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Masako Ishii-Kuntz[1]

Abstract

Previous studies mainly examined individual and family factors affecting Japanese fathers' involvement in child care. Along with these factors, we examine how work-related factors such as father-friendly environment at work, workplace's accommodation of parental needs, job stress, and autonomy are associated with Japanese men's participation in child care. Using 2010 data collected from Japanese fathers with preschool children (N = 1,317), a theoretical model is tested on men who work for large or small/medium companies. We find that company's accommodation of parental needs and job autonomy increase child care involvement of fathers in medium/small companies, and job stress reduces such involvement among men in large companies. Implications of these findings are discussed in light of recent public attention on child caring fathers in Japan.

Keywords

Japanese fathers, child care, work environment, company size

According to the 2006 Family Life Education International Survey, Japanese fathers spent, on average, 3.1 hours a day with their children aged less than 12 years (Makino, Watanabe, Funabashi, & Nakano, 2010). In contrast, the average time mothers spent with their children was 7.6 hours. This

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international survey also reported that the difference between fathers' and mothers' time spent with children was largest in Japan compared with in countries such as Korea, Thailand, the United States, France, and Sweden.

A growing body of research focusing on Japanese fathers' involvement in child care (e.g., Ishii-Kuntz, Makino, Kato, & Tsuchiya, 2004) has examined familial and individual factors such as relative resources, personal gender ideology, and household demands as the predictors of paternal involvement. There are few studies, however, which simultaneously examine individual, family, and work dimensions of men's lives, and how they influence fathers' family involvement. Therefore, the main objective of this study is to examine the effects of various work-related factors along with family and individual factors on the levels of Japanese fathers' involvement in child care.

Theoretical Model

Figure 1 depicts factors that influence fathers' involvement in child care including those in individual, family, and work domains.

Fathering Identity and Roles

The symbolic interactionist perspective allows us to examine "the co-constructed nature of men's identities and their fathering activities" (Marsiglio, Amato, Day, & Lamb, 2000, p. 1177). In this study, therefore, it is hypothesized that men who possess a strong identity as father are more likely to participate in child care than those who do not. Hawkins and Dollahite (1997) suggest that the generative work of fathers includes a sense of responsibility toward child care along with a desire to facilitate in the needs of the next generation. Extending this perspective, it is hypothesized that Japanese men who have a stronger sense of their fathering identity and fathering roles are more likely to be involved in child care than those with weaker sense of father identity and roles.

Gender Ideology

Kato (1992) has found that fathers with more liberal gender ideology are likely to engage in care of daughters than those with more traditional gender ideology. Although a few researchers have concluded that gender ideology is relatively inconsequential for actual behavior (e.g., Thompson & Walker, 1989), we hypothesize that Japanese fathers who have more egalitarian gender ideology are more likely to engage in child care than those with more traditional gender ideology.

