

Men's New Roles in a Gender Equal Society

-Survey Results from Japan and East Asia-

As of 26 July, 2019

(Provisional Unedited ver.)

Introduction

The Sasakawa Peace Foundation began working on this program in the summer of 2016. The Global Gender Gap report, released by the World Economic Forum (WEF) around that time, puts Japan at 111th out of 144 countries covered. South Korea was the only East Asian country ranked lower (116th). Even if Southeast Asia is included, the only other country with lower ranking was East Timor (125th). In the latest 2018 report, Japan climbed just one position to the 110th rank out of 149 countries, and remains far from establishing gender equality in society.

What can we do to change this situation? We have focused on men's persistent obsession with "masculinity." While there are signs of change, Japanese men continue to perceive "masculinity" as getting ahead in the corporate ladder and winning in the power struggle. Such a male nature (= masculinity) might be causing Japanese men to put themselves under undue stress and pressure, while also hindering women's empowerment and inhibiting the establishment of gender equality in society. We have come to believe that we might be able to contribute to building gender equality that is desirable for both men and women alike by establishing in-depth understanding about the current status and background of Japanese masculinity and developing effective gender policies and programs that could change it.

Coincidentally, momentum is building to re-examine the role of men in family life and society in general. In 2010, the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare launched the "Iku-men (= men actively involved in childcare)" project, popularizing the phrase "Iku-men." This set off the creation of new phrases depicting men in untraditional roles, such as Iku-boss (= work supervisors who are supportive of male subordinates who wish to take active part in childcare), Kaji-dan (= men who actively get involved in housework), Care-men (= men who actively get involved in aged care) and Fair-men (= men who declare their commitment to treating women fairly and never using or allowing violence against them). The Gender Equality Bureau of the Cabinet Office gathered male leaders to form a group that promotes a "society in which women shine" in 2014, and established a taskforce on transforming men's life approach and mentality in October 2016, initiating debate with an emphasis on men.

However, there are very few policy studies on men due to limited budget availability. In view of the situation, the Sasakawa Peace Foundation has sought the assistance of researchers and regional experts at the forefront of studies on men, masculinities and fatherhood, so as to identify the characteristics of masculinity in families and workplaces by comparing Japan to other East Asian countries that are similar culturally and historically, while incorporating the findings of past studies in Japan, Europe and the United States. The results have been compiled into this report. We strongly hope that the report will be utilized in a variety of gender equality initiatives, including the development of the Fifth Basic Plan for Gender Equality.

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Men's New Roles in Gender Equal Society

— Survey Results from Japan and East Asia —

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Appended references: Online survey results on men's roles

- Reference 1: Statistical analysis report for the Japanese survey
- Reference 2: Statistical analysis report for five East Asian cities
- Reference 3: Simple tabulation graphs for the Japanese survey
- Reference 4: Tabulation graphs by age group for the Japanese survey
- Reference 5: Tabulation graphs by region for the Japanese survey
- Reference 6: Tabulation graphs for five East Asian cities
- Reference 7: Survey questionnaire on the roles of men (Japanese version)

I. Overview of this program

1. Purpose and Features of this study

This study is aimed at providing qualitative and quantitative data and new insight that could contribute to effective development and implementation of gender policies and programs for men, in an effort to achieve gender equality in our society. The study's main characteristics are as follows:

The biggest characteristic of this study is its focus on "men." Past gender policies and studies primarily focused on women and explored ways of protecting and empowering them, while shedding a little light to men. However, we cannot ignore the impact, particularly negative impact, of men's mentality, work style and lifestyle on women's mentality, work style and lifestyle. In fact, it is crucial to work on men in order to achieve women's empowerment. From this point of view, this study focuses on men as the primary research subject, using the perspectives and theories of the studies on men and masculinities (referring to Ito (1996, 2009, 2019) and Taga (2016) Chapter 2 (2019), among others, on the perspectives, theories and trends of the studies on men and masculinities).

The second characteristic of this study is the choice of major East Asian cities (Seoul, Taipei, Shanghai and Hong Kong) for comparison with Japan and its capital Tokyo. Past Japanese studies for gender policies were often making comparison with Western and Northern Europe, which lead the world in women's empowerment, while making almost no comparison with East Asia. Men's presence and issues they face in these regions are hardly known in Japan. Making a comparison with East Asia, which has as much gender gap as Japan and is close culturally to Japan than the west, might be able to bring fresh perspectives in clarifying the structural issue of Japanese society that inhibits gender equality. That is why this study has chosen East Asia for comparison.

2. Research structure

A study group on creating new roles for men in gender equality, formed within the Sasakawa Peace Foundation, carried out the study using on-site investigations and online surveys. The study group consists of, as shown in the list below, three core members, namely Futoshi Taga (Professor, Kansai University), Kimio Ito (Professor, Kyoto Sangyo University) and Masako Ishii-Kuntz (Professor, Ochanomizu University), and Sasakawa Peace Foundations' researchers and staff. Experts of applicable fields also participated for a set period of time for statistical analysis of the results of on-site investigations and online surveys.

Takaga carried out on-site investigations in Shanghai, Hong Kong and South Korea, while Ito took charge of an investigation in Taiwan. Akihiro Ueda (Program Officer, Sasakawa Peace Foundation) accompanied all the on-site investigations. Experts well versed in local situations of study areas, who acted as coordinators, were Dienfang

Chou (Associate Professor, Tzu Chi University, Taiwan) for Taiwan, Nan Liu (full-time instructor, Yamanashi Eiwa University) for Shanghai, Mario Liong (Associate Professor, Ritsumeikan University) for Hong Kong and Masanori Sasaki (Associate Professor, Nagasaki University of Foreign Studies) for South Korea.

Online surveys were carried out to examine conditions in Japan and East Asia about men's frequency of involvement in housework and childcare, gender mentality at work and home, and their differences by age and region. Intage Inc. was contracted to gather data in Japan and East Asian cities. Shoko Aikawa (in the doctoral program at Ochanomizu University's Graduate School) was asked to draw up questions for online surveys on masculinities in Japan and East Asia and analyze data from the survey conducted in Japan. Kaoru Okaze (Associate Professor, Ochanomizu University) was asked to analyze data from East Asian cities. Analysis results were taken to the study group for discussion, in which fresh questions were raised for further analysis to attain in-depth understanding. Ishii took charge of statistical analysis as a whole and also compiled the final statistical analysis report.

【List of participants】 (◎ Leader, ○ Program manager, ◇ Program leader)

(Core members)

◎ Futoshi Taga (Professor, Kansai University)

Kimio Ito (Professor, Kyoto Sangyo University)

Masako Ishii-Kuntz (Professor, Ochanomizu University)

(Sasakawa Peace Foundation [SPF] researchers and staff)

Tomiko Okamoto (Director and Senior Program Officer, SPF Asia Social Integration Department)

○ Maho Nakayama (Director and Senior Program Officer, SPF Asia Peace Initiatives Department)

◇ Akihiro Ueda (Program Officer, SPF Asia Social Integration Department)

Nami Yokogi (Associate Program Officer, SPF Asia Social Integration Department)

Misa Nakahara (Assistant, SPF Asia Social Integration Department (retired in 2018))

Kinue Muramoto (Assistant, SPF Asia Social Integration Department)

(Regional and statistical analysis experts)

Kaoru Okaze (Associate Professor, Ochanomizu University)

Masanori Sasaki (Associate Professor, Nagasaki University of Foreign Studies)

Mario Liong (Associate Professor, Ritsumeikan University)

Dienfang Chou (Associate Professor, Tzu Chi University, Taiwan)

Nan Liu (full-time instructor, Yamanashi Eiwa University)

Shoko Aikawa (in the doctoral program at Ochanomizu University's Graduate School)

A variety of experts from both Japan and abroad also took part.

3. Study period and past developments

This study was formally launched as a one-year program “The Role of Men in Gender Equality” in April 2017. The program was renamed to “Creating New Roles for Men in Japan and Asia” in April 2018, relaunched as a three-year program that runs up to March 2021 and is still on-going at present (as of July 2019).

In February 2017, prior to the original program launch, a fact-finding mission was sent to Europe (Germany, U.K., Sweden, Netherlands, Belgium) to examine these countries’ government policies and civic initiatives on men. Experts were interviewed on the concept of “caring masculinity,” one of the keywords in Europe’s male policies in recent years.

Based on the findings of the European mission, in the first half of FY2017, experts from China (continent), Hong Kong and South Korea were invited to the study group to conduct preliminary investigation into situations surrounding men in those countries. Then surveys were conducted on men in major East Asian cities (Seoul, Taipei, Shanghai and Hong Kong) before the study group decided to gather statistical evidence on masculinity. In the second half of FY2017, the study group drew up questions for the surveys, while also conducting on-site investigations in Taiwan and Shanghai.

The surveys were conducted in March 2018 in Japan, and in June 2018 in four East Asian countries. Statistical analysis began in April 2018 for data collected in Japan, and in June 2018 for data collected in East Asia, with results discussed at the study group. In October, the study group compiled a tentative analysis report on men in Japan and East Asia and conducted further debate. In February 2019, local experts from in and outside Japan were invited for a session of opinion exchange. Local investigations were also carried out in Hong Kong and South Korea (Seoul). Findings from all these activities were brought together to complete this report in July 2019. The following are chronological records of the main activities:

【FY2016】 (Program Development)

	Date	Country / theme
Fact-finding mission	February 24 – March 5, 2017	Europe (Germany, U.K., Sweden, Netherlands, Belgium)
Study group session	October 17, 2016	“Paradox of men’s studies and male dominance”

【FY2017】 (The Role of Men in Gender Equality Program)

	Date	Country / theme
Fact-finding mission	January 10 – 13, 2018	Taiwan (Taipei and Taichung)
	March 11 – 14, 2018	Shanghai
Study group session	April 17, 2017 (1 st session)	Report on the fact-finding study in Europe and examination of an international comparison method on masculinity
	June 5, 2017 (2 nd session)	Concept of “caring masculinity”
	July 25, 2017 (3 rd session)	Current status and challenges of masculinity in Hong Kong
	September 12, 2017 (4 th session)	Current status and challenges of masculinity in South Korea
	October 16, 2017 (5 th session)	Current status and challenges of masculinity in China
	November 22, 2017 (6 th session)	Consideration on statistical survey items
	December 6, 2017 (7 th session)	Consideration on statistical survey items II
	January 25, 2018 (8 th session)	Report about the Taiwan mission and Sample survey analysis for the Tokyo Metropolitan Area
	February 15, 2018 (9 th session)	Consideration on the results of preliminary study and revision of the questionnaire

【FY2018】 (Proposing New Roles for Men Program)

	Date	Country / theme
Fact-finding mission	August 19 – 22, 2018	Hong Kong
	January 23 – 26, 2019	South Korea (Seoul)
Study group session	April 20, 2018 (1 st session)	Policy on statistical analysis and report on the Shanghai mission
	May 16, 2018 (2 nd session)	Report on the Shanghai mission and progress of the analysis of statistical results
	June 6, 2018 (3 rd session)	Analysis of the results of the main

	survey in Japan II
July 26, 2018 (4 th session)	Report on the results of the main survey in Japan and the analysis of the results of the main surveys in East Asia I
September 30, 2018 (5 th session)	Analysis of the results of the main surveys in East Asia II
October 1, 2018 (6 th session)	Report on the overseas missions (Hong Kong, Singapore and Thailand) and analysis of the results of the main surveys in East Asia III
November 26, 2018 (7 th session)	Report on the Thailand mission and final analysis report for the main surveys in East Asia
December 26, 2018 (8 th mission)	Next fiscal year's program plan and the report for the study on masculinity in five East Asian cities
January 28, 2019 (9 th mission)	Report for the study on masculinity in five East Asian cities
February 20, 2019	Exchange of opinions on the results of statistical analysis concerning masculinity in five East Asian cities

II. Background: Gender equality for men

Gender equality and men

Until now, gender equality has been perceived as “women’s issues” that do not concern men. However, that is definitely not the case. Gender equality concern men directly for the following two reasons:

Firstly, gender equality requires men to change. Problems that have been raised as “women’s issues,” such as violence against women, limited female involvement in social decision-making and women’s difficulty in attaining financial independence, come about in women’s relationships with men, with men on the side causing such problems. In this sense, these are “men’s issues.” Men must change in order for women to improve their social status or resolve women’s issues. It is essential for men to change to achieve women’s safety assurance and improvement in their social status, thereby establishing gender equality.

Secondly, men also need gender equality. In conventional society, men were also expected to serve fixed roles and present an idealistic image, in a sense slightly different to what women were. This resulted in various difficulties in terms of quality of life and health, e.g. fatigue and isolation from the non-work world due to long working hours, and pressure from excessive workplace competition. Promoting gender equality and ensuring that men and women share work responsibility in the economic field, wages and opportunities to get involved in social decision-making, will not only empower women but also help men regain humanity, improve quality of life and lead a healthier life.

In order to achieve women’s empowerment and men’s quality-of-life improvement at the same time, men must seek a new life approach unconstrained by their conventional, fixed roles.

Actions by the United Nations

The international community has seen various initiatives and policy suggestions under awareness on the importance of men’s roles in gender equality. The Beijing Declaration, adopted in the fourth World Conference on Women in 1995, stated that participating governments are determined to “encourage men to participate fully in all actions towards equality.”

In October 2003, the United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women convened an Expert Group Meeting in Brasilia on “the role of men and boys” in achieving gender equality. The Commission on the Status of Women hosted a conference of the same theme as part of its 58th session held at the U.N. headquarters in New York, presenting specific policy suggestions covering topics ranging from school curriculum to statistical development and research.

In the late 2000s, an international network called “MenEngage Alliance” began

collaborating with numerous international NGOs and U.N. organizations involved in gender equality to implement various initiatives around the world to target men in gender equality policies and turn them into active participants for the cause. Amidst this trend, in September 2014, the then-U.N. Secretary General Ban Ki-moon and the actress and U.N. Women Goodwill Ambassador Emma Watson launched the HeForShe campaign, aimed at actively involving men and boys as the initiators of change toward gender equality.

Actions in the European Union (EU)

The EU has implemented its own initiatives in line with the U.N. moves. In 2001, a conference on gender equality and men was held in the EU, issuing policy documents such as the “Roadmap for equality between women and men 2006-2010” and “Strategy for equality between women and men 2010-2015.” The documents referred to a high rate of school dropout among boys and men’s health issues, highlighting the importance of having men involved in gender policies.

In the mid 2000s, research institutes from Germany, Ireland, Norway, Slovenia and Spain conducted a joint study under a program called FOCUS (Fostering Caring Masculinities), exploring policies that promote men’s work-life balance and encourage the sharing of family responsibilities between men and women.

In the 2010s, 27 EU nations and some of the EFTA (European Free Trade Association) countries joined forces to systematically gather gender statistics and research results. The findings were compiled into a report titled “The Role of Men in Gender Equality – European Strategies and Insights (Scambor et al. 2013)” and submitted to the European Commission in 2012.

Caring masculinity

EU policies take the approach of recommending that men adopt a new attitude to replace a traditional one, rather than denying “masculinity” itself, in order to prompt changes in men. “Caring masculinity” is a keyword frequently used in recent years within the EU to promote such policies.

Until now, “caring,” as in childcare and aged care, has been strongly associated with “femininity,” and considered as something unfitting to men. However, it is important for men to be involved in “caring” activities for the establishment of gender equality. This is because of the two following reasons reflecting the fact that gender equality is associated directly with men, as explained earlier.

Firstly, men’s involvement in caring activities is important for gender equality and promotion of women’s financial independence. Until now, men have distanced themselves from caring labor and let the task be handled by women. Consequently, opportunities for financial independence have been widely opened to men, who handled occupational labor, but severely restricted to women, who were deemed responsible for

unpaid labor associated with caring activities such as housework, childcare and aged care. In the labor market, care-related occupations were associated with unpaid labor performed at home and therefore have low wage levels and were mostly handled by women. This has been one of the factors creating wage disparity between men and women. This is why, in order to achieve gender equality and promote women's financial independence, caring labor must be shared among men and women, rather than left entirely to women.

Secondly, having men engage in caring activities is also important for men's health and quality of life. Until now, men have not only made women care for others but also neglected to take care of themselves (self-care). They have defined men's role specifically to be the bread-winner and perceived "masculinity" to be tough and take high-risk actions, while avoiding showing their vulnerability or to seek others' advice. This has lowered men's quality of life and undermined health. Men can start taking care of others as well as themselves to enjoy direct benefits.

In view of these trends in the EU, this study uses "caring masculinity" as one of the keywords in considering a new attitude that men should adopt in Japan.

Trends in East Asian nations

Compared to EU nations, East Asian countries hardly have any gender policies focusing on men. Initiatives by the United Nations and the MenEngage Alliance have not had much influence on East Asia, where individual countries have not really acted on the matter.

As explained in Chapter IV, China and Hong Kong have no official government policy that clearly focuses on men. Men's issues are dealt with within the framework of family policies and general welfare policies. Yet, despite the regional trend, Taiwan runs men-only telephone counselling services and offers a treatment and correction program for perpetrators of domestic violence under government policies. This makes it one of the East Asian regions that pay the greatest focus on men in gender policies. In 2015, South Korea amended the Framework Act on Women's Development and renamed as the Framework Act on Gender Equality. To coincide with this development, in 2016, the Korean Women's Development Institute began qualitative and quantitative research on changes in men's life in order to formulate policy recommendations that encompass men and their roles. In South Korea and Hong Kong, private-sector organizations offer social welfare programs, providing counselling for men and a rehabilitation program for male perpetrators of domestic and sexual violence as part of their social welfare.

Gender equality and conditions surrounding men in Japan

In Japan, there have been various policies deployed to establish gender equality in society, but not many policies had a clearly-stated focus on men. In most cases, these were practically implemented as "women's policies."

Despite the trend, the country's Third Basic Plan for Gender Equality (FY2011 – FY2015) listed “Gender equality for men and children” as one of five areas of emphasis and one of 15 priority fields in “Basic Policy Directions and Specific Measures.” Under this plan, the Gender Equality Bureau of the Cabinet Office conducted a national survey on “gender equality for men” and compiled a manual for local governments in establishing a counselling system for men. The Bureau also gathered and publicizes various awareness events and workplace / regional initiatives for men on gender equality. The FY2014 edition of the White Paper on Gender Equality carried a special feature on “changes in men’s work and lifestyle.”

However, the Fourth Basic Plan for Gender Equality (FY2016 – FY2020) failed to include measures specifically targeting men, which is a step back in terms of government-level initiatives. The notion that gender equality and its policies are important tasks directly related to men, does not seem to have spread fully to the majority of the population.

Importance of focusing on men in gender equality policies

In view of these conditions, Japan’s gender equality initiatives, built around gender equality policies, must pay greater attention to men and embrace measures for resolving men’s issues, while continuing to reinforce measures that contribute to improving women’s social status.

Accordingly, while observing trends in the west and East Asia, this study strives to uncover current situations surrounding men from the perspectives that men’s attitudes are inhibiting the drive to improve women’s status and that men themselves suffer from problems arising from gender equality. We then examine a more desirable stance on the part of men in resolving these issues, and present a policy direction that brings about necessary changes to establish a new attitude among men.

III. Overview of Japanese men: Based on the review of existing studies

This Chapter examines government statistics and the results of existing studies in related fields to give an overview of Japanese men in the areas of family life, work life, violence, health and education.

1. Men and family life

Overwhelming burden of housework and childcare imposed on wives

According to the “Survey on time use and leisure activities,” the average amount of time women spend on housework and other related tasks (housework, nursing care, child care and shopping) per day is on a slight decline in statistics taken each decade since 1996, registering 3 hours and 34 minutes in 1996, 3 hours and 35 minutes in 2006 and 3 hours and 28 minutes in 2016.

For men, the figure made a modest increase from 24 minutes to 38 minutes and 44 minutes. Yet, even in 2016, the difference between men and women remained large at 2 hours and 44 minutes, illustrating the fact that women handle the majority of housework (Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications 2017a: 4).

The average amount of time spent on housework and related tasks by “households consisting of a couple and child(ren) aged under six years” was 7 hours and 34 minutes for wives and one hour and 23 minutes for husbands, showing a staggering six hours and 11 minutes difference. The amount of time spent on childcare alone had a difference of 2 hours and 56 minutes, with wives spending 3 hours and 45 minutes as opposed to 49 minutes for husbands (Cabinet Office 2018a: 119).

Slight increase in the ratio of men taking parental leave but still at a much lower rate than women and a much shorter duration

The ratio of men taking a parental leave in FY2004 stood at 0.5% at private enterprises, 0.8% among local public servants and 0.6% among national public servants. These figures climbed to 3.2% at private enterprises, 3.6% among local public servants and 8.2% among national public servants in FY2016, showing a moderate increase over 12 years in all sectors of employment. However, the ratio of women taking a parental leave remains high at 81.8% at private enterprises, 99.9% among national public servants and 99.1% among local public servants, indicating a persistently large disparity between men and women (Cabinet Office 2018a: 120). Of men who took parental leave in FY2015, about 80% only claimed less than one month, and the majority of them (56.9%) claimed less than 5 days, indicating that men would only take extremely short parental leave even when they opt to claim it (Cabinet Office 2017: 70).

However, a relatively high ratio of public servants has taken a paid special leave, allowed at the time of spouse's childbirth and to assist in childcare. In 2017, 77.5% of national public servants and 71.6% of local public servants claimed a "spousal childbirth leave." In the same year, 56.9% of national public servants and 32.9% of local public servants claimed a "leave for men's participation in childcare" (Cabinet Office 2018a: 120).

In the "international study for mentality on declining birth rate," conducted in 2015, about 30% of male respondents with child(ren) said they "wanted to take parental leave of one month or more at the time of spouse's / partner's childbirth," indicating a significant gap between their mentality and aforementioned reality (Cabinet Office 2017: 70). According to a workers survey, conducted in 2015 to compile a report for fact-finding research concerning assistance for handling work and family life together, full-time male employees, when asked why they did not take a parental leave (multiple answers permitted), cited "workplace atmosphere that discourages the use of the parental leave system (26.6%)," followed by "lack of a parental leave system at the company (26.0%)," "too busy with work and overtime (21.2%)" and "concerns about pay cut for claiming such leave (18.5%)" (Cabinet Office 2017: 71).

Rising ratio of men among those involved in nursing care of family members and those leaving employment to care for family members

According to the Comprehensive Survey of Living Conditions by the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare, the ratio of men among principal co-resident caregivers rose from 23.6% in 2003 to 31.3% in 2013, exceeding the 30% mark. According to the same Ministry's Survey on Employment Trends, the ratio of men among those citing long-term nursing care as a reason for leaving employment rose from 5.4% in 2003 to 25.9% in 2015, which is more than one in every four (Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare 2017a: 25-26).

Single-father households accounting for over 10% of single parent households

As of 2016, the number of households consisting of mother and child(ren) totaled 1,232,000 nationwide, as opposed to 187,000 for households consisting of father and child(ren), representing approx. 13% of all single-parent households. The ratio of employed parents in single-parent households has no significant gender disparity, with 81.8% of mothers and 85.4% of fathers in single-parent households in the workforce. However, of those in the workforce, just 44.2% of mothers were in full-time employment compared to 68.2% for fathers, and 43.8% of mothers were in part-time work, significantly higher ratio than 6.4% for fathers in single-parent households. These differences in employment status are reflected to disparity in annual income, i.e. 2.43 million yen for single-mother households and 4.2 million yen for single-father households (Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare 2017: 1).

Increase in the number of visitation mediation requests after divorce

The number of mediation requests concerning the “visitation” rights of divorced parents topped 12,000 in 2015, which is an increase of about 2.4 times compared to ten years ago. Against the backdrop of this increase lies a growing involvement of fathers in childcare. Japan does not have a sufficient system designed for parental visitation compared to the west. Western countries allow joint custody of children, and the mainstream is to settle divorce in court, which rules on visitation methods and distribution of child support payments. In Japan, on the other hand, sole custody divorce would strip one of the parents of parental rights. About 90% of cases are divorce by consent, which establishes divorce through mutual agreement and does not require decisions on visitations or payment of child support after divorce. Problems often arise when a parent with child custody refuses to let the other parent see their child(ren) (Nippon Hoso Kyokai 2015, Ogawa et al. ed. 2016).

2. Men and work life

Men working fewer hours but still longer hours compared to women

The number of working hours has been on the decline among male employees as a whole. According to the “Survey on time use and leisure activities” by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, the daily number of working hours based on weekly average (including days off) among working men aged 15 and over was exactly 7 hours in 2001 but has dropped to 6 hours 56 minutes in 2011 and 6 hours 49 minutes in 2016 (Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications 2017a: 8). However, this trend is a reflection of an increase in persons re-hired after retirement and non-permanent employees, who tend to have shorter working hours. Men continue to engage in long working hours in general. Of employed workers who work for more than 200 days per year, 7.6% of women and 16.9% of men worked more than 60 hours a week in 2012. In 2017, 14.7% and 14.9% of employed male workers in their 30s and 40s worked more than 60 hours a week respectively (Cabinet Office 2018a: 115-6).

Ratio of workers claiming paid leave lower among men than women

The ratio of men who claimed annual paid leave in 2016 was 46.8%, approx. 9 percentage points lower than the ratio of women (55.4%) (Cabinet Office 2018a: 116).

Increase in double-income couples but men remaining to be the primary bread-winner

In 1980, the approx. 11.14 million households (64.5%) consisted of “a male employed worker and his unemployed wife” compared to approx. 6.14 million households (35.5%)

in which both husband and wife were employed. However, the ratios reversed by the late 1990s. In 2017, the former totaled 6.41 million households (35.0%) as opposed to the latter totaling approx. 11.86 million households (65.0%), a complete reversal of the 1980 figures. Today, “double-income households” appear to have become the “norm” (Cabinet Office 2018a: 117).

Yet, having “double income” does not necessarily mean husband and wife work a similar number of hours and earn a similar level of wages. Many double-income households consist of a husband in full-time employment and a wife in part-time work, with the husband being the primary wage-earner. According to the “Family Income and Expenditure Survey” by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, in households consisting of employed couple and no child, the average monthly income from their respective employment stood at 441,141 yen (76.2%) for the head of household and 137,767 yen (23.8%) for the spouse (Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications 2017b: 39). Considering the fact that only 3.7% of households have a woman with a spouse as the head of household in 2010 (Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications 2014: 286), men continue to serve the role of primary income earner even among double-income households.

