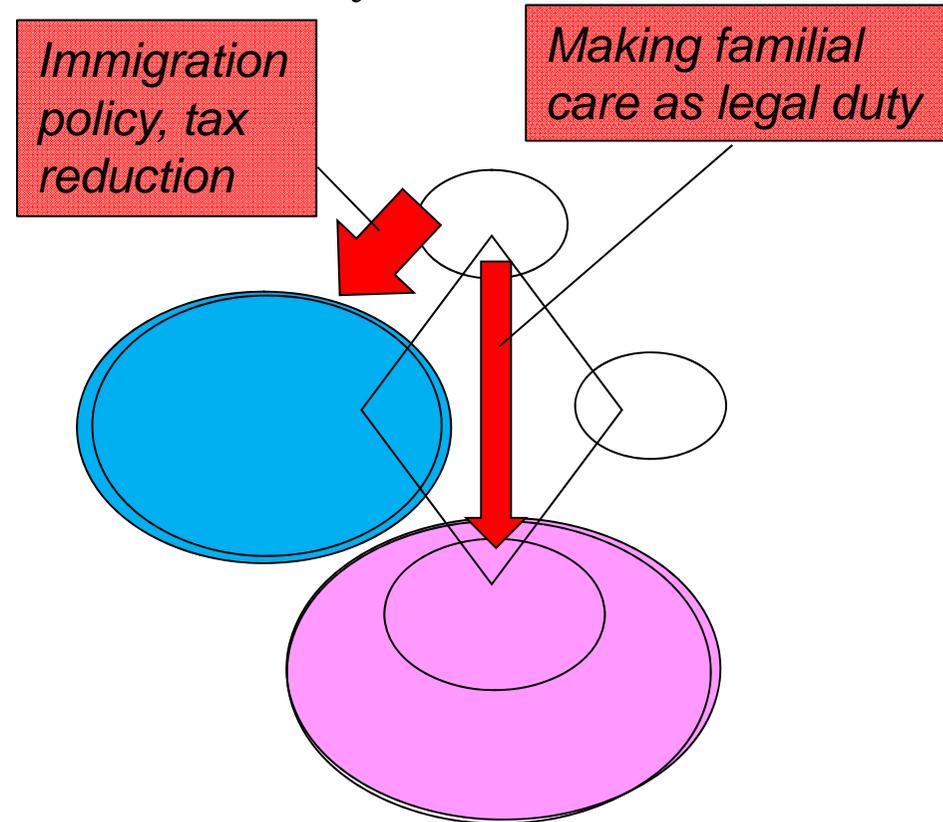


The Care Diamonds in Singapore

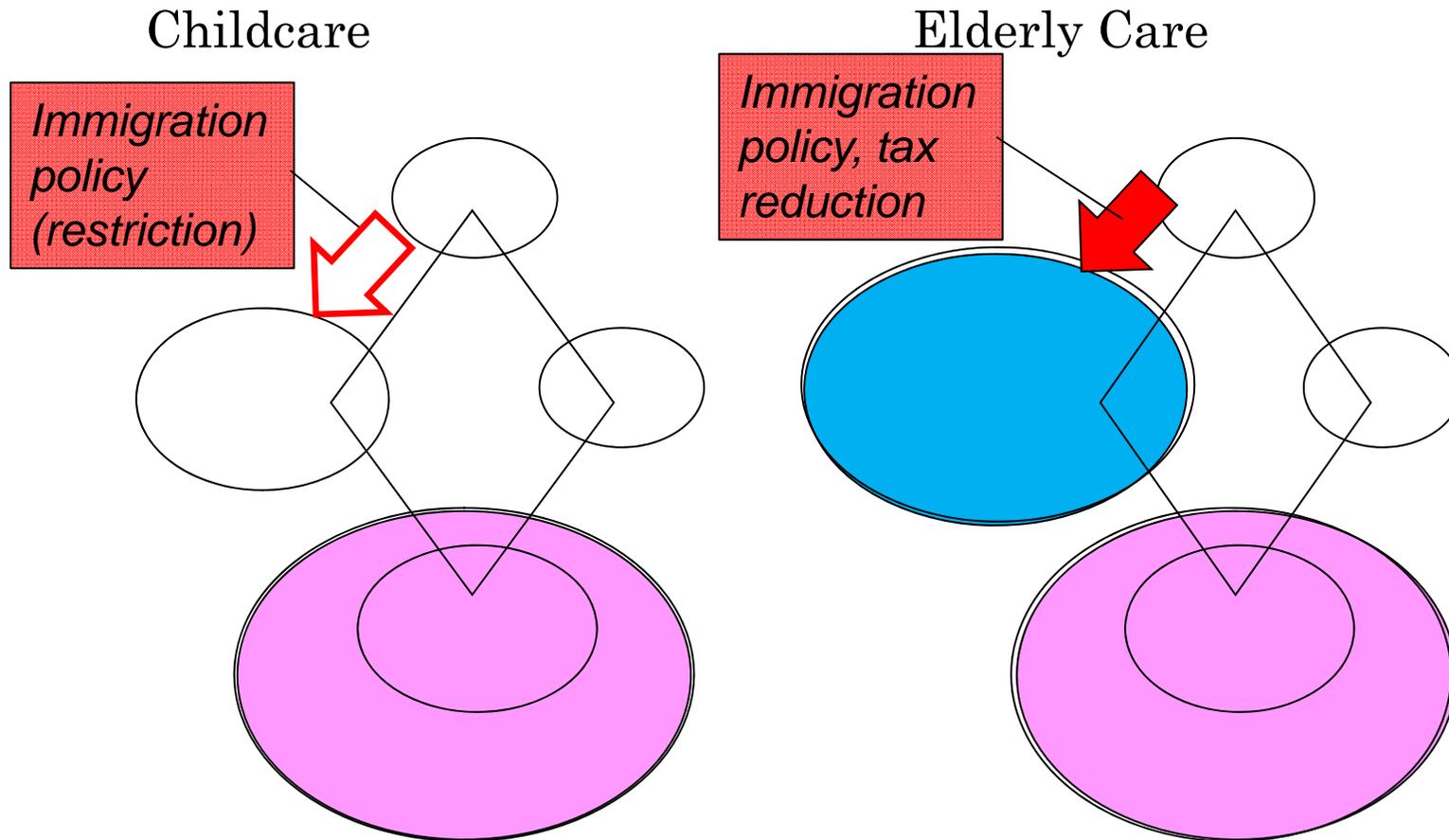
Childcare



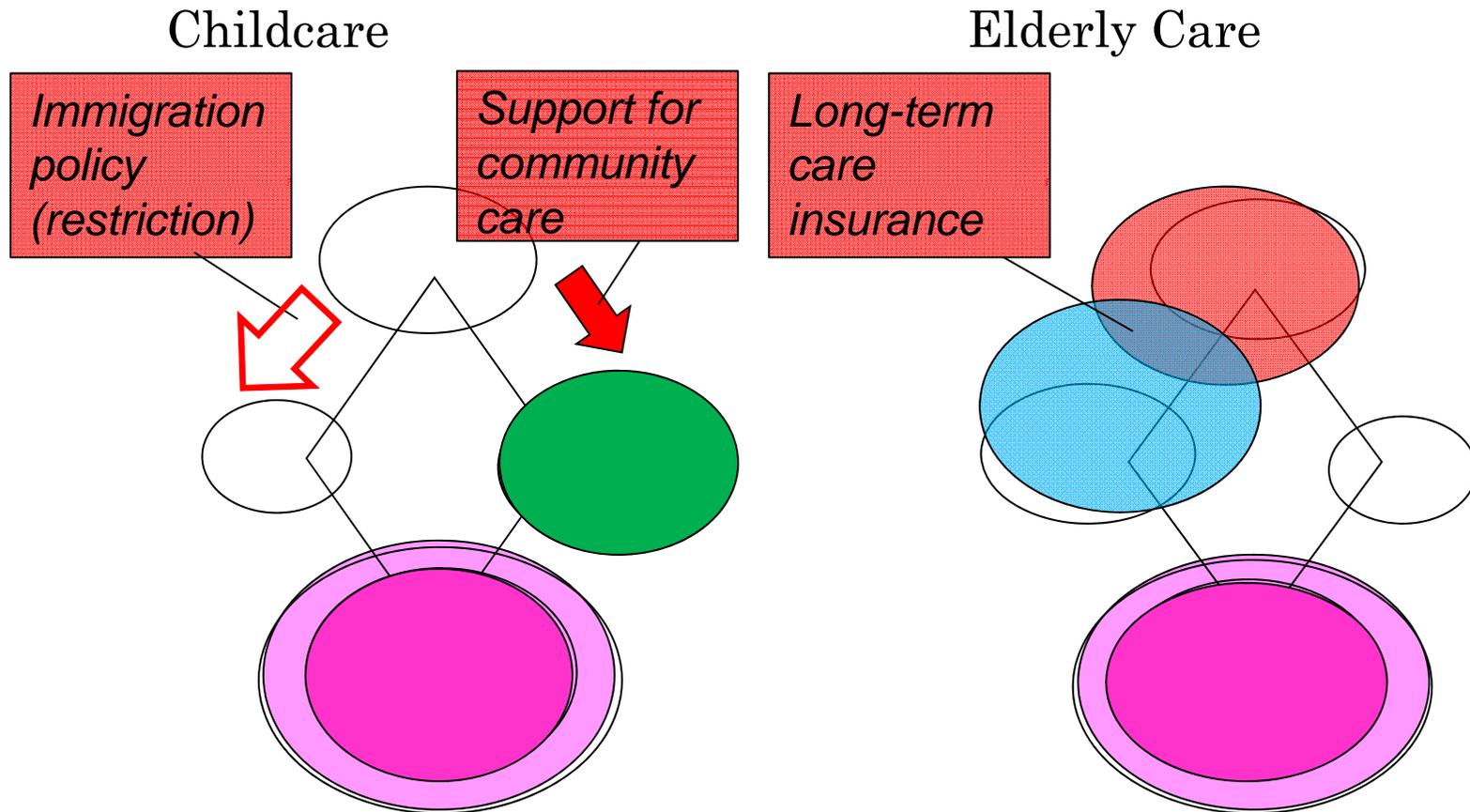
Elderly Care



The Care Diamonds in Taiwan

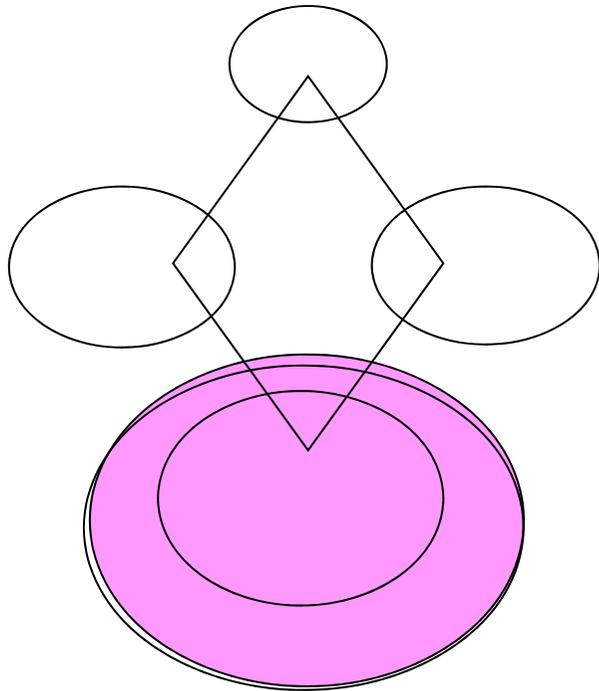


The Care Diamonds in Japan

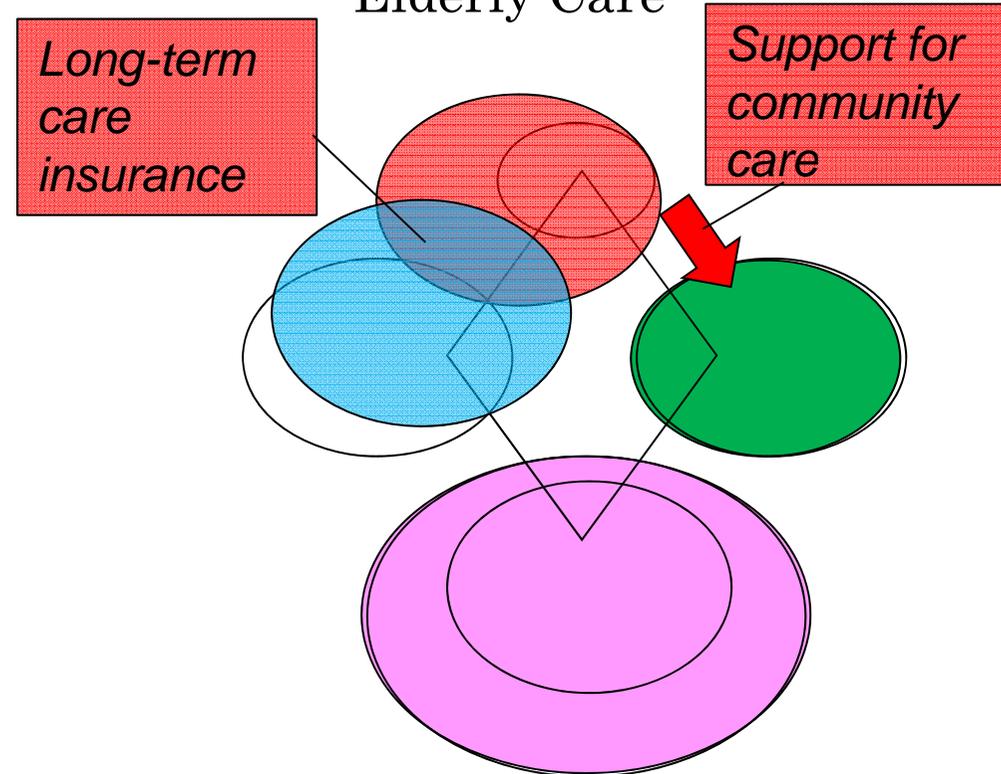


