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JAPANESE FATHERS IN THE UNITED STATES: NEGOTIATING DIFFERENT CULTURAL EXPECTATIONS

by

YUKA ABE

Under the Direction of Ralph LaRossa

ABSTRACT

Japanese fathers residing abroad have not been given much attention in Japanese scholarship. In this study, I examine how Japanese fathers in the United States negotiate between Japanese and American cultural expectations regarding fatherhood. Relying on a symbolic interactionist perspective, and through qualitative research involving in-depth interviews with 24 Japanese fathers who live in the United States for business, I focus on the men's culture, conduct, and self-identification. My interviews suggest that Japanese fathers who temporarily stay in the United States usually adhere to Japanese culture and, accordingly, live up to Japanese expectations of fatherhood. Thus, paternal modifications influenced by expectations from close associates are due not to their embracing American fatherhood, but rather to their "situational adjustment." Ultimately, this is a study of cognitive boundaries and of how people decide to internalize cultural expectations different than their own.

INDEX WORDS: Japanese fathers in the United States, cultural expectations, fatherhood, paternal conduct, situational adjustment, cognitive boundaries

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by

YUKA ABE

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

in the College of Arts and Sciences

Georgia States University

2005

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2005

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by

YUKA ABE

Major Professor: Ralph LaRossa
Committee: Elisabeth Burgess
Toshi Kii

Electronic Version Approved:

Office of Graduate Studies
College of Arts and Sciences
Georgia States University
December 2005

This thesis is dedicated

To my husband, Masahiro Abe

To my parents, Kazuhito and Kiyomi Suzuki, and Masafumi and Aika

And

To Dr. Ralph LaRossa

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Yuka Abe

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Many studies have indicated the multidimensionality of paternal involvement. The historical investigations of fatherhood in the United States suggest that the cultural expectations of fatherhood vary over time (Griswold 1993; LaRossa 1997). Cross-national comparisons show that expectations for fathers are not the same in all countries (Lamb 1987). Research also has found that paternal involvement varies by race/ethnicity, social class, living arrangement (e.g., single parents vs. dual parent households) and life course phase (e.g., parenting infants vs. parenting adolescents) (Day and Lamb 2004). Moreover, even within the same time period or social category, paternal involvement has multifaceted aspects. For example, fathers can impact their children both directly (e.g., face-to-face interaction) and indirectly (e.g., economic support and support of the children's mother).

Japanese families are often characterized as "fatherless" in the postwar era (Doi 1973). Due to heavy work demands, including socializing with their bosses and clients after working hours, Japanese fathers spend very little time with their children. For example, according to cross-national data collected in 1986 by the "Fathers and Children Survey," the average amount of time that Japanese fathers spend with their children was much less than American fathers: 36 minutes for Japanese fathers and 56 minutes for American fathers on weekdays (qtd. in Ishii-Kuntz 1992). Therefore, Japanese fathers are more likely to involve their children indirectly. For example, Japanese fathers usually identify being the economic provider as their most important role. One study found that

74 percent of 1,160 fathers described their function in families as being the breadwinner (Shwalb, Kawai, Shoji, and Tsunetsugu 1997). It is worthwhile to explore how Japanese men develop their sense of being fathers in different societal contexts, where different expectations can exist.

In my project, I studied Japanese fathers who lived in the United States for business. Since Japanese companies have expanded their business targets abroad, a number of Japanese families live in other countries.[1] There is almost no literature on these families, and no literature on the fathers in those families. Through in-depth interviews with 24 fathers, I explored whether Japanese fathers who had the experiences of fathering in Japan have changed after moving to the United States. In order to answer this question, I first examined the kinds of images or impressions the Japanese fathers had about both Japanese and American fatherhood. I also investigated their paternal conduct to see how their images or impressions affected their fathering. Finally, I examined how the Japanese fathers, through social interactions, constructed their identities as fathers in a different social environment. In the main, my project is about how Japanese fathers negotiate different cultural expectations.

I interviewed only fathers, not their wives or children, and thus am interested primarily in the men's perceptions. Interviewing the mother or child would provide another perception. All self-report measures are narratives, and I collected each father's story of his involvement and his identification as a father. I wanted to focus on the

[1] A family who lives in a foreign country solely for business is called a "*Chuzaiin family*." Family members are different from immigrants in that they usually consider moving back to Japan after several years of stay in the United States.

father's story and subjective realities about fatherhood for two major reasons. First, previous research on Japanese fathers is "often an extension of research on children or mothers, and the study of the father is more often the study of father-child relations" (Shwalb, Imaizumi, and Nakazawa 1987: 265). It is still not easy to find research that focuses on how Japanese fathers themselves develop as fathers. Second, the main theme of my project is how Japanese fathers negotiate cultural expectations. For example, I wanted to examine how a father perceives expectations or evaluations from his wife regarding paternal performances, and how the father interprets them, rather than looking at how the wife evaluates her husband as a father. Thus, the key was to get the fathers' own perceptions or stories and examine how and why men construct their stories as they do (Marsiglio 2004).

I begin in this chapter by reviewing literature on the history of social science research on Japanese fathers, the history of paternal roles in Japan, and the recent research on Japanese fathers. I also present the symbolic interactionist framework upon which I relied (Blumer 1969; LaRossa and Reitzes 1993) and introduce concepts that were central to the questions that I asked.

Chapter two discusses the methodology I employed. First, I outline my data collection procedures. Besides using snowball sampling, I went to a Japanese Language School to recruit eligible interviewees. Second, I describe my data analysis and my use of grounded theory methods.

Chapter three details the participants' paternal conduct in the United States as well as in Japan. Most of the fathers perceived that their paternal conduct had been

changed. That is, the participants reported that they had more time to interact with their children after moving to the United States. I examine the fathers' accounts for the different paternal performances, and discuss the cognitive boundary between home and work and how it has changed.

In chapter four, I discuss the culture of fatherhood. First, I present how the participants defined Japanese fathers and American fathers. Next, I look at my participants' identification as fathers. Then, I demonstrate why and when they negotiated between different cultural expectations. Finally, I show why the men basically lived in a "bubble" of Japanese Culture.

In chapter five, I summarize my findings, and discuss the direction of future research.

LITERATURE REVIEW

History of Social Science Research on Japanese Fathers

Until about 1975, research on fathers was almost nonexistent in Japan mainly because "mother-child relations were considered more important than father-child relations" (Shwalb, Nakazawa, Yamamoto, and Hyun 2004:148). However, in the late 1970s, publication on fathers began, and increased in the 1980s. Since the mid-1990s, research in the field has grown exponentially. The growth of this scholarly tendency, according to Shwalb et al. (2004), was attributed to suspicion that fathers were responsible for increasing children's psychopathology. In 1980s and 1990s, for example, violence by adolescents toward their parents, bullying in schools, and refusal to go to

school were increasingly visible as serious social problems in Japan. In 1997, an elementary school child was killed in a very cruel way by a 14 year-old boy, and this event drew much attention from the public. People in Japan assumed that a series of these adolescents' acts were a result of the lack of paternal presence in children.