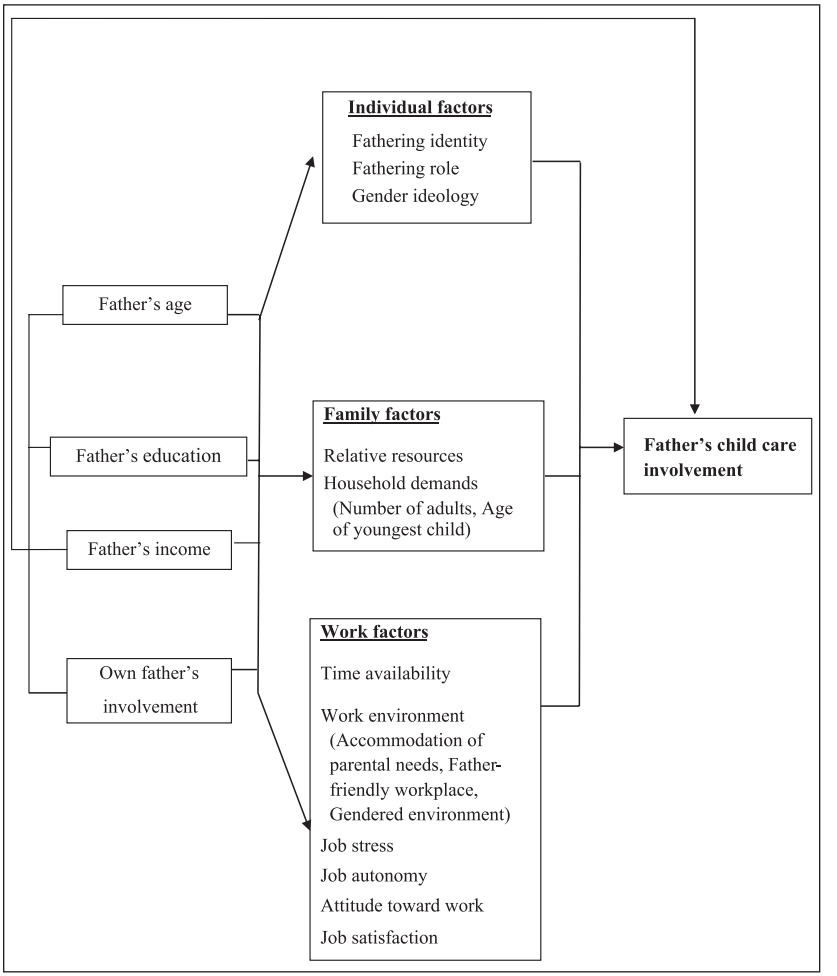

Figure 1. Theoretical model predicting fathers' involvement in child care in Japan

Relative Resources

The relative resources hypothesis posits that a spouse with more resources such as higher educational level and income relative to his or her partner is less likely to be involved in unpaid work of child care (Ishii-Kuntz, 2009). Watanabe (1985) reports that men's involvement in child care is slightly higher when their wives are employed full-time or are more educated, rather

than unemployed or less educated. We thus hypothesize that Japanese men who have similar or lower levels of income or education as their wives are more likely to be involved in child care compared with those whose wives earn less and are less educated than them.

Household Demands

Ishii-Kuntz and Maryanski (2003) report that husbands' share of child care declines dramatically in extended family compared with nuclear family households because of the availability of child care assistance from elderly family members. Therefore, we hypothesize that fathers living in extended family households are less likely to be engaged in child care than those in nuclear families. We also view the age of the youngest child as an indicator of household demands. Several U.S. studies found that husbands' involvement in child care is associated with age of children, with having younger children correlating positively with paternal involvement (e.g., Pleck, 1985). Therefore, we hypothesize that the demand for paternal involvement will be greater when there are younger children in the household, and this, in turn, encourages fathers to be more involved in child care.

Time Availability

The time availability perspective predicts that the longer the work hours of men, the less their engagement in child care. This hypothesis has consistently been supported in previous Japanese studies (see, Ishii-Kuntz, 2009). We, therefore, predict that the level of fathers' involvement in child care would be negatively associated with length of work hours; the longer hours fathers spend at work the less involved they will be in child care.

Socioeconomic Status and Background Variable

In the current model, we include fathers' age, education, income, and own father's involvement as independent variables. Although links between socioeconomic status and paternal involvement have been found to be weak or marginal (Pleck & Masciadrelli, 2004), Yeung, Sandberg, Davis-Kean, and Hofferth (2001) report that the higher the education of fathers, the higher levels of paternal engagement and accessibility, and fathers' time spent on activities related to teaching. Two possible relationships can be posited between fathers' own upbringing and their involvement in child care: the role modeling and compensation perspectives (Ishii-Kuntz, 2009;

Pleck & Masciadrelli, 2004). If we adopt the role modeling perspective, we would expect that a man who had grown up seeing his father being committed to child care is more likely to become involved in child care himself. The compensation perspective suggests that if a man had grown up with a father who was not involved in child care, then he is likely to want to compensate for his own father's lack of involvement by participating in child care. Although inconsistent findings have been reported about the direct impact of own father's involvement on men's child care participation (Pleck & Masciadrelli, 2004), we include this variable to examine how men's childhood experiences influence paternal involvement directly and through the individual, family, and work factors.