Change of wages among employed workers

According to the “Statistical Survey of Actual Status for Salary in the Private Sector” (2013) by the National Tax Agency, the average annual wage of male salaried workers with the service period of no less than one year peaked at 5.77 million yen in 1997 and began to decline in the late 1990s to dip below 5 million yen in 2009. It bounced back briefly but returned to the late 1980s level in 2013 at 5.1 million yen. Also, according to a study by the Japanese Trade Union Confederation, the monthly wage of men whose highest academic credentials are the completion of high school education dropped by several thousand to several tens of thousands yen over 15 years from 1997 to 2012 in all age groups (30s – 50s) and in all income levels (high, medium and low income). For men with university degrees, there have been little change in wages among those in the high-income bracket for the same 15-year period, but wages have consistently dropped for those in the medium to low-income brackets in all age groups (30s – 50s) (JTUC 2013).

In comparison, women’s average annual income topped 2.7 million yen in 1993, peaked at 2.8 million yen in 1998 and 2000 and remained generally steady, with the lowest figure, recorded in 2012, standing at 2.68 million yen. In terms of absolute figures, men continue to earn an overwhelmingly higher amount of money. Yet, the decline in men’s wages is gradually reducing the wage disparity between men and women.

Change of industrial structures diminishing traditionally “male” business types and

expanding “feminine” business types, causing a relative decline of male workers and a relative increase of female workers

According to data compiled by Toshihiro Nagahama, Japan’s employed population decreased by approx. 2.93 million over 9 years from 2002 to 2011, broken down into 340,000 women and 2.59 million men. By business type, the construction and manufacturing industries saw the largest decline in male workers. Men represented some 1.19 million of approx. 1.45 million people who lost employment in the construction industry over the nine-year period. In the manufacturing sector, women accounted for 1.08 million of approx. 2.05 million employed jobs lost over the nine years, which was slightly higher than the loss of 960,000 jobs among male workers. The category of healthcare and welfare increased its employed population by approx. 1.74 million over the nine-year period, which is broken down into 470,000 men as opposed to 1.27 million women (Nagahama 2012: 27-30).

Increase of non-permanent employees even among men as well as women, and notably among seniors and younger age groups

The ratio of non-permanent employees among male employed workers has been climbing from 8.8% in 1990 to as high as 22.1% in 2016. By age group, this ratio has increased most prominently among those aged 65 or over. However, all age groups saw their non-permanent employment rate increase from 3.2% to 15.8% among those aged 25 – 34, 3.3% to 9.8% among those aged 35 – 44, and 4.3% to 8.7% among those aged 45 – 54.

In the meantime, the ratio of non-permanent employees among female employed workers has risen from 38.1% in 1990 to 55.9% in 2016, more than one in every two workers. The scale of increase is also greater than the equivalent male statistics (Cabinet Office 2018a: 110).

Men working longer for the same employers compared to women

Changes in the ratio of permanent employees (excluding part-time workers) who have served the same employers for at least ten years were examined over the period of 20 years from 1997 to 2017. The ratio generally remained at around 50% for men, while increased from less than 30% to 35.8% for women. Yet, even in 2017, there is a disparity of about 15% between men and women.

The ratio of women who keep on working before and after the birth of their firstborn was less than 40% up until the 1990s, but exceeded 50% in the period between 2010 and 2014. However, 46.9% of women who were employed for a 12-month period leading to their childbirth have left employment after the birth (Cabinet Office 2018a: 118).

3. Men and violence

One in every five men experiencing domestic violence (DV) but women suffering more serious abuse

According to the “Survey on Violence between Men and Women,” conducted by the Cabinet Office in 2017, 31.3% of women and 19.9% of men said they have been subjected to spousal violence (either physical abuse, psychological abuse, financial oppression or sexual abuse) at least once. This represents one in every three women and one in every five men (Cabinet Office 2018b: 24). Of these abuse victims, 15.0% of women felt that their lives were in danger, as opposed to 3.1% of men who felt the same (Cabinet Office 2018b: 37). When the ratio of those who received abuse is multiplied with the ratio of abuse victims who felt a threat to life, the results suggest that 4.7% of all female respondents and 0.6% of all male respondents have experienced abuse that posed a threat to their lives. The female ratio is a staggering 8 times higher than the male ratio.

In the cases of spousal violence that have led to arrests in 2017, women represented a decisively large proportion of victims at 91.0% as opposed to 9.0% for men (Cabinet Office 2018a: 141).

When the severity of abuse is taken into account in abuse statistics, it should be clearly recognized that women are overwhelmingly the victims of serious spousal violence. At the same time, it should be noted that some men have also been subjected to serious DV.

Higher ratio of men not consulting others about abuse they receive

According to the same Cabinet Office survey, more than half, or 57.6% of women who have experienced spousal abuse consulted others about it, while only one in every four men (26.9%) with spousal abuse experience sought such consultation. The figure is still a slight increase from the 2014 level at 16.6% (Cabinet Office 2018a: 142).

The same survey reported that 10.9% of women and 4.5% of men cited having been stalked by a specific person, indicating that women are twice as likely to be subjected to stalking. Of stalking victims, 18.3% of women did not consult anyone about it as opposed to 38.6% of men, highlighting men’s tendency to not seek consultation (Cabinet Office 2018b: 52).

The survey also reported that 7.8% of women and 1.5% of men have been forced into sexual intercourse, etc. (Cabinet Office 2018b: 68). Among the victims, 58.9% of women did not consult others about it, as opposed to 39.1% of men, illustrating women’s tendency to not seek consultation in the case of forced sexual intercourse, etc. (Cabinet Office 2018b: 76).

Men often subject to harassment and violence at work

According to the 2019 survey on workplace harassment, conducted by the Japanese

Trade Union Confederation, among 375 respondents who reported having received workplace harassment, 17.0% of men cited “physical attacks involving violence and injuries” as opposed to women at 5.0%. This ratio is as high as 35.1% among men in their 20s. The ratio of men who received sexual harassment was 14.2%, although it is lower compared to women’s ratio at 37.7%.

Among those who have conducted job-hunting activities (835 respondents), 10.5% reported having received sexual harassment during the recruitment campaign. By gender and age group, 21.1% of men in their 20s were subjected to sexual harassment, which was higher than women in all age groups. By type of sexual harassment during job-hunting, the ratio of those who cited “persistent invitation to dinner / date” (12.8% of men and 29.3% of women) and “unnecessary physical contact” (4.3% of men and 22.0% of women) was higher among women. In contrast, the ratio of those who reported “questions about sexual facts (sexual experience, etc.)” (29.8% of men and 17.1% of women) and “circulation of information (rumors) of sexual nature” (27.7% of men and 4.9% of women) was higher among men. While a higher ratio of women (9.8%) reported “demand for a sexual relationship”, 4.3% of men were also subjected to such harassment.

4. Men and health

Men having shorter average life expectancy than women

Japanese average life expectancy as of 2016 is 87.14 years for women and 80.98 years for men, a difference of more than six years (Cabinet Office 2018a: 52).

Higher ratio of men engaging in activities of high health risks such as smoking and alcohol abuse

The gender breakdown of smokers shows a decisively higher ratio for men over women in 2016. By age group, 30.7% of men as opposed to 6.3% of women in their 20s smoke. In other age groups, the ratios are 13.7% for women and 42.0% for men in their 30s, 13.8% for women and 41.1% for men in their 40s, 12.5% for women and 39.0% for men in their 50s, and 6.3% for women and 28.9% for men in their 60s. The smoking rate is the highest among men in their 30s to 50s (Cabinet Office 2018a: 56).

Statistics from 2016 show that similar ratios of men and women (7.3% of women and 6.7% of men) in their 20s drink the “amount of alcohol that would increase the risk of lifestyle diseases. The ratio becomes higher for men in all age groups thereafter (30s+). By age group, alcohol abuse is observed among 10.1% of women and 16.8% of men in their 30s, 16.4% of women and 20.3% of men in their 40s, 12.9% of women and 22.7% of men in their 50s and 9.9% of women and 16.2% of men in their 60s. The ratios are particularly high among men in their 40s and 50s (Cabinet Office 2018a: 57).

Men representing about 70% of those who commit suicide, many in middle age groups,

with more men citing work and financial reasons compared to women

In Japan, since the late 1990s, men have consistently accounted for about 70% of those who commit suicide. The number of suicide deaths is evenly spread out across all age groups among women from those in their 20s to those aged 80 or over. In comparison, male suicide deaths peak in their 40s and 50s. According to a report on suicides in FY2017, compiled by the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare and the National Police Agency, “financial / living difficulties” were linked to 5.6% of female suicide deaths and 20.8% of male suicide deaths, whereas “work-related issues” were attributed to 3.3% of female suicide deaths and 11.2% of male suicide deaths. The figures suggested that a much higher ratio of men commit suicide for work or financial reasons compared to women (Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare 2018: 27).

Men representing three in every four middle- and senior-aged “Hikikomori social recluses”

According to Cabinet Office survey conducted in 2018, 1.45% of those aged 40 – 64 are classified as “Hikikomori” or social recluses who live in self-imposed confinement at home for at least six months. An estimated 610,000 people live a Hikikomori life across the nation. By age group, the Hikikomori population is broken down to 38.3% for those in their 40s, 36.2% for those in their 50s and 25.5% for those aged 60 – 64. By gender, men account for almost three in every four Hikikomori, representing 76.6% compared to women (23.4%) (Cabinet Office 2018c).

5. Men and education

More men than women continuing on to higher education against international trends

In most countries around the world, more women than men continue on to higher education. However, Japan, along with Germany and South Korea, bucks the trend, with a greater number of men than women undergoing higher education (Cabinet Office 2018a: 131). As much as 55.9% of people who entered university education (4-year undergraduate degree courses) in FY2017 were men, 6.8% higher than women (49.1%). Among students studying at higher education institutions in the same year, women represented 44.8% in four-year undergraduate degree courses, 31.0% in master’s degree courses and 33.4% in doctorate courses, fewer than male students in all categories (Cabinet Office 2018a: 129-30).

Notable regional variations in gender disparity for tertiary education participation

There are notable variations in the rate of tertiary education participation and its gender breakdown. According to Asahi Newspapers’ estimation (2018) based on the FY2018 School Basic Survey (bulletin figures) by the Ministry of Education, Culture,

Sports, Science and Technology, the ratio of male students who move on to higher education outstrips that of female students by 15.7% (68.7% of male students and 53.0% of female students) in Yamanashi Prefecture. The second largest gender disparity is observed in Hokkaido (12.0%), with 50.9% of male students and 38.9% of female students advancing to higher education. In contrast, female students have a marginally higher ratio of higher education participation by 1.0% and 2.0% in Tokyo (72.2% of male students and 73.2% of female students) and Tokushima (45.3% of male students and 47.3% of female students.) respectively. While male students generally have a higher ratio of higher education participation, only 38.6% of male students enter high education in Okinawa, which is the lowest rate of higher education participation. This is lower than female students' participation rate in 34 prefectures, highlighting the need to also focus on regional disparity in addition to gender gaps.

Fewer men opting to study pharmacy, nursing, humanities and education at university compared to women

Statistics on university majors by gender suggest that, in the undergraduate level, men account for more than 80% of engineering students, more than 70% of science students and more than 60% of medicine, dentistry and social science students, as well as just over 50% of students studying agricultural science. In comparison, men represent only just over 30% of students in the pharmacy, nursing and humanities courses, and approx. 40% in education courses. The general trend appears to be that the ratio of male students is high in science and engineering courses, while their ratio is low in care-related courses such as nursing and education.

Men not clearly underperforming academically than women

Many countries outside East Asia are reporting academic under-performance of male students as a social issue (Taga 2016), but Japan does not show clear indications that male students are academically inferior to female students to this day. Results of PISA (OECD's Programme for International Student Assessment), conducted every three years since 2000, show that, similarly to the majority of participating countries, female students' average score has been higher than male students' in "reading comprehension." However, in "science" and "mathematics," male students have been generally outperforming female students throughout the period, even though there have been years where statistical differences were not significant. The results of TIMSS (Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study) show no major gender gaps at Grade 4 since 1995, but male students' average score continue to be higher than that of female students at Grade 8 (Kawaguchi 2014).

Male pupils / students more likely to have behavioral issues or be subjected to bullying than girls

According to a 2018 survey by the Pupils and Students Section of the Elementary and Secondary Education Bureau, Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, pupils and students that inflicted an act of violence (against teachers, fellow students, other people or on objects) in FY2017 were predominantly males (more than 90%) at all stages of school education, i.e. 2,165 girls (9.2%) and 21,275 boys (90.8%) at elementary schools, 1,639 girls (5.6%) and 27,550 boys (94.4%) at junior high schools and 453 girls (6.1%) and 6,946 boys (93.9%) at senior high schools (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology 2018: 12).

The number of recognized bullying cases in FY2017 can be broken down to 139,574 cases (44.0%) involving girls and 177,547 cases involving boys (56.0%) at elementary schools, 35,327 cases involving girls (43.9%) and 45,097 cases involving boys (56.1%) at junior high schools and 4,949 cases involving girls (47.0%) and 7,840 cases involving boys (53.0%) at senior high schools (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology 2018: 30).

The number of pupils and students who committed suicide in FY2017 totaled 3 girls and 3 boys at elementary schools, 37 girls (44.0%) and 47 boys (56.0%) at junior high schools and 45 girls (28.1%) and 115 boys (71.9%) at senior high schools. The figures show that the ratio of boys increased at higher school stages. (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology 2018: 129).

Various difficulties experienced by sexual minorities in childhood and school life in relation to their sexual identity and sexual orientation

In 2014, the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology conducted a survey on elementary, junior high and senior high schools nationwide about their response to gender identity disorder. The results identified 606 cases of educational consultation regarding gender identity disorder (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology 2016).

According to a study by Yasuharu Hidaka et al., the results of an online survey on gay and bisexual men (those who perceive themselves to be male and have sexual orientation toward men or both men and women) showed that 55.7% have been “bullied,” and that 34.3% of the bullying victims thought their sexual orientation had something to do with the bullying. As much as 65.9% have considered suicide, and 14.0% have actually attempted suicide. They have a risk of attempted suicide about 6 times higher than heterosexual men, and 22.7% played truant during teenage years (Hidaka et al. 2017: 1, 42).

According to a survey on transgenders (those who have a gender identity different from the gender assigned at birth), 16.5% of FTMs (female-to-male: those who were born as female but have a gender identity as male) and 15.3% of MTFs (male-to-female: those who were born as male but have a gender identity as female) have engaged in self-harm. 57.1% of FTMs and 71.2% of MTFs have considered suicide, and 9.1% of

FTMs and 14.0% of MTFs have attempted suicide. These ratios are higher for those whose gender assigned at birth is male (Harima, Ishimaru 2010).

IV. Expert interviews on male issues and male policies——Four East Asian regions——

Interviews have been conducted in four cities, namely Taipei, Shanghai, Hong Kong and Seoul, to identify the reality and issues surrounding men in East Asian countries and regions, compare the findings to situations in Japan, and obtain information about advanced male policies in such countries and regions. The interviews covered researchers on gender and masculinity studies, government workers involved in gender policies and experts at private-sector organizations working on gender equality and male issues. The results are outlined as below:

1. Taipei study

Period of Taipei visit: January 10 (Wed) – 13 (Sat), 2018

Researchers : Kimio Ito, Akihiro Ueda and Diefang Chou

Interviewed organizations and experts

- ① Department of Mental and Oral Health, Ministry of Health and Welfare, Taiwan Government
- ② Huan-Jung Huang (Associate professor, Department of Public Affairs, University of Taipei)
- ③ Frank T.Y. Wang (Professor, Graduate Institute of Social Work, National Chengchi University)
- ④ Ru-Shian Hsieh (Associate professor, Department of Social Work, Chaoyang University of Technology)
- ⑤ Ming-lei Yang (Counselling, masculinity and sexuality researcher and associate professor, Tam Kang University)

Gender policies

In Taiwan, women influenced by British and U.S. feminism led a campaign for greater feminism in the late 1980s, resulting in the establishment of various systems for gender equality, including the introduction of the DV Prevention Act ahead of the rest of Asia.

Women born in the 1970s grew up with the fear of becoming a “tall poppy,” but many said such a constraining mindset was lifted for those born in the 1980s and thereafter. Today, about 40% of the members of Taiwan’s Legislative Yuan are women. Taiwan has successfully promoted gender equality through policies such as the gender quota system. By law, government offices must ensure that neither gender accounts for less

than 30% of the total number of workers recruited (excluding police and military). In reality, the gender ratio of public servants is about 55 (men) to 45 (women). Senior positions at social and civic organizations are typically shared between the two genders equally.

However, even at government offices, the ratio of female workers at managerial positions remains at about one-third. In the private sector, the ratio of women in the manager-class positions is still about 11%. At schools, headmasters used to be predominantly male, even though the ratio of women was greater among teachers from elementary to senior high schools. In recent years, however, the gender ratio is evening out.

Men and family life

While situations are changing, there continues to be a persistent gender gap in how people participate in housework and childcare. Men tend to handle household repairs, do some grocery shopping and take out the trash, while women deal with most of the remaining housework and childcare tasks. The fact that women are saddled with a greater burden is thought to be one of the reasons for Taiwan's dwindling birthrate. Yet, since the late 1990s, men in the younger generations have begun being actively involved in housework, with a rising ratio of men claiming parental leave. Outsourcing of housework is also increasing.

Most children start attending nursery schools when they turn 2. Both mothers and fathers are entitled to take up to two years of childcare leave until their child(ren) turn eight, and labor insurance pays the amount equivalent to 60% of their normal wage for six months during the leave. Only about 10% of men claim childcare leave, but the childcare leave claim rate is characteristically higher among police officers. Offices with the workforce of 200 people or over are obligated to set up an in-house childcare center. Use of foreign house workers for childcare purposes remains rare, with a small number of exceptional cases such as households with twins. Many foreign house workers engage in the nursing care of seniors and the disabled instead.

In Taiwan, nursing care is primarily the job of family members, and the level of government support in this area is less than satisfactory. Aged care budget is set aside in a system modeled after the Japanese long-term care system, but just 20% of the budget is actually utilized. This is because of seniors' reluctance to go to nursing care facilities and young people's unwillingness to work in aged care, resulting in shortages of carers.

Workers are entitled to caregiver leave of up to 7 days per year (which can be used to care for a sick child(ren)). More men are embracing nursing care tasks. However, since the mid 1990s, foreign carers have been handling a lot of aged care work. Yet, foreign carers are treated as guest workers with poor working conditions, creating issues in terms of human rights assurance.

Men's issues associated with divorce

Taiwan has one of the highest divorce rates in Asia, resulting in frequent disputes over children's custody. There were days when it was not uncommon for men to claim children's custody after divorce, but nowadays, children's custody goes to mothers more often than to fathers. Some single mothers are financially well-off. On average, single mothers are not perceived as being in poverty. Post-divorce visitation has been a major issue. There are not many cases where an ex-wife refuses to let the ex-husband see their child(ren).

The Warm Life Association for Women, a support group for divorced women, has been active since the 1970s. In the 1980s, a group called "Single Leaf Orchid" was formed to support divorced men. Today, there are many social groups of single fathers to discuss how to care for children and how to look for a new partner.

Men and work life

Taiwan has a 40-hour working week system built on the principle of "same work, same wage." There is a law that stipulates that employers must pay double the wage if they make an employee work for seven consecutive days. Campaigns by labor unions also have some influence, although limited.

However, overwork is an issue affecting both men and women, attracting wide media coverage. Even if the number of working hours is restricted, some opt to keep working after punching out in order to fulfill their work responsibilities. Foreign-capitalized companies, in particular, are notorious for making their employees work day and night. "Karoshi (= death from overwork)" has become a major issue, and is observed particularly among corporate managers, as well as male doctors and female nurses. When reaching the state of overwork, women are more likely to resign than men.

In 2011, Taiwan introduced a law that makes companies accountable for Karoshi. In 2014, the work stability law was enacted to make companies also responsible for power harassment and sexual harassment.

Men continue to see themselves as "bread winners" and maintain the culture of "drinking-based communication" at work, although this cultural trait is slowly fading.

Self-employed workers, very common in Taiwan, take advantage of their time flexibility to achieve a healthy work – life balance.

Men and violence / harassment

The Department of Mental and Oral Health (handling psychological counselling and oral health) in the Taiwanese Government's Ministry of Health and Welfare deals with the perpetrators of sexual violence. The mental health group is in charge of four areas (suicide prevention, mental health care, addiction and domestic / sexual violence).

In FY2017, there were 14,415 recognized cases of sexual violence and 116,742 cases

of domestic violence. Of these cases, 46% was handled by police, 28% was handled by hospitals, and 20% was handled by the telephone hotline service, to be described later. Of 7,963 DV protection orders issued, 34 – 38% was forcibly applied following a court order. Responses included hospital treatment, mental health care program and awareness education guidance (training program on the awareness level). The awareness education guidance is given in a program that runs for 18 – 24 weeks, involving some 200 psychological counsellors and social workers nationwide, paid for from the budget of the central and local governments.

A separate unit deals with male victims of violence. The number of male victims using the telephone hotline service is low but is on the increase in recent years. The service also accepts consultation from male partners of same-sex couples.

There are also differences in how these cases are handled between city areas and farming communities. They are addressed adequately to some extent in city areas, but men in farming communities are still wearing an “armor of masculinity” with gender norms made up of the traditional “men’s honor” mentality, making it difficult to handle violence cases.

Taiwan is unique in that it has issues of “indigenous people.” (Taiwan has numerous indigenous groupings including 16 tribes officially recognized by the government. They are referred to as “original natives” rather than “indigenous people.”) The indigenous population has maintained its unique cultures and typically marry within each tribe. Law enforcement proves to be problematic in cases where the application of DV laws could affect a tribe’s entire community. In many cases, solutions must be devised within a tribal community, often resulting in a better outcome.

Response to DV perpetrators

As for counselling for the perpetrators of domestic violence, the Taiwanese government has budget set aside to re-educate qualified counsellors on the issue and dispatch social workers to the United States. Other initiatives include translating U.S. papers on treating the perpetrators of sexual violence and gathering / examining reference materials concerning both the victims and perpetrators of domestic violence according to the Sexual Assault Crime Prevention Act. As a way of dealing with perpetrators, an attempt has been made to provide DV prevention education on men at family welfare centers, which are set up in the proportion of one in every 200,000 people. However, the service has attracted almost no men.

As mentioned earlier, there are also male victims of this type of violence, although the number is limited. The case of a rape of a young boy prompted Taiwan’s Education Ministry to produce a PR video for preventing sexual assaults on men. Sexual abuse of young boys sometimes results in the victims committing suicide, but the deaths are often attributed to some other cause ostensibly. Media give large coverage to female victims, but male victims remain largely invisible in the eyes of the public.

Gender equality education and sexual minorities

The Legislative Yuan passed the Gender Equity Education Act in 2004, mandating four hours of gender equity classes per semester (8 hours per year) in school education, starting at elementary schools. Since 2010, social workers are required to complete beginner, intermediate and advanced levels of gender studies courses.

Gender equality education has proven to be effective over the last 20 years. Education about sexual minorities has also been in place for 20 years, and the Act on Gender Equality in Employment stipulates the guarantee of human rights for sexual minorities. However, these moves have been attracting increasing resistance from religious communities and traditional conservative groups, with private-sector conservative organizations starting to interfere with gender education. There are cases whereby conservatives are teaching gender education in place of teachers who lack sufficient expertise in this area.

Taiwan has no law banning homosexuality, but oppression toward homosexuals has persistently existed to this day. The Tongzhi Hotline for gay men (male homosexuals) is providing peer support. Since 2017, there has been active public debates over same-sex marriage. (Same sex marriage was legalized in May 2019, after our fact-finding study, by passing a special law rather than amending the civil code.)

Male concerns

With strong influence of Confucius Culture, Taiwanese men are under strong pressure to get ahead on the social ladder and psychologically bound by the obsession to work hard every day. They find themselves under heavy responsibility for power they gain. Many men have traditionally alleviated the stress by buying sex, using violence or abusing alcohol and tobacco.

Since the 1970s, companies have adopted the Employee Assistant Program to support workers' mental health as a way of addressing such stress among men. The use of this program is increasing in recent years. Under the Taiwanese government's promotion, about 60% of the country's top 600 companies have embraced the program, in which psychologists are providing free counselling. Men seeking advice often ask about interpersonal relations, and are typically reluctant to speak their true mind even if they have worries and stress. With a greater female participation in the workforce, men harbor discontent about their female supervisors or subordinates but keep such sentiments inside due to a workplace atmosphere of shunning such topics.

While counselling opportunities may be available at work, there are not many places where men could turn to for family matters. Even in men-only counselling situations, men find it difficult to talk about family concerns. Women typically have many friends and deal with issues without feeling isolated, but things are not as easy for men.

Hotline service for men

Following an enactment of a law allowing intervention into family violence in 1998, the Taiwanese Ministry of Health and Welfare, equivalent to Japan's Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare, set up a Hotline service for men to deal with male perpetrators of domestic violence. The service is intended for men who have no means of reflecting upon themselves or learning what the problem is with what they have done.

The Hotline, initially started for the male perpetrators of domestic violence, now handles a diverse range of tasks including counselling for men in general. The service is available every day from 9 a.m. to 11 a.m., providing assistance from mostly female counsellors. There is also online legal advice given twice a month, featuring four lawyers each session offering advice for up to 20 minutes per person.

The Hotline offers information about laws, provides details of various systems and services that help men resolve their issues, and assists men in regard to visitation arrangements. By frequency, consultations can be broken down into (1) one-off consultation, (2) weekly consultation (on-going support by the same counsellor) and (3) emergency consultation (with particularly urgent cases, e.g. demonstrating signs of suicide or murder, reported to police or local health bureau after identifying the person's location, and with moderately urgent cases referred to a suicide prevention organization, if suicidal thoughts are involved, and to other relevant organizations if murderous thoughts are mentioned). The number of consultation cases in FY2017 stood at (1) 9,175 on-off cases, (2) 7,932 weekly cases, (3) 15 emergency cases and (4) 1,384 cases that could not be addressed. Users of the service are mainly those in their 30s to 50s, peaking at the 40s. Married men accounted for 65%.

Many consultations are about interpersonal relations, spousal relationship and legal issues. Service recipients report a high level of satisfaction. Topics cover financial problems, employment, family discord and lack of emotional outlets, with many saying they "feel trapped" and "have no one to turn to."