There also was a concern for the sharp decline in the birth rate. The Japanese government assumed that if Japanese men became more involved with their families, women would be more likely to get married and give birth. In the 1990s, the Japanese government instituted policies that encouraged fathers to become more involved with their children's development. For example, the Child Care Leave Law was instituted in 1992 to promote both paternity and maternity leave. In a 1999 campaign, the Japanese government created a series of TV commercials and posters with the slogan, "A man who does not raise his children cannot be called a father." Recently, Japanese scholars have examined the determinants of frequency of paternal involvement in childcare (e.g. Suemori 2001; Nagai 2001).

History of Paternal Roles in Japan

Compared to the historical studies on paternal roles in the United States (Griswold 1993; LaRossa 1997), very little research has focused on the history of Japanese fathers. One article (Fuess 1997) examined the literature on family issues in the *Edo* period.[2] The studies reviewed (e.g., Ota 1994; Sawayama 1991) have limitations in terms of generalizability because, for example, analysis is mainly based on one father's diary, or

[2] The "*Edo*" period lasted about 260 years from circa 1600 or 1603 to 1867 in Japan.

subjects tend to be limited to the literate elites. However, most of these studies agreed that fathers during this time participated in child rearing with a significant role as an educator of their children. The paternal role varied with the gender of the child. Fathers were more concerned with educating their sons, because "a father's instructions were to be directed toward preserving the family name for prosperity" (Fuess 1997: 389). However, after the mid-*Meiji* period, parent responsibility shifted from father to mother along with the establishment of the compulsory system of elementary education.[3] At this time, "the paternal role was transformed into that of an aloof stern-faced disciplinarian" (Fuess 1997: 384). This image of fathers as distant and uncaring has been maintained since then.

Most of the other historical literature compares Japanese fatherhood before and after the Second World War. Prior to the war, the Japanese father was the legal, social, moral, and economic leader of the family as a head (*Kacho*) of a patriarchal family system (*ie*) (Shwalb, Imaizumi, and Nakazawa 1987; Ishii-Kuntz 1992:1993; Shwalb et al. 2004).[4] Often, this version of fatherhood is expressed by the proverb "earthquake, thunder, fire and fathers." The proverb is meant to convey the traditional image of fathers as authoritative figures. Under the *ie* system, the eldest son was usually considered a successor of the head of the family. Therefore, one of the most important roles of a traditional father was to train his eldest son as the next leader of the family (Shwalb et al. 1987). As far as I can know, no literature has gone beyond the above

[3] The "*Meiji*" period lasted about 45 years from 1868 to 1912 in Japan.
[4] The patriarchal family system before World War II in Japan is called "*ie*" system. The head of a family, usually the eldest man, is called "*kacho*" under the *ie* system.

description of paternal roles before the war. There is clearly a need for researchers to investigate Japanese fathers in historical contexts in more detail.

The most significant transition of the legal definition of fatherhood was conducted during the American occupation at the end of the Second World War. Occupying Americans considered the patriarchal family system and legal status of the father to be an obstacle in the way of introducing democracy. Therefore, the "New Civil Law" reduced the Japanese father's status in his family, and enhanced the egalitarian relationship between husband and wife (Shwalb et al. 1987; Ishii-Kuntz 1993). Along with the introduction of democracy, Japanese fathers lost their authority, which was guaranteed by the old family system in Japan. Another factor also greatly impacted the father's status in his family after the war. Due to heavy work demands, the father's time of interacting with his family was dramatically reduced (Ishii-Kuntz 1993). Although fathers contributed to Japan's "economic miracle" after the war (Vogel 1979), their relationship with their families became shallow, especially in terms of the amount of the time they spent at home. Consequently, the postwar Japanese families are often called "fatherless" (Doi 1973).

Recent Research on Japanese Fathers

"Fatherless" Issues. Some scholars have challenged the statement of "fatherlessness" in Japanese families. For example, Wagatsuma (1977) stated that fatherlessness in Japanese families is a socially constructed myth, and that without more empirical data on the behavior of fathers in the prewar period to compare with postwar

research findings, we cannot meaningfully discuss the question of 'fatherlessness' in Japanese society. Wagatsuma's alarm was taken seriously by Ishii-Kuntz (1922, 1993). In "Are Japanese Families 'Fatherless'?" (1992), Ishii-Kuntz examined the validity of "fatherlessness" in Japan by comparing it with the United States and Germany. Specifically, she investigated the extent of men's involvement with their children and the quality of their relationship. Ishii-Kuntz (1992) found that "despite the limited father-child interaction, Japanese fathers are psychologically present in the home" (p. 105). For example, the average amount of time that fathers spent with their children (reported by children) was the least in Japan. However, when looking at the children's views on fathers, it is clear that Japanese fathers were psychologically present in their children's minds. Regarding the questions for children of who is the center of your family, who is the one you can rely on the most, and who is the one you respect most, Japanese fathers got the highest percentage among the fathers in three countries. In her later research (1993), Ishii-Kuntz found that children's mothers (fathers' wives) were mediators between fathers and their children. She stated, "Mothers frequently portray their husbands as 'hard workers' and 'decision makers.' Children, in turn, learn fathers' 'authority' and come to appreciate their fathers for their financial contribution to the family" (1993: 61). It is clear that the father-child relationship is mediated by the mother, and, in turn, the father is psychologically present in children, despite the father's limited interaction with his children.

Ishii-Kuntz (1993) stated that the "image portrayed by mothers did not necessarily coincide with the real personality of fathers" (p. 61). This statement indicates the

distinction between culture (norms, values, and beliefs concerning men's parenting) and conduct (actual paternal behaviors) of fathers (LaRossa 1988). Therefore, if mothers are asked questions regarding what they think fathers should do rather than questions about what fathers actually do, we are measuring culture more so than conduct. Likewise, if fathers report the norms they think they should follow as fathers, but fail to provide specific details on their actual behavior as fathers, we again cannot assume that we know how involved the fathers are with their children.

In addition to heavy work demands, Ishii-Kuntz (1993) found another factor that took Japanese fathers away from their families. That was a father's perception of his paternal role. One responder in Ishii-Kuntz's sample said, "To me, keeping a certain distance from my children is one way to show them my authority" (p. 56). It is clear that a father's absence is attributed not only to work demands but also to his wanting to maintain his authority and image as a hard worker (Ishii-Kuntz 1993). The father's intention to maintain this image is rooted in the fact that most Japanese fathers view their "breadwinning" role as the most important among their paternal duties. However, this study includes only moderate- to upper-middle income families. Ishii-Kuntz may have found different results if she had studied working-class fathers, for instance. Working class fathers, compared to middle-class fathers, might not consider being economic providers as their most important roles. Although, in Japan, social class differences are more condensed than in the United States, there is still the need to expand our research of fathering beyond a narrow middle-class range. In fact, in Japan, since the rate of unemployment is increasing (from 2.1 percent in 1991 to 5.0 percent in 1997 [Shwalb et

al. 2004]) along with the continuous economic stagnation, there is a possibility that fathers' identification as breadwinners will begin to change.