Father-Friendly Workplace and Gendered Work Environment

According to several studies (e.g., Ishii-Kuntz, 2006), fathers are more likely to take child care leave if their companies are willing to accommodate their child care needs. Therefore, we predict that fathers who work for companies that are willing to accommodate parental needs are more likely to engage in child care. Several international studies also found that the more support fathers perceive from their workplace, the more likely they are to take child care leave (e.g., Haas, Allard, & Hwang, 2002). We predict, therefore, that fathers who are content with their employers' "father-friendliness" would increase their involvement in child care. In a workplace where both men and women are treated equally in terms of promotion and advancement, fathers may be willing to take child care leave or flextime to take care of their family's needs. It is thus hypothesized that men whose employers endorse more egalitarian views are more likely to be involved in child care.

Job Stress and Autonomy

Given that child care requires both physical and mental strength, we predict that fathers experiencing less work-related stress can "afford" to participate in child care. According to Ishii-Kuntz (2003), Japanese men find it difficult to leave from their workplace to care for their children before their coworkers do so. However, if they have autonomy in deciding their own work hours, then they are able to accommodate the needs of their children and share child care tasks with their wives. It is, therefore, hypothesized that men who are able to make autonomous decisions concerning work hours and workloads are more likely to engage in child care.

Attitudes Toward Work and Job Satisfaction

In a qualitative study, Ishii-Kuntz (1996) finds that men who share child care responsibilities with their spouses are less likely to be satisfied with their current workplace environment. Tsuchiya (1992) has also found that men who score high on commitment to work and job satisfaction tend to be less involved in children's lives. Based on these studies, we predict that Japanese men's involvement in child care will be negatively associated with their favorable attitudes toward work and the level of job satisfaction.

Company Size

Studies in European countries have reported that the main reason for fathers not taking child care leave is because their companies do not allow them to take such a leave (Lammi-Taskula, 2007) or that the fathers fear that they would be terminated or would miss promotion opportunities (Rost, 1999). These concerns are probably more evident among fathers who work in small/medium companies where human and financial resources may be more limited compared with larger companies. Research in Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States have also found that larger companies are more supportive of fathers taking child care leave (Galinsky & Bond, 1998; Smeaton, 2006; Whitehouse, Diamond, & Baird, 2007). Studies concerning paternal involvement and company size, however, have not always yielded consistent findings. For example, Haas and Hwang (2009) report that company size in Sweden is not related to corporate support for fathers' child care leave. They also report that large companies are still not supportive of fathers taking child care leave. Despite these inconsistent findings in other countries, we feel that our comparison between fathers employed in large and small/medium companies will shed light on unique factors associated with company size.

Method

Sample

Analyses in this article are based on individual-level (micro) data collected in February 2010 in a web survey. Respondents were recruited from a list of registered monitors in a research firm. A potential monitor was anyone residing in Japan and interested in participating in any study conducted by the firm. On completing the registration form, they were given a list of research projects which they could choose to participate in. The total number of registered monitors to whom the announcement of the

web questionnaire survey was sent online was approximately 1,400,000 nationwide. Of those who initially responded to this call, the potential respondents (married fathers with preschool-aged children living in the same household and whose wives were employed either full-time or part-time) were identified by a series of online filtering questions. When a registered monitor checked "No" to one of the above profile items, then this person was unable to proceed with the rest of the questionnaire. With this sorting process, respondents who reached the main part of the questionnaire were considered as satisfying all the demographic characteristics for the study. It was not possible to obtain a response rate because this web survey approach did not provide the initial number of potential subjects who met all the criteria for our study. However, of all respondents who met our criteria, approximately 90% completed the entire questionnaire. These respondents were not paid for filling out the web survey.

Although web survey has many limitations, including the potential bias from volunteer respondents and "fake identity" of the subjects (Couper, 2008), we attempt to minimize this by using a list of preregistered monitors. We choose this method despite its potential problems because of its capability to collect data from a large number of respondents and the possibility of nationwide data collection. The sample consists of 1,317 Japanese fathers whom we divided into two categories, those working for large companies defined as those having more than 100 employees ($N = 799$) and small- to medium-sized companies defined as those having fewer than 99 employees ($N = 518$). This classification according to number of employees, admittedly arbitrary, is adopted from the Japanese government's classification of companies in its enforcement of the Child and Elder Care Leave Law.