Different age groups suffer from different issues, and men are suffering from a diverse range of issues. By age group, men in their 20s are concerned about a gap between their life plan and family expectations. Those in their 30s are worried about spousal relationships, issues between their spouse and mother, childcare and work-life balance. Concerns among those in their 40s include conflict between their immediate family and parents, spousal discord, extramarital affairs, divorce and division of assets and children's custody. Those in their 50s tend to talk about expectations of and family rejection toward their greater family roles (review of spousal / family relationship toward senior years), while those in their 60s are worried about loss of physical strength and loneliness.

Men stress the Hotline's significance in helping them build up communication skills. Counselling is particularly effective when the service provides advice on how men

should convey their feelings to their wives, and how they should learn to accept relationship breakdown after divorce.

2. Shanghai study

Period of Shanghai visit: March 11 (Sun) – 14 (Wed), 2018

Researchers : Futoshi Taga, Akihiro Ueda and Na Liu

Interviewed organizations and experts

- ① Chinese employees of Japanese companies based in Shanghai
- ② Faculty of Economics and Management, East China Normal University
Ren Yao Zhong (Professor and Dean of the School of Public Administration)
Jing Li (Associate Professor of Economics, Business School)
Zhang Ji Yuan (Lecturer, School of Public Administration)
- ③ School of Social Development, East China Normal University
Han Xiaoyan (Fatherhood research, Department of Social Work)
Wu Tong (Fatherhood research, Department of Social Work)
- ④ Gender Development Research Center, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences
- ⑤ Shanghai Women's Federation and Shanghai Working Committee for Women and Children

Gender policies

The People's Republic of China was built on the philosophy that “women hold up half the sky.” Following the 4th World Conference on Women (Beijing Conference) in 1995, China has adopted and implemented the “Women's Development” project (gender equality policy) as a national policy.

The All-China Women's Federation (hereinafter “ACWF”) is the most important organization in the Women's Development project. Although it is a private-sector organization, it has branch offices in each province, municipality and many workplaces. The ACWF has led the initiative to draw up and implement the “Principles of Women's Development” every five years since 1995. The “Women's Studies Institute of China (WSIC)” has also been set up under the ACWF to promote the initiative. The WSIC is headed by ACWF's Vice President, and have 1 – 2 representatives from each of the provinces. It carries out research on women's status every decade.

Gender equality and women's studies are also attracting attention in academia. Gender research is listed as one research area eligible for Chinese grant-in-aid for scientific research, and the Ministry of Education and local governments are also subsidizing gender studies.

The National People's Congress has a gender-based quota system in place for NPC deputies in order to promote women's greater political participation. There is also a policy of giving preference to a woman if it is a choice between a man and a woman of similar credentials.

Recent policy trends related to gender include (1) same retirement age for men and women (previously 60 for men and 55 for women, raised to 60 for both men and women) and (2) two-child policy.

While an increasing number of women are claiming medium-tier positions at work, the number of women in senior positions is still limited. Gender distribution varies from occupation to occupation. The ratio of women is high in cultural, educational, healthcare and banking (front office) occupations, but the ratio of men becomes higher in these categories for management positions. The ratio of men is high in the manufacturing, agricultural, forestry, livestock and aquaculture industries.

More female students join the "national key universities" and "national key secondary schools," designated by the Chinese government, than male students. However, once they graduate, the ratio of women who becomes scientists or senior managers is low.

With the advancement of the market economy and the introduction of the two-child policy, concerns have arisen about a decline in women's labor participation rate, an increase in women's burden in childcare, and return to the traditional gender-based distribution of roles. In response, the government is considering providing support for women's work in and outside the family.

There is no particular gender policy specifically targeted at men, except for the move to introduce a childcare leave system for men at local governments, encouraged by the central government, and the introduction of a "fathers' class" program at individual communities. (The City of Shanghai is an administrative municipality that consists of districts, which are, in turn, divided into communities. Strictly speaking, the community is not an administrative unit but a community unit similar to Japan's "neighborhood association precinct.")

Men and family life

Double-income household is a norm in China. Cooking is not necessarily a wife's job. Generally speaking, a meal is prepared by either a wife or a husband, whichever comes home early (while some families hire a housekeeper to handle cooking). There are regional variations in the degree of fathers' involvement in housework and childcare. Fathers' contribution is limited in northern China but significant in southern China, especially in Shanghai.

Men believe they must be involved in childcare, but tend to be a passive participant in the early days due to the fact that it is women who give birth. Wives encourage men to have more active involvement in childcare. Husbands try to spend as much time with

children as possible at night even though they are busy with work on weekdays. Yet, women's burden remains to be high. On August 8, 2016, women wearing pajamas demonstrated on the streets of Shanghai, voicing their opposition to men's overtime and demanding that their husband be allowed home early.

Asked who is responsible for living at home, 26% of youths aged 10 to 17 said it is their father. (The third survey on the Social Status of Women in China).

Asked who cares for children in a multiple-choice question (1. Primarily the mother, 2. Primarily the father, 3. Primarily grandparents, etc.), those who chose "Primarily the father" accounted for 3 – 7% when the child(ren) is an infant, and 13 – 15% when the child(ren) is a juvenile / youth (aged 7 – 18). In the question about children's education (teaching school work, attending school event / parents' association meeting, etc.), as high as 30 – 40% chose "Primarily the father." Younger generations and those with higher academic history tend to place an emphasis on communication with their children. Some 71% of fathers felt that they have greater childcare involvement than their own father (grandfather of their children) did (according to a survey in Shanghai in 2006).

Researchers who know about situations in Japan pointed out that, in data comparison between Japan and China, we must not examine the distribution of childcare / housework duties between husband and wife alone, as it is not rare in China that grandparents become actively involved in housework and childcare or that couples hire a housekeeper for such duties.

Aging society, nursing care and men

Since women have a longer average life expectancy, wives tend to look after husbands in old age. Widowers have the options of (1) relying on children, (2) hiring a housekeeper or (3) going to aged care home. Men who have the options (1) and (2) are not troubled much.

Men whose wife has died sometimes move on to marry again. Especially financially well-off men often re-marry with a younger woman, which sometimes meet with children's opposition due to the prospect of reduced inheritance. In order to avoid the inheritance issue, some opt to stay in a de-facto relationship. In contrast, senior-aged women find it difficult to re-marry.

Today's seniors tend to have a large number of children, and can therefore turn to some of them for aged care. The situation could deteriorate when it becomes the turn of the generation born under the one-child policy to look after their parents. In each community, Communist Party members are assigned to each senior citizen living alone, paying regular visits and taking care of any issues that arise. Under the initiative of the central government, China is trying to introduce a system similar to Japan's long-term care insurance. The system has been trialed in 15 cities since 2017. Shanghai is one of those cities, introducing the system to three districts in 2017 and expanding the

application to all districts in 2018.

Men and work life

The central government recommends that local governments set up a parental leave system for fathers, but there is no integrated system for the entire nation, creating regional disparity. The system adopted by various regions in 2016 – 2017 allows fathers to take parental leave for a duration ranging from 7 days to one month. The central government recommends a leave period of 30 days. Shanghai currently allows a 15-day leave, but is considering extending the period to 30 days following the introduction of the two-child policy. However, some companies are opposing such extension.

There is no study conducted on the ratio of men claiming parental leave. A growing number of husbands are claiming special leave or annual leave immediately after their wife's childbirth. However, their primary objective appears to be to provide a short-term support in childcare and housework in the days immediately following childbirth, rather than to fully take on childcare work in the long term.

Men and violence / harassment

Laws concerning domestic violence include the Law on Protection of Women's Rights (enacted in April 1992 and enforced in October 1992) and the Anti-Domestic Violence Law (enacted in 2015 and enforced in March 2016). The latter covers the handling of female perpetrators and male victims of domestic violence. With regard to sexual violence, law amendment in 2017 stipulated that both men and women could be the victims of rape.

In 2017, the ACWF introduced a model program for addressing DV to all of Shanghai's 68 districts. The model consists of a series of processes from identifying DV to formulating a response, providing guidance and offering protection at a shelter. The administration of the program is commissioned to a private-sector NPO, which provide social workers to offer counselling when a DV case arises. Serious cases are dealt with a warning from police or a protection order issued by court. Efforts are made to enhance police training on this matter. Those who identify DV are obligated to report it, although there is no penalty for failure to do so. A total of 17 shelters are set up, including one each at Shanghai's 16 districts and another one under direct management of Shanghai municipality. They can also accommodate men. Seniors are primary users among men.

Men's response to women's empowerment

Men's reaction to women's empowerment varies from region to region. The notion of masculinity differs greatly between inland regions and Shanghai. In Shanghai, there are greater expectations on men than women when it comes to earning a living, but women earning more money than men are not considered to be a big deal. In fact, there

is a strong tendency of both husband and wife working to support family living. In inland regions, however, people tend to think that men who do not earn enough to sustain a household are embarrassing.

Many men with high income think their wife should stay home and look after children rather than working and hiring childcare help. However, their wish does not come true due in many cases as wives want to make use of their academic achievement and capabilities. In the case of elite couples, in particular, husbands reluctantly accept childcare duties and housework in a power struggle with their wives. China does not have a life-long employment system, and many wives leave employment for childcare. However, many returns to the workforce after about three years of break, and it is not rare for them to even move on to claim a managerial position.

Response to men's mental health issues

There is no mental health initiative targeting men in particular. In Shanghai, the Shanghai Mental Health Center provides medical support. There is also a hotline set up for receiving telephone consultations, which is used to identify early signs of suicide with cooperation from dedicated staff of NGOs.

In China, it is the social norm for people to switch employment, rather than staying with the same employer throughout their working life. Some experts pointed out that, because of this background, company bankruptcy and retrenchments would drive fewer men into suicide compared to men in Japan. On the other hand, others said China must change its traditional notion that “men must not cry,” and create a more accommodating culture, telling men that it is all right to cry and that it is all right if they cannot bear the full burden of the household budget.

3. Hong Kong study

Period of Hong Kong visit: 2August 19 (Sun) – 22 (Wed), 2018

Researchers : Futoshi Taga, Akihiro Ueda and Mario Liong

Interviewed organizations and experts

- ① Simon Chan (Associate professor of the Faculty of Social Sciences, Hong Kong Baptist University)
- ② Leung Lai Ching (Associate professor of the Department of Social and Behavioral Sciences, College of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences, City University of Hong Kong)
- ③ Travis Kong (Associate professor of the Department of Sociology, University of Hong Kong)
- ④ Song Geng (Associate professor of the School of Chinese, University of Hong Kong)

⑤Patrick P.H. Wong (Certified social worker, Caritas Hong Kong)

Gender policies

Hong Kong is a conservative society when it comes to gender and sexuality. It is traditionally considered to be taboo to talk publicly about sex. Sexual education at schools takes a very moralistic approach, which some experts attributed to the influence of Christianity based on Hong Kong's history of British colonial rule, rather than the influence of Chinese cultures. Christianity tends to place value on family union, which has resulted in Hong Kong's lack of policies specifically designed for gender issues, although the city holds the perspective of improving the quality of family life.

The government's traditional policy stance is that assistance should be sought from families and markets, and this has left the status of public social services less than desirable. The majority of social and welfare organizations are run by Christian groups.

Public social welfare services have not been delivered from a gender-sensitive perspective, at least until now. Hong Kong has Integrated Family Service Centres (IFSCs) at the rate of one facility for every 50,000 people. Its 18 administrative districts have a total of 50 IFSCs. About 40 of them are run by the public sector, and the rest are run by NPOs. The Hong Kong government believes the IFSCs can cater to the needs of all people and does not offer a public counseling service for men. Men typically work and do not come back to their suburban homes until night, which makes it difficult for them to access IFSC services.

Of public IFSCs, we interviewed the Caritas IFSC, which provides consultation and assistance concerning men's mental and physical health. The costs are covered not with government funds but with grants from private foundations. Users must pay for consultation services targeted at men. Yet, such revenues are not enough to cover the cost of running the Centre without grants from foundations, and the private organization administering the Center is footing the shortfall out of pocket.

Up to now, women are assumed to be the primary users of Hong Kong's social welfare services, resulting in the failure to identify men's needs in this area. It is only single parents with child custody who are entitled to move into public housing after divorce. These are mostly women, leaving divorced men nowhere to go. Many social workers have a stereo-typical view on men's roles in society, and assumed that men should be able to take care of themselves. For men who have lost their job, social workers would merely put them into vocational training and return them to the labor market. This has inadvertently reinforced the traditional notion of the gender-based distribution of roles.

In recent years, an increasing number of men are visiting these Centres, seeking assistance for issues including divorce, gambling and marital discord. Some privately-run social welfare organizations have started to embrace a gender-sensitive approach,

paying closer attention to issues specific to men. Some are trying to address the needs of male DV perpetrators and offering anger management programs (training for handling and controlling anger).

Men and family life

Some 40 years have passed since the rise of feminism in Hong Kong. The movement met with resistance from men for the first 20 years, but, for the last 20 years, husbands have become more accepting of wives who want to work, and are even expecting them to do so in many cases. The trend is partly due to the fact that a double income is required nowadays to buy a house.

The phrase “Family Men” has become popular in recent years in Hong Kong. The phrase refers to men who share childcare responsibilities with their wives and spend a large amount of time on childcare and children’s education. The society has welcomed the increase of these Family Men, a sign of change in Hong Kong.

The duration of permitted parental leave was three days but has been extended to five days recently. About 80% of workers claim the leave. Some parliamentarians are against the move to extend the leave period even further. The degree of difficulty in claiming parental leave varies from employer to employer. It is generally easier at public organizations.

According to a telephone survey on Hong Kong residents, conducted in a study by Lei Chen of the City University of Hong Kong, many female care-givers cite a sense of obligation and responsibility as the reason for performing childcare tasks, while male care-givers refer to financial reasons, i.e. being a care-giver themselves because they do not earn enough money to afford a housekeeper.

Interviews on a small number of men who voluntarily became care-givers found that they can be divided into three categories: (1) Men who have a non-traditional gender perception that “men can handle anything women can do,” (2) Men who work at home and therefore can be flexible, making it possible to be a care-giver and (3) Men whose wife is playing a typically male role because of her higher income, etc. Well-educated middle-class men who have volunteered to be a care-givers said the experience helped them build better relationships with their children and improve their relationship with their wife, which led to their personal growth. The results show that men can change, and that the change will bring benefits to men themselves as well as their families.

In contrast, some men who ended up becoming a care-giver unintentionally included those who were single, divorced with parents requiring nursing care or suffered injuries resulting in job loss. They showed difficulty in accepting their new-found role as a care-giver because they feel they are doing “women’s work,” which posed a threat to their masculinity.

In middle-class families, many households hire a housekeeper from the Philippines or Indonesia to handle housework that the wives could no longer handle after returning

to the workforce. Some households even outsource the nursing care of their parents, although partially. Some working-class families, on the other hand, cannot afford a housekeeper.

With regard to nursing care for parents, experts pointed out that the first son plays a very significant role in providing mental care to parents even though tasks of physical care might be left to a housekeeper. Some middle- to senior-aged men even opt to retire early to look after their parents. Such cases are especially prominent among eldest sons. This could be the influence of the concept of “filial piety” in Confucianism, but Confucius influence is gradually fading in the younger generations.

Men and violence / harassment

It is the private sector that mostly handles services for the perpetrators of domestic violence and sexual crimes. For example, the Caritas Family Support Centre, which we interviewed, offers personal counseling and group counseling services under its sex offender rehabilitation program. A course of group counselling consists of 5 – 6 sessions, with participants choosing counselling themes most relevant to themselves. Each session consists of a group of 8 – 10 participants and runs for 2 hours once a week to be concluded after 5 – 6 sessions in total. Participants must attend all sessions in principle. The majority of participants are men in their 20s – 50s, and the sessions are run by social workers instead of counsellors.

The government is slow to acknowledge the significance of such initiatives for men. The government’s stance is that its job is done by sending criminals to police and having them undergo mandatory counselling afterwards. Yet, simply punishing these criminals without trying to identify greater problems that lie behind personal issues, could drive criminals to re-offend. Experts pointed to the need to understand why they commit crimes and stage interventions.

Issues faced by male victims of domestic violence

According to Simon Chan at the Hong Kong Baptist University, clinging to the culturally-formed concept of “masculinity” is causing distress to men. One of China’s traditional concepts about masculinity is that men are the protector and guardian of the family. Being on the receiving end of domestic violence from a wife contradicts this perception, preventing male victims from consulting others about the abuse. As a “guardian” of the family, men feel they should not resort to physical violence to counter the violence received. Divorce is not an easy option because it would dismantle the family unit and is inconsistent with their cultural role as the “guardian” of the family. In actual fact, divorce is not very common in Hong Kong.

According to Patrick P.H. Wong of the Caritas Family Support Centre, some sexual offenders confessed to having been a victim of sexual violence, but men find it more difficult to reveal that they have suffered sexual abuse more than women do. When

women suffer sexual bullying, it is treated as violence. However, when the victims are men, it is perceived as regular bullying or a game.

Men's mental health

In Hong Kong, boys are under strong expectations to be “masculine.” The pressure to be successful academically and socially is massive, especially with regard to success in university entrance exams. Parents of today's youths belong to a generation that can attain a normal means of living as long as they have a university degree. However, for today's young generation, graduating from a good university and finding a job do not guarantee a normal standard of living, let alone the financial ability to buy a house with men's single income alone. Hong Kong youths are now suffering from a sense of powerlessness, which is also attributed to the collapse of the so-called “Umbrella Movement” in 2014, in which students and other citizens demonstrated for democracy, protesting against a proposed electoral system, which would restrict candidacy for the election for the Chief Executive of Hong Kong to those pre-endorsed by the Chinese government.

Situations surrounding sexual minorities

Hong Kong does not have any system for same-sex marriage or laws concerning the rights of sexual minorities. It has become relatively easy for homosexuals to reveal their sexual orientation at school, but it remains tough to “come out” to their family or colleagues at work.

In recent years, in urban areas, public positioning about the masculinity of gay men has started to change. Previously, people saw them as “perverts” and “pathetic beings.” However, amidst the advancement of the global economy, international market forces have led to the drive to establish gay culture. Gay men are forming a class corresponding to their socioeconomic status. This tendency is more prominent among them than among male heterosexuals. Gay men in the urban middle class are collectively referred to as “Gay Establishment.”

Compared to homosexuals, transgenders (those who have a gender identity different from the gender assigned at birth) are not a very visible force in Hong Kong society. There are at least two organizations operating in support of transgenders. Their activities include support for people with intersexuality (more recently referred to as DSD (disorders of sex development), i.e. congenital conditions showing atypical development of physical gender characteristics).

“Crisis” faced by men

According to a study by Lei Chen of the City University of Hong Kong, men are facing various forms of “crisis” amidst changes of their roles. Men continue to suffer pressure from the following three sources. The first is “work,” especially for men in the middle

class. They may be earning enough money for living but are under pressure to achieve promotion and social success. The second is pressure to “earn money,” notably for low-income men. The third is “family” pressure. Men, because of their devotion to family, work long hours to achieve social success and higher income for the sake of the family. However, bearing such pressure is no longer enough to establish a good family relationship. Many men have yet to fully understand global changes associated with gender and changes occurring in family life.

Masculinity in media

Many recent movies produced in Hong Kong and China deal with the theme of a clash of masculinity between China and Hong Kong. As Hong Kong undergoes various social changes since its reversion to Chinese rule, gender identity has become intertwined with national identity, creating complex identity politics. On the other hand, pop culture of South Korea and Japan is affecting the perception of masculinity among the youths of Hong Kong.

4. Seoul study

Period of Seoul visit : January 23 (Wed) – 26 (Sat), 2019

Researchers : Futoshi Taga, Akihiro Ueda, Masanori Sasaki

Interviewed organizations and experts :

- ① Head, the Korea Men’s Hotline
- ② Sang Wook An (translator of “*Masculinities*” by R.W.Connell)
- ③ Kyoung Hee Ma (Head of the Department for Gender Policy Research, Korean Women’s Development Institute)
- ④ Kim, Heyjune (Head of the incorporated association “Involved Fatherhood”)
- ⑤ Joo-Young Lee (Adviser, Human Rights Center, Seoul National University)
- ⑥ Chang Jo Lee (Youth worker)

Gender policies

South Korea’s “Framework Act on Women’s Development” was overhauled and renamed as the “Framework Act on Gender Equality” in 2015. Up until then, the Korean Women’s Development Institute (KWDI) was dedicated to studying women’s policies. However, the law revision created the need to research and compile recommendations about gender equality policies. However, lack of clarity about the concept of “gender equality” policies caused confusion among frontline researchers.

Following some examination, they acknowledged the fact that women remain disadvantaged in various senses and decided to proceed with caution in formulating policies for men. Research on “gender equality” policies in Europe and other industrialized nations ensued, with the KWDI deciding to compile policy recommendations from the perspective of relationships between men and women. Qualitative research was conducted first, and its findings will be used to carry out qualitative research in the future.

As part of the qualitative research, the KWDI conducted an interview survey on a total of 12 South Korean men belonging to four different generations. More specifically, the samples were categorized into the “industrialization generation” born in the 1940s, “rapid growth period generation” born in the 1960s, “IMF generation” born in the 1980s and “digital generation” born in the 1990s. The analysis paid particular attention on differences in life experiences among different generations. In general, many men were conscious about seniority-based hierarchy in the old days, but this mentality is fading in today’s Korean society.

A major shift in mentality is observed especially with regard to perception about joining the military. The industrialization generation saw military service as an opportunity to be trained and becoming a “real man.” The digital generation, however, sees military service as the same as slave labor. Serving in the military does not guarantee future work. In fact, having two years of a blank period in employment history appears to make it hard to build a post-military career. For the digital generation, the importance of equal opportunities is already common sense. That is why they see women’s exemption from the compulsory military service requirement as discrimination, and cite the fact in criticizing women.

Many men in the industrialization generation concentrate entirely on work and neglect family duties. Men in the IMF generation, having grown up observing such fathers, tend to pay greater attention to family life. The digital generation has a diverse future visions, with an increasing number of men refusing to serve as the primary bread winner. Some even reject the notion of entering into marriage or romantic relationships. Men who feel incapable of fulfilling “men’s roles” say they would rather find a woman with earning capability and take care of housework while supporting the partner’s career development.

Men and family life

The “Involved Fatherhood” is a private-sector organization established in 2013 and incorporated in 2015. It has three staff members (consisting of two men (fathers themselves) and one woman) in addition to the representative, Kim Heyjune. It raises operation funds through membership revenues, sales of merchandizes, lecture fees and donations. It is not claiming labor as expenses and therefore not eligible for government assistance. There are 70 fee-paying members and countless others who do not pay

membership.

The representative grew up in a family with a strict and impatient father with a traditional patriarchic view, and has always felt troubled about assuming the role his father played in the family. Once he became a father himself, he recognized how tough being a father was, which became a driving force for him to establish the organization. He has conducted case studies about fathering in other countries, and interviewed organizations including the Fatherhood Institute of the United Kingdom.

The Involved Fatherhood's main activities include (1) fatherhood education, (2) development of teaching materials and (3) fatherhood campaign. Its "fatherhood education" program is aimed at building happy families, overcoming the nation's low birthrate, and improving productivity in work and other areas. It has about 20 instructors (half of them women) and receives requests to run the program primarily from companies rather than individuals at this stage. There have been programs designed for fathers, but many were led by women. The motto of this program is to provide education "of fathers by fathers and for fathers." Fathers who have participated voiced appreciation, saying that the program helped them gain a sense of empathy and improve communication.

In the project to develop teaching materials, the organization sells a "fatherhood kit," consisting of aprons for father and child and dishwashing gloves, for 47,000 Korean won (equivalent to approx. 4,700 yen).

The "fatherhood campaign" is aimed at the general public, conducting activities including organizing debate sessions. It was inspired by the activities of "Fathering Japan" (especially its "Iku-Boss Project," encouraging supervisors to support their subordinates who are involved in childcare), and launched after the representative met Tetsuya Ando, the head of "Fathering Japan," three years ago. The campaign runs the ap-tchang project, covered even by the Kukmin Daily newspaper, among numerous initiatives with cooperation from 33 prominent people including the head of Seoul's Fire Department and the President of the Kukmin Daily.

While they do not offer consultation services for fathers in particular, men have sought advice on topics such as children's education and the extent of childcare involvement required to be called a "good father."

Response to men's mental health

The privately-run Korea Men's Hotline is South Korea's first hotline service exclusively for men, established in May 1995 and incorporated in 2002. The organization consists of the representative, four counsellors (one male and three female counsellors) and one administration staff. The service attracts about 3,500 calls each year. The representative personally funded the operation for the first ten years, but the South Korean government has since provided funding after acknowledging its track record and demand for its services. The organization also accepts donations.

The representative set up the hotline for men after realizing potential demand for such a service, given the fact that existing hotlines were either for women, seniors or children even though men must also suffer from various issues they wish to seek advice for.

Counsellors of this service have undergone counselling training, but it is the representative's job to provide know-how unique to male counselling. Low wages make it difficult to secure male counsellors, but having a mostly female counselling team has not hindered the operation, as many consultation cases are associated with women, and also because repairing family relationship often plays an important role in resolving men's issues.

As much as 90% of family issues and cases of violence are attributed to men. In some cases, wives force their husband to go to the Hotline service. While Women's Hotline services only target women, consultation cases associated with husbands are referred to the men's hotline. For this reason, the Men's Hotline is positioned as a family consultation service.

Social situations have been changing as women become more actively involved in economic activities, join the workforce to create double-income families, and gain a greater say in family affairs. There are expectations that men also get involved in housework and childcare. The number of wives committing adultery and causing grief to the husband is also on the rise (even though the number of husbands having an affair continues to be much higher), and so is the number of mature-age divorce. Against this backdrop, more and more men are calling the Hotline, seeking advice about keeping their marriage together to avoid divorce.

At present, Seoul is the only South Korean city that offers a hotline service for men. Those who live in regional Korea also use the service, and Seoul residents have the option of visiting the Hotline office for face-to-face consultation. In contrast, women's hotline services are available nationwide, and there is an international network of such services established from the perspective of human rights protection. There is no such framework available for men's hotline, with some voicing hope that such a network will be built for men's services one day.

There is a gender non-specific suicide prevention center available for consultation about suicide issues.

Response to violence / harassment by men

In 2002, South Korea's Ministry of Gender Equality and Family drew up measures concerning the rehabilitation of DV perpetrators and launched a nationwide initiative for rehabilitating them. In 2004, the Men's Hotline was designated as an implementation organization for the initiative, and subsequently compiled an original program for DV perpetrator rehabilitation. At the time of this study, there were over 100 family violence counselling centers across South Korea, and many of them are

incorporated. Other consultation services include the consultation center for health and family.