"New Fathers" in Japan. At an individual level, a few fathers, especially in the younger generation, are increasingly recognizing "caregivers" as their main paternal role, although most of Japanese fathers seem to identify with breadwinners. These fathers are described in another of Ishii-Kuntz's research studies (2003). To my knowledge, this is the only research that deals with the so-called "New Fathers" in Japan. Ishii-Kuntz conducted interviews with 17 fathers who were actively engaged in childcare, and most of them (14) were in the advocacy group. This association "aims to increase paternal involvement in childcare as well as to reduce parents' work hours in order to accomplish that goal" (Ishii-Kuntz 2003:201). These fathers were fulltime professional workers. Their age ranged from 29 to 49 with most in their 30s, so this sample is the younger generation in Japan. The majority of wives were also fulltime professional workers. Of the 17 fathers, eight had taken paternal leave from work to care for their infants. Another six fathers had taken childcare hours from work in the form of flextime.

Since, in Japan, the "ideal hegemonic masculinity has been constructed and maintained through salarymen's roles as breadwinners for their families" (Ishii-Kuntz 2003:199), these fathers' attitudes toward child caring show a construction of "an 'other' kind of masculinity by being involved in 'women's' activities" (p. 204).[5] These changes can be attributed, in part, to the mothers' employment status and her attitudes toward

[5] "*Salarymen*" refers to white-collar workers who earn their salary on yearly basis, as compared to hourly wages.

childrearing. Most of the wives in Ishii-Kuntz's study (2003) were successful fulltime professional workers, and had liberal attitudes towards men's parenting. These wives earned comparable incomes, and they demanded their husbands' participation in child caring and housework equally, instead of relying on husbands for breadwinning. Some fathers began to identify face-to-face interaction with their children, not economic providing, as the most important paternal role.

The Determinants of More Involved Japanese Fathers. Recently, Japanese scholars have investigated the determinants of paternal involvement in childcare. The Japanese government's efforts to increase father involvement have encouraged this scholarly interest. Scholars have examined the many kinds of factors including social class, time availability, ideology regarding gender, the needs of childcare, and the relationship between mother and father (e.g., Nagai 2001; Suemori 2001; Ishii-Kuntz, Makino, Kato, and Tsuchiya 2004). Suemori (2001) found that the fathers' social class affected the relationship between them and their children. The fathers who have a college education, a higher position in company, and a higher salary tend to have less involvement with their children. Also, the relationships between fathers and mothers have influenced the relationship between fathers and children. The fathers who have a better relationship with their wives have more frequent involvement with their children. Nagai (2001) indicated that, among the several variables, the needs of childcare, the relationship between mothers and fathers, and fathers' time availability correlates with the frequency of paternal involvement. The fathers who have younger children, less work time, more opportunity to go out with their wives, and wives who work full-time,

participate in childcare more often. However, Nagai suggested that the fathers' participation in childcare refers to "helping" rather than "sharing." Ishii-Kuntz et al. (2004) found that there are higher levels of paternal involvement when fathers have more time availability at home, mothers are employed, the proportion of adults to children is low, and children are younger. Ishii-Kuntz et al. (2004) noted that "situational constraints as child-care demands and time availability influence most couples' decisions about the allocation of child care… [while] ideological or attitudinal factors such as husbands' and wives' gender ideology are not significantly associated with Japanese fathers' involvement in child care" (p. 788). Among these studies, it is common that fathers' time availability and the relationship between fathers and mothers have influence on the relationship between fathers and children, although there are some varieties in the results.

When evaluating frequency of paternal involvement, Japanese scholars have not always categorized the types of involvements carefully. Often, a father's involvement is measured only by the amount of "time" that he spends with his children. For example, in Suemori's (2001) research, the frequency of paternal involvement was broken down into only two categories: having dinner together and going out together. In the United States, according to Palkovitz (1997), most recent writers on paternal involvement employ Lamb, Pleck, Charnov, and Levine's (1985) tripartite typology of involvement: engagement, accessibility, and responsibility. Lamb et. al.'s conceptualization has encouraged scholars not only to acknowledge the levels of paternal involvement, but also to pay attention to the invisible paternal involvement that is categorized into responsibility.

Japanese Families in Foreign Countries. Most of the literature on Japanese families in foreign countries has looked at children not parents. There is some research that has examined children's educational adjustment and identity issues, as Japanese children moved back from foreign countries (e.g., Goodman 1990; White 1988). The literature has addressed returnee family's adjustment to Japanese society rather than their lives abroad. When it comes to Japanese fathers in other countries, no literature can be found. White (1998) investigated, through in-depth interviews with 50 returnee families, not only children but also their mothers and fathers. However, her focus was not on parenting but on how parents readjust to the Japanese society. Regarding these fathers and workplaces, White stated (1998):

> Just as a hiatus in education hurts the child's identity as a student and classmate, so absence from the workplace marks the father as an outsider….his identity and skills are called into question, even though he was sent overseas by his company to carry out duties that promote and maintain Japan's highly valued success in the global market. (P. 79)

White focused on Japanese father's identity in the workplace because the Japanese father spends most of his time at work and "his identity is defined by membership in his work group" (p. 86). However, as mentioned before, Japanese fathers recently have begun to search for their identities in their families. It is time to pay attention to the Japanese fathers' identities in relation to their families. Japanese fathers may have conflicts about not only as workers but also as parents in multicultural environment.

Issues of Japanese Studies on Fathers. Regarding Japanese studies of fathers, there are four main issues to be noted. First, the historical study on fathers is almost nonexistent. Second, a study of the distinction between the culture and conduct of fatherhood has not developed in Japan. Third, the conceptualization of paternal involvement is very restricted in Japanese studies. Finally, the samples are limited to Japanese fathers who live in Japan.

Historical research on Japanese fathers has not developed systematically. Although there are a few studies of Japanese fatherhood in a particular period in the past, most researchers simply describe the authoritative image of fathers under the patriarchal system before the Second World War. The history of Japanese fatherhood needs to be investigated more deeply and extensively. A historical approach to fatherhood is very useful to understand contemporary fatherhood. Researchers (Griswold 1993; LaRossa 1997) have produced very valuable historical accounts of American fatherhood. Similar kinds of investigation of Japanese fatherhood would be worthwhile.

A study of the distinction between the culture and conduct of fatherhood has not been developed in Japan. This topic is, however, crucial because culture and conduct are not necessarily in sync. In the United States, this distinction has been studied in both historical and contemporary contexts (LaRossa 1988, 1997, 2004; LaRossa, Jaret, Gadgil, Wynnn 2000). In this research, I investigated the expectations that Japanese fathers in the United States recognize, and how these expectations affect their conduct as fathers.

The conceptualizations of paternal involvement in studies of Japanese fathers have been very narrow, because researchers have wanted to examine whether fathers are

responsible for various social ills (Shwalb et al. 2004). The researchers' frameworks tended to simply dichotomize whether fathers are absent or present. Often, they have calculated only the amount of time that fathers spend with their children. Paternal involvement, however, cannot be reduced to clock measurements. Depending on the levels of paternal involvement, for example, the influence on their children may vary. Ishii-Kuntz et al. (2004) stated, "Diverse dimensions of paternal involvement suggested by Palkovitz (1997) also need to be examined in future fatherhood studies in Japan" (p. 788). In this research, I intended to expand the conceptualization of fathering by paying attention to the indirect modes of paternal involvement and by using the concepts of engagement, accessibility, and responsibility (Lamb et. al. 1985) as well as Palkovitz's (1997) conceptualization of involvement.