The Care Diamonds in Korea

Childcare

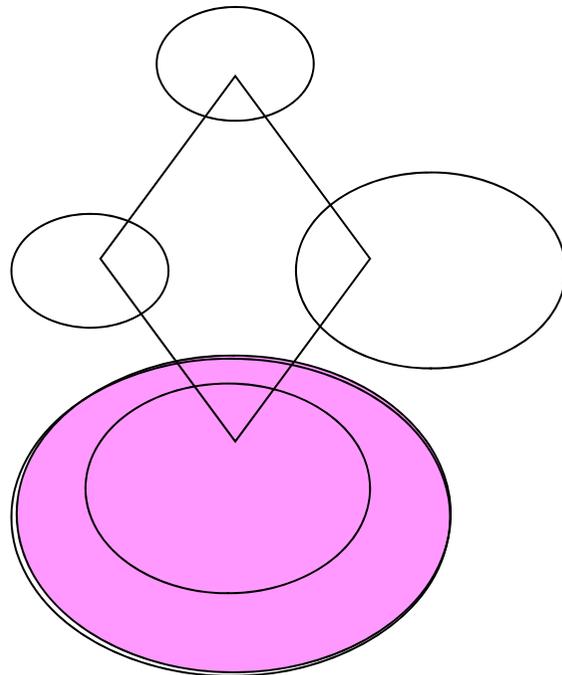


Elderly Care

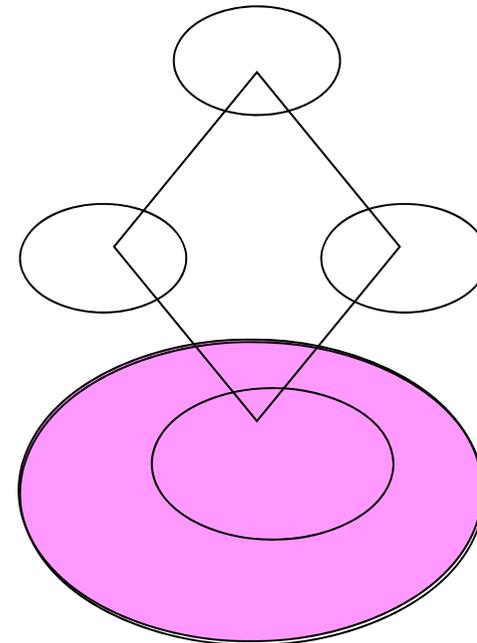


The Care Diamonds in Thailand

Childcare

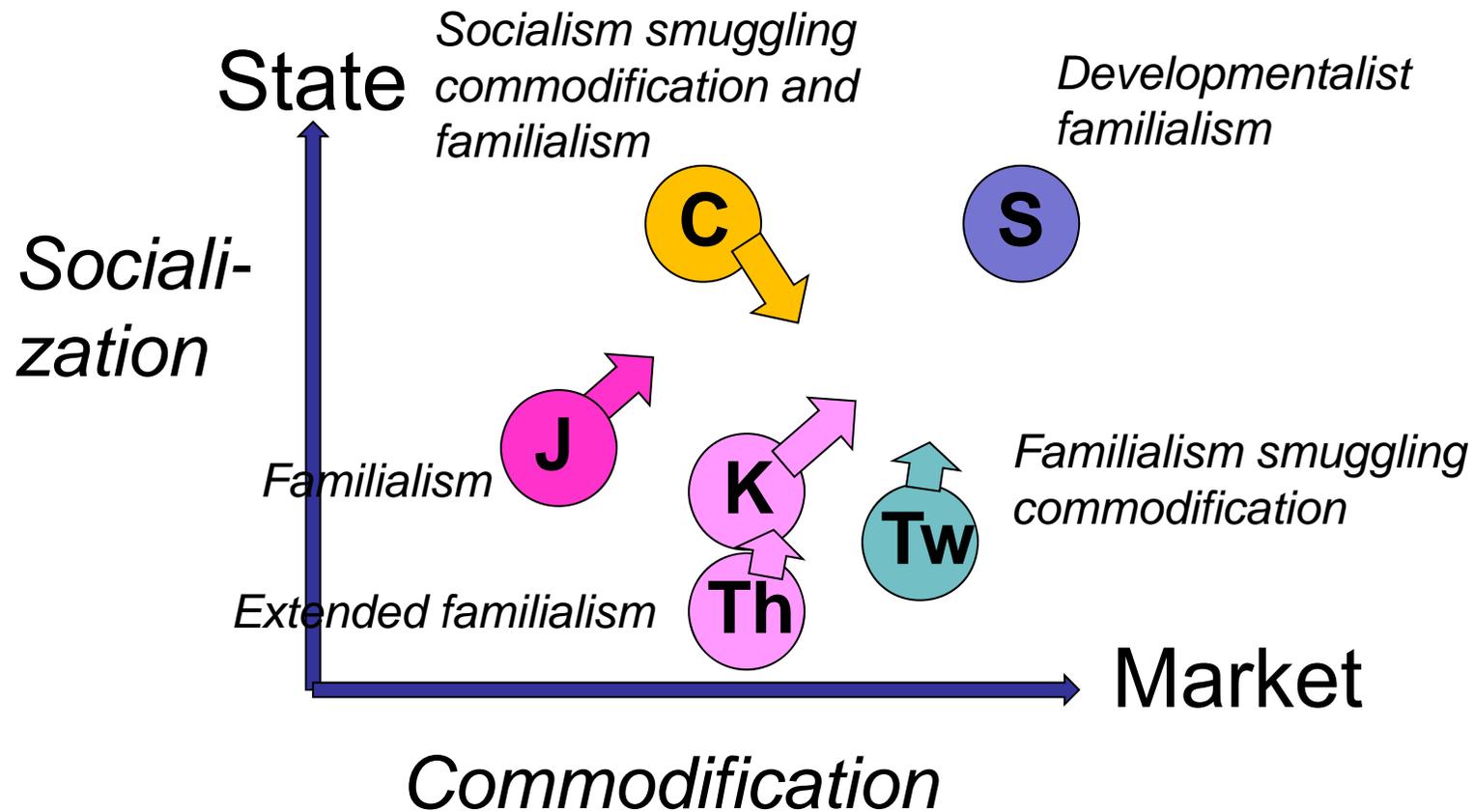


Elderly Care



Conclusion: Varieties of Familialism in Asia

Varieties of Familialism in Asia



Remaining family responsibility

- Defamilialization through market is well-developed in Asian societies (except for Japan).
 - However, in those cases, the financial responsibility remains on the family. (Taiwan, Korea, Thailand)
 - There are strong state support for childcare in China and Singapore. But the later cost for education is enormous due to the lack of social investment.
- low fertility, housewifization

Not only family policy matters

- The activation of market and community by policy
- The significance of the immigration policy in particular
- Long-term care insurance in Japan and Korea
- Legalization of familial care duty in China and Singapore

Different paths in the transformation of care regime

- In European modernity
 - Family and relatives + Domestic worker
 - Family (housewife) 1st modernity
 - Family + Welfare state 2nd modernity
- In Asian compressed modernity
 - Family and relatives + Domestic worker
 - Family and relatives + FDW
 - *with no period of typical familialization