Response to male DV perpetrators begin when a female victim reports DV to police, which investigates the extent of violence inflicted. Once the case is confirmed, the male perpetrator is ordered to undergo a rehabilitation program that lasts 8 hours a day (40 hours in total). In addition to an organization designated by the government providing rehabilitation education, the Men's Hotline sometimes dispatches its counsellors as required. The same program is applied to female perpetrators as well.

Feminists' response to gender measures for men

There has been no particular opposition from feminists about the operation of the Men's Hotline, as they see men's physical and mental health is crucial for their family. Feminists are also not against the activities of the Involved Fatherhood, probably because they are comfortable with the aim of their activities, which is to transform men who are reluctant to do housework. There is even a coined phrase, "fa-minist," combining "father" and "feminist."

Situations surrounding sexual minorities

Sexual minorities continue to be an invisible existence in Korean society. There is a general recognition that the issue of sexual minorities is important, and an organization appealing comprehensive discrimination ban has been active for more than ten years. Yet, no law has yet to be introduced to prohibit discrimination against sexual minorities. Some are against sexual minorities on religious grounds, and such people even dislike using the word "gender." Politicians who have these people as their supporter base are reluctant to make any statement about sexual minorities.

Movements by young women

Some young women perceive marriage as becoming trapped under Korea's traditional patriarchic system. With widespread issues between wives and mothers-in-law, an increasing number of women are choosing not to marry amidst active anti-marriage campaigns. Some women are not only avoiding marriage but also choosing not to enter into a romantic relationship with men. Studies show that only about 40% of women want children, as opposed to 80% for men.

The #MeToo movement has inspired various feminist movements. Over 100,000 women, most of them in their 20s and 30s, marched Korean streets in a rally organized by a women's group following a spycam case. "Radical feminist" groups, consisting of women in their 20s, see men as their enemies and draw a clear line from feminists in previous generations. They have set up an online community called "Megalia" to criticize men, and use a "mirroring" tactics to spread words of hatred against men.

Response of young men

According to research by Sang Wook An, men in the 1980s – 1990s had a strong tendency to pursue power. However, in the 2000s, it became difficult for men to achieve social success due to economic crisis and resulting increase in non-permanent employment for men. In the early 2000s, a Korean subculture called “loser culture” emerged, in which men humorously belittle themselves. While filled with inner desire to chase after power and success, such men appear to have tried to conceal it with self-deprecating remarks, feeling powerless when faced with reality.

However, today’s young men are reacting differently. When the #MeToo campaign took hold, many men felt they could no more than simply stay quiet. Targeted by aforementioned feminists’ extreme messages of hatred, young men today are responding with real anger instead of humor. More and more men feel the urge to be on the offensive against women. Cases of violence against women, triggered by a sense of hatred, are on the rise not only online but also in public places in the real world.

Aging society and men

Life expectancy for both men and women are extending also in Korea, where it is not unheard of for people to live past 100 years of age. Many men lose connection with society after retirement and suffer from loneliness, but women do not show such tendency.

V. Online survey on the roles of men: Overview of results and considerations

This study conducted an online survey, as detailed below, to examine the characteristics of men in Japan and East Asia.

1. Outlines of the survey

- Criteria of survey samples: Men aged 20 – 69 who live in Tokyo, Tohoku, Hokuriku, Kyushu, Okinawa, Seoul, Taipei, Shanghai or Hong Kong
- Survey sample size: 9,000 people in total (1,000 in Tokyo, 1,000 in Tohoku, 1,000 in Hokuriku, 1,000 in Kyushu, 1,000 in Okinawa, 1,000 in Seoul, 1,000 in Taipei, 1,000 in Shanghai and 1,000 in Hong Kong)
- Survey outsourced to Intage Inc.
- Japanese data was gathered from an online survey on Intage's registered survey monitors. Data for other East Asian cities was collected by online surveys conducted by overseas survey companies on contract with Intage.
- Survey period: March 2018 for five Japanese regions and June 2018 for four overseas cities

Detailed survey results are shown in the appended references. This section shows the outlines of the results. Figures and tables in the appended references, relevant to this paper, are indicated in brackets () as required. The outlines show results for Japan and for East Asia separately, but data from Tokyo is used in both.

2. Outlines of survey results: Japanese survey

(1) Basic attributes of survey samples

Age distribution

The average age of all survey samples was 42.5 (41.3 for Tokyo, 41.2 for Tohoku, 43.3 for Hokuriku, 41.2 for Kyushu and 45.3 for Okinawa). By age group, the survey samples consisted of those in their 20s (19.1%), 30s (24.9%), 40s (27.9%), 50s (15.9%) and 60s (12.1%) (Figure 1, Reference 1).

Highest academic achievement

Survey samples consisted of junior high school graduates (2.3%), senior high school graduates (26.2%), vocational school graduates (13.3%), junior college / technical college graduates (3.8%), four-year university graduates (47.2%) and postgraduate

school / six-year university graduates (6.9%). The largest group was those who graduated from four-year universities, followed by graduates of senior high schools (Figure 2, Reference 1).

Annual income

Survey samples were asked to identify their annual income from six options ranging from “0 – 1.29 million yen” to “16 million yen and over.” The survey examined the average of center values for the categories. The overall average was 4.1 million yen, and responses were broken down into “0 – 1.29 million yen” (1.3%), “1.3 – 3.49 million yen” (19.7%), “3.5 – 6.49 million yen” (28.1%), “6.5 – 9.99 million yen” (35.0%), “10 – 15.99 million yen” (12.7%) and “16 million yen and over” (3.2%). By region, the average annual income was 5.01 million yen for Tokyo, 3.51 million yen for Tohoku, 3.89 million yen for Hokuriku, 3.78 million yen for Kyushu and 4.33 million yen for Okinawa (Table 1 and Figure 1, Reference 1).

Employment type

As for employment type, 63.8% described themselves as “full-time general employee,” which was more than five times the number of people who called themselves as “self-employed / freelancer” (12.1%). Other employment types included “business proprietor / director” (4.8%), “temporary / part-time worker” (9.7%), “contract worker” (7.7%), “family helper of the self-employed” (1.3%) and “odd jobs done at home” (0.6%) (Figure 4, Reference 1).

Working hours

The overall average in daily working hours stood at 8.37 hours. There were little regional variations, with Tokyo reporting 8.38 hours, Tohoku 8.33 hours, Hokuriku 8.41 hours, Kyushu 8.44 hours and Okinawa 8.28 hours (Table 2, Reference 1).

Marital and parental status

With regard to marital status, 44.6% said they were “never married with no children,” followed by those who have “spouse and child(ren)” (40.1%) and those who have “spouse but no children” (9.1%) (Figure 5, Reference 1).

(2) Responses to main survey items

Competition mentality at work

The survey asked samples whether they “want to improve work performance to get good evaluation,” “want to win in competition at work” and “are conscious about

workplace hierarchy when dealing with male colleagues.” Figure V-2-1 shows the results

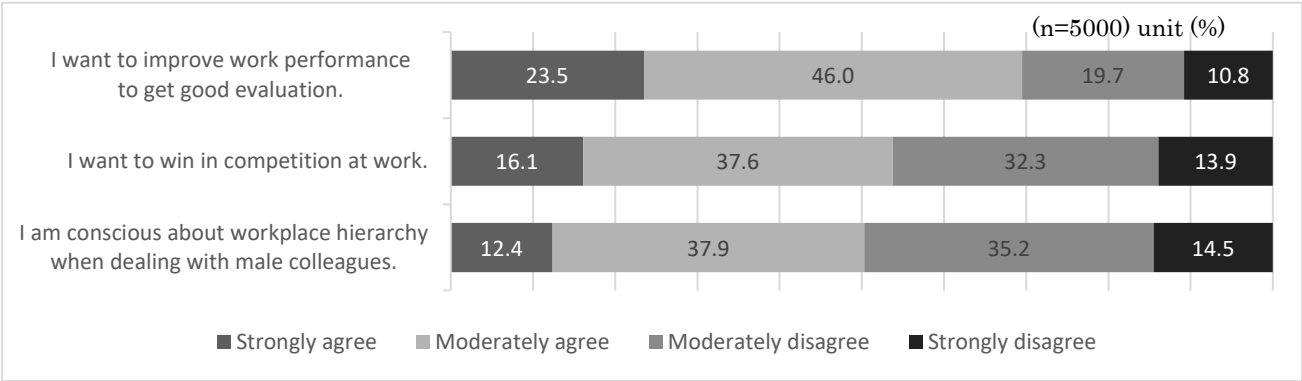


Figure V-2-1: Competition mentality at work

For these three questions, the score of 4 to 1 was assigned to the four response options from “Strongly agree” to “Strongly disagree.” We aggregated scores for the three questions to create a scale for “competition mentality at work” (3 – 12 points, with higher scores indicating higher competition mentality). Average figures by age group and region were compared to examine, using the distributed analysis approach (Scheffé's multiple comparison method), whether response trends by age group and region demonstrate statistically significant differences.

Comparison of average figures by age group showed that the score for those in their 20s was higher than that of other age groups to the statistically significant extent (Table 3, Reference 1). By region, Tokyo’s score was higher than that of Tohoku and Hokuriku statistically significantly (Table 4, Reference 1).

Perception on women at work

The survey asked samples whether they agree with the following statements: “I want to avoid working under a female supervisor if possible,” “I tend to try and avoid women who voice their opinions clearly,” “Women can’t be trusted to handle important work,” “Women cannot be a capable partner at work” and “Women should fulfill their household responsibilities before considering finding a job.” Figure V-2-2 shows the results.

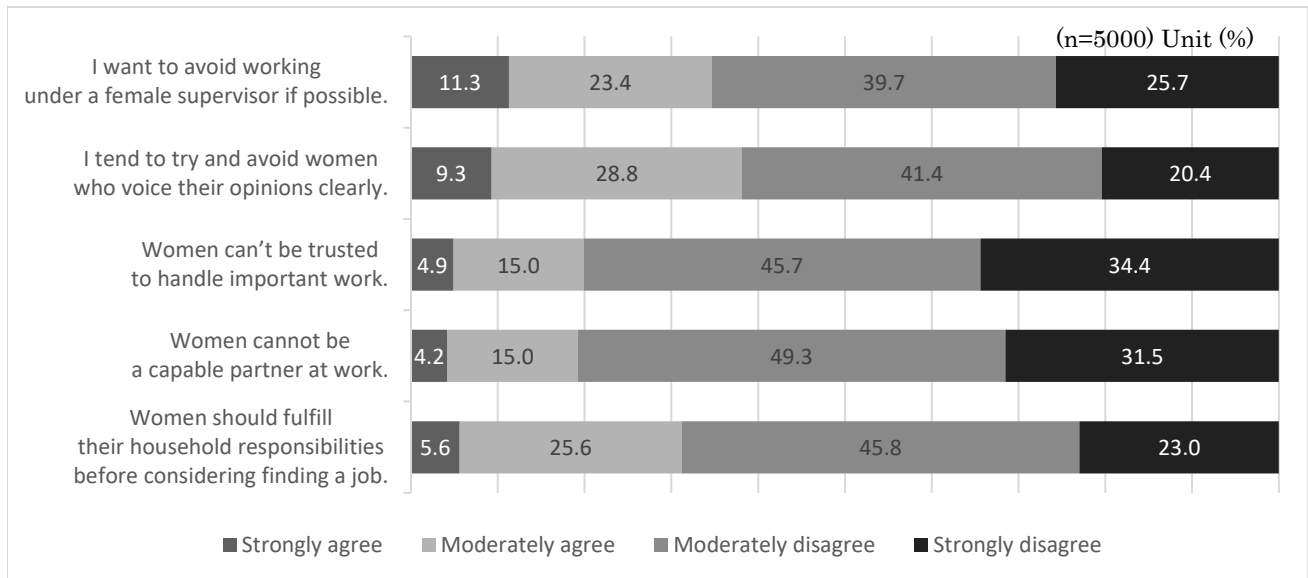


Figure V-2-2: Perception on women at work

We applied the method described above to the results of these five questions to create a scale for “perception on women at work” (5 – 20 points, with higher scores indicating higher discriminatory perception against women). Comparison of average figures by age group found that samples in their 20s and 30s were significantly non-discriminatory against women than those in their 50s and 60s (Table 5, Reference 1). By region, Okinawa was significantly non-discriminatory than all other regions (Table 6, Reference 1).

Gender-based distribution of roles at home

The survey asked samples whether they agree with the following statements: “Men should work and women should stay home to look after the family,” “Men should earn a living to take care of their wife and children,” “Mothers should stay home and dedicate their time to childcare at least until the children turn three,” “Women are better suited to do housework and looking after children,” and “Women should provide nursing care for the elderly.” Figure V-2-3 shows the results.

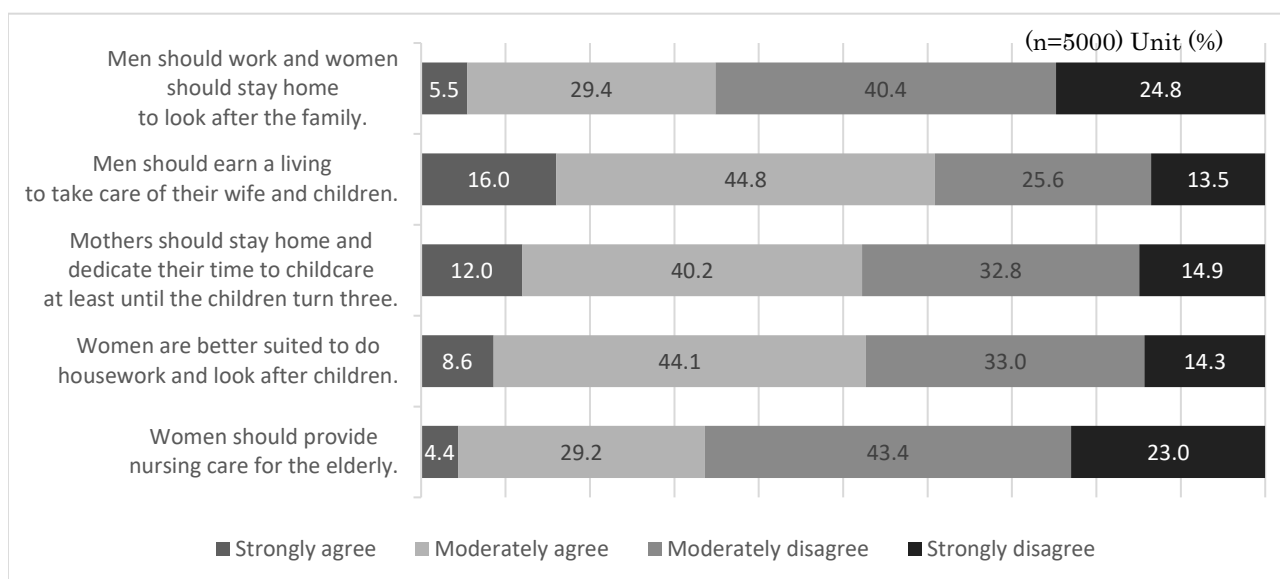


Figure V-2-3: Gender-based distribution of roles at home

We applied the method described above to the results of these five questions to create a scale for “gender-based distribution of roles at home” (5 – 20 points, with higher scores indicating higher inclination toward traditional distribution of roles). Here, “traditional” refers to the traditional view formed in modern-day Korea about what roles men and women should play, rather than traditions from pre-modern days (the same applies hereinafter). Comparison of average figures by age group found that samples in their 60s were significantly inclined toward the traditional distribution of roles compared to those in their 20s – 50s (Table 7, Reference 1). By region, similarly to the results for “perception on women at work,” Okinawa demonstrated a significantly more non-traditional view on the distribution of roles compared to Tokyo, Hokuriku and Kyushu (Table 8, Reference 1).

Cooperativeness

The survey asked samples whether the following statements are applicable to them: “I can see things from other people’s point of view,” “I have no trouble offering genuine apology,” “I can accept opinions that are different from mine,” “I treat people with compassion,” “I have no trouble cooperating with others.” Figure V-2-4 shows the results.

We applied the method described above to the results of these five questions to create a scale for “cooperativeness” (5 – 20 points, with higher scores indicating a higher level of cooperativeness). Comparison of average figures by age group found that the level of cooperativeness was highest among samples in their 60s and lowest among those in their 30s, showing a statistically significant margin (Table 9, Reference 1). By region, Tokyo and Okinawa demonstrated a relatively high level of cooperativeness. In

comparison to these two regions, Tohoku and Hokuriku showed lower cooperativeness by a statistically significant margin (Table 10, Reference 1).

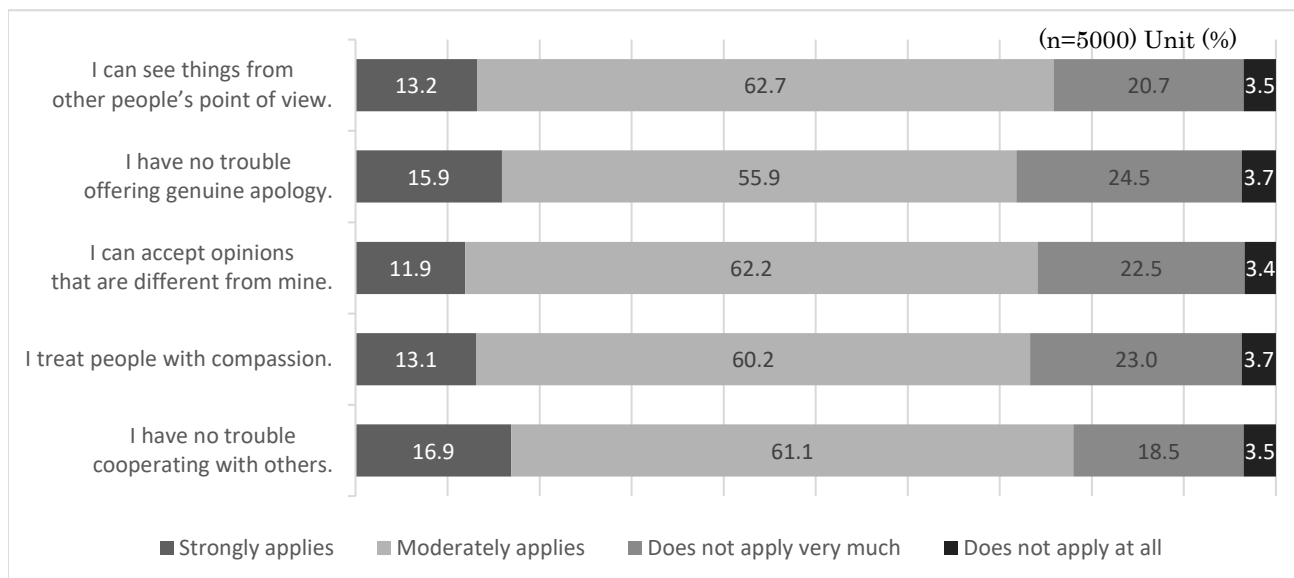


Figure V-2-4: Cooperativeness

Expression of emotions

The survey asked samples whether the following statements are applicable to them: “I often utter words of gratitude to my family and people around me,” “I often express my honest feelings to others,” “I casually consult others about any concerns,” “I sometimes express my defeated feelings to others.” Figure V-2-5 shows the results.

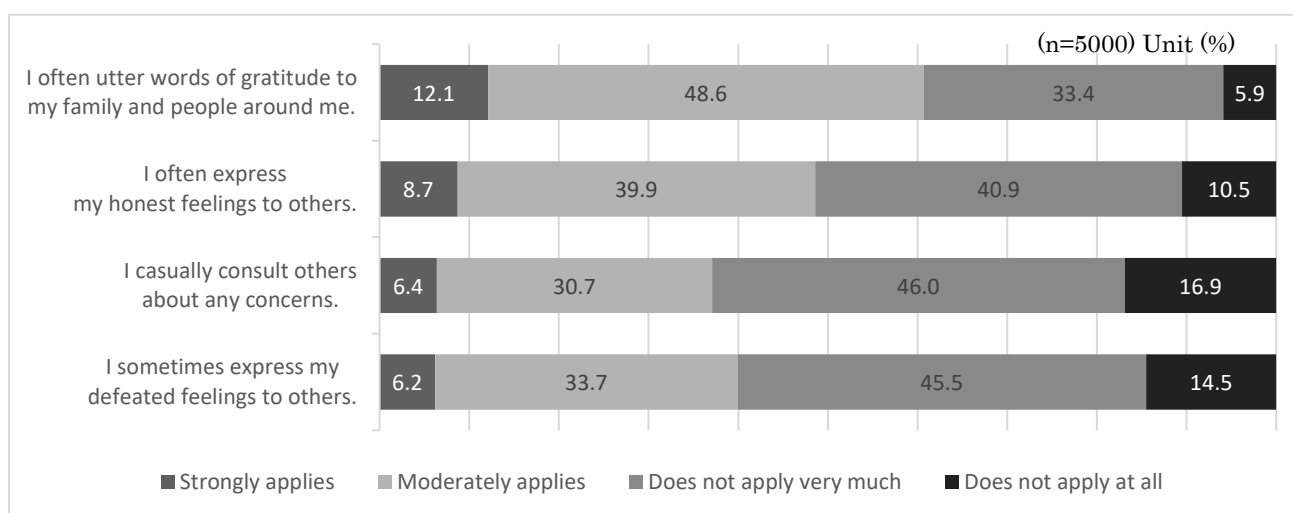


Figure V-2-5: Expression of emotions

We applied the method described above to the results of these four questions to create a scale for “expression of emotions” (4 – 16 points, with higher scores indicating a higher ability to express own feelings to others). Comparison of average figures by age

group found no significant age-based differences. By region, samples based in Tokyo had a significantly higher tendency to express their emotions compared to those based in Tohoku, Hokuriku and Okinawa (Table 11, Reference 1).

Sense of social isolation

The survey asked samples how often they feel the following sentiments: “Sense of loneliness,” “Loss of motivation” and “Desire to die.” Figure V-2-6 shows the results.

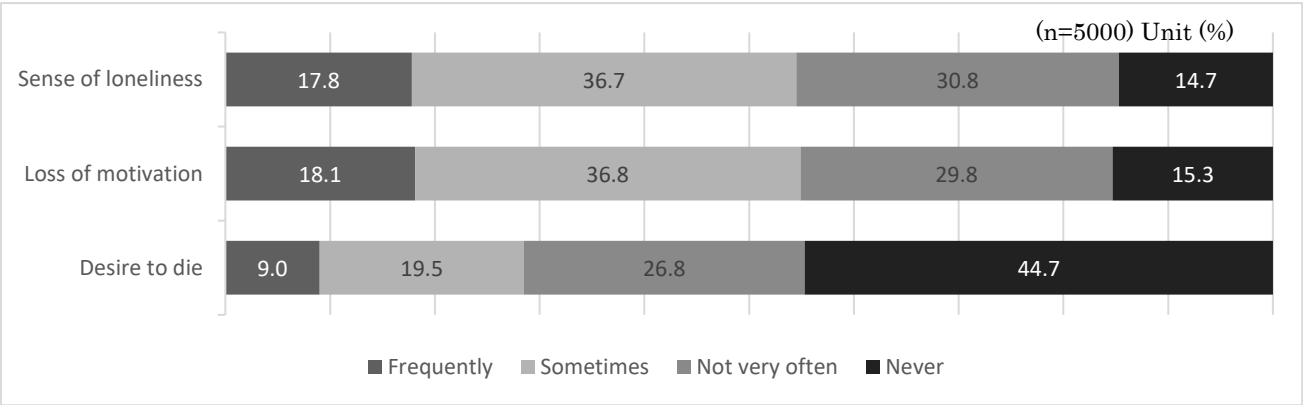


Figure V-2-6: Sense of social isolation

For these three questions, the score of 4 to 1 was assigned to the four response options (1 – 4 points, with the higher scores indicating higher frequency). Average figures by age group and region were compared for each of the questions.

By age group, younger age groups felt the sense of loneliness more frequently, with samples in their 20s recording the highest score. By region, samples based in Tohoku reported the sentiment most frequently. Those based in Tokyo and Okinawa reported significantly less frequency than those in Tohoku, Kyushu and Hokuriku (Tables 12 and 13, Reference 1).

The younger age groups also reported feeling loss of motivation more frequently. Those in their 20s had a significantly higher score than those in their 40s and over. By region, those based in Tohoku, Hokuriku and Kyushu had a significantly higher score than those in Tokyo and Okinawa (Tables 14 and 15, Reference 1).

As for the desire to die, younger samples reported having such feeling more frequently. Those in their 20s had a significantly higher score than those in their 40s and over. By region, those based in Tohoku, Hokuriku and Kyushu had a significantly higher score than those in Tokyo and Okinawa (Tables 16 and 17, Reference 1).

Inflicting / receiving violence

The survey asked samples about their experiences in “inflicting DV (on spouse or partner),” “receiving DV,” “committing sexual harassment,” “receiving sexual harassment,” “committing power harassment” and “receiving power harassment.” Figure V-2-7 shows the results.

For the questions on “inflicting DV” (experience as a perpetrator) and “receiving DV” (experience as a victim), the score of 4 to 1 was assigned to the four response options (1 – 4 points, with the higher scores indicating higher frequency of experience). Average figures by age group and region were compared for each of the questions. For “experience as a perpetrator,” samples in their 20s showed a significantly higher frequency (Table 18, Reference 1), with no significant regional variations. As for “experience as a victim,” samples in their 20s reported significantly higher frequency than those in their 30s and over, and those in their 30s also reported significantly higher frequency than those in their 40s and over (Table 20, Reference 1). By region, the frequency was significantly higher among those based in Tokyo compared to those in Okinawa (Table 21, Reference 1).