In existing literature, the samples of Japanese fathers have been limited to those who live in Japan. It seems that there is no literature on Japanese fathers who migrate to other countries. Also, there are sizable numbers of Japanese fathers (and their families) who live in foreign countries, since Japanese companies have expanded their business targets abroad. There seems to be no literature on those fathers as well. In this research, I focused on fathers who lived in the United States for business.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS

Symbolic Interactionism Regarding Identity Issues

As an overall theoretical framework, I utilized symbolic interactionism. Blumer (1969:2) offered three premises on which a symbolic interactionist perspective relies.

> Human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them.
>
> The meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one's fellows.
>
> Meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretative process used by the person in dealing with the things he [or she] encounters.

The relevance of the three premises in this study is, first, to ascertain how Japanese fathers define "Japanese fatherhood" and "American fatherhood." I must understand the meanings fathers attach to fatherhood in order to understand their behavior. Second, I need to know how the fathers get the meanings, since humans learn and create meanings based on individual experiences through social interactions. Third, I have to examine how their meanings of being a "father" are handled in, and modified through their interpretative processes. The participants have grown up in Japanese culture and currently live in different social contexts, where the different meanings of fatherhood can exist. Thus, my ultimate goal is to reveal how Japanese fathers perceive the meanings of fathers in different social contexts and how they negotiate them.

Four symbolic interactionist concepts are also important to this research: (1) identities, (2) roles, (3) interactions, and (4) contexts (LaRossa and Reitzes 1993). *Identities* are defined as self-images in a role and are hierarchically organized by salience. In other words, "identities and salience are two ways that individuals use self-conceptions to motivate their actions" (p. 145). Since individuals may construct different identities in a role, some fathers have identities as a father by being economic providers, while other fathers have identities as a father by being involved with their children frequently. In general, "the more salient the role, the more frequently it will be invoked" (p. 146).

Roles refer to "shared norms applied to the occupants of social positions" and "specify not only knowledge, ability, and motivation, but also expectations about proper extent, direction, and duration of feelings and emotions" (LaRossa and Reitzes 1993: 147). Roles may vary in different societies. Japanese fathers may find different father roles in the United States than in Japan.

Regarding *interactions*, LaRossa and Reitzes (1993) state, "it is through social interaction that individuals apply broad shared symbols and actively create the specific meanings of self, others, and situations" (p. 149). Thus, with whom and how often Japanese fathers interact is central to understand how they learn shared meanings of father's role in the United States.

Symbolic interactionism also pays attention to the connection between individuals and societal *contexts*, with an appreciation that the connection can be complex. Drawing on symbolic interactionism, Strauss (1978), for example, spoke of how negotiation takes place within negotiation and structural contexts. Strauss (1978) explains the "negotiated order approach" to social organization with three concepts (qtd. in LaRossa and Reitzes 1993:152). The three concepts are negotiation, negotiation context, and structural context. *Negotiation* refers to the many ways to accomplish the goals (e.g., role of father). *Negotiation context* constitutes the "structural properties that enter most immediately into the course of negotiation" (e.g., negotiation between mother and father) (p. 152). *Structural context* denotes the society in which individuals negotiate. Using Strauss's approach, I explored how Japanese fathers negotiate different cultural expectations about the roles of fathers.

The Culture and Conduct of Fatherhood

The culture and conduct of fatherhood are important concepts in this research. It is crucial to recognize the difference between the culture of fatherhood (specifically the shared norms, values, and beliefs surrounding men's parenting), and the conduct of fatherhood (what fathers do, their parental behaviors), because the culture and conduct of fatherhood are significantly different, although there are some connections between them (LaRossa 1988, 1997). For example, in this research, when I asked fathers about their images of both American and Japanese fathers, I was basically referring to the culture of fatherhood. By asking, "In your practice, which image of fathers do you think you are emulating?," I was trying to identify his own meaning of father. This, too, would fall under the culture of fatherhood.

As for the conduct of fatherhood, Japanese researchers usually have paid attention to the amount of time that fathers spend with their children. Thus, identifying the level of paternal involvement is significant. To examine the level of Japanese father's involvement with their children, I used Lamb, Pleck, Charnov, and Levine's (1985) conception of three components of paternal involvement: engagement, accessibility, and responsibility. Engagement involves time spent in actual face-to-face interaction with children (e.g., feeding them and helping them with homework). Accessibility is when father and child are not interacting with each other, but the father is accessible to the child (e.g., time spent engaged in child-related housework or time spent sitting in the living room while child is playing in the family room next door). Responsibility "can be illustrated by considering the difference between being responsible for childcare as

opposed to being able and willing to ‘help out’ when it is convenient” (Lamb 1987: 8). Responsibility includes, for example, arranging childcare, making sure the children are healthy, and knowing when the children need to go to the pediatrician.

Regarding responsibility, I built on Palkovitz’s (1997) perspective on Lamb et al.’s (1985) notion of responsibility. Palkovitz (1997) stated, “Our conceptualizations of involvement need to be more inclusive of thought processes and other cognitive components” (p. 208). He included thought processes (e.g., worrying, planning, dreaming, hoping, evaluating, and praying for child) as a type of paternal involvement, since he found in his 1994 research that fathers’ daily experiences is occupied or influenced by thoughts about their children (Palkovitz 1997). He also insisted that the psychological presence of the child in the fathers’ cognitions needs to be represented in our conceptualization of involvement.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

DATA COLLECTION

Sampling

This research is a qualitative study involving in-depth interviews with 24 Japanese fathers who grew up in Japan and lived in the United States for business. All interviews were scheduled from March to July 2005. Each interview lasted about one and a half hours and was conducted in the participants' homes or at coffee shops, or at class rooms of a Japanese Language School. I tried to find a reasonably private place to conduct the interviews. For example, when we chose to meet at a coffee shop, I arrived early in order to reserve a table in the corner. I planned to interview in either Japanese or English, whichever the participants felt comfortable with. None of the fathers preferred to speak in English, and thus, all of the interviews were conducted in Japanese. After the interviews, I contacted the interviewees through e-mail to follow up when necessary.

There were several criteria for the interviewees. First, the fathers had to have grown up in Japan and temporarily lived in the United States with their family for business. These fathers were different from immigrants in that they intended to move back to Japan in several years. I tried to examine how "temporal stay" in the United States affected their fathering and paternal identification. Second, the men had to have become fathers while in Japan. I wanted to study fathers who had parenting experiences in Japan so that I could examine the fathers' perceptions about their changes in their self-identification before and after moving to the United States. I chose to focus on the

relationships between the fathers and their first-born child. Thus, as long as the eldest child was born in Japan, they were eligible. Third, the men's spouses had to have the same cultural background in order to exclude the possible direct influence of other cultures among the family members. As for fathers' age, it ranged from 31 to 65 years old. Most of the men were in their late 30s to early 40s.

Although the basic sampling method throughout this study was snowball sampling (described below), I also used quota sampling. Since depending on children's life course phases, paternal involvement or identification can vary, I made four categories by the first-born child's current age: 0-5, 6-12, 13-19, >19. At the beginning, I aimed for six fathers in each group, and thus 24 fathers in all. However, as interviews proceeded, I learned that there were few Japanese fathers in the United Sates for business reasons who had children of over 19. Thus, I interviewed only two fathers whose children were over 19, and expanded the numbers in the other categories to add up to 24 fathers in total. In Table 1.1, each number indicates the first-born children's age at the time of the interview for each participant. For example, in the 0-5 age range, there was one child who was two years old, another child who was three years old, two children who were four years old, and two who were five years old. The total shows the numbers of first-born children that fall in each age range. For instance, I interviewed nine fathers who had children in the 6-12 age range.