Figure 2 Fertility and Modernity

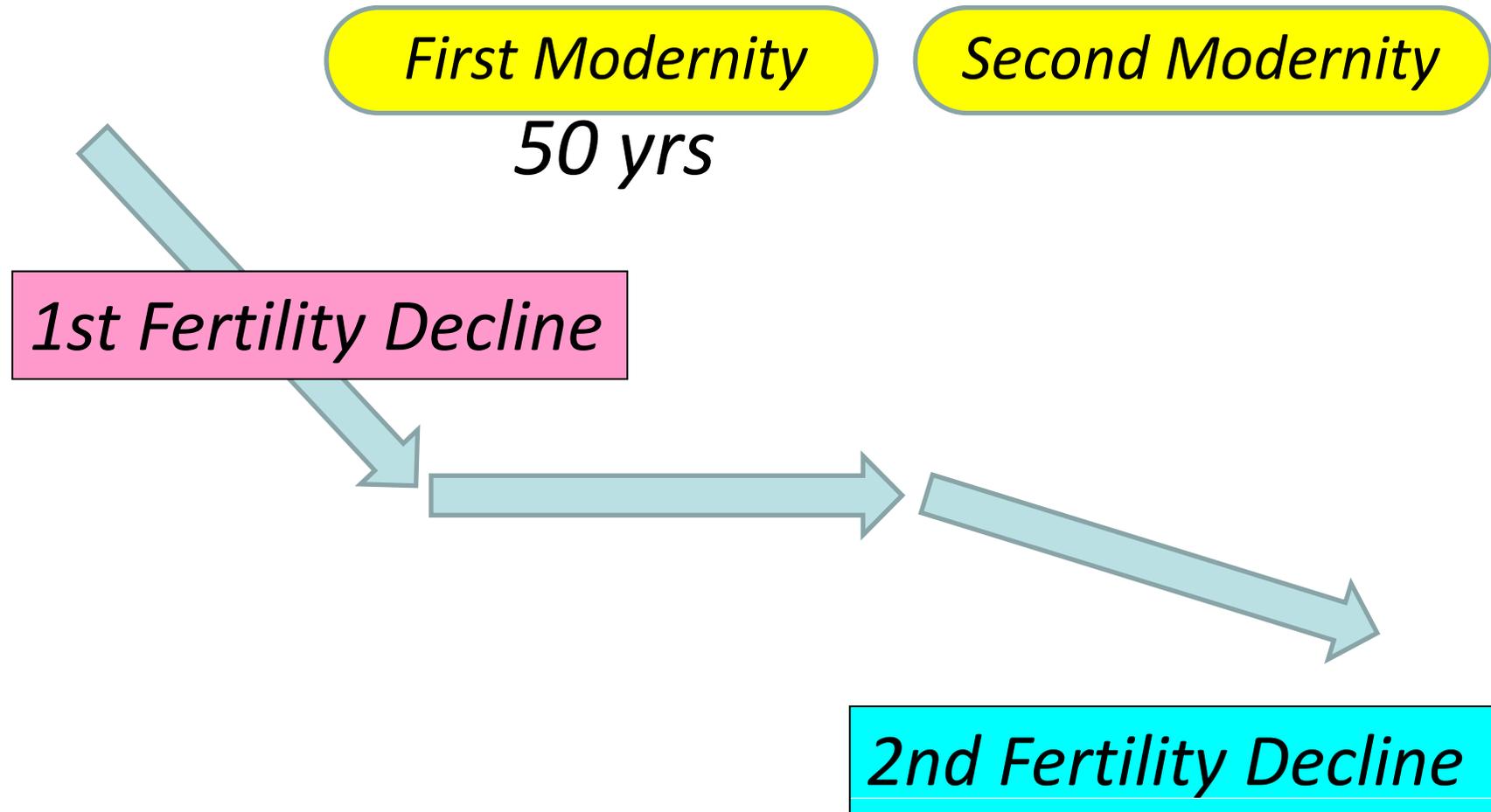