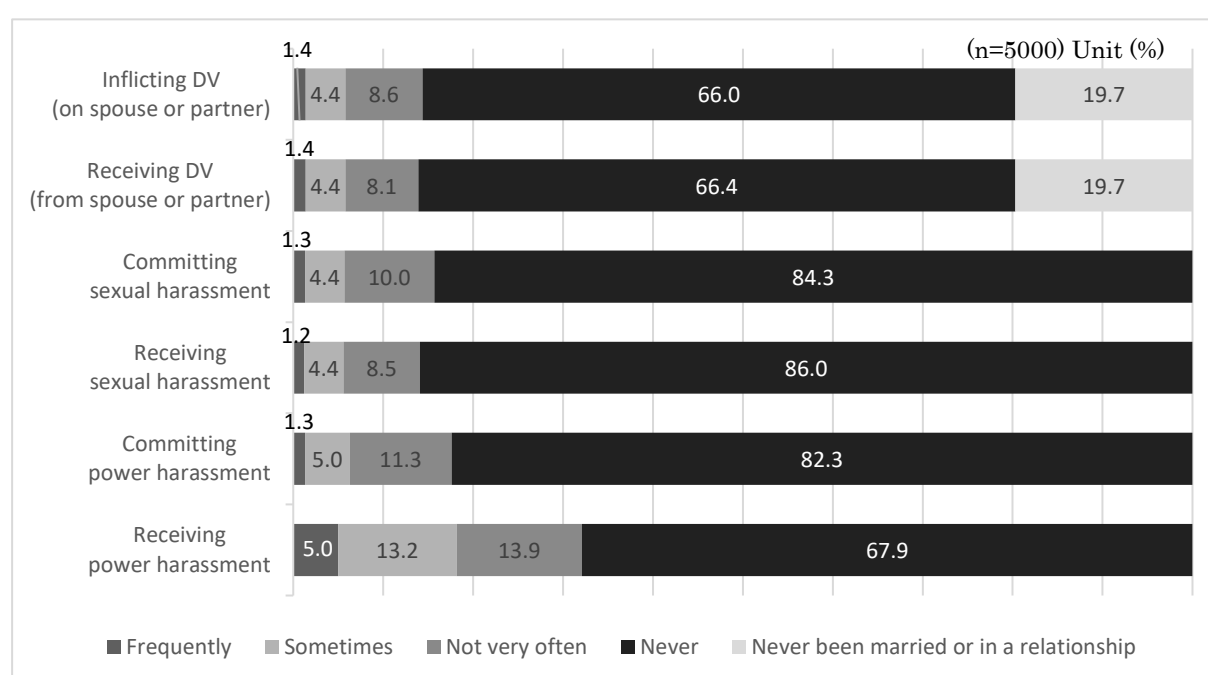


Figure V-2-7: Inflicting / receiving violence

Frequency of housework

The survey asked samples about their frequency in doing eight types of housework, namely “cooking,” “tidying up after meals,” “shopping groceries and daily necessities,” “doing laundry (putting laundry into a washing machine and hanging it up to dry),” “putting away clean laundry (folding),” “cleaning (rooms),” “cleaning (bathroom)” and “cleaning (toilet).” Figure V-2-8 shows the results.

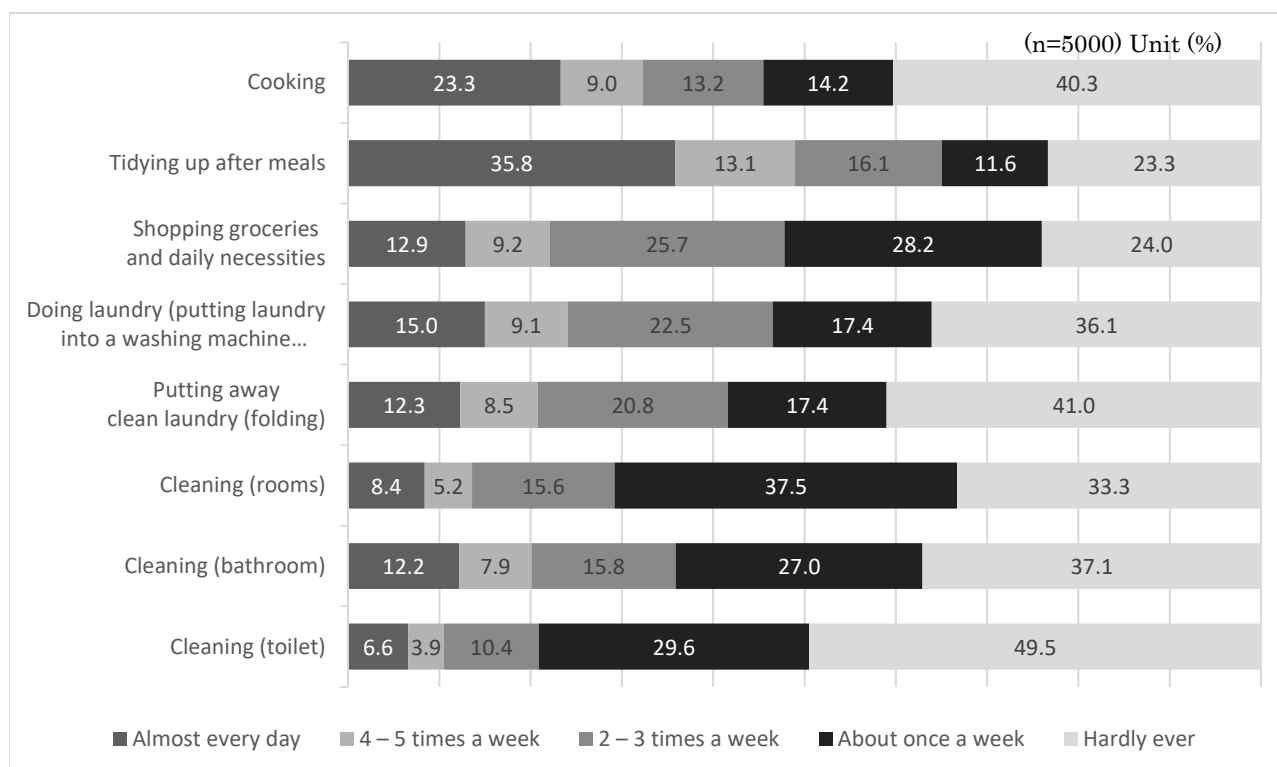


Figure V-2-8: Frequency of housework

For these eight items, the score of 0 (Hardly ever) to 7 (Almost every day) was assigned. The scores were aggregated and divided by 8 (the number of surveyed items) to create a scale for “frequency of housework” (0 - 7 points, with the higher scores indicating higher frequency of housework). Comparison of average figures by age group showed that housework was performed most frequently by samples in their 20s and least frequently by those in their 60s with statistically significant margin between the two groups (Table 22, Reference 1). By region, those based in Tokyo and Okinawa performed housework very frequently, and samples in other regions did so significantly less frequently. Hokuriku was the region with the lowest housework frequency, significantly below the level recorded in three other regions excluding Kyushu (Table 23, Reference 1).

By residential type, men living alone had a significantly higher score than co-habiting men. This tendency was observed in all regions. However, there was no significant correlation between academic background and frequency of housework. Significant but weak correlation was observed between commuting / working hours and frequency of housework. The longer one spends commuting and working, the less frequently the person performed housework.

Frequency of childcare

The survey asked samples who have child(ren) about their frequency in doing six types of childcare tasks, namely “cooking,” “having meals together,” “helping them put clothes on and get ready,” “having a bath together,” “changing diapers and helping them go to the toilet” and “playing together.” Figure V-2-9 shows the results.

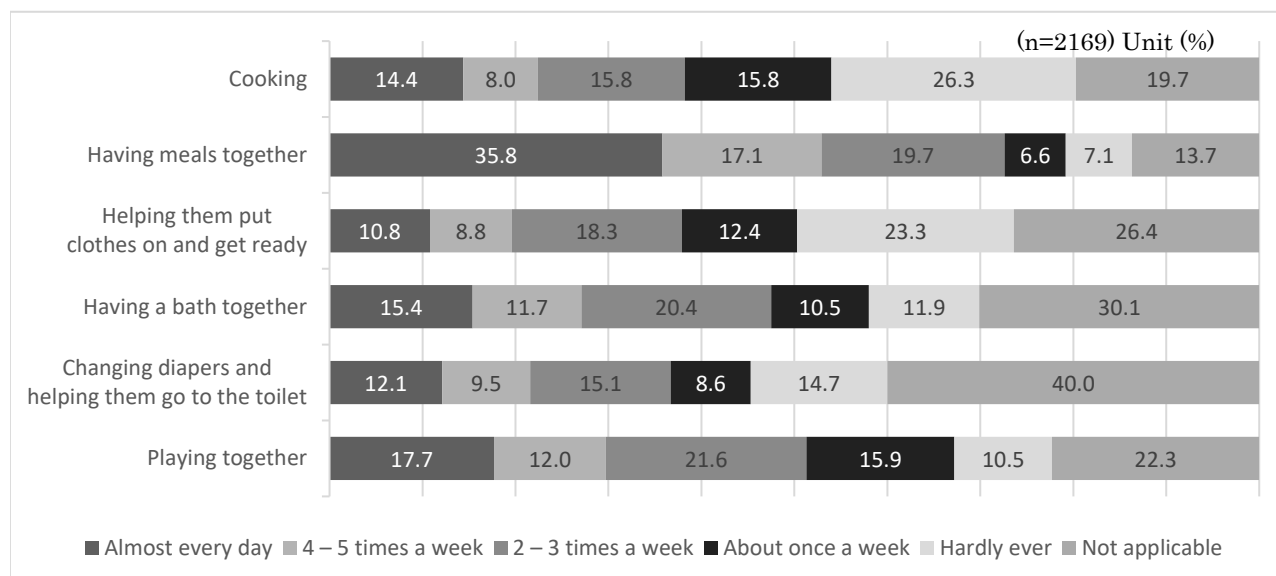


Figure V-2-9: Frequency of childcare

We applied the same method described above for examining housework frequency to the results of these six survey items to create a scale for “frequency of childcare” (0 – 7 points, with higher scores indicating higher frequency of childcare), and examined differences in average figures, only using data from men whose youngest child is aged 6 years or younger (579 samples), based on their age group, place of residence, academic background and commuting / working hours. No difference in childcare frequency was observed between samples of different age groups and academic backgrounds. By region, the frequency of childcare was highest for samples based in Tohoku, i.e. significantly higher than those based in Tokyo and Kyushu (Table 24, Reference 1). Similarly to the results on housework frequency, negative correlation was observed between the frequency of childcare and commuting / working hours.

Frequency of nursing care

The survey asked samples who are providing (have provided) nursing care to a family member currently (in the past) about their frequency in doing five types of nursing care tasks, namely “providing physical care (including helping the person take a bath, get changed, eat a meal or go to the toilet),” “assisting housework (performing housework including cooking, doing laundry and cleaning),” “accompanying or transporting the person on an outing,” “arranging and coordinating financial management and nursing care services (for the carer)” and “having a chat with or monitoring the person for safety

(not including chatting / monitoring while performing other tasks).” Figure V-2-10 shows the results.

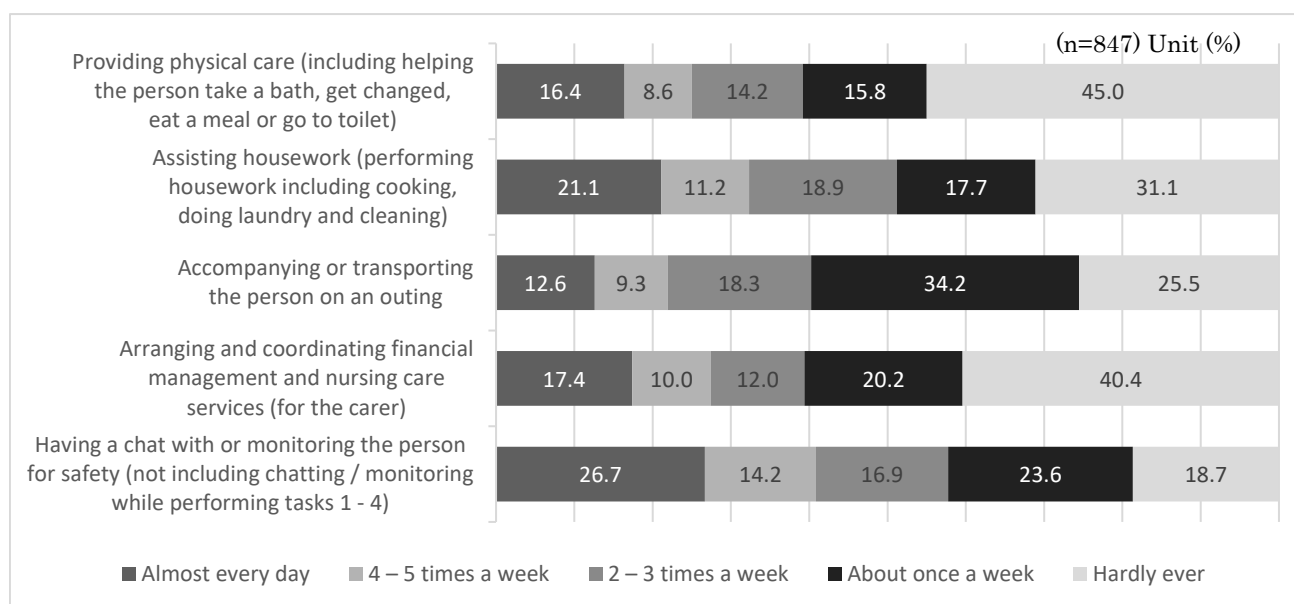


Figure V-2-10: Frequency of nursing care

We applied the same method described above for examining housework frequency and childcare frequency to the results of these five survey items to create a scale for “frequency of nursing care” (0 – 7 points, with higher scores indicating higher frequency of nursing care), and examined differences in average figures among different age groups and regions, only using data from samples who identified themselves as the “primary care giver at present” (123 samples). No significant difference by age group was observed, although the frequency of nursing care was high among men in their 20s. By region, nursing care frequency tended to be higher among those based in Tokyo and Tohoku, but there was no significant regional difference overall.

Incidentally, men in their 20s who are serving as a primary care giver were most typically looking after their own father (29.2%) and mother (20.8%), and the ratio of those caring for their grandfather / grandmother stood at 12.5%.

(3) Determining factors of men’s participating in housework and childcare: Japanese survey

In exploring “men’s new roles,” which is the focus of this project, we used the covariance structure modeling approach to examine the determining factors of men’s participation in housework and childcare. Since the appended reference 1 describes analysis procedure and analysis results in details, this paper averts statistical explanation as much as possible and presents only the overview of the results.

Figure V-2-11 shows the analysis model. The items in rectangles represent observation variables (question items used by themselves for analysis), while the items in oval boxes represent latent variables (multiple question items that have been combined using statistical approach). In the analysis, samples were divided into three groups, namely “married with children,” “married with no children” and “single with no children.”

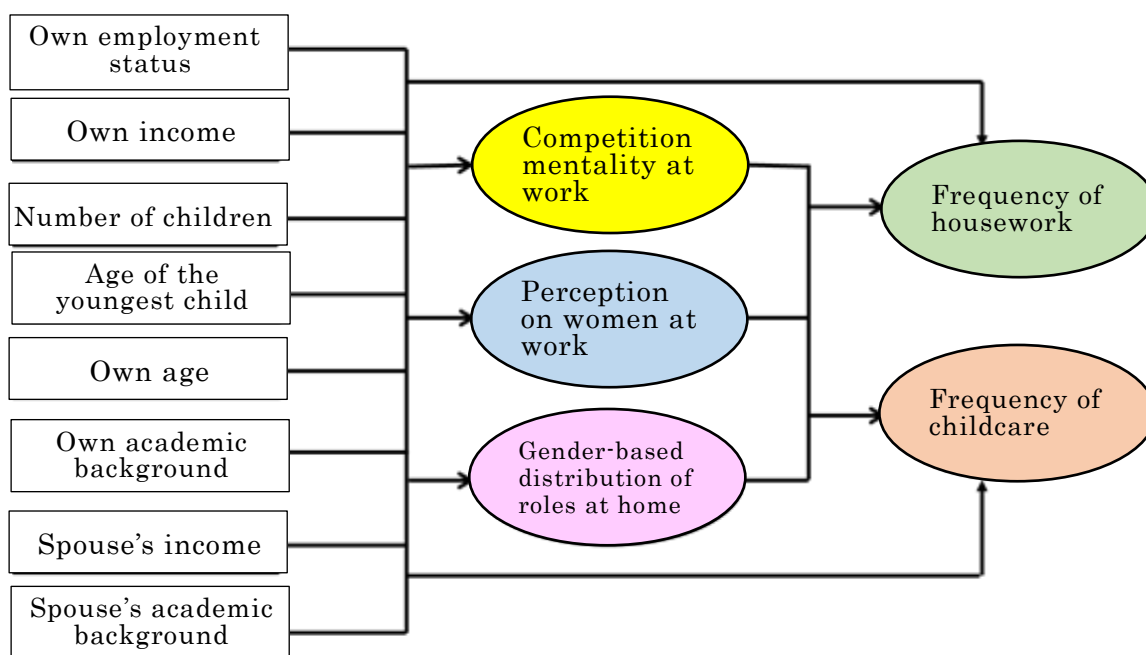


Figure V-2-11: Analysis model

Results of married men with children

Analysis results for married men with children (1,998 samples) were as follows:

- ① “Competition mentality at work”: The level of “competition mentality at work” tends to be higher when the level of “own annual income,” “age of the youngest child” and “own academic background” is high, and lower when the level of “own age” and the level of “spouse’s academic background” is high.
- ② “Perception on women at work”: The level of “perception on women at work” tends to be non-discriminatory when the level of “spouse’s academic background” is high.
- ③ “Gender-based distribution of roles at home”: The perception on “gender-based distribution of roles at home” tends to be more traditional when the level of “own annual income” and “age of the youngest child” is high, and more non-traditional when the level of “spouse’s annual income” and “spouse’s academic background” is high.
- ④ “Frequency of housework”: The “frequency of housework” is lower among “those who are in workforce,” when the level of “own annual income” and “own age” is

high or when the perception of “gender-based distribution of roles at home” is traditional, and is higher when the level of “spouse’s academic background” and “spouse’s annual income” is high or when the “perception on women at work” is discriminatory.

- ⑤ “Frequency of childcare”: The “frequency of childcare” is lower when the perception of gender-based distribution of roles at home” is traditional, and higher when the level of the “age of the youngest child” and “spouse’s annual income” is high.

Results of married men with no children

Analysis results for married men with no children (455 samples) were as show below. Here, variables concerning children and childcare (“number of children,” “age of the youngest child” and “frequency of childcare”) were excluded from the modeling.

- ① “Competition mentality at work”: The level of “competition mentality at work” tends to be higher among “those who are in the workforce” and when the level of “own annual income” is high, but lower when the “own age” is high.
- ② “Perception on women at work”: The level of “perception on women at work” tends to be discriminatory when the level of “own annual income” is high.
- ③ “Gender-based distribution of roles at home”: The perception on “gender-based distribution of roles at home” tends to be more traditional among “those who are in the workforce” and when the level of “own annual income” is high, and more non-traditional when the level of “spouse’s annual income” is high.
- ④ “Frequency of housework”: The “frequency of housework” is lower when the level of “own annual income” and “own age” is high, and is higher when the level of “spouse’s annual income” is high.

Results of single men with no children

Analysis results for single men with no children (2,376 samples) were as shown below. Here, variables concerning children and childcare (“number of children,” “age of the youngest child” and “frequency of childcare”), excluded in the analysis for married men with no children, as well as variables concerning spouse (“spouse’s income” and “spouse’s academic background”) were excluded from the modeling.

- ① “Competition mentality at work”: The level of “competition mentality at work” tends to be higher among “those who are in the workforce” and when the level of “own annual income” and “own academic background” is high, but lower when the “own age” is high.
- ② “Perception on women at work”: The level of “perception on women at work” tends to be discriminatory when the level of “own annual income” is high.
- ③ “Frequency of housework”: The “frequency of housework” is lower when the level of “own age” and “competition mentality at work” is high, and when the “perception on women at work” is discriminatory.

(4) Summary of results from five Japanese regions

Data collected this time from five Japanese regions was characterized by a high ratio of men with high academic background and in full-time employment, and by the fact that almost half of the samples were single. These trends may be attributed to the use of online survey as a method for gathering data. The level of annual income was the highest among men based in Tokyo, but there were no regional variations in the duration of working hours.

Comparison of results by age group and region

Main insight obtained about differences in survey results by age group and region is summarized as below:

- ① Compared to older men, younger men tend to have a higher level of competition mentality at work, but holds a non-discriminatory perception about women at workplace as well as a non-traditional view about gender-based distribution of roles at home.
- ② Compared to younger men, older men are highly cooperative but have a discriminatory view about women at workplace as well as a traditional view about gender-based distribution of roles at home.
- ③ Compared to men based in other regions, men who live in Tokyo are highly cooperative. Compared to men based in other regions, men who live in Okinawa have a non-discriminatory view about women at workplace and a non-traditional perception about gender-based distribution of roles at home.
- ④ The tendency to express emotions frequently is observed more notably among those in their 20s and men who live in Tokyo. Men who live in Tohoku feel the sense of loneliness most frequently.
- ⑤ The ratio of responses identifying experiences in inflicting or receiving violence was the highest among those in their 20s.
- ⑥ As for housework, younger men are involved in housework more frequently than older men, but there is no such tendency observed for childcare.

Determining factors of men's participating in housework and childcare

Insight obtained about factors affecting the frequency of participation in housework and childcare can be summarized as below:

- ① Married men with children have more frequent housework participation if they have the following attributes: Non-traditional perception about gender-based role distribution at home, discriminatory view of women at workplace, not in workforce, low annual income, young age, high level of spouse's annual income and high level of

spouse's academic background

- ② Married men with no children have more frequent housework participation if they have the following attributes: Low annual income, young age and high level of spouse's annual income.
- ③ Single men with no children have more frequent housework participation if they have the following attributes: High level of competition mentality at work, discriminatory view of women at workplace and old age.
- ④ Married men with children have more frequent childcare participation if they have the following attributes: Non-traditional perception about gender-based role distribution at home, high age of the youngest child, high level of spouse's income.

The comparison shows that married men, regardless of whether they have children or not, become involved in housework if they have a lower level of annual income, are younger, or have a spouse with high annual income. There is correlation between men's housework participation and their mentality factors, i.e. perception on women at work in the case of married men with children, and competition mentality at work as well as perception on women at work in the case of single men. However, no such correlation was observed for married men without children. As a whole, the analysis found that both mentality factors and objective factors, such as annual income, affect the frequency of men's participation in housework and childcare.

3. Outlines of survey results: Five East Asian cities

(1) Basic attributes of survey samples

Age distribution

The average age of all survey samples in each of the surveyed cities was, from the highest to the lowest, 41.25 for Tokyo, 37.96 for Seoul, 37.49 for Shanghai, 36.47 for Hong Kong and 36.23 for Taipei. Tokyo had the highest average age, while Taipei had the lowest average age. The ratio of samples in their 40s – 60s was over 50% (50.7%) for Tokyo, but 37.5% for Taipei and 35.8% for Hong Kong, indicating a slight deviation to relatively young age groups (Figure 1, Reference 2).

Highest academic achievement

As for the highest academic achievement, (4-year) university graduates accounted for the largest group in all the surveyed cities. The ratio of men whose highest academic achievement is a 4-year university degree or higher, stood at 78.5% for Seoul, 72.9% for Shanghai, 71.4% for Tokyo, 70.5% for Taipei and 62.2% for Hong Kong. Taipei had the highest ratio of men with a degree from either postgraduate school or six-year university (22.9%), followed by Seoul (11.8%), Hong Kong (8.9%), Tokyo (8.5%) and

Shanghai (7.0%). Since different countries have different educational systems, some caution should be exercised when comparing academic background directly (Figure 2, Reference 2).

Employment type

The most common employment type in all the surveyed cities was “full-time general employee (including public servants).” Their ratio was the highest for Seoul (69.8%), followed by Shanghai (67.6%), Tokyo (64.9%), Hong Kong (62.2%) and Taipei (54.2%). The next most common employment type varied from city to city. It was “self-employed / freelancer” for Tokyo and Seoul (12.8% and 10.9% respectively), and “business proprietor / director” for Taipei, Shanghai and Hong Kong (28.6%, 15.1% and 19.5% respectively). The ratio of “temporary / part-time worker” was the highest for Tokyo (9.8%), followed by Seoul (8.0%) (Figure 3, Reference 2).

Working hours

In all of the surveyed cities, the average daily duration of working hours was just above 8 hours. The longest was Seoul (8.75 hours), followed by Taipei (8.73 hours), Tokyo (8.50 hours), Hong Kong (8.31 hours) and Shanghai (8.17 hours) (Table 1, Reference 2).

Annual income and income disparity between spouses

With regard to annual income, the questionnaire provided several income levels in respective local currencies as options, and asked survey samples to pick the level they belong to. The score of 1 to 3 was assigned from the lowest level to the highest level to calculate the average figure for each of the cities. The annual income level to which the average figure belongs to was equivalent to 4.5 million – 5.49 million yen for Tokyo, Shanghai and Hong Kong, 1.5 million – 2.49 million yen for Taipei and 1.3 million – 1.49 million yen for Seoul.

Next, responses only from married men were replaced with their respective income levels’ center values, which were then used to calculate average figures for survey samples and their spouses for each of the cities for comparison. The results were converted into the Japanese yen at the currency exchange rate as of August 30, 2018, as follows:

Married men who live in Tokyo have the average annual income of 5.01 million yen, but their spouses’ average annual income is just 2 million yen, less than half the men’s figure. The averages stood at 3.15 million yen for men and 2.15 million yen for their spouses in Seoul, 4.13 million yen for men and 3.83 million yen for their spouses in

Taipei, 3.15 million yen for men and 2.07 million yen for their spouses in Shanghai, and 5.45 million yen for men and 4.07 million yen for their spouses in Hong Kong.

The proportion of spousal income, when the husband’s income is set at 100%, was, from the highest to the lowest, 92.8% for Taipei, 74.6% for Hong Kong, 65.8% for Shanghai, 61.3% for Seoul and 40.0% for Tokyo. Income disparity among husbands and wives was the smallest in Taipei and largest in Tokyo.

Marital and parental status

The ratio of “singles with no children” was the highest in Tokyo and Seoul (53.5% and 46.8% respectively), while the ratio of “married with children” was the highest in Taipei, Shanghai and Hong Kong (44.3%, 59.1% and 39.9% respectively). Of the five cities, Hong Kong had the highest ratio of “married with no children” (20.6%), followed by Shanghai (11.2%) and Tokyo (11.0%) (Figure 4, Reference 2).

(2) Responses to main survey items

Competition mentality at work

The survey asked samples whether they “want to improve work performance to get good evaluation,” “want to win in competition at work” and “are conscious about workplace hierarchy when dealing with male colleagues.”

For each of the questions, the score of 4 to 1 was assigned to the four response options ranging from “Strongly agree” to “Strongly disagree.” We aggregated scores for the three questions to create a scale for “competition mentality at work” (3 - 12 points, with higher scores indicating higher competition mentality). The distributed analysis approach (Scheffé’s multiple comparison method) was used to examine differences between the cities. Figure V-3-1 shows responses by city.