Table 1.1: **First-born Child's Age**

Age range	0-5	6-12	13-19	>19
(years old)	2	6	13	28
	3	6	13	31
	4	6	13	
	4	7	15	
	5	7	16	
	5	9	16	
		10	16	
		10		
		11		
Total	**6**	**9**	**7**	**2**

My sample was limited to a fairly narrow social class (middle class to upper middle class) because Japanese fathers who are sent to the United States by Japanese companies usually have college educations and are white-collar workers. Lower class fathers may not be able to live in the United States because of visa issues, unless they have a green card (permanent residency visa for non-American citizens).

There is also a limitation regarding the number of years the participants have lived in the United States. Since this study is about fathers' negotiations of different cultural expectations, the number of the years in the United States is an important variable. Fathers who are sent to the United States by their companies usually stay three to five years.[6] Table 1.2 shows the number of years my participants lived in the United States at the time of the interviews. For example, in the 0-1 year range, I had one father

[6] For VISA reason, Japanese who reside in the United Stets solely for business have a limitation of years to stay. There are four types of VISA (E-1, E-2, L-1A, and L-1B), and they usually allow the Japanese businessmen to stay in the United States from 1 year to 7 years at the longest without a green card.

who had lived in the United States for six months, another who had been in the country for nine months, and three who had been for a year. The total shows the numbers of the participants that fall in each year range. For instance, I interviewed three fathers who had lived in the United States for more than five years.

Table 1.2: **Number of Years of Living in the United States**

Years	**0-1**	**>1-3**	**>3-5**	**>5**
	6 mo.	1 yr. 6 mo.	3 yr. 5 mo.	6 yr.
	9 mo.	1 yr. 6 mo.	3 yr. 6 mo.	7 yr.
	1 yr.	1 yr. 10 mo.	4 yr.	18 yr.
	1 yr.	1 yr. 10 mo.	4 yr.	27 yr.
	1 yr.	2 yr.	4 yr.	
		3 yr.	5 yr.	
		3 yr.		
		3 yr.		
		3 yr.		
Total	**5**	**9**	**6**	**4**

Finally, I should note the limitations of my sampling procedure. In snowball sampling, researchers rely on an interconnected network of people or organizations. I relied on snowball sampling - - a non-probability procedure - - mainly for practical reasons. At the beginning of the project, I contacted some of my friends who might know eligible participants. Each referred one participant, and then one of the three fathers referred two other interviewees. After five interviews, this avenue for recruitment was exhausted and I thus decided to contact the Principal of a Japanese Language School, as one of the participants had suggested to me. Most of Japanese children who stay in the

United States for their fathers' business go to a Japanese Language School. They learn Japanese language skill and school subjects so that they can keep pace with the students in Japan. When I talked to the Principal about my project, he agreed to help me to locate other possible participants. He put flyers written in Japanese announcing the project in front of the main entrance of the school, and provided class rooms where I could conduct the interviews. With the Principal's assistance, I was able to increase my sample to 24. (Appendix A-1 includes the Japanese version of the flier; A-2 is the translated version.)

There were no foreseeable physical discomforts or risks associated with the fathers' participation in this research, although three fathers seemed to be uncomfortable about specifying their income range on the questionnaire. In those cases, I suggested skipping the question. None of my participants refused to answer my interview questions. (For more detailed contents of Informed Consent Form, see Appendix B.)

Questionnaire

Before starting an interview, I gave a questionnaire to each participant in order to collect basic information. The questions were designed to ask about variables that might be important in data analysis. For example, the first question was, "How many years have you been in the U.S.?" I wanted to see if there was a relationship between the number of years of living in the United States and changes in identification after moving to the United States. I also asked the fathers' highest educational attainments and income ranges to estimate their social class. (For the entire questionnaire, see Appendix C.)

Interview Schedule

I divided the interview schedule into three sections. The first section focused on the culture of Japanese and American fathers. The second section examined the conduct of the Japanese fathers (levels of paternal involvement). The third section investigated the identity issues of the Japanese fathers. A pilot interview, conducted on December 19, 2004, helped to refine the interview schedule. A general breakdown of the sections and their aims is provided below. (The complete interview schedule is reproduced in Appendix D.)

Culture of Japanese and American Fathers

General Question: What kinds of expectations or shared symbols of American and Japanese fathers do the Japanese fathers in the United States recognize?

Aim 1: To examine the meanings (roles) of American fathers and Japanese fathers.

Aim 2: To examine to what extent their identities as fathers are based on the recognized expectations of Japanese and American fathers.

Conduct of the Japanese Fathers (Level of Paternal Involvement)

General Question: How do the self-identification and shared symbols of the father in both Japan and the United States affect paternal performance?

Aim 1: To examine how the Japanese fathers actually do fathering, as opposed to their identification or shared meanings of fathers.

Aim 2: To expand the conceptualization of paternal involvement in Japanese studies on fathers.

Identity Issues of the Japanese fathers

General Question: How do the Japanese fathers, through social interactions, verify their self-identification and roles of father in the United States?

Aim 1: To examine how expectations in the United States and Japan affect the Japanese fathers' self identification and roles as fathers.

Aim 2: To synthesize the first two questions (culture of Japanese and American fathers and conduct of Japanese fathers), and to focus on the main question of the project: how do Japanese fathers negotiate different cultural expectations of fatherhood?

Ethical Issues

All of the interviews were taped for the purpose of transcribing, and the tapes have been kept in a locked safety box, accessible only to me. I also transcribed all of the interviews. When they signed their informed consent form, I asked the participants to choose their own pseudonyms and pseudonyms were used throughout the interviews.

DATA ANALYSIS

For data analysis, I employed grounded theory methods (GTM) developed by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss in the 1960s. Being initially designed to be pluralistic,

there are multiple ways to interpret GTM. In this study, I mainly relied on the interpretation by LaRossa (2005), in addition to Strauss (1987) and Strauss and Corbin (1998).

LaRossa (2005) divided coding into three phases - - open coding, axial coding, and selective coding-- as Strauss (1987) and Strauss and Corbin (1998) suggested. In the first phase, open coding, I developed *concepts* (a label or name associated with indicators) by coding *indicators* (word, phrase, sentence, or paragraph in the material). For example, I had indicators of "my wife speaks English better than me," "since my wife cannot understand what the school teachers say," "since my child could not understand English in homework," and "my child was not accustomed to American school." From these indicators, I created a concept of "competency of family members." Besides developing concepts, I formulated *variables*. LaRossa (2005) suggested that *variable* be substituted for *category*, which is mentioned in every GTM manual but its definition remains vague. His replacement "makes it clear that a category essentially is intended to capture not only similitude but also dimensionality among a set of concepts" (843). As for examples of variables, I created *whose* competency (father's competency, mother's competency, and child's competency) and *degree* of competency (low to high) within each type. I also developed a concept of "paternal conduct," which varies by *type* (engagement, accessibility, and responsibility) and *level* (low to high).