The use of the web survey is relatively new in Japan; thus, it is difficult to evaluate the "representativeness" of the current sample. When compared with the government's survey (Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, 2003), our sample fathers are slightly younger than fathers with preschool children nationwide (37.3 years of age), but their average income level is similar to that of fathers in the representative sample ($55,000 to $77,000). It is also important to note that our data are limited in that there is no information about wife's employment status, work hours, and their other characteristics. Our findings need to be carefully interpreted with these potential bias and limitations in mind.

Measures

Father's involvement in child care. The six items measuring paternal involvement include taking care of children during meal times, eating, playing, and

bathing with children, clothing them, and other physical care of children (Cronbach's α = .879 and .869 for fathers employed in large and small/medium companies, respectively). A higher score of this scale indicates higher levels of fathers' involvement in child care.

Father's age, education, income, and own father's involvement. Father's educational attainment is measured by five categories ranging from 1 = *less than junior high school* to 5 = *4-year college or higher*. Father's annual income categories range from 1 = *less than one million yen* ($11,000) to 15 = *more than 15 million yen* ($167,000). To measure own father's involvement, we asked them to indicate the frequency (1 = *never* to 5 = *every day*) of their own fathers' participation in child care using the following three statements: "My father played with me," "My father helped me with my homework," and "My father took physical care of me" (α = .838 and .873 for fathers in large and small/medium companies, respectively). A higher score of this scale means greater involvement of their own fathers in child care, thus a presence of stronger fathering role model.

Fathering identity. Respondents were asked to indicate the extent of their agreement with the following five statements: "My child is a part of myself," "I am content as a parent," "My child is the most important part of my life," "My child is what keeps me going," and "My child is my psychological support" (α = .846 and .822 for fathers in large and small/medium companies, respectively). A higher score of this scale indicates fathers' stronger sense of paternal identity.

Fathering role. Fathers' perception of their paternal role is measured by the extent of their agreement with the following five statements: "As a father, I will do everything I can for my child's growth," "It is a father's role to provide the best environment for a child," "Fathering role is the most important role in my life," "I want to be a role model for my child," and "Disciplining a child is father's important role" (α = .862 and .822 for fathers employed in large and small/medium companies, respectively). A higher score of this scale indicates fathers' stronger sense of their paternal role.

Gender ideology. Fathers were asked to indicate the extent of their approval of the following four statements: "It is a husband's responsibility to financially support the family," "My income should be higher than that of my wife," "Men should work outside and women should stay home to care for the family," and "Mothers should concentrate on child care instead of working for income before the child turns three years old" (α = .691 and .659 for fathers employed in large and small/medium companies, respectively). A higher score of this scale indicates fathers' more traditional gender ideology.

Relative resources. The ratio (0% to 100%) of husband's earnings to the couples' total earnings is used to indicate partners' relative resources. A higher value of this variable indicates greater amount of husbands' resources compared with wives' resources.

Household demands. We use respondents' living arrangement and the age of the youngest child to indicate household demands. Living arrangement is measured by the number of adults other than the respondent in the household.

Time availability. Fathers' time availability is measured by the number of work (including overtime) and commuting hours and minutes per average day. These two values are added; thus, a higher value indicates fathers' decreased availability for child care.

Work environment. Three items are used to indicate the workplace environment, the levels of company's *accommodation of parental needs, father-friendliness*, and the extent of "*gendered" work environment*. The accommodation of parental needs is measured by whether or not child care leave, shortened work hours, and flextime systems are in effect, and if fathers are entitled to them. The presence of these provisions and entitlements to them are summed to form a scale, with a higher value indicating more accommodation of fathers' needs (α = .809 and .829 for men in large and small/medium companies, respectively). The men's evaluation of these provisions is used to indicate the level of father-friendliness of the workplace with a higher score indicating a greater level of father-friendliness (α = .856 and .907 for men in large and small/medium companies, respectively). To measure the extent of "gendered" work environment, fathers' level of agreement to the following two statements are used: "Women in my company are unfairly treated in terms of career promotion and advancement" and "Many women resign from the company because of child birth." A higher score of the summed scale indicates a more traditional workplace environment.