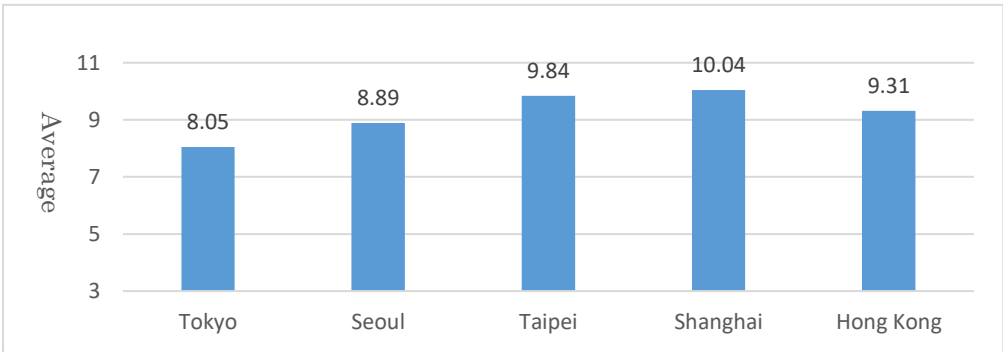


Figure V-3-1: Competition mentality at work by city

Comparison of average figures by city showed that the level of competition mentality was highest for Shanghai (10.04), followed by Taipei (9.84), Hong Kong (9.31), Seoul

(8.89) and Tokyo (8.05). Compared to the other four cities, Tokyo had a significantly lower competition mentality.

Perception on women at work

The survey asked samples whether they agree with the following statements: “I want to avoid working under a female supervisor if possible,” “I tend to try and avoid women who voice their opinions clearly,” “Women can’t be trusted to handle important work,” “Women cannot be a capable partner at work” and “Women should fulfill their household responsibilities before considering finding a job.”

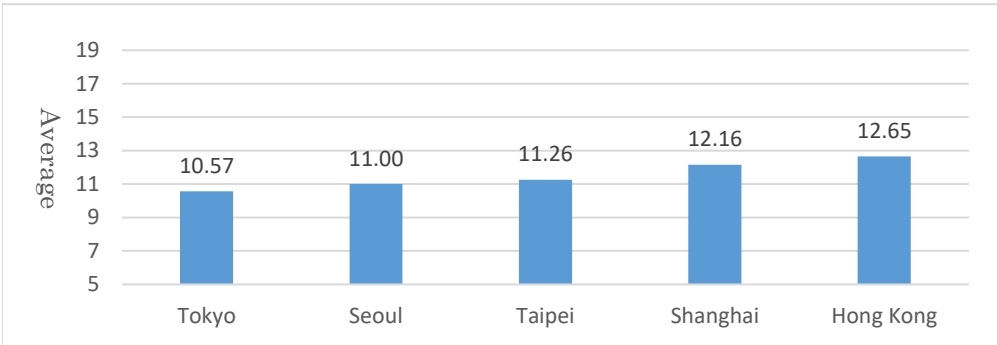


Figure V-3-2: Perception on women at work by city

We applied the method described above to the results of these five questions to create a scale for “perception on women at work” (5 – 20 points, with higher scores indicating higher discriminatory perception against women). Figure V-3-2 shows the comparison of average figures among the surveyed cities. Hong Kong (12.65) had the highest level of discriminatory perception toward women at workplaces, followed by Shanghai (12.16), Taipei (11.26), Seoul (11.00) and Tokyo (10.57). Compared to the other cities excluding Seoul, Tokyo had a significantly less discriminatory perception.

Gender-based distribution of roles at home

The survey asked samples whether they agree with the following statements: “Men should work and women should stay home to look after the family,” “Men should earn a living to take care of their wife and children,” “Mothers should stay home and dedicate their time to childcare at least until the children turn three,” “Women are better suited to do housework and look after children,” and “Women should provide nursing care for the elderly.”

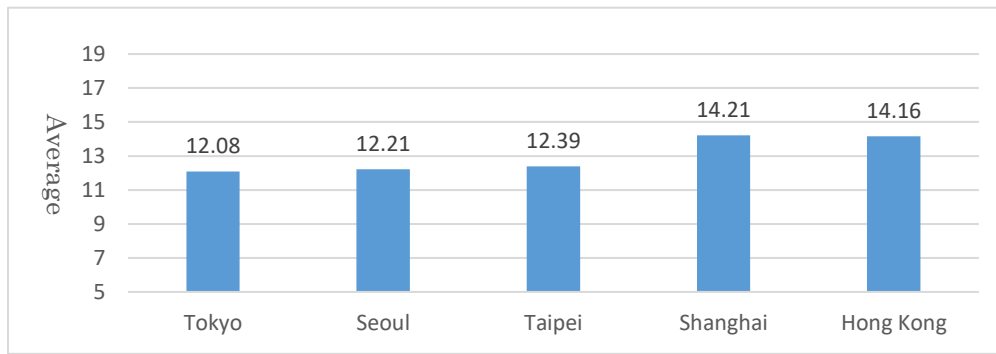


Figure V-3-3: Gender-based distribution of roles at home by city

We applied the method described above to the results of these five questions to create a scale for “gender-based distribution of roles at home” (5 – 20 points, with higher scores indicating higher inclination toward traditional distribution of roles). Figure V-3-3 shows the comparison of average figures among the surveyed cities. Shanghai had the most traditional perception about gender-based role distribution (14.21), followed by Hong Kong (14.16), Taipei (12.39), Seoul (12.21) and Tokyo (12.08). Tokyo had a significantly less traditional perception compared to Shanghai and Hong Kong.

Cooperativeness

The survey asked samples whether the following statements are applicable to them: “I can see things from other people’s point of view,” “I have no trouble offering a genuine apology,” “I can accept opinions that are different from mine,” “I treat people with compassion,” “I have no trouble cooperating with others.”

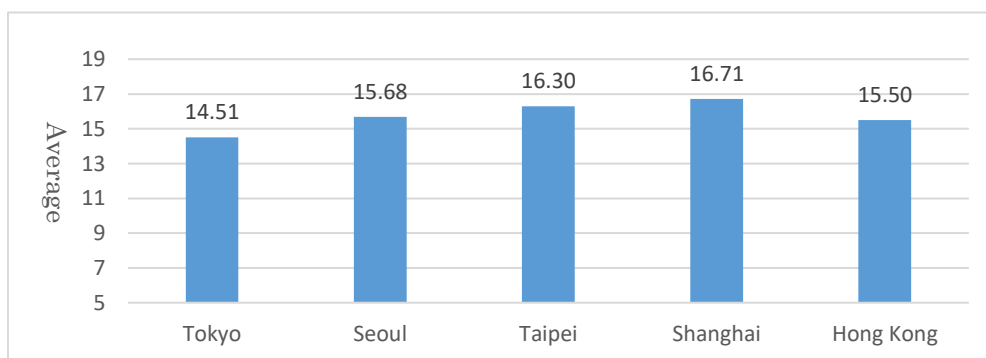


Figure V-3-4: Cooperativeness by city

We applied the method described above to the results of these five questions to create a scale for “cooperativeness” (5 – 20 points, with higher scores indicating a higher level of cooperativeness).

Comparison of average figures by age group found that the level of cooperativeness was highest among samples in their 60s and lowest among those in their 30s, showing a statistically significant margin (Table 9, Reference 1). Figure V-3-4 shows the comparison of average figures among the surveyed cities. Shanghai had the highest level of cooperativeness (16.71), followed by Taipei (16.30), Seoul (15.68), Hong Kong (15.50) and Tokyo (14.51). Tokyo’s result was significantly lower than the other four cities.

Expression of emotions

The survey asked samples whether the following statements are applicable to them: “I often utter words of gratitude to my family and people around me,” “I often express my honest feelings to others,” “I casually consult others about any concerns,” “I sometimes express my defeated feelings to others.”

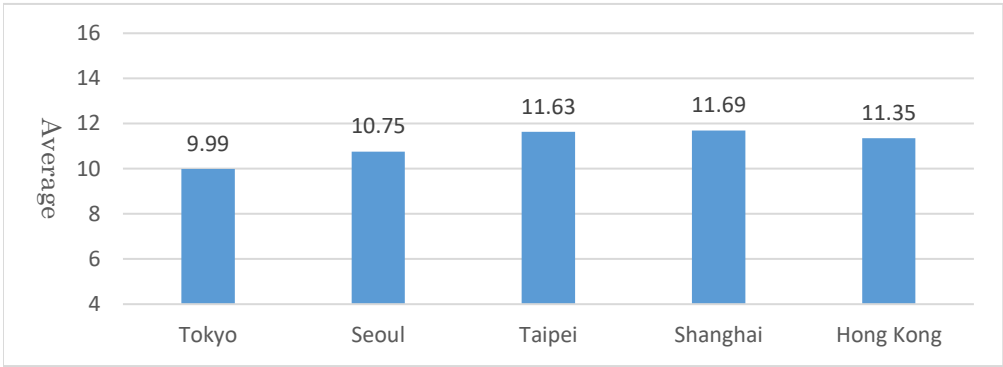


Figure V-3-5: Expression of emotions by city

We applied the method described above to the results of these four questions to create a scale for “expression of emotions” (4 – 16 points, with higher scores indicating a higher ability to express own feelings to others). Figure V-3-5 shows the comparison of average figures among the surveyed cities. Shanghai scored the highest in the degree of expressing own emotions (11.69), followed by Taipei (11.63), Hong Kong (11.35), Seoul (10.75) and Tokyo (9.99). Compared to the other four cities, Tokyo had a significantly lower degree of expression emotions.

Sense of social isolation

The survey asked samples how often they feel the following sentiments: “Sense of loneliness,” “Loss of motivation” and “Desire to die.” For these three questions, the score of 4 to 1 was assigned to the four response options (1 – 4 points, with the higher scores indicating higher frequency). Average figures by city were compared for each of the questions.

Figure V-3-6-1 shows the comparison of responses to the question on “sense of loneliness.” Hong Kong scored the highest (2.78), followed by Seoul (2.69), Taipei (2.54),

Tokyo (2.51) and Shanghai (2.40). Tokyo showed a significantly lower sense of isolation compared to Hong Kong and Seoul.

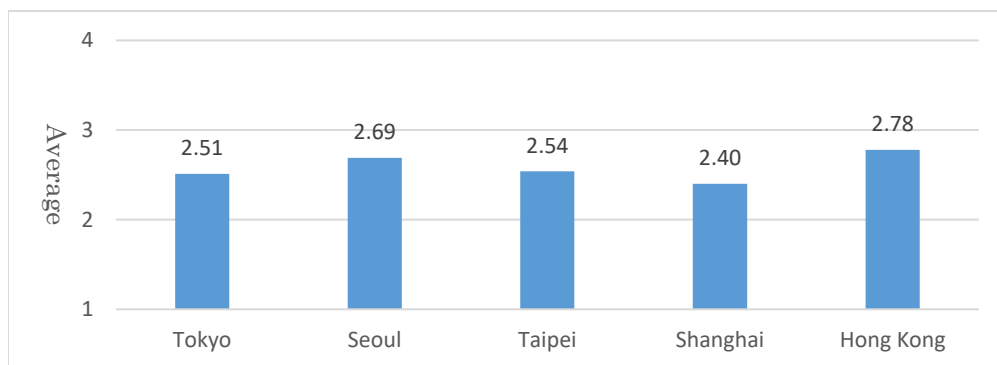


Figure V-3-6-1: “Sense of loneliness” by city

Figure V-3-6-2 shows the comparison of responses to the question on “loss of motivation.” Hong Kong scored the highest (2.54), followed by Tokyo (2.49), Taipei (2.59), Seoul (2.36) and Shanghai (2.10). Samples in Tokyo expressed feeling “loss of motivation” significantly more frequently than those in Seoul and Shanghai.

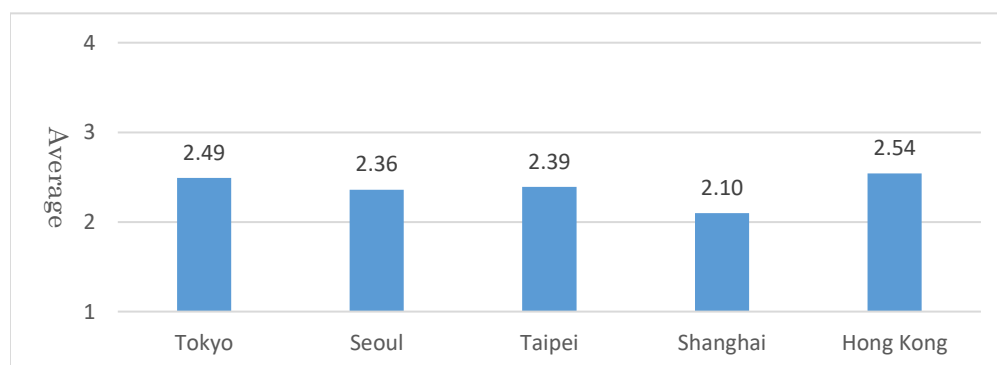


Figure V-3-6-2: “Loss of motivation” by city

Figure V-3-6-3 shows the comparison of responses to the question on “desire to die.” Samples in Hong Kong scored the highest (2.07), followed by Seoul (1.95), Tokyo (1.87), Taipei (1.64) and Shanghai (1.49). Samples in Tokyo expressed feeling the “desire to die” significantly more frequently than those in Shanghai and Taipei, and significantly less frequently than those in Hong Kong.

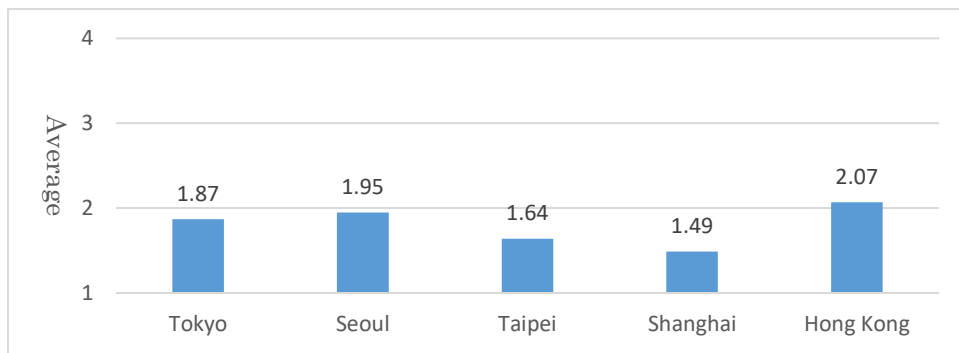


Figure V-3-6-3: “Desire to die” by city

Men who live in Hong Kong experience these three types of the sense of social alienation (loneliness, loss of motivation and desire to die) most frequently. Men in Seoul and Tokyo also tend to feel socially alienated frequently, while men in Shanghai scored the lowest for all three questions.

Inflicting / receiving violence

The survey questionnaire asked six questions concerning samples’ experiences in inflicting or receiving violence. This paper focuses only on the questions about their experiences in “inflicting DV (on spouse or partner)” and “receiving DV.” The score of 4 to 1 was assigned to the four response options (1 – 4 points, with the higher scores indicating higher frequency). Average figures by city were compared for each of the questions.

Figure V-3-7-1 shows the comparison of responses to the question on experiences in “inflicting DV.” Hong Kong showed the highest frequency (1.67), followed by Seoul (1.45), Shanghai (1.38), Taipei (1.32) and Tokyo (1.31). Tokyo’s score was significantly lower than those of Hong Kong and Seoul.

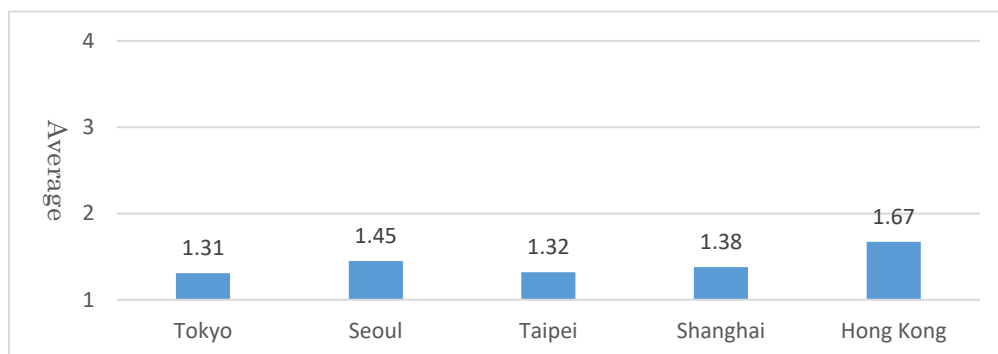


Figure V-3-7-1: Experience of inflicting DV by city

Figure V-3-7-2 shows the comparison of responses to the question on experiences in “receiving DV.” Hong Kong showed the highest frequency (1.62), followed by Seoul (1.48), Shanghai (1.35), Tokyo (1.33) and Taipei (1.31). Tokyo’s score was significantly lower than those of Hong Kong and Seoul.

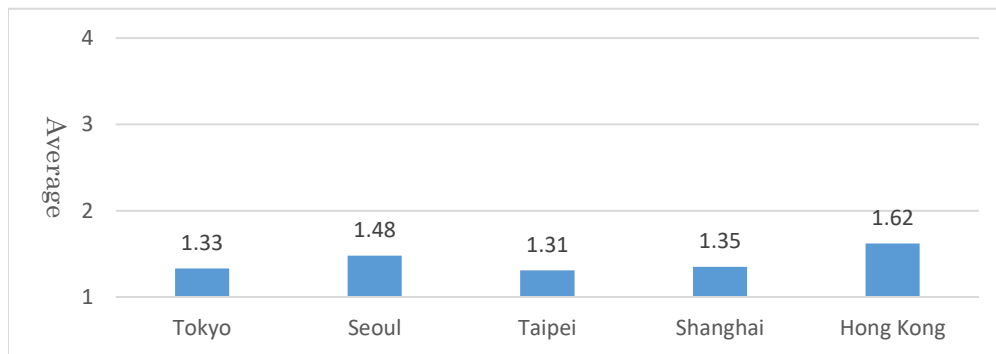


Figure V-3-7-1: Experience of receiving DV by city

Frequency of housework

The survey asked samples about their frequency in doing eight types of housework, namely “cooking,” “tidying up after meals,” “shopping for groceries and daily necessities,” “doing laundry (putting laundry into a washing machine and hanging it up to dry),” “putting away clean laundry (folding),” “cleaning (rooms),” “cleaning (bathroom)” and “cleaning (toilet).”

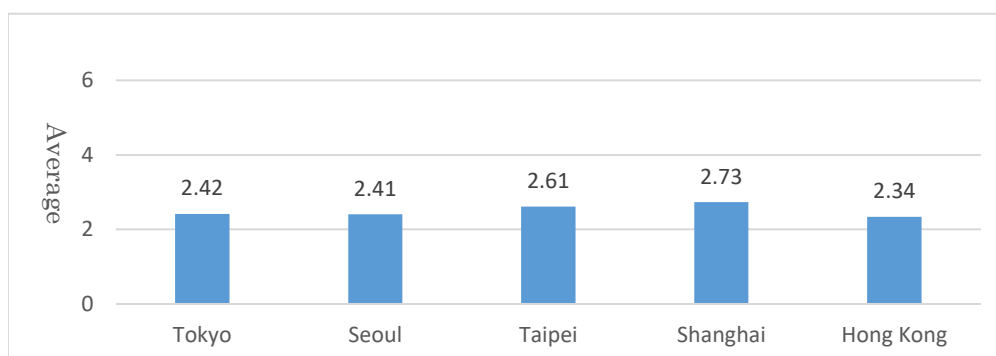


Figure V-3-8: Frequency of housework by city

For these eight items, the score of 0 (Hardly ever) to 7 (Almost every day) was assigned. The scores were aggregated and divided by 8 to create a scale for “frequency of housework” (0 - 7 points, with the higher scores indicating higher frequency of housework). Figure V-3-8 shows the comparison of average figures among the surveyed cities. The frequency of participation in housework was the highest for Shanghai (2.73), followed by Taipei (2.61), Tokyo (2.42), Seoul (2.41) and Hong Kong (2.34). Tokyo scored significantly lower than Shanghai, but there was no significant difference between Tokyo’s score and the scores of the other three cities.

Frequency of childcare

The survey asked samples who have child(ren) about their frequency in doing six types of childcare tasks, namely “cooking,” “having meals together,” “helping them put clothes on and get ready,” “having a bath together,” “changing diapers and helping them go to the toilet” and “playing together.”

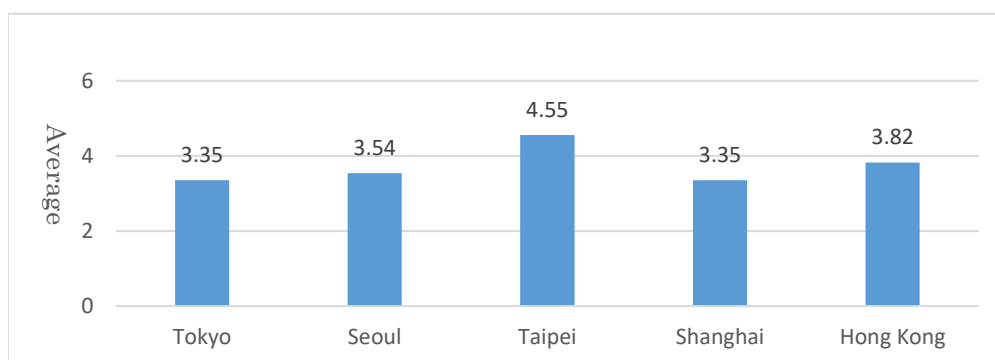


Figure V-3-9: Frequency of childcare by city

We applied the same method described above for examining housework frequency to the results of these six survey items to create a scale for “frequency of childcare” (0 – 7 points, with higher scores indicating higher frequency of childcare). Figure V-3-9 shows the comparison of average figures among the surveyed cities, only using data from men whose youngest child is aged 6 years or younger. The frequency of participation in childcare was the highest for Taipei (4.55), followed by Hong Kong (3.82), Seoul (3.54), Shanghai (3.35) and Tokyo (3.35). Tokyo’s score was significantly lower than that of Taipei, but there was no significant difference between Tokyo’s score and the scores of the other three cities.

Frequency of nursing care

The survey asked samples who are currently providing nursing care to a family member about their frequency in doing five types of nursing care tasks, namely “providing physical care (including helping the person take a bath, get changed, eat a meal or go to toilet),” “assisting housework (performing housework including cooking, doing laundry and cleaning),” “accompanying or transporting the person on an outing,” “arranging and coordinating financial management and nursing care services (for the carer)” and “having a chat with or monitoring the person for safety (not including chatting / monitoring while performing other tasks).”

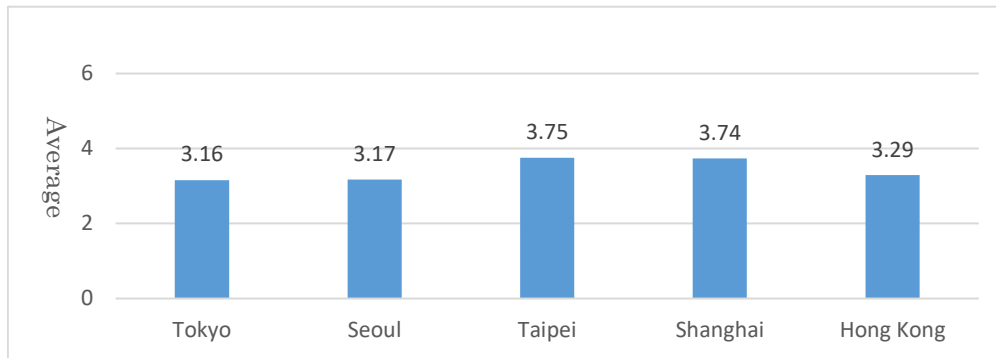


Figure V-3-10: Frequency of nursing care by city

We applied the same method described above for examining housework frequency and childcare frequency to the results of these five survey items to create a scale for “frequency of nursing care” (0 – 7 points, with higher scores indicating higher frequency of nursing care). Figure V-3-10 shows the comparison of average figures among the surveyed cities. The frequency of participation in nursing care was the highest for Taipei (3.75), followed by Shanghai (3.74), Hong Kong (3.29), Seoul (3.17) and Tokyo (3.16). There was no significant difference between Tokyo’s score and the scores of the other four cities.

(3) Determining factors of men’s participating in housework and childcare: Comparison between East Asian cities

Similarly to the results of the Japanese survey described in the previous section, we used the covariance structure modeling approach, based on the modeling described in 2 (3) of this Chapter (Figure V-2-11), on the results of surveys conducted in the five East Asian cities to examine the determining factors of men’s participation in housework and childcare in particular as “new roles” of men. The analysis was carried out for each of the cities with samples divided into three groups, namely “married with children,” “married with no children” and “single with no children.” Since the appended reference 2 describes analysis procedure and analysis results in detail, this paper averts statistical explanation as much as possible and presents only the overview of the results as follows:

Results of married men with children

Tokyo (332 samples)

- ① “Competition mentality at work”: The level of “competition mentality at work” tends to be higher when the level of “own annual income” and “age of the youngest child” is high, and lower when the “own age” is low.

- ② “Perception on women at work”: The “perception on women at work” tends to be more non-discriminatory when the level of “own income” and “own age” is high, and more discriminatory when the “age of the youngest child” is high.
- ③ “Gender-based distribution of roles at home”: The perception on “gender-based distribution of roles at home” tends to be more traditional when the “number of children” and the “age of the youngest child” are high, and less traditional when the “own age” and “spouse’s income” are high.
- ④ “Frequency of housework”: The “frequency of housework” is lower when the “number of children” is high, and higher when the “spouse’s income” is high and when the “perception on women at work” is discriminatory.
- ⑤ “Frequency of childcare”: The “frequency of childcare” is lower when the “age of the youngest child” is high.

Seoul (418 samples)

- ① “Competition mentality at work”: The level of “competition mentality at work” tends to be higher when the “age of the youngest child” and “spouse’s academic background” are high, and lower when the “own age” is high.
- ② “Gender-based distribution of roles at home”: The perception on “gender-based distribution of roles at home” tends to be less traditional when the level of “spouse’s income” is high.
- ③ “Frequency of housework”: The “frequency of housework” is lower when the “own age” is high, and higher when the “spouse’s income” is high and when the “perception on women at work” is discriminatory.
- ④ “Frequency of childcare”: The “frequency of childcare” is lower when the “age of the youngest child” and “own age” are high.