According to LaRossa (2005), axial coding is about "developing *hypotheses* or *propositions*, which, in scientific parlance, are generally understood to be statements about the relationship between or among variables" (848). I tried to specify the linkages

among the variables by paying attention to process, causes, consequences, contingencies, and contexts. For instance, the degree to which Japanese fathers live in a "bubble" of Japanese culture inversely influences the degree to which they negotiate between the Japanese and American culture of fatherhood. That is, when fathers live in less of a "bubble" of Japanese culture, the degree of their negotiation increases. However, this relationship usually happens only with the contingency of "expectations from close associates." Japanese fathers do not negotiate between the Japanese and American culture of fatherhood without expectations from close associates, including their wives, children and co-workers.

In the final phase, selective coding, I chose a *core variable*, which is "the one variable among all the variables generated during coding that, in addition to other qualities, is theoretically saturated and centrally relevant" (LaRossa 2005: 851). I also used the 11 criteria for choosing a core variable (category) stated by Strauss (1987) and Strauss and Corbin (1998). My core variable is "Living in a bubble of Japanese Culture." This variable is centrally related to all the other categories, and served as the foundation for the "story" in this study. For instance, the degree to which fathers live in a bubble of Japanese culture relates either directly or indirectly to other variables, such as "culture of Japanese fatherhood," "duration of time in the United States," "culture of American fatherhood," and "expectations from close associates." In addition, the core variable "can explain variation" (Strauss and Corbin 1998:147) in that the degree of assimilation to a host country's culture and the degree of maintaining one's own country's culture would predict how much Japanese fathers feel the need to negotiate between Japanese

culture and American culture. Moreover, the core variable has “clear implications for more general theory” (Strauss 1987:36) because, even beyond the study of fatherhood, this variable could explain why and how much people negotiate different cultural expectations.

CHAPTER 3

THE CONDUCT OF FATHERS

PATERNAL CONDUCT IN JAPAN

As most literature has discussed (Vogel 1979; Ishii-Kuntz 1993; Ishii-Kuntz et al. 2004), most of the participants described that because of heavy demands from work, they rarely had enough time with their children in Japan. A father called this situation a "single-mother family" since he spent most of his time outside of the home. The strongest statement is from Kimura:

> Kimura: Because of my hard schedule at work, I hardly spent time with my children in Japan. I sometimes could not see my children at all in a week. I totally left child-related matters to my wife.

This father believed that his most important role was to be a breadwinner so as to provide a high quality education for his children. Another father offered a similar story.

> Sakurai: Without doubt, my wife had much more time with the children. I left home in the early morning when my children were still sleep and came back home past midnight when they were already sleeping. So, it was hard to have time with my children.
>
> Interviewer: Did you feel any conflicts between work and family time?
>
> Sakurai: No, not at all. Japanese fathers have a strong sense that they work so hard for their families. We know family is the most important but when you are asked which you give priority, to either family or work, you have to choose work. Otherwise, you cannot earn for your family. Based on this assumption, there is much socializing with your co-workers and bosses after work until past midnight. You have to choose socializing with work-related people over family in order to make better relationships at the office.
>
> Interviewer: Now you have much more time with your children in the United States. What do you feel now about most of Japanese fathers' commitment to work and a little time with their families?

Sakurai: It cannot be helped. You may be able to change…you may have more time with your family in Japan, but if you do that, you would lose your position at the office, and would become the target person who gets fired when a company reconstructs.

Sakurai demonstrated that Japanese fathers sacrificed their time with family to earn for their family, and they thought that it could not be helped as long as you wanted to financially support your family. Another father showed that Japanese fathers' conduct was sanctioned by their families or society.

Interviewer: Did your wife ask you to spend more time with the children instead of work when you spent most of time at the office?

Kuroda: No, my wife never said that to me. In Japan, fathers have to have a life like that. It is not an option. So, she did not feel any complain about that. I think she understood that.

Kuroda described how people around him accepted the situation, or, at least, he "interpreted" that people accepted the situation. Because his wife never complained about his allocation of time to work and family, he also thought that he did not need to question it. The meanings that fathers and other family members assign to the activities associated with fatherhood are important to examine, because these meanings can have profound consequences for fathers' levels of participation (Palkovitz 1997).

Some fathers offered accounts for their little attention to family in Japan. They validated their conduct by saying that their families were doing well.

Takada: Now I put 50 percent of emphasis on work and 50 percent on family here [in the United States].

Interviewer: How about in Japan?

Takada: In Japan, I put 90 percent of emphasis on work and 10 percent on family. It was hard to have a sense of being a father.

Interviewer: Why different?

Takada: It cannot be helped. I do not take it negatively, because even when fathers pay attention to their family only 10 percent, most of Japanese families are doing well. Wives and children are very good without fathers at home.

Takada gave credit to fathers' lack of attention by stating Japanese families were doing well without fathers. As can be seen in Kuroda and Takada's statements, Japanese fathers' allocation of time to work and family was sanctioned, to some extent, or at least fathers interpreted their conduct as being sanctioned by family and society. Another father made this much clearer in his statement.

Yoshida: Japanese fathers cannot or do not involve their children much. If you actively engage in your children or family in Japan, it is strange, I mean, they are just not like that.

Yoshida considered fathers actively engaged with children unusual in Japan, and it was typical when they were not. This is the message that he received from society or people around him, and that he internalized in order to validate his paternal performances.

PATERNAL CONDUCT IN THE UNITED STATES

When they come to the United States, Japanese fathers are confronted with new situations. Family members usually come to need their father's help in unaccustomed environments. Competency of family members negatively affects paternal engagement, accessibility, and responsibility. By "Competency" I mean abilities, such as language skill and adaptability to a new environment, which are needed to live in the United States. When, for example, the wife's competency is low, paternal engagement is high. As her competency increases, paternal engagement decreases.

> Fujiwara: In the first one and half years since I have been here [the United States], I helped my child to do homework because my wife is not good at English. So, my child waited for me to come back home every night and did homework together. But after one and half years, my child does not need my help any longer. He knows English better than me now.

Especially in the first few years, wives and children are usually not familiar with English or the customs of American culture, and rely on the father's help. The following two statements show how men's attendance at school events resulted from family need rather than a willingness of a father to be involved.

> Takada: When I first came here [the United States], because my wife could not speak English at all, I went to every school event with my wife. Now she is getting used to speaking English and she is trying to go by herself. So, I do not need to go everywhere to support her, although I still go to conferences with school teachers.

When his wife needed his support, the father went to school events even during work hours. However, as his wife got used to English and the customs in the United States, the husband stepped back from his wife or children. In another family, where a wife spoke English better than a husband, the father usually left child-matters to his wife from the beginning, as he had done in Japan.

> Kimura: I totally left child-related matters to my wife in Japan. It is the same situation in the United States. My wife is good at English because she experienced home stay when she was a college student and kept learning English by talking with Americans in Japan. I have never helped my child do homework nor gone to the conference with school teacher, which is good to me, because I have heard that other Japanese fathers here must do homework together and go to every single school event. So, instead, I can concentrate on my work or spare my time to play with my child.