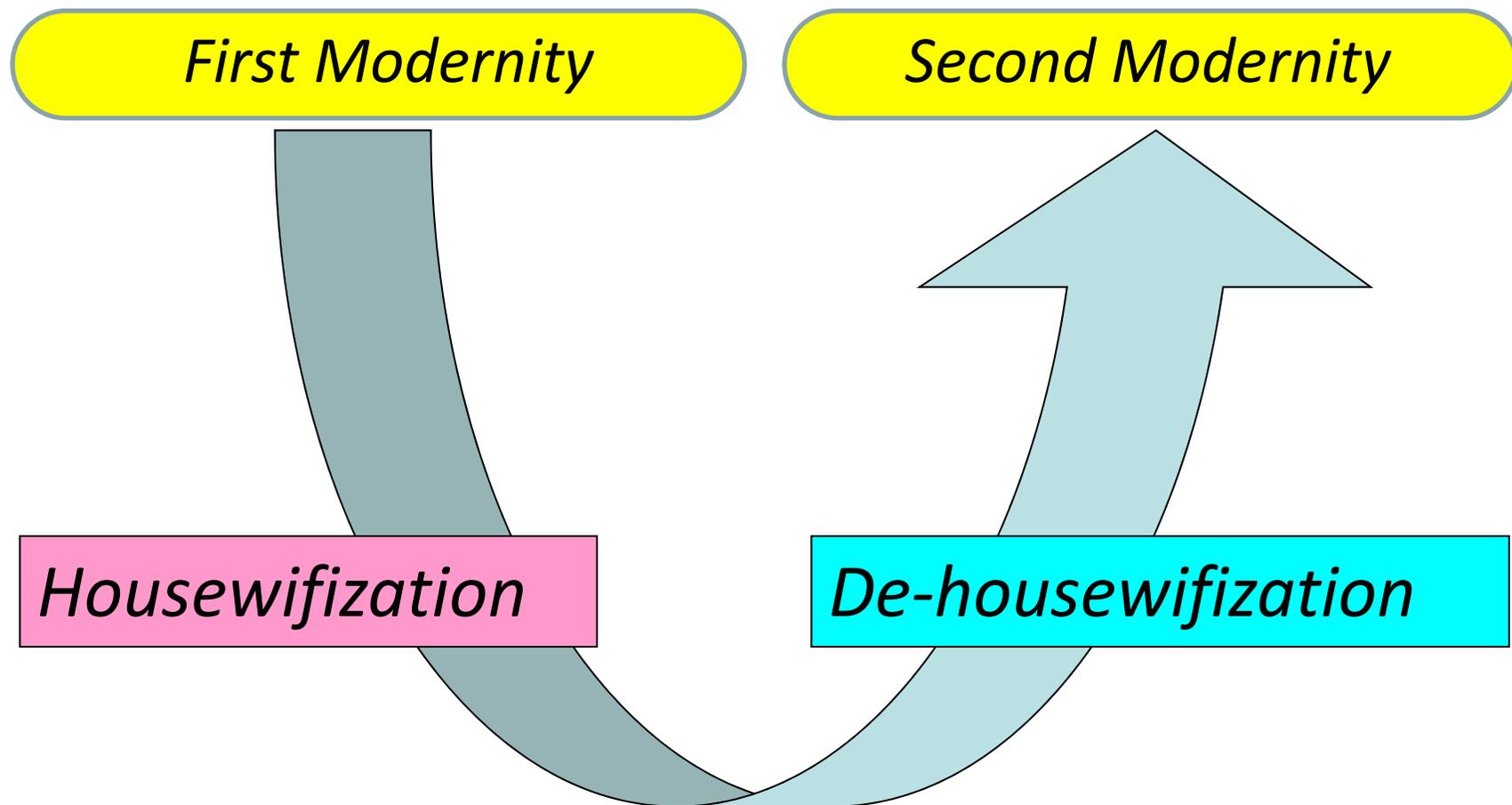
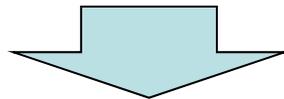