Taipei (443 samples)

- ① “Competition mentality at work”: The level of “competition mentality at work” tends to be higher among “those who are in the workforce,” and when the level of “own income” and “spouse’s academic background” is high.
- ② “Perception on women at work”: The “perception on women at work” tends to be more non-discriminatory when the level of “spouse’s income” is high.
- ③ “Gender-based distribution of roles at home”: The perception on “gender-based distribution of roles at home” tends to be more traditional when the level of “own income” and “own age” is high, and less traditional when the level of “spouse’s income” is high.
- ④ “Frequency of housework”: The “frequency of housework” is higher when the level of “own income” and “spouse’s income” is high and when the “perception on women at work” is discriminatory.

- ⑤ “Frequency of childcare”: The “frequency of childcare” is higher when the level of “spouse’s income” is high, and lower when the “age of the youngest child” and the level of “own academic background” are high.

Shanghai (591 samples)

- ① “Competition mentality at work”: The level of “competition mentality at work” tends to be higher when the level of “own income” is high, and lower when the “own age” is high.
- ② “Perception on women at work”: The “perception on women at work” tends to be less discriminatory when the level of “own income” is high, and more discriminatory when the “number of children” is high.
- ③ “Frequency of housework”: The “frequency of housework” is lower when the perception on “gender-based distribution of roles at home” is traditional, and higher when the level of “spouse’s income” and “spouse’s academic background” is high and when the “perception on women at work” is discriminatory.
- ④ “Frequency of childcare”: The “frequency of childcare” is lower when the “own age” is high and when the perception on “gender-based distribution of roles at home” is traditional, and higher when the “perception on women at work” is discriminatory.

Hong Kong (399 samples)

- ① “Competition mentality at work”: The level of “competition mentality at work” tends to be lower when the “own age” is high.
- ② “Perception on women at work”: The “perception on women at work” tends to be less discriminatory when the “own age” is high.
- ③ “Gender-based distribution of roles at home”: The perception on “gender-based distribution of roles at home” tends to be less traditional when the “own age” is high.
- ④ “Frequency of housework”: The “frequency of housework” is higher when the level of “spouse’s income,” “own income,” “own age” and “competition mentality at work” is high and when the “perception on women at work” is discriminatory.
- ⑤ “Frequency of childcare”: The “frequency of childcare” is lower when the “age of the youngest child” is high and when the perception on “gender-based distribution of roles at home” is traditional, and higher when the “perception on women at work” is discriminatory.

Results of married men with no children

Tokyo (110 samples)

- ① “Competition mentality at work”: The level of “competition mentality at work” tends to be higher among “those who are in the workforce” and when the level of “own academic background” is high.
- ② “Perception on women at work”: The “perception on women at work” tends to be less discriminatory when the level of “spouse’s income” is high.
- ③ “Gender-based distribution of roles at home”: The perception on “gender-based distribution of roles at home” tends to be more traditional when the “own age” is high, and less traditional when the level of “spouse’s income” is high.
- ④ “Frequency of housework”: The “frequency of housework” is higher when the level of “competition mentality at work” is high.

Seoul (96 samples)

- ① “Frequency of housework”: The “frequency of housework” is lower when the “own age” is high.

Taipei (166 samples)

- ① “Gender-based distribution of roles at home”: The perception on “gender-based distribution of roles at home” tends to be more traditional when the level of “own income” is high and less traditional when the “own age” and the level of “own academic background” are high.
- ② “Frequency of housework”: The “frequency of housework” is higher when the level of “competitive mentality at work” is high and when the “perception on women at work” is discriminatory.

Shanghai (112 samples)

- ① “Gender-based distribution of roles at home”: The perception on “gender-based distribution of roles at home” tends to be less traditional when the “own age” is high.
- ② “Frequency of housework”: The “frequency of housework” is lower when the “own age” is high, and higher when the “perception on women at work” is discriminatory.

Hong Kong (206 samples)

- ① “Competition mentality at work”: The level of “competition mentality at work” tends to be higher when the level of “own academic background” is high, and lower when the “own age” and the level of “spouse’s academic background” are high.

- ② “Perception on women at work”: The “perception on women at work” tends to be less discriminatory when the level of “spouse’s income” is high.
- ③ “Gender-based distribution of roles at home”: The perception on “gender-based distribution of roles at home” tends to be less traditional when the level of “spouse’s income” and “spouse’s academic background” is high.
- ④ “Frequency of housework”: The “frequency of housework” is lower when the “own age” is high, and higher when the “perception on women at work” is discriminatory.

Results of single men with no children

Tokyo (535 samples)

- ① “Competition mentality at work”: The level of “competition mentality at work” tends to be higher among “those who are in workforce” and when the level of “own academic background” is high, and lower when the “own age” is high.
- ② “Perception on women at work”: The “perception on women at work” tends to be more discriminatory when the level of “own income” is high.
- ③ “Frequency of housework”: The “frequency of housework” is higher among “those who are in workforce” and when the level of “competitive mentality at work” is high.

Seoul (468 samples)

- ① “Competition mentality at work”: The level of “competition mentality at work” tends to be higher among “those who are in workforce” and when the level of “own academic background” is high, and lower when the “own age” is high.
- ② “Frequency of housework”: The “frequency of housework” is higher when the level of “own academic background” and “competitive mentality at work” is high and when the “perception on women at work” is discriminatory.

Taipei (364 samples)

- ① “Competition mentality at work”: The level of “competition mentality at work” tends to be higher among “those who are in workforce” and when the level of “own income” and “own age” are high.
- ② “Perception on women at work”: The “perception on women at work” tends to be more discriminatory among “those who are in workforce.”
- ③ “Gender-based distribution of roles at home”: The perception on “gender-based distribution of roles at home” tends to be more traditional among “those who are in the workforce” and when the “own age” is high, and less traditional when the level of “own academic background” is high.
- ④ “Frequency of housework”: The “frequency of housework” is higher when the level of “competitive mentality at work” is high and when the “perception on women at work” is discriminatory.

Shanghai (247 samples)

- ① “Perception on women at work”: The “perception on women at work” tends to be more discriminatory when the level of “own income” is high.
- ② “Gender-based distribution of roles at home”: The perception on “gender-based distribution of roles at home” tends to be more traditional among those who are in the workforce,” when the level of “own income” is high and the “own age” is high.
- ③ “Frequency of housework”: The “frequency of housework” is lower when the level of “own academic background” is high.

Hong Kong (361 samples)

- ① “Competition mentality at work”: The level of “competition mentality at work” tends to be higher among “those who are in the workforce” and when the level of “own academic background” is high.
- ② “Frequency of housework”: The “frequency of housework” is higher when the level of “own income” is high, and lower when the level of “own academic background” is high.
- ③ “Frequency of housework”: The “frequency of housework” is higher when the level of “competitive mentality at work” is high and when the “perception on women at work” is discriminatory.

(4) Summary of analysis results

Attributes of survey samples

Survey samples, from whom data for this project was collected, are characterized as follows: For each of the cities surveyed, about half of the samples were in their 30s – 40s. Those who have completed higher education (university) accounted for 40% - over 60%, and those in permanent full-time employment represented 50 – 60%. On average, they work 8 – 9 hours per day with little variations between cities. In other words, there was a relatively large ratio of men with high academic background and in stable employment. It is assumed that these characteristics are because of the online method used to gather data.

Notable differences between cities include the fact that samples who are “single with no children” represented the largest group in Tokyo and Seoul, but those who are “married with children” made up the largest group in Taipei, Shanghai and Hong Kong. As for annual income, the difference in annual income between spouses was the largest in Tokyo (approx. 3 million yen) as opposed to 300,000 yen for Taipei, 1 million yen for Seoul and Shanghai, and 1.45 million yen for Hong Kong.

Comparison of results of main survey items by city

In this section, double-underline is used to mark a city with the highest ratio, and single-underline is used to mark a city with the lowest ratio.

- ① The level of competition mentality at work was generally high for all cities, with men in Shanghai scoring the highest and men in Tokyo scoring the lowest.
- ② Men in Hong Kong had the most discriminatory perception of women at work, while men in Tokyo had the least discriminatory perception about them.
- ③ Men in Shanghai had the most traditional perception about gender-based role distribution at home, while men in Tokyo had the least traditional view on the matter.
- ④ Men in Shanghai and Taipei showed a high level of cooperativeness while men in Tokyo showed a low level of cooperativeness.
- ⑤ Frequency in expressing emotions (disclosing one's feelings to others) was high among men in Shanghai and Taipei and lowest for men in Tokyo.
- ⑥ Men in Hong Kong felt the sense of social isolation most frequently.
- ⑦ Men in Hong Kong had the largest ratio of those who have inflicted or received violence. The ratio of those who have inflicted violence was the lowest for Tokyo while the ratio of those who have received violence was the lowest for Taipei.
- ⑧ Men in Shanghai participate in housework most frequently, while the frequency of housework participation was low among men in Tokyo, Seoul and Hong Kong.
- ⑨ Men in Taipei participate in childcare most frequently, while the frequency of childcare participation was lowest among men in Tokyo.
- ⑩ Men in Taipei participate in nursing care most frequently, while the frequency of nursing care participation was lowest among men in Hong Kong.

These results indicate the characteristics of men in each of the surveyed cities as follows:

- Men in Tokyo do not have a very strong competition mentality at work, and have a low level of cooperativeness and emotional expressiveness. They have a non-discriminatory view on women at work and non-traditional view on gender-based role distribution at home, but do not participate in housework or childcare very often.
- Men in Shanghai have a strong competition mentality at work, and have a high level of cooperativeness and emotional expressiveness. They have a traditional view on gender-based role distribution at home but participate in housework frequently.
- Men in Hong Kong have a discriminatory view on women at work and have a strong tendency to feel socially isolated. They also have more frequent experiences in inflicting or receiving violence.
- Men in Seoul scored middle in most of the surveyed items compared to men in other cities.

- Men in Taipei are very cooperative and notably expressive of their emotions. They have the highest frequency in participating in housework and nursing care.

Determining factors of men's participating in housework and childcare

This section describes main insight obtained about factors that relate to the frequency of men's involvement in housework and childcare, broken down by city. The insight about frequency of childcare is provided separately for each of the categories, namely "married with children," "married with no children" and "single with no children." The insight about frequency of childcare is provided only for the "married with children" group. Factors shared by at least three cities are marked with double-underline.

The following factors increase the "**frequency of housework**" among married men with children in each of the surveyed cities:

- ① Tokyo: Having a discriminatory view on women at work, having only a small number of children, having a spouse whose income is high
- ② Seoul: Having a discriminatory view on women at work, being of a young age, having a spouse whose income is high
- ③ Taipei: Having a discriminatory view on women at work, having a high income, having a spouse whose income is high
- ④ Shanghai: Having a discriminatory view on women at work, having a non-traditional view on gender-based role distribution at home, having a spouse whose income is high, having a spouse whose academic background is high
- ⑤ Hong Kong: Having a strong competition mentality at work, having a discriminatory view on women at work, having a low income, being of a young age, having a spouse whose income is high

In summary, in all cities surveyed, having a discriminatory view on women at work and having a spouse whose income is high are common factors that make married men with children participate in housework more frequently.

The following factors increase the "**frequency of housework**" among married men with no children in each of the surveyed cities:

- ① Tokyo: Having a high competition mentality at work
- ② Seoul: Being of a young age
- ③ Taipei: Having a high competition mentality at work, having a discriminatory view on women at work
- ④ Shanghai: Having a discriminatory view on women at work, being of a young age
- ⑤ Hong Kong: Having a discriminatory view on women at work, being of a young age

These results show that, in all cities surveyed except for Tokyo, having a discriminatory view on women at work and being of a young age are common factors that make married men with no children participate in housework more frequently.

The following factors increase the “**frequency of housework**” among single men with no children in each of the surveyed cities:

- ① Tokyo: Having a high competition mentality at work, being in the workforce
- ② Seoul: Having a high competition mentality at work, having a discriminatory view on women at work, having a high academic background
- ③ Taipei: Having a high competition mentality at work, having a discriminatory view on women at work
- ④ Shanghai: Having a low academic background
- ⑤ Hong Kong: Having a high competition mentality at work, having a discriminatory view on women at work, having a high income, having a low academic background

In summary, in all surveyed cities except for Shanghai, having a high competition mentality at work and having a discriminatory view on women at work are common factors that make single men with no children participate in housework more frequently.

The following factors increase the “**frequency of childcare**” among men in each of the surveyed cities:

- ① Tokyo: Having an infant as the youngest child
- ② Seoul: Having an infant as the youngest child, being of a young age
- ③ Taipei: Having an infant as the youngest child, having a low academic background, having a spouse whose income is high
- ④ Shanghai: Having a discriminatory view on women at work, having a non-traditional view on gender-based role distribution at home, being of a young age
- ⑤ Hong Kong: Having a discriminatory view on women at work, having a non-traditional view on gender-based role distribution at home

In summary, in Tokyo, Seoul and Taipei, having an infant as the youngest child was a common factor that makes men participate in childcare more frequently. In some cities, being of a young age, having a discriminatory view on women at work and having a non-traditional view on gender-based role distribution at work were common factors that make men participate in childcare more frequently.

4. Examination of the online survey results

Generation-based differences in mentality and behaviors among Japanese men

Survey results in Japan demonstrated generation-based gaps in men's gender-related awareness and emotions / behaviors about care-giving activities, as described in this section.

Compared to older men, men in younger age groups had a less-traditional view about women at workplaces and gender-based role distribution at home, and performed housework more frequently. In other words, younger men have a higher awareness about gender equality and are willing to contribute to assume a greater role in care-giving activities. Since this is a cross-sectional study (unitemporal), we cannot determine whether these differences are as a result of aging or due to differences between cohorts (born at different times). Yet, if the latter effect is reflected to the results at least to some extent, men are starting to change their mentality and behaviors toward the establishment of gender equality.

At the same time, younger people are more attached to the traditional notion of masculinity, and may be suffering more in terms of mental health than older generations according to some of the results. Younger people demonstrated a particularly high level of competition mentality at work and sense of social isolation, but showed a lower level of cooperativeness compared to older men. If this reflects the effect of aging, today's young men could lose their competition mentality and feel less socially isolated as they age, while gaining a greater ability to cooperate with others. However, if it is due to cohort difference, today's young men could suffer an increasing anxiety about work and family living as competition based on economic liberalism intensifies and continue to find it difficult to negotiate life and co-exist amicably with others even in old age.

Those in their 20s reported more frequent experiences in having inflicted or received domestic violence compared to other age groups. This could be because younger people are more sensitive toward the issue of violence and therefore tend to register DV cases, regardless of whether they were the perpetrator or victim in such cases.

Regional differences in mentality and behaviors among Japanese men

Men's gender-related mentality and emotions / behaviors about care-giving activities also had regional variations, as described below:

Men who live in Tokyo showed the highest level of cooperativeness, are open about showing their emotions and reported the lowest level of loneliness, demonstrating the most desirable tendency in terms of mental health. They are also involved in housework most frequently. At the same time, they showed the highest level of competition mentality at work, most traditional view on gender-based role distribution at home and lowest frequency in getting involved in childcare. Overall, responses from men who live in Tokyo indicate liberation from the traditional image of masculinity in terms of emotions and mental health, but are competition-driven in relation to workplace mentality and family responsibility. Their mentality and behaviors are in line with the

modern-day view on gender-based distribution of roles.

Men who live in Okinawa are not very open in expressing their emotions compared to those based in Tokyo and Kyushu, but tend to be more liberated from the traditional image of masculinity in emotional sense, with the second-highest level of cooperativeness only after Tokyo and the lowest level of loneliness. They have the most non-traditional view on women at work, most non-traditional view on gender-based role distribution at home, and high frequency in participating in housework. Their mentality and behaviors are notably contrary to the modern-day notion of gender-based roles, i.e. “Men should earn the living and women should stay home and take care of the family.” This study showed that the experiences of inflicting DV were lower in Okinawa compared to other regions, but the number of DV protection orders issued per capita is extremely high in Okinawa according to some past data (Asahi Newspaper 2009). The results should be interpreted carefully, as those who have high awareness about violence may be more sensitive toward their experiences in inflicting DV, as explained in the previous section concerning tendencies of different age groups.

Men who live in Hokuriku are characterized by the least-open expression of emotions and the lowest competition mentality at work.

Men who live in Tohoku are the second least open in expressing emotions, only after Hokuriku, and have weak competition mentality at work. However, their most notable characteristic is the outstandingly high frequency in getting involved in childcare compared to other regions.

In comparison, men who live in Kyushu expressed a more traditional view on gender-based role distribution at home compared to those in Okinawa. Their frequency in participating in childcare was the second lowest, only after Tokyo, but all other scores illustrated very middle-of-the-road tendencies in general.

Characteristics of men in Tokyo: Comparison with men in four East Asian cities

We used the results of surveys conducted in five East Asian cities to compare men in Tokyo to men who live in the other four cities surveyed. Men in Tokyo are characterized as being supportive of the concept of gender equality but having difficulty in manifesting the support with their emotions and behaviors.

Among the five cities surveyed, Tokyo showed the most non-traditional tendency in their awareness of gender issues. Men in Tokyo showed the lowest level of competition mentality at work, the most non-traditional perception about gender-based role distribution at home, and the most non-traditional view on women at work.

One of the reasons about Their weak competition mentality at work could be that the scope of competition is very limited for men due to factors such as the existence of the seniority-based promotion system, separation between full-time regular employees and non-regular employees, and the low ratio of women in management positions.

The non-traditional view on gender-based role distribution at home among men in

Tokyo could be attributed to the government's gender equality policies and resulting awareness campaigns, symbolized by the spread of positive notions about "Iku-Men" (= men actively involved in childcare). Another possibility is that concerns about future employment and wages have generated expectations of financial contributions from their partners and weakened their inclination toward traditional distribution of roles between men and women.

Such awareness campaigns may have also contributed to the non-traditional view on women at work. However, in Tokyo, at least compared to Shanghai, Hong Kong and Taipei, women's status at work is relatively low. The number of men who have been in competition with women at work or who have actually worked under a female supervisor is believed to be fewer than those in the aforementioned cities. If that is the case, responses by men in Tokyo may be purely based on principle rather than real-life experiences in comparison with responses collected in the other cities.

The study also revealed that, despite their non-traditional tendency in gender awareness, men in Tokyo are most traditional in terms of emotions and behaviors concerning care-giving activities. Among samples in the five cities, men in Tokyo are least cooperative, lowest in the extent of emotional expressiveness, and relatively high in the sense of isolation. Their involvement in housework is relatively infrequent, and their frequency in participating in childcare was the lowest among all the five cities.

The fact that men do not express their emotions very frequently is not a tendency limited to Tokyo. In fact-finding interviews conducted in the other four cities, experts often pointed to men's greater reluctance in expressing their emotions compared to women. The result must be examined further to determine whether the tendency is particularly notable among men in Tokyo, or whether the result reflects Japanese tendency of being overly humble, which may also explain the result about the lowest level of cooperativeness.

Tokyo men's infrequent involvement in housework and childcare cannot be attributed to the length of working hours, because there is no significant difference in the number of working hours per day among the surveyed cities. One possibility is that they apply a brake to greater participation in housework and childcare due to Japan's social culture that perceives men as the "bread winner," the fact that men may be internalizing this perception, and the reality that married men are often serving as the "bread winner" of the family.

Income and frequency in men's involvement in housework and childcare

Survey results in Japan have confirmed that men participate in housework more frequently when their spouse's income is high or when their own income is low, regardless of whether they have children or not. Married men with children tend to perform childcare tasks more frequently when their spouse's income is high. Men's own income level and their spouse's income level seem to affect the frequency of male

involvement in housework and childcare also in other East Asian cities. These can be described as expected results under “relative resource hypothesis” on determining factors about married couples’ distribution of housework and childcare tasks according to the sociology of the family (hypothesis that individuals who have resources such as high academic background, high income and professional prestige use them to pass housework on to others and avoid having to perform it themselves).

The results suggest that, if a married woman becomes more independent financially, her husband will participate more in housework and childcare. At the same time, in order for a married woman to be liberated from the excessive burden of household responsibility and gain financial independence through work, it is essential for her husband to increase his involvement in housework and childcare.

Out of the five East Asian cities surveyed, Tokyo had the largest gap in annual income between husbands and wives. As explained in Chapter III, in Japan, men are often the primary “bread winner” even in double-income families. Such significant income disparity between spouses is suspected to be behind limited male involvement in housework in Tokyo. In order to encourage greater participation of married men in housework and childcare, it is important to promote women’s employment continuity after childbirth, expand opportunities available to them to return to workforce, resolve wage disparity between men and women, and prompt women to achieve financial independence.

Reasons behind high housework involvement of men who have strong competition mentality at work

The Japanese survey pointed to high frequency of housework participation among single, child-less men who have a strong competition mentality at work. Similar tendency was observed to a statistically significant degree in the comparison of survey results among five East Asian cities concerning married men with children in one city, married men with no children in Tokyo and another city, and single men with no children in four cities including Tokyo.

When this study was designed, we anticipated the strength of competition mentality at work as an indicator of traditional masculinity and the high frequency in housework participation as an indicator of non-traditional masculinity. In defining analysis modeling, we expected men who have strong competition mentality at work to perform housework less frequently. However, the result was quite the opposite.

This result, which appears to be somewhat contradictory at a glance, can be explained if changes in masculinity, observed here, are interpreted as cumulative changes caused by new masculinity incorporated into traditional masculinity partially, rather than new masculinity completely replacing traditional masculinity.

Care-giving roles such as housework, conventionally perceived as “women’s job,” are increasingly seen as “job that men should also participate in.” Yet, that does not mean

that men are no longer expected to fulfill a working role. “Success in work” continues to be an important element that supports men’s sense of identity.

In society where “masculinity” is about winning in competition, men who want to be “masculine” would naturally have a high level of competition mentality. Such men would make sure to do anything that is perceived as “men’s tasks” actively, be it occupational labor or housework labor. Now that housework has become work that “men should also participate in,” men feel that they no longer have the option of NOT doing housework, and that they want to even outperform other men in housework. Even if they are not doing much housework in reality, they want everyone else to think that they fulfill housework responsibility. Such sentiments may have been reflected to tendency seen in survey responses.

In any event, men seem to be performing activities that were once considered to be “feminine” in a conventionally “masculine” approach. This type of mentality and attitude might be men’s almost subconscious strategy to adapt to changes in men’s roles, demanded by women and the rest of our society, while trying desperately to maintain male identity and authority.

Reasons behind high housework involvement of men who have a discriminatory view on women at work

Results almost identical to the previous section were obtained with regard to men’s perception on women at work and how it affects their frequency in housework involvement. The Japanese survey pointed to high frequency of housework participation among married men with children and single child-less men who have a discriminatory perception on women at work. Similar tendency was observed in the comparison of survey results among five East Asian cities concerning married men with children in all five cities including Tokyo, married men with no children in three cities and single men with no children in three cities. Also, married men with children in two of the cities demonstrated a high frequency in childcare participation when they have a discriminatory view on women at work.

When this survey was designed, we anticipated a strong discriminatory view on women at work as an indicator of traditional masculinity. In defining analysis modeling, we expected men who have a strongly discriminatory view on women at work to perform housework less frequently. However, the result was quite the opposite.

Similarly to the observation in the previous section, one possible interpretation is that competition mentality, not limited to work situations, may be affecting men’s perception on women at work and the frequency in housework participation amidst cumulative changes of masculinity, in which housework is beginning to be perceived as something “men should do” while “success in work” continues to be an important element of masculinity.

In other words, in a society where both occupational work and housework are

regarded as something “men should do,” men who believe “masculinity” is about winning in competition and want to be “masculine” might be striving to maintain a self-image of achieving success in work and fulfilling family responsibilities at the same time, while staying conscious about competition with others in both regards. They are perceiving women at their workplace in a discriminatory light to gain a sense of superiority at work. Since they also pride themselves in handling housework tasks (which were once considered as a women’s job) while also performing well at work (regardless of real degree of achievement), they may be expecting women to bear greater responsibility at home and assessing work performance of their female colleagues very strictly. Their perception on women at work may be discriminatory, but they are not seeing women as inferior beings. In fact, the results may be a reflection of their distorted mentality of wanting to feel superior to women while acknowledging them as equal competitors that could threaten their status in society.

Diversity in determining factors for childcare frequency

According to the survey results in Japan, determining factors of childcare frequency among married men with children are non-traditional views on gender-based role distribution at work, low age of the youngest child and high level of spouse’s income. Compared to other East Asian cities, however, there was no significant determining factor common among three or more cities with the exception of the age of the youngest child, a factor shared among three cities. This indicates there is diversity in determining factors for childcare frequency among men.

One possible explanation for city-to-city variations in determining factors for childcare frequency is the fact that the availability of childcare help other than spousal assistance affects men’s childcare frequency as well as its determining factors. The level of third-party childcare assistance, including public services and help from relatives, available to parents varies from city to city greatly, but this aspect was not controlled in this analysis modeling. According to interviews with local experts, it is very common, at least in Shanghai, for parents to work while having grandparents look after their children.

In any event, when discussing male involvement in housework, childcare and nursing care in Japan, we tend to assume the scope of helping hands to be limited within the unit of married couples, only extending to other co-habiting family members at best. It might be necessary to re-examine how far household responsibilities could be distributed, e.g. to non-cohabitating family members, relatives, public services and private-sector services.

Re-consideration of “caring masculinity”

As explained in Chapter II, this project uses “caring masculinity,” a phrase used in the EU, as one of the keywords in considering the direction for changing men and a

fresh attitude that men should adopt in Japan, based on the perception that men's greater involvement in care-giving roles will contribute to the establishment of gender equality.

The results of online surveys and interviews on local experts show a general trend in Japan and other East Asian cities, in which men are facing the need to take on care-giving roles. In Japan, men in younger age groups are playing greater roles in care-giving activities. We have renewed our understanding that men's greater participation in housework and childcare helps promote women's financial independence, and is also beneficial in allowing men to live a fulfilling life outside commitment to occupational labor. Men actually participate in housework and childcare more frequently when they have a non-traditional view about gender-based role distribution at home, i.e. not having a fixed idea that it is women's role to handle care-giving tasks. The study has also confirmed that men are in need of self-care as they are not good at expressing their emotions appropriately or seeking help from others as required. Based on these findings, we believe the strategy of presenting "care-giving," traditionally linked to femininity, as an element of the new masculinity to encourage men to change, has a certain level of effectiveness in promoting gender equality.

Yet, our online surveys also found that men's involvement in care-giving roles does not necessarily weaken their traditional masculinity. Instead, we observed a tendency in which men who play a care-giving role combine it with traditional masculinity and develop competition mentality or a discriminatory perception against some types of women. An increase of men playing a care-giving role might be desirable by itself, but we must have more foresight than simply welcoming such a change. In promoting changes in men, we must pay careful attention to the influence such changes might have on other areas of gender equality.