Interestingly, Kimura revealed that he considered playing with his child to be his role but knowing how his child was doing at school by talking with the teacher was not his role.

In fact, most fathers expressed unwillingness to perform responsibility-work for their children, although all of the fathers felt positively about increased engagement time with their children.

Hashimoto:	I go to the conferences with school teachers because my wife is not good at speaking English.
Interviewer:	How did you feel about attending the conferences?
Hashimoto:	I felt a little bit reluctant to do it …(laugh), but I think that it cannot be helped, because I have brought my family due to my job. I sometimes think that my wife better study English, but it cannot be helped.

Hashimoto expressed his hesitance to do responsibility-work such as talking about his child with school teachers to know how he is doing at school. This is because he considered it his wife's job.

PATERNAL COMPONENTS: ENGAGEMENT, ACCESSIBILITY, AND RESPONSIBILITY

When examining paternal conduct, I employed Lamb et al.'s (1985) three components of paternal involvement: engagement, accessibility, and responsibility. Those conceptual tools led to several interesting interpretations. Although about one third of the participants (seven fathers) felt that their paternal performances did not change, in fact, their accessibility and responsibility were usually higher than when they had been in Japan. Aoyama said that there was no change, in either Japan or the United States, in terms of paternal performance, especially the amount of time he could spend with his child. However, his responsibility was much higher than when he had been in Japan, although he himself did not recognize it.

Interviewer: Do you usually ask your wife or child about their days?

Aoyama: Yes, before I leave my office, I make a call to my wife and ask how was my child at kindergarten or something like that.

Interviewer: Did you do the same thing in Japan?

Aoyama: Well, in Japan, I just rang three times and hung up the phone. That's the signal that I was coming to home. I did not talk to my wife directly on the phone in Japan.

Interviewer: Why do you talk to your wife on the phone in the United States and did not in Japan?

Aoyama: Well, maybe… I am concerned about my family.

As Aoyama showed, only when fathers had more time to be "directly" involved with their children, did they feel their paternal conduct changed, although, in fact, their accessibility and responsibility usually increased in the United States. The men's definition of "participating in childcare" or being a "good father" referred to having time to interact with their children "directly" such as playing sports or having dinner together. Thus, their accessibility or responsibility was invisible to them. That is, even when fathers did exhibit responsibility for their children, they did not recognize it, because they did not categorize it as their paternal role.

In this study, I added Palkovitz's (1997) perspective to Lamb et al.'s (1985) notion of responsibility in order to try to expand the definition of paternal involvement among Japanese fathers. Palkovitz (1997) stated that conceptualization of paternal involvement needs to be more inclusive of thought processes, such as worrying, hoping, and planning. Japanese scholars tend to examine only "direct" engagement to evaluate paternal conduct. This definition of paternal involvement is very narrow and, as a result,

there is a possibility that we ignore some paternal aspects. In fact, by using the combination of Lamb et al.'s (1985) and Palkovitz's (1997) notion of responsibility, I found that Japanese fathers in the United States not only were engaged directly with their children, but also devoted attention to their children by worrying, hoping, or planning about them.

BOUNDARY BETWEEN HOME AND WORK REALMS

Nippert-Eng (1996) discussed the cognitive boundary between home and work. She stated that "'home' and 'work' are conceptual categories, differently imposed by mentally and physically drawing boundaries around activities, self, people, and things" (p. 28). The possible logical conceptualization ranges from "integration" to "segmentation" between home and work realms. Nippert-Eng considered an individual's conceptualization as a continuum over the life course. For the fathers who perceived that they had more time to interact with children in the United States, their cognitive boundary between home and work had changed in some respects. In Japan, the home-work boundary was less permeable from the home side, but more permeable from the work realm. At the workplace, Japanese fathers did not think of their families much in order to concentrate on their work, although they mentally brought work to the home realm.

Hosokawa: When I was in Japan, I couldn't help my children to do homework even though my wife asked to, because, first of all, I was not at home enough time to do that, and even when I was at home, I was always thinking about work.

Interviewer: How about now?

Hosokawa: I am not thinking about my work at home at all. I am just relaxed when I am at home, although I work a little by checking e-mail from Japan because of the time difference between here and Japan. When it is night here it is work hour in Japan, so you better check e-mail whether co-workers in Japan need your help. But still that is much less work duty compared to when I was in Japan. But, you know, American people turn off cell phones and never check e-mail at home, so I can reach them only when they are at office.

For Hosokawa, the boundary was less permeable from the work side to home, and thus his cognitive boundary became more segmented. From his viewpoint, the work realm was never permeable to the home realm for Americans.

On the other hand, in the United States, the home realm seemed to be more permeable to the workplace. In general, "the more people integrate, … the more likely it is that [family] representations will be appear in workplace or home spaces" (Nippert-Eng 1996: 70). Thus, it is noteworthy that most fathers mentioned that Americans usually display family photos on their work desk.

Noguchi: In my image of American fathers, they are so family-oriented, not work-oriented. They always think about their families first.

Interviewer: Where did you get that image?

Noguchi: Well, my American co-workers display their family photos on their desks…

Interviewer: Have you seen that fathers do so in Japan?

Noguchi: No, never. If I do that in Japan, I am embarrassed. But, here, you are asked why you do not display your family photos.

Interviewer: Do you display now?

Noguchi: No, I cannot. But I put my child's picture in the drawer of the desk, so that I can see it anytime at the office.

Interviewer: Why do you do that?

Noguchi: Well, I am not sure….but displaying family photo could be good thing in my mind…maybe.

This father's story about photos suggested that the family realm became more permeable to the workplace when he was in the United States influenced by American co-workers. Noguchi's statement revealed the difference between Japan and the United States in the degree of permeability of family to workplace.

Another father raised the cognitive boundary issue by presenting his explanation for why he chose not to display his family photo.

Miyao: As seen in the American movies, American fathers display their family photos on the desk. They usually display not only one photo but a bunch of them.

Interviewer: How about you?

Miyao : No, I do not display my family photo on the desk.

Interviewer: Why?

Miyao: Well, I think I do not need to display at the office. I mean, when I go to the office, I want to concentrate on my work. If there is a family photo there …well, it's okay to be there, but…so, for Americans, they have a strong sense that they are a part of the family, I guess.

Miyao did boundary work by deciding not to display his family picture at his office, and as a result, he drew a cognitive line in his mind when he was there. According to Nippert-Eng (1996), "We create a more or less continuous sense of who we are in each realm" (p. 34). In the case of Miyao, he had a stronger sense of "worker" when he was at the office. Indeed, some fathers, who perceived no changes about their paternal

performances between Japan and the United States, stated that they did not have a sense of being fathers "at all" when they were at the office.

According to Nippert-Eng (1996), "bridges" are defined as "objects and activities that facilitate, even encourage, mental transitions between home and work" (p. 117). Bridging items [activities] include among other things, commuting or cross-realm phone calls. Nippert-Eng (1996) stated, "as we segment more, transitions generally become more difficult…we will try to limit the number of cross-realm phone calls we make or receive" (p. 142). Most of the participants mentioned that their families usually did not make phone calls to them except in emergency situations. However, several fathers expressed more comfort with cross-realm phone calls in the United States.