Job stress. The levels of fathers' job-related stress are measured using three statements: "There is a constant time pressure in my work," "There is a heavy responsibility about what I do in my work," and "My job is physically and mentally stressful" (α = .856 and .828 for men in large and small/medium companies, respectively). A higher score of this scale indicates a greater level of job-related stress.

Job autonomy. The levels of fathers' autonomy at workplace are measured by fathers' agreement to the following five statements: "I can flexibly decide my work hours," "I can decide the amount and procedure of my work," "I can go home without hesitation after my work is completed," "I can take child

care leave and shorten my work hours if needed," and "I can spend a part of my work hours for my hobbies, self-improvement and other social activities" (α = .735 and .744 for fathers working for large and small/medium companies, respectively). A higher score of this scale indicates greater level of autonomy given to employees.

Attitudes toward work. Fathers' attitudes toward their work are measured by the following eight statements: "I am proud of my job," "There is a good fit between my work and myself," "My job is challenging," "My job is the most important part of my life," "I would like to advance myself through my work," "My life goal is to succeed in my work," "I want to contribute to society through my work," and "It cannot be helped when my work interferes with my private life." A higher score of this scale indicates more positive attitudes toward their work. The summed scale yields α = .747 and .773 for fathers employed by large and small/medium companies, respectively.

Job satisfaction. Two items are used to measure fathers' job satisfaction: "I enjoy the most when I am working" and "My job is boring." Response categories (1 = *not at all* to 5 = *very much so*) for the latter variable are reversed, thus a higher score of the summed scale indicates a greater amount of satisfaction with their jobs.

Analytical Strategy

We conduct both descriptive and multivariate analyses. First, means and standard deviations of key variables are presented. Second, the data are analyzed using a path model with the scaled and observed variables. Path analyses are conducted separately for those employed in large and small/medium companies. We also examine the model including the firm size as an independent variable and its interaction terms with age, education, income and own father's involvement. However, we choose to present the findings as separate analyses because the results are similar, and including interaction terms increases the model's complexity, thus, making the results more difficult to interpret.

Results

Sample Characteristics

As shown in Table 1, the average age of fathers is 35.2 years for those in large companies and 35.7 years for those in small/medium companies. Their youngest child's average age is between 2 and 3 years. Almost half of fathers

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics of Key Variables by Father's Company Size

	Large Company (n = 799)			Small/Medium Company (n = 518)		
Variables	Mean	*SD*	Range	Mean	*SD*	Range
Socioeconomic status and background variables						
Father's age	35.23	4.24	25-45	35.66	4.26	25-45
Father's education	4.37	1.13	1-5	3.71	1.30	1-5
Father's income	7.07	2.05	0-15	6.07	2.10	0-15
Own father's involvement	6.87	2.77	4-15	6.78	2.72	4-15
Individual factors						
Fathering identity	19.28	3.52	5-25	19.41	3.37	5-25
Fathering role	18.79	3.32	5-25	18.82	3.09	5-25
Gender ideology	12.98	2.75	4-20	13.22	2.64	4-20
Family factors						
Relative resources	71.68	16.57	0-100	71.93	17.97	0-100
Number of adults	1.29	0.71	1-4	1.36	0.79	1-5
Age of youngest child	2.51	1.93	0-6	2.71	1.97	0-6
Work factors						
Time availability	10.20	1.89	2-20.16	9.99	2.18	1-19
Accommodation of parental needs	12.40	2.51	9-18	10.54	2.18	9-18
Father-friendly workplace	6.12	1.63	3-9	6.04	1.62	3-9
Gendered environment	5.88	1.80	2-10	5.67	1.81	2-10
Job stress	10.33	2.70	3-15	10.32	2.80	3-15
Job autonomy	14.53	4.05	5-25	14.92	4.21	5-25
Attitude toward work	23.17	4.86	8-36	23.99	4.91	10-36
Job satisfaction	5.27	1.62	2-10	5.44	1.65	2-10
Child care involvement	20.36	6.76	7-35	20.99	6.92	7-35

are graduates of a 4-year college, and their average incomes are 5 to 6 million yen (US$55,000-US$67,000) and 4 to 5 million yen (US$44,000-US$55,000) for those employed in large and small/medium companies, respectively. Their wives' average incomes are significantly less with 2 to 3 million yen ($22,000-$33,000) for both subsamples which reflects a gendered wage gap in Japanese companies as well as the greater propensity for wives to work part-time. In terms of fathers' job types, approximately 20% identify themselves as working in the "clerical" line followed by "sales and service" (18.2%), and "professional and technical" (9.5%). As for industry sectors,

26.5% work in the manufacturing industry, followed by information services (12.1%), wholesale and retail (9.7%), construction (8.2%), medicine and welfare (6.6%), and banking, finance, and insurance (4.1%).