VI. Points at issue in compiling policy recommendations about “men’s new stance in life”

Based on the findings described in previous Chapters, this Chapter summarizes points at issue in compiling policy recommendations about a new stance in life men should adopt to contribute to the establishment of gender equality. We present three keywords that set the direction of changes men should embrace, and describe the direction and approach for policy recommendations that encourage men to adopt such changes, before summarizing points at issue in preparing policy recommendations.

1. Three keywords for transforming men

This paper proposes the following three concepts as the keywords that indicate the direction men should embrace in contributing to the establishment of gender equality:

Share: Sharing responsibilities and benefits of various activities with women

The first keyword is “Share,” i.e. to share responsibilities and benefits of various activities with women. Japanese society maintains the deep-rooted custom of having women fulfill household responsibilities such as housework, childcare and nursing care, while men act as the bread winner through occupational labor. As a result, women have limited opportunities for social participation or financial independence, while men have limited time available to become fully involved in their family life or community activities. In order to build a society free of disparity in opportunities based on gender, an attribute one is born with, we must ensure that “both men and women, as equal members of society, are given opportunities to freely participate in activities in any fields of society,” as stipulated in the Basic Act for Gender Equal Society, and share both responsibilities and benefits arising from such activities.

Needless to say, individual partners may take on activities in varying ratios according to personal preference or aptitude. The degree of involvement in activities may also change depending on which life stage they are in. Yet, it is important to promote the sharing of responsibilities and benefits between men and women in all areas of society in order to resolve the social practice of distributing roles based on gender, which limits individuals’ potential and opportunities according to gender assigned at birth, and to establish equal opportunities between men and women in practice. This is not something that should be promoted between partners in each household, but something that should be tackled in our society as a whole. The matter should be addressed not only within each household but also at workplaces and local communities, encompassing even those who are currently not partnered or those in same-sex relationships.

Care: Caring for others as well as oneself by accepting help from others as appropriate

The second keyword is “care,” which entails caring for others, appreciating others and accepting care from others.

The first meaning is about “caring for others.” Conventionally, the acts of “care-giving” have been linked to “femininity.” The majority of care-related activities and tasks are handled by women, which have become a major factor in preventing women’s empowerment. As explained in the previous section, women have been the primary care-giver in housework, childcare and nursing care within family. The fact that this is free labor has made it difficult for women to attain financial independence. Also in the labor market, care-giving occupations are primarily filled by women. Their association with free labor performed by women at home tends to bring the level of wages down. Furthermore, regardless of business types, men tend to take leadership roles while women are assigned to assisting positions. This gender-based work allocation restricts women’s career-advancing opportunities. In the future, efforts should be made to assign leadership roles to women and increase opportunities for men to assist women at work, rather than to be always assisted by women, so as to achieve women’s financial independence and empowerment.

The second meaning is about “caring for oneself.” As stated earlier, compared to women, men have greater opportunities of assuming leadership positions in society and gaining higher incomes, but face numerous issues in terms of quality of life and health. Men grow up in a culture that interprets being tough and risk-taking as “masculine” and perceives expressing defeated feelings or seeking consultation as “non-masculine,” at least to some extent. This has made men lead their lives with chronic absence of a stance to look after themselves (self-care). Men should not only take care of others but also pay more attention to health management, avoid dangerous behavior, restrain themselves from overwork and gain a skill to take better care of themselves as a way of boosting their quality of life and health and bringing direct benefits to themselves.

The third meaning is about “accepting care from others.” One might think this is unnecessary because men have traditionally assigned care-giving roles to women and enjoyed benefits from them. However, men might not have necessarily accepted care from others appropriately or responded to care given from others appropriately. Many men believe relying on others amounts to losing “masculinity.” This has prevented them from seeking help from others even in situations whereby they could benefit from sharing their concerns with or receiving advice from others. Many of such cases result in the deterioration of their physical and mental health. At the same time, many men do not fully recognize the fact that support from people around them, many of them women, is behind their leadership positions and financial independence gained through occupational labor. They hardly ever express gratitude for such support in words or attitude, and even express anger as soon as the support is withdrawn (Ito 2018). If that

is the case, men must acquire a skill for seeking assistance from others when required, and accept care from others without resistance in times of need, rather than feeling embarrassed about being on the receiving end of help. They should then acquire a skill for expressing gratitude for help in words or attitude, instead of taking it for granted.

Fair: Building a fair and equal relationship with women and other men based on respect

The third keyword is “fair,” referring to respecting women and other men and building a fair and equal relationship with them. In the process of personal growth, men internalize the social tendency of looking down on women, and unwittingly develop a misogynistic attitude or try to discredit / dominate women, thinking that failing to remain superior to women means losing their “masculinity.” In an environment that puts them in constant competition with other men and urges them to excel over others, men grow accustomed to perceiving themselves in a hierarchy and become bad at building equal and caring relationships. In the given background, violence that men inflict on women or other men in a weaker position can be interpreted as their means of desperately maintaining superiority. This trend not only violates the human rights of people surrounding such men, but also deprives victims of a safe and secure living environment, and forces men themselves to live a very rigid and stressful life.

What today’s men must do is to constantly ask themselves whether they are bound to a typically-male desire for “superiority,” “ownership” and “power” (Ito 2018), and learn to respect and build a fair and equal relationship with others. They must then refine their skill to resolve any friction with others in various aspects of day-to-day living with verbal communication instead of violence.

Needless to say, we are given responsibilities to educate, guide and supervise others in some situations and gain authorities that accompany such responsibilities as a parent in relation to children, as a supervisor in relation to subordinates, as a senior member in relation to junior members and a teacher in relation to students. It is only natural to have hierarchy within the context. However, once outside such a context, we must always remember the need to respect one another as equal human beings.

2. Direction and approach for policy recommendations that encourage men to change

In order to encourage men to change in line with the abovementioned keywords, it is essential for the entire society to act, e.g. transforming social tendencies and building new mechanisms in various fields of society, in addition to changing the mentality of individual men. The following shows the direction and approach of policy recommendations for promoting changes in men in six fields:

(1) Men and family life

Initiatives to encourage men to fulfill their family responsibilities

The ILO Convention 156 (Convention concerning Equal Opportunities and Equal Treatment for Men and Women Workers: Workers with Family Responsibilities) highlights the need for various measures to help employed men with families fulfill their occupational responsibilities and family responsibilities, such as housework, childcare and nursing care, at the same time. As explained thus far, Japanese society has conventionally assigned most of the family responsibilities to women, thereby inhibiting their financial independence and empowerment. Thanks to women bearing the burden of family responsibilities, men have been able to engage in occupational labor to attain financial independence. Yet, they have been obliged to spend most of their time in occupational labor and narrowed the scope of life to an extreme extent. For this reason, measures for fulfilling family responsibilities and occupational responsibilities at the same time should be equally applied to women and men.

Since the 2010s, the phrase “Iku-Men” has rapidly spread a positive image about men who become involved in childcare throughout Japanese society. Today, it has become normal, at least in the minds of the general public, for fathers to participate in childcare, including caring for infants. In fact, society would shun fathers who do not involve themselves in childcare. In terms of systems, the Childcare Leave Act, enacted in 1991, established a system that paves the way for men to claim childcare leave. The Act was amended in 1995 to establish a legal framework for caregiver leave. The Act has since gone through four amendments, broadening options available for participating in childcare and nursing care, such as the system to extend the period of childcare leave from the time when the child turns one to the time when the child reaches the age of one year and two months if both the father and the mother claim childcare leave, as well as restrictions on working hours during the child’s infancy and a nursing leave system for looking after sick children. Starting in January 2017, employers are prohibited from treating employees unfairly for taking childcare / caregiver leaves, and are obliged to adopt measures preventing such actions.

As confirmed in Chapter III, men’s participation in childcare is much lower than that of women in real life. The spread of positive perception about “childcare fathers” has fostered a “culture of fatherhood,” but fathers’ actions in childcare have not caught up with the concept (Ishii 2013). In the public mind, it is normal for fathers to get involved in childcare, and systems are being established to accommodate it. Yet, when men try to participate, they seem to encounter inhibiting factors and receive little encouragement to make active participation.

As for nursing care of family members, men who are involved in such care are now dubbed “Care-Men,” in relation to “Iku-Men” (Tsudome 2013), but a positive image about men involved in nursing care has not spread as widely as that of childcare fathers.

However, as described in Chapter II, men account for more than 30% of care givers for family members, and represent 25% of workers who resign, citing the need for nursing care.

It is therefore necessary to put forth more effective policies for helping men fulfill their family responsibilities.

Approach to formulating specific measures to help men fulfill their family responsibilities

In order to encourage men to fulfill their family responsibilities, we must provide conditions that accommodate such a change, i.e. eliminating factors that inhibit men's intention of fulfilling the responsibilities and giving men motivation to actively fulfill family responsibilities. The following describes the approach to formulating specific measures:

- Spreading a positive image about men fulfilling family responsibilities, and educating the public to transform the social tendency to perceive men who take leave or reduce workload (by way of claiming childcare / caregivers leave, gaining exemption from overtime, working shorter hours, etc.) to fulfill family responsibilities as “non-masculine”
- Correcting the work style that prevents men from taking leave or reducing workload to fulfill family responsibilities, and, to this end, fostering a workplace culture that considers HR allocation on the premise that workers sometimes take childcare / caregivers leave and encouraging workers to exercise the spirit of “mutual consideration” in helping one another while exercising their rights
- Developing a HR evaluation system that would not punish men in their career development for claiming leave or reducing workload to fulfill family responsibilities, and consider making it obligatory for fathers to take childcare leave for a set period of time or make childcare leave a paid leave
- Developing conditions that allows men with dependents to reduce their role as a bread winner as required, e.g. building an employment environment that helps women gain financial independence, increasing the amount of childcare allowance, introducing an allowance for supplementing wages lost for working shorter hours, and making part of childcare leave paid leave

Enhancing family policies to accommodate family diversification

When discussing men's family responsibilities, we tend to only consider nuclear families and equal distribution of family responsibilities between husband and wife. However, partnered men are not the only fathers who must fulfill family responsibilities. As examined in Chapter III, there are men who are raising their children as single fathers, men who are providing nursing care to their parents by themselves, and men who are providing such care to their partners. Men are also not

necessarily partnered with a woman. As of the time of writing this paper, more than 20 local governments have adopted a same-sex partnership system (HuffPost 2019). In this study, 186 of 2453 partnered samples (7.6%) (including those in de-facto relationships and partnerships) said they have a same-sex partner. (Note, however, that the figure cannot be immediately considered to be applicable to the general Japanese population as this was an online survey not based on random sampling.) In helping men carry out family responsibilities, it is important to keep in mind diversity of families and men's various types of orientation.

Distributing and streamlining the burden of housework, childcare and nursing care among various caregivers

In discussion on how to encourage men to fulfill their family responsibilities, the parties who could potentially handle housework, childcare and nursing care do not necessarily have to be, or rather, should never be, limited to men themselves and their partners, regardless of whether men are partnered or not. Encouraging men to take on family responsibilities is not the only way of mitigating the burden of family responsibilities currently resting on women. As revealed by surveys in other East Asian cities, assistance for housework, childcare and nursing care comes in a variety of forms in other countries, such as public services, private services available in a market, partial help from parents and relatives, and streamlining of housework to reduce time spent on household chores. We could adopt the perspective of encouraging men to fulfill their family responsibilities as one of the parties that can share the task, while keeping in mind various options such as enhancing public services on childcare and nursing care, utilizing private-sector services, cooperating with not only relatives but also with other close associates in handling the responsibilities, and doing away with what can be omitted, especially in housework.

Enhancing the post-divorce visitation system to give top priority to safety and children's wishes

With the trend of fathers' childcare participation gradually spreading, there has been a surge in the number of conciliation petitions filed with regard to visitation arrangement after divorce (See Chapter III). We have also started to hear more and more reports about fathers, who could not gain children's custody after divorce, killing their ex-wife and children before killing themselves in apparent murder-suicides. In response, some Diet members formed a non-partisan group for preventing the severance of family ties, and has since been campaigning to submit to the Diet a bill for promoting visitations. However, the bill the group has considered did not include specific measures for preventing DV and abuse, thereby attracting opposition from female victims of domestic violence and their supporters, who fear greater visitation could expand DV (Nippon Hoso Kyokai [NHK] 2015).

In the future, we must urgently develop a specific visitation structure that has the court of law determine visitation arrangements with the involvement of experts including lawyers and social workers to facilitate visitation as much as possible when safety is assured, provided that it is deemed to be desirable for children concerned to continue receiving care and affection from both parents even after divorce. In this process, we must prioritize protecting ex-spouses and children from DV and abuse, and pay considerations to the children's own wishes to the maximum extent (ed. Ogawa et al. 2016).

(2) Men and work life

Departure from society where men are the primary wage earners

The previous section referred to the need to improve men's working environment. One of the major factors preventing men from fulfilling family responsibilities is Japan's labor practice and miscellaneous social systems that assume "male wage earners" to be the nation's standard workers. EU countries, where men have greater involvement in childcare, have made efforts to shift toward a double-income social model, broadening opportunities for women to find employment and achieve financial independence, and urging men to fulfill their family responsibilities including involvement in childcare (Takahashi 2014). However, in Japan, discussions on women's empowerment and men's childcare participation proceeded without questioning existing employment and labor practices, which assume that men are playing the role of primary bread winner in their family. In the given situation, men have come under expectations that they must fulfill family responsibilities without any mitigation in their responsibilities as a bread winner or the duration of working hours. Many men now struggle, finding themselves trapped between the two areas of responsibilities.

Under the labor practice of perceiving "men to be primary wage earners," there is an assumption that standard workers are "Care-Less Men" (coined phrase referring to men who are waived of family responsibilities: Kuba 2004). They are expected to work round the clock to accommodate employers' unilateral demands, e.g. transfer / relocation to a different site and assignment of work in the amount that presumes overtime. This work style has been made possible even for workers with family, due to the assumption that their family (in many cases, their wife) would handle all care-giving activities (family responsibilities). In exchange for accepting such a work style, Care-Less Men of Japan have earned "family wages," enough to support their children and wife, who handles care-giving activities for the family.

As long as performance-oriented competition, which assumes this work style as "standard," continues, workers who must shoulder family responsibilities are disadvantaged even if equal opportunities are provided in recruitment and promotion. Until now, it has been mostly women who suffered such disadvantage. In the future,

however, more and more men would suffer similar disadvantage if they must bear family responsibilities while Japan's standard work style remains unchanged.

Therefore, the labor practice of assuming men as the primary wage earners must be changed not only to promote women's empowerment and financial independence but also to help men fulfill their family responsibilities. We must achieve an employment and working environment where men and women share working hours and wages more equally, correcting the previous bias toward men. The next section lists specific measures that could be introduced:

Approach to formulating specific measures to rectify social assumption that men are primary wage earners

- Rectify recruitment / promotion / HR evaluation criteria that favor "Care-Less Men" (e.g. reducing overtime, setting the upper limit in the total number of working hours over a set period, not using the length of working hours as the only criterion for evaluation). Amidst the increase of childless double-income households and unmarried workers, employers must no longer assume that male workers are all "Care-Less Men" who have a wife that takes care of all family responsibilities. It is important to build a mechanism that prevents people who are waived of household responsibilities from becoming too overworked, or a mechanism that does not put overworked people to have too much advantage in terms of work positions.
- Build a working environment that allows those who shoulder family responsibilities to exert their full work potential and attain financial independence (e.g. by applying the principle of the "equal pay for equal work" principle more strictly to reduce disparity in employment conditions between permanent workers and non-permanent (casual) workers).
- Create a system that provides a financial incentive to spouses for relying on the income of Care-Less Men rather than finding employment (e.g. by abolishing spousal tax deductions and the Type Three Insured system, or abolishing dependent allowance and redistributing the fund to workers in a different form).
- Enable flexible work styles that suit different life stages, and establish an employment practice that would not significantly disadvantage workers who choose such flexible work styles in their career development (e.g. by reviewing practices such as simultaneous recruitment of new graduates, seniority-based wages and late-stage selection of management candidates; increasing the ratio of specialist workers while reducing the ratio of generalist workers, who are given an indefinite scope of work duties and tend to be in greater career advantage when they stay with the same employer for an extended period of time; and minimizing the transfer of workers to different positions that would require relocation to another city).
- Switch to customer-oriented society to a society that is "friendly to workers," reducing the total number of business operations at each organization while boosting

productivity.

Departure from occupational perception based on gender stereotypes

Up to the previous section, we have talked about issues concerning the need to correct gender-based distribution of roles between work and family life. There is also a need to work on correcting gender-based role distribution within the context of work itself.

Firstly, the level of wages tends to be low for care-giving work, as it has been traditionally linked to free labor handled by women at home. This has discouraged women from taking up paid work and kept women in low-income situations even if they find paid employment. Yet, having more men work in care-giving occupations is expected to reduce the wage gap between men and women. This is not only because of the negative impact of putting more men in lower-paid jobs. The increase of men working in care-giving occupations is expected to deliver a positive effect of boosting such occupations' wage level, and bringing the wage levels of women in the same occupations, and therefore reducing the wage gap between men and women.

Secondly, recent changes in the industrial structure has reduced employment in the heavy industry and manufacturing sector, thereby contracting demand for physical labor and manufacturing jobs traditionally filled by men. At the same time, the conversion of housework tasks into commercial jobs and the expansion of healthcare, welfare and other service-sector industries have increased, on relative terms, positions in nursing, long-term care, childcare and various other service work that involve "care-giving (being considerate, providing care)" in essence in a broad sense of the term, traditionally considered to be more suitable for women. Furthermore, as described in phrases like the "Fourth Industrial Revolution" and "Society 5.0," associated with technological innovation including artificial intelligence (AI), the future of industrial society will place a greater emphasis on "brain power" instead of "muscle power" (Watanabe and Inose 2017), accelerating the gender-less trend in occupations. In the given situation, the ratio of women in the overall employed workforce remains lower than that of men in many countries including Japan, but some countries are showing a gradual trend of employment expansion for women and the relative contraction of employment for men (Chapter III). In other words, changes in the industrial structure is demanding that men enter into occupations and jobs that have been traditionally seen as "women's work."

In this dual sense, our society is increasingly demanding that men take up care-giving occupations and other jobs that have been traditionally handled by women. Education should be provided to boys and young men in particular so that they abandon the traditional view on occupations based on gender stereotypes and strive for a broader spectrum of occupations in career development.

Seeking women at workplaces as equal partners

Gender equality at workplaces is essential in order for more women to enter into occupational labor and achieve financial independence. Even employers who provide gender-equal remunerations according to their formal employment system, still maintain, in many cases, a workplace culture of underestimating women's capabilities, presuming that women cannot fulfill work responsibilities because of their family duties, or assuming that women are more suited to care-giving roles. This kind of "unconscious bias" could be inhibiting women's empowerment if it serves to provide the basis for management decisions to evaluate women's work performance lower, avoid assigning important tasks to women or forcing women to handle tasks outside their scope of work.

Using various opportunities such as workplace training and school education from a young age, it is necessary to make men self-examine their own unconscious bias, and urge them to develop a mentality that respects and cooperates with women as equal partners at work.

(3) Men and violence / harassment

Response to male perpetrators of violence / harassment

Violence against women represent a serious human rights violation that threatens the safety and security of women, and is the most serious factor that prevents women from exerting their full potential in various fields of society. At present, women are on the receiving end of violence from men in a majority of serious cases of domestic violence (in heterosexual married couples), partner violence (in non-married couples), stalking and various forms of serious sexual violence. In order to achieve gender equality, our society must urgently eliminate violence inflicted on women by men. Specific initiatives that can be adopted include:

- Initiatives for rehabilitating the perpetrators of DV: Establishing a legal framework to deal with them, researching rehabilitation programs, compiling response guidelines, developing and expanding consultation services for men who want to stop their use of violence
- Educating boys and men on non-violence and providing them with non-violence training from a young age
- Providing education on preventing partner violence to school-age children
- Enhancing education on equal and non-dominating sexual relationships, including the concept of "sexual consent"

Response to male victims of violence / harassment

While the number of male victims might be proportionately smaller compared to female victims, some men have received serious violence from their female partners. In addition, compared to women, men are disproportionately more vulnerable to violence

from other men. Sexual violence and sexual harassment could also occur between men. Many cases of bullying between boys appears to contain a sexual element. Also, men who are handled by other men in a way that would be clearly perceived as sexual violence if the victim was a woman, often fail to recognize it as such or find it more difficult than women do to seek consultation. There are not enough systems in place for receiving consultation about domestic violence in same-sex relationships.

In order to accommodate male victims of violence, we must set up a consultation system in which male victims can talk about physical and sexual violence they have received with peace of mind, and develop and expand a structure to take care of male victims in serious cases of violence.

Third-parties' approach to men and society

In order to eliminate DV and sexual violence, it is important not only to work on perpetrators and victims, but also to ensure that people around perpetrators and victims educate themselves to gain appropriate knowledge and attitude, act toward ridding our society of such violence. Specific initiatives that can be adopted include:

- Fostering social awareness that violence against women is something that could happen to anyone, and that our society as a whole must work toward its prevention and eradication
- Establishing appropriate understanding about male victims of DV and sexual violence; Defining cases of sexual violence and harassment on men that tend to be treated simply as “bullying” and “fooling around” as what they really are, and dealing with perpetrators in a firm stance while working on prevention
- Spreading a non-violent and positive image of men, e.g. advocating “Fair Men,” men who do not use violence on women and other men and can build fair and equal relationships, as defined under the White Ribbon Campaign Japan (Taga, Ito, Ando 2015)

(4) Men and health

As examined in Chapter III, Japanese men's average life expectancy is more than six years shorter than that of women. The number of Japanese men who commit suicide per year is more than double that of women. Male suicides peak when men are in their 40s to 50s, the age groups often described as the prime of their working career. Men in these age groups have the highest smoking rate, and the highest rate of drinking alcohol in a volume that increases the risk of developing lifestyle diseases.

As pointed out in Chapter I, these men tend to see being tough and risk-taking as “masculine” and perceive expressing defeated feelings or seeking consultation as “non-masculine.” The statistics clearly show that men have internalized the culture and tend to live a life in a chronic lack of “self-care,” i.e. a stance of taking care of oneself. In

view of this situation, we must implement the following measures concerning men and their health:

- Educating men about the importance of self-care, which is about managing one's own health, avoiding high-risk activities, avoiding to overexert oneself, and taking care of oneself
- Expanding consultation services for men: Increasing telephone-based or face-to-face services in which men can seek advice with peace of mind and without having to worry about the conventional notion of masculinity, and, to this end, urgently train counsellors and social workers with gender-based perspectives

(5) Men and education

In many countries, concerns have been raised about male students' relatively poor level of academic achievement compared to female students. In contrast, in Japan, male students move on to higher education at a higher rate than female students do, and there are no study results showing that male students score lower than female students in various tests at school.

At the same time, as examined in Chapter III, the number of reported cases of bullying on male students is higher than that of female students at all stage of school life. In addition, although this cannot be statistically verified, the nature of problem behaviors categorized as "bullying" may be quite different between male and female students (Askew and Ross 1997, Simmons 2003). It appears most cases of "sexual bullying" among male students, in particular, have not come to surface despite its relatively frequent occurrence.

Therefore, when developing a gender-oriented education program for male students in Japan, it is important to adopt the approach of fostering boys so that they can adapt to a gender-equal society in the future, build equal relationship with women, and actively lead efforts to actualize gender equality in society, while also incorporating an approach sensitive toward gender differences in dealing with so-called "problem behaviors" among children. Specific initiatives that can be adopted include:

- Providing career education to male students from gender-sensitive perspectives, e.g. forming an occupational perception free of gender stereotypes, providing a work experience program that provides male students an opportunity to work in occupations that have been considered "feminine," and making both male and female students draw up a life plan that encompasses both work and family life
- Providing education that inspires students about care-giving roles such as housework, childcare and nursing care, and motivates students to fulfill family responsibilities
- Providing enhanced gender education, e.g. providing correct knowledge about the mechanism of male and female bodies, teaching about non-dominating / non-violent sexual relationships and the concept of "sexual consent" and prompting appropriate

understanding about sexual diversity

- Providing human rights education from gender-sensitive perspectives, e.g. highlighting hatred toward women and homosexuality that exists within conventional boys' culture and men's culture, encouraging men to break away from it, and nurturing an attitude of mutual respect

(6) Enhancing gender statistics that focus not only on women but also on men

Since the late 2000s, the enhancement of “gender statistics” as the evidence basis for promoting gender equality has been proposed as one of the key issues on agenda of the international community. In Japan, the Fourth Basic Plan for Gender Equality recommends gathering gender-specific data as much as possible and releasing it in a form that is easy for the general public to understand from the perspective of enhancing statistics for objectively identifying conditions men and women are in (gender statistics). Gender statistics are released to some extent through the White Paper on Gender Equality, etc. Yet, Japan's compilation and release of gender statistics are less than sufficient, as seen in the nation's failure to disclose gender-based breakdown of the results of national academic assessment tests while other countries release such gender breakdown of academic test results in a matter of fact without hesitation.

Gender gaps that can be identified through gender-based data breakdown indicate no more than difference of average figures. Such results of data aggregation provide the foundation of evidence that helps us understand where men and women stand in our society, even though we must not forget to examine the perspective of diversity within the same gender. There should be greater enhancement in the compilation of gender statistics that contribute to women's empowerment and human rights protection, as well as gender statistics that focus on the aforementioned issues specific to men.

3. Summary of points at issue in compiling policy recommendations: Share, Care and Fair

Finally, this section reiterates the three keywords and five priority items in summarizing points at issue in compiling policy recommendations about “men's new stance of life.”

Three keywords for changing men

- ① Share: Sharing responsibilities and benefits of various activities with women
- ② Care: Caring for others as well as oneself by accepting help from others as appropriate
- ③ Fair: Building a fair and equal relationship with women and other men based

on respect

Priority policy issues to encourage men to change

- ① Providing support to help men fulfill their family responsibilities
- ② Growing out of the social norm that assumes men to be the bread winner and providing gender-equal labor opportunities
- ③ Expanding consultation services for men on violence inflicted and received as well as men's physical and mental health, and supporting the establishment of men's self-help groups and networks
- ④ Expanding education on men from gender-sensitive perspectives
- ⑤ Expanding and releasing gender-specific studies and statistics focusing on women as well as men

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