Figure 3 Gender and Modernity



- In Japanese half compressed modernity
Family and relatives + Domestic worker
→ Family (housewife)
*Consolidated by policies in 1980s



Difficulties in changing the system even after the demographic and economic conditions changed

The Japanese lost decades since 1990s

Conclusion

- The care regimes in Asia are diverse in terms of degree of defamilialization in two directions.
- However, all of them can be called familialism in the sense that they assume family responsibility at least in finance.
- It explains low fertility and the trend of housewifization in this area in spite of availability of care services from relatives and through market.

- Asian care regimes are heavily depending upon commodification of care because Asia was exposed to globalization before the establishment of a closed modern family and with traditional domestic workers still in existence. Commodification of care work took place quickly to fill the gap caused by a lack or insufficiency of the welfare state.

- However, for Japan, where the modern family had barely been established and the government was about to launch a traditional type of welfare state, a quick policy change for commodification of care was difficult (path dependency). The government is seeking for a construction of a moderate welfare state.
- We should consider more the impact of regulations as an explicit tool of familialism and defamilialization.

Publications

- Emiko Ochiai and Barbara Molony eds., *Asia's New Mothers: Crafting Gender Role Changes and Childcare Networks in East and Southeast Asian Societies*, Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2008.
- Emiko Ochiai, 2009, "Care Diamonds and Welfare Regimes in East and South-East Asian Societies," *International Journal of Japanese Sociology*, 18: 60-78.

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- Emiko Ochiai, 2010, “Reconstruction of Intimate and Public Spheres in Asian Modernity: Familialism and Beyond,” *Journal of Intimate and Public Spheres*, No.0 (Pilot Issue) : 2-22.
- Emiko Ochiai, et al., 2010(forthcoming), “The Struggle against Familialism: Reconfiguration of the Care Diamond in Japan,” *The Political and Social Economy of Care: Research Report 5*, UNRISD.