On average, these Japanese fathers identify strongly with their fathering roles. Their own fathers, however, had not been actively involved in child care. In both samples, husbands' income is approximately 72% of total household income. Overall, fathers employed by small/medium companies report more traditional gender ideology compared with their counterparts in large companies. Fathers in our sample spend, on average 10 hours a day at work and commuting. Compared with their counterparts in small/medium companies, fathers who work for large companies report being employed in a more father-friendly workplace although they also report a slightly more traditional work environment. Finally, fathers employed in both large and small/medium companies report similar levels of job stress and autonomy but this may be due to the lack of control for father's occupational levels.

In the multivariate analyses shown in Table 2, the goodness-of-fit index and root mean square error of approximation figures show that the hypothesized model fits the data reasonably well for both samples of fathers. First, concerning the effects of socioeconomic status and background variables on intervening variables, we find that, regardless of company size, families of older fathers are likely to have more household members and older children. Men with higher educational attainment also report more egalitarian gender ideology than those with lower education. Fathers with higher income are likely to have more resources than their wives, more adult household members, and less available time at home. Additionally, they work in father-friendly companies with greater levels of parental accommodation. In addition, although they experience more job-related stress, they also report a more positive attitude toward work. Finally, men whose fathers were actively involved in child care, report less job-related stress. Of the four independent variables, father's income influences the most number of intervening variables.

Second, with respect to the direct effects on child care regardless of the company size, men are more likely to participate in child care when their own fathers' involvement was greater, their own resources are similar to or lower than those of their wives, their children are younger, and when they are more available at home. For men in large firms, their younger ages, stronger fathering identity, and lower job stress are associated with increased child care involvement. In contrast, for men in small/medium firms, their lower income, stronger fathering roles, less traditional gender ideology, company's greater

Table 2. Standardized Coefficients and Significance Levels for Conceptual Model

Parameter Estimate	Large Company	Small/Medium Company
Age → Fathering identity	.013	−.027
Education → Fathering identity	−.002	−.027
Income → Fathering identity	−.010	.079
Own father's involvement → Fathering identity	−.043	−.087*
Age → Fathering role	−.013	−.038
Education → Fathering role	.036	.074
Income → Fathering role	.023	.124**
Own father's involvement → Fathering role	−.051	−.134**
Age → Gender ideology	.072*	−.001
Education → Gender ideology	−.075*	−.088*
Income → Gender ideology	.021	.162***
Own father's involvement → Gender ideology	−.021	−.142***
Age → Relative resources	.046	−.034
Education → Relative resources	−.058	−.075
Income → Relative resources	.231***	.356***
Own father's involvement → Relative resources	−.058	−.004
Age → Number of adults	.129***	.082*
Education → Number adults	−.038	−.054
Income → Number of adults	−.147***	−.122**
Own father's involvement → Number of adults	−.027	.026
Age → Youngest child	.317***	.239***
Education → Youngest child	−.052	−.115**
Income → Youngest child	−.018	−.002
Own father's involvement → Youngest child	−.124***	−.036
Age → Time availability	−.031	−.093*
Education → Time availability	.033	−.015
Income → Time availability	.174***	.187***
Own father's involvement → Time availability	−.076*	−.036
Age → Accommodation of parental needs	−.064	−.060
Education → Accommodation of parental needs	.089**	.081
Income → Accommodation of parental needs	.249***	.151***
Own father's involvement → Accommodation of parental needs	.094**	.036
Age → Father-friendly workplace	−.031	−.020
Education → Father-friendly workplace	−.037	−.104*
Income → Father-friendly workplace	.097*	.120**
Own father's involvement → Father-friendly workplace	.018	−.028
Age → Gendered environment	.015	.029
Education → Gendered environment	−.061	.013
Income → Gendered environment	−.046	−.021

(continued)

Table 2. (contined)

Parameter Estimate	Large Company	Small/Medium Company
Own father's involvement → Gendered environment	−.008	.033
Age → Job stress	−.028	−.025
Education → Job stress	−.048	−.013
Income → Job stress	.162***	.179***
Own father's involvement → Job stress	−.124***	−.090*
Age → Job autonomy	−.030	−.019
Education → Job autonomy	−.009	.003
Income → Job autonomy	.098	.026
Own father's involvement → Job autonomy	.058	.065
Age → Attitude toward work	−.106**	−.023
Education → Attitude toward work	.009	−.020
Income → Attitude toward work	.192***	.179***
Own father's involvement → Attitude toward work	.016	.046
Age → Job satisfaction	−.021	−.066
Education → Job satisfaction	−.006	−.087
Income → Job satisfaction	.005	.077
Own father's involvement → Job satisfaction	.066	.129**
Age → Child care involvement	.102**	.071
Education → Child care involvement	.046	−.032
Income → Child care involvement	−.068	−.104*
Own father's involvement → Child care involvement	.176***	0189***
Fathering identity → Child care involvement	.107*	.019
Fathering role → Child care involvement	.068	.170**
Gender ideology → Child care involvement	−.070	−.152***
Relative resources → Child care involvement	−.085**	−.134**
Number of adults → Child care involvement	−.022	−.013
Age of youngest child → Child care involvement	−.236***	−.129**
Time availability → Child care involvement	−.167***	−.197***
Accommodation of parental needs → Child care involvement	.011	.077*
Father-friendly workplace → Child care involvement	−.007	−.038
Gendered environment → Child care involvement	−.065	−.032
Job stress → Child care involvement	−.131***	−.014
Job autonomy → Child care involvement	.058	.126**
Attitude toward work → Child care involvement	.026	−.004
Job satisfaction → Child care involvement	−.083	.026

Note: All coefficients are estimated by maximum likelihood and computed with AMOS. $\chi^2(52) = 284.249$, goodness-of-fit index (GFI) = .964, root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) = .075 (large company); $\chi^2(67) = 213.486$, GFI = .960, RMSEA = .065 (small/medium company).
*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$ (two-tailed tests).

Table 3. Summary: Significant Effects of Independent and Intervening Variables on Increased Fathers' Child Care Involvement

Independent Variable	Intervening Variable	Dependent Variable
All fathers		
Younger age	→ Younger children	(+) → Child care involvement
Lower income	→ Less relative resources	(+) → Child care involvement
Lower income	→ More time availability	(+) → Child care involvement
Fathers in large companies		
Lower income	→ Lower job stress	(+) → Child care involvement
Own father's higher involvement	→ Younger children	(+) → Child care involvement
Own father's higher involvement	→ More time availability	(+) → Child care involvement
Own father's higher involvement	→ Lower job stress	(+) → Child care involvement
Fathers in small/medium companies		
Older age	→ More time availability	(+) → Child care involvement
Higher education	→ Less traditional gender ideology	(+) → Child care involvement
Higher education	→ Younger children	(+) → Child care involvement
Higher income	→ Stronger fathering role	(+) → Child care involvement
Lower income	→ Less traditional gender ideology	(+) → Child care involvement
Higher income	→ More accommodation of parental needs	(+) → Child care involvement
Own father's lower involvement	→ Stronger fathering role	(+) → Child care involvement
Own father's higher involvement	→ Less traditional gender ideology	(+) → Child care involvement

accommodation of parental needs, and higher level of job autonomy are related to greater paternal involvement.

Significant indirect effects of socioeconomic status and own father's involvement on fathers' child care through the intervening variables are summarized in Table 3. For fathers in both large and small/medium firms, younger fathers with younger children are more likely to be involved in child care. At the same time, men's lower income is associated with less relative resources and more time available at home, which, in turn, increase their participation in child care. For men in large companies, those who had more involved fathers in their childhood also have younger children, more time available at home, and lower job stress, which contribute to their increased paternal

involvement. Lower income is also associated with lower job stress which then increases their child care involvement.

For men working in small/medium firms, older fathers report more time availability, which, in turn, increases their paternal involvement. The more educated men in this group have younger children and less traditional gender ideology and these are associated with more child care involvement. Men with higher income tend to have a stronger sense of their fathering role and work for companies with more accommodation of parental needs, which, in turn, increases their child care involvement. At the same time, men with lower income report less traditional gender ideology, which then increases their participation in child care.

Finally, when their own father's involvement was less frequent, they are likely to have a stronger sense of their fathering role which then increases their child care involvement. In contrast, own father's higher involvement has both a direct positive association with fathers' child care involvement and an indirect association through father's less traditional gender ideology. On balance, the role modeling perspective seems more applicable in the explanation of the relationships between own father's involvement and men's participation in child care.

Discussion

This study contributes to the growing literature on new nurturing and fathering issues in many Asian countries (Yeung, 2010). First, it is clear that, regardless of company size, younger Japanese fathers are likely to live in nuclear households without child care assistance from older members of the family. They also tend to have younger children, which, in turn, increases their involvement in child care. Increased involvement in child care may also be due to the changing attitudes of younger Japanese men toward their work and families. Although the culture of long working hours still persists, many younger Japanese fathers, compared with their fathers' generation, have become more aware of the importance of paternal involvement to their families, due partly to governmental campaign (Ishii-Kuntz, 1996). Fathers with higher income are likely to have greater resources compared with their wives and are less available at home, both of which decrease their participation in child care. Furthermore, regardless of company size, relative resources, age of the youngest child, and time availability are significantly associated with Japanese fathers' involvement in child care in the expected directions. At the same time, attitudinal variables such as sense of fathering role and gender ideology are found to be significant predictors of paternal

involvement among men who work for small/medium companies. These findings suggest that attitudinal dimensions are important factors that encourage paternal involvement given the slow structural changes because of the economic recession in Japan.

Second, our comparison of fathers underscores the significance of work environment to the fathering roles. Job-related factors such as the extent to which companies accommodate parental needs, job stress, and autonomy differentially influence fathers' child care involvement. The greater levels of company's accommodation of parental needs and autonomy increase fathers' participation in child care for men working in small/medium firms, whereas the greater job stress is associated with less paternal involvement for men in larger firms. These findings suggest that although small/medium companies may have limited resources, greater level of accommodation of parents and provision of more job-related autonomy encourage these fathers' family involvement. In contrast, although large companies may be able to provide more resources to their employees compared with small/medium companies, greater job-related stress prevents workers from being involved in child care. These findings suggest that policies to increase men's participation in child care need to be more sensitive about different work environments between large and small/medium companies.

It is important to note that nonsignificant effects of job-related factors such as the gendered work environment and father-friendly workplace on men's child care involvement may have to do with the indirect measures or the single indicator used in this study. For example, our measures for gendered work environment are basically concerned with how women employees are treated in the companies rather than men who want to participate in child care. We need more direct measures of whether the work culture supports fathers' taking child care leave or flexible work hours, in addition to men's entitlement to and own evaluation of such benefits.

Finally, of all the work-related factors, time availability measured by work and commuting hours is most strongly associated with fathers' involvement in child care. Given this finding, it can be suggested that government devote more efforts in creating father-friendly policies and pay special attention to address the problems of Japanese men's long work hours. In such efforts, other work-related factors should also be considered because our study suggests that a greater level of company's accommodation of parental needs, less job-related stress, and more autonomous work environment increase fathers' involvement in child care.

There are some limitations in the current study, including the crude classification method we use to divide fathers into those working for large and

small/medium companies, the lack of more pertinent work-related information, and the potential bias in using volunteers in the web survey and reporting errors related to the problem of fake identification by these respondents. Future fatherhood research needs to identify additional work-related factors such as the number of paid leave days, work culture, and work shifts of fathers as well as those of their spouses that influence the couples' sharing of child care responsibilities. It is also noteworthy that the current conceptual model needs to be extended to examine fathers' family involvement when their children are of school age. A longitudinal study is most useful in examining the causal relationships between work, family factors and paternal involvement, and the long-term impact of paternal involvement on child development.

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