> Yoshida: In Japan, it was unacceptable to make or receive phone calls for private matters, but, here, I feel more comfortable to make or receive phone calls to my family. Also, I try to take care of my family even when I am not be at home because my wife is not good at English and grandparents are not here who helped my wife in Japan. So, I try to be available as much as I can. So my wife often calls me to ask me about, for example, English in the children's homework, and my children call me and ask me to buy water when I come back home.

In Yoshida's case, the boundary became more integrated in the United States. That is, the home realm was more permeable to the workplace through the cross-phone calls. In addition, by being so, it is clear that his accessibility and responsibility increased. As previously mentioned, paternal engagement, accessibility, or responsibility increased when it was needed, and it affected the men's cognitive boundary between home and work realms.

FATHERS' ACCOUNTS FOR THE DIFFERENCES

About one third of the participants (seven fathers) perceived that there was no change in their paternal conduct between what they did in Japan and what they were now doing in the United States. About two thirds of the participants (17 fathers) said that they had more time to spend with their children since they had moved to the United States. I asked them the reasons for the differences in order to examine how fathers themselves account for their different conduct. The fathers presented three major accounts centering on the: social system, father's availability, and children's age.

The first account was that the different social systems in Japan and the United States affected paternal conduct. "Social system" refers to the macro-level environment, including the infrastructure and school system. As for infrastructure, there are two factors to consider. First, commuting time is much shorter in the United States. In Japan, fathers usually commute by train, especially if they live in metro cities like Tokyo, and their commute time can easily exceed two hours to and from work. In the United States, fathers often commute by car, and their commute time tends to be shorter. Several fathers pointed out that this difference allowed more time for their children. Second, in the United States, parents often have to transport their children to and from school and other activities. Most of the participants believed this situation allowed more time with their children.

> Ono: In Japan, children can go anywhere, to some extent, by foot or bicycle. But here, they cannot go anywhere without parents, and we necessarily go everywhere together. In Japan, if teenagers go out with their parents, it is not cool. So, the distance between children and fathers usually become less and less. On the other hand, I feel that family's tie become much stronger here.

The fathers felt that America's car-society contributed to the differences in paternal conduct and the relationship with their children. Ono even felt that his tie with his children became stronger, thanks to the fact that he needed to routinely transport his children.

According to some fathers, the school system in the United States also made them more involved with their children.

> Kuroda: When school teachers needed to talk about my son, they asked "parents" to come to school. In Japan, only wives go in that situation.
>
> Interviewer: So, did you got to school with your wife to talk with a school teacher?
>
> Kuroda: Yes, it seems usual for fathers to go together here. Invitations to some school events come for "parents," not only for "mother," so I try to go. I think the school system is very good at making fathers be involved with children here. The Japanese school system is not like that.

American schools create opportunities for fathers to participate in school events, for instance, by sending invitations to "parents" as opposed to "mothers," which would be the case in Japan. Thus, besides the need to support their wives as translators, the educational system encourages the fathers to be more involved in school events.

The second father's account brought up the father's availability, which was influenced by the micro-level environment, including ambivalence at the office.

> Sakai: I can go back home much earlier here because everyone goes home earlier. In Japan, everyone stays in the office until very late, and I cannot leave alone.

Sakai stated that the micro-level environment allowed him to go home earlier. As a result,

he felt more available to children. Thus, the fathers said that if the environment allowed them more free time, they would be able to have more time with their children, even in Japan. Another father talked about how his co-workers had influenced his paternal conduct.

> Kuroda: In the United States, all of the fathers at my office usually go to children's school events, and they sometimes come to the office late, I mean after attending some school events. If they take a day off for children's school event, that's the right of fathers, and so I do, too. But in Japan, the ambiance at the office does not allow for fathers to behave like here.

Kuroda pointed out that his co-workers' attitudes toward their children's school events and work could affect his own conduct. When his co-workers went to their children's school events during the office hours, Kuroda felt comfortable to participate in his child's school events. On the other hand, in Japan, because co-workers did not go to their children's school during office hours, Kuroda was not able to attend his child's school events.

The third father's account focused on the children's age, with the participants often using their children's age to make sense of their paternal conduct.

> Interviewer: Now you have much time with your children, why did you have so little in Japan?
>
> Watanabe: Because when I was in Japan my child was a baby, there was little that fathers can do. But now, my child gets older and can speak, so I feel the need to be involved more.

Watanabe used his children's age to justify his little time with his children when he was in Japan. He thought that taking care of an infant, such as feeding and changing diapers, was his wife's work, and he had little to do with his child. Another father said that by the

time he would move back Japan, his child would be old enough to need less time with his father.

Interviewer:	Now you have much time with your children, do you think you can keep that when you move back to Japan?
Kuroki:	No, I don't think so. I will be busy with work and I definitely won't have much time for my child. But, I think it's okay, because when I move back to Japan, maybe after couple of years, my child will be older and have some independence. So, he will not need much time with me.

Both fathers used their children's age -- infant for one father, older age for the other father -- to make sense of their less time with their children. Overall, the three accounts for the different paternal conducts were related to the fathers' changing environments. In fact, when I asked them about their differences, most of the participants emphasized that as a result of the changing environment, "not as a result of my intention," they could perform differently as a father. As Nakamura stated "In the United States, I can spend much more time with my children 'because' I can come back home much earlier."

CHAPTER 4

THE CULTURE OF FATHERS

CULTURAL EXPECTATIONS OF JAPANESE FATHERHOOD

As previously mentioned, acknowledging the meanings the participants attached to fatherhood is significant to understand their paternal conduct. Most of the participants offered similar images of Japanese fathers as "company men," "being work-oriented," "being busy with work," "being indifferent about family matters," "just earning for their family," "prioritizing work over family," "having little time with their children," and "the relationship with children is shallow." All of the images are related to an image of a "fatherless family" which is often described in the literature on Japanese fathers (Doi 1973; Ishii-Kuntz 1992). The participants usually defined a "Japanese father" as a person who works hard and because of that, does not have time to spend with his family. This image roughly corresponds to their own stories that the participants told during the interviews.

However, some fathers, especially younger fathers (those in their 30s), described fatherhood differently. For example, a 36 year-old father stated:

Kuroki: Japanese fathers are usually work-oriented. But, among relatively young fathers, they have come to care more about their families.

Interviewer: Why do you think so?

Kuroki: Well, I feel that the ideal image of a father, "a family-oriented father," is created in magazines and TV shows. So, those kinds of images make fathers to do so now. Actually, my co-workers were relatively active in childcare like me, although most of the Japanese fathers are still work-oriented.

Kuroki appears to be discussing the so-called “New Fathers” who actively engage their children and who were described for the first time in Ishii-Kuntz’s research (2003). The Japanese government is appealing for greater paternal involvement due to the concern for the sharp decline in the birth rate. Given the intention of the government, paternal involvement has begun to draw attention in Japanese society. For example, the Japanese TV show, “At Home Dad,” aired in 2004 and depicted two stay-at-home fathers whose wives worked outside. In fact, Kuroki addressed this TV show during the interview, saying, “I did not watch that TV show, but I knew that there was a TV show that depicted a father who, instead of the mother, took care of his child.” Thus, Japanese fathers get an image of “ideal fatherhood” from the media, much the same as American fathers do.

Despite the fact that only a few Japanese fathers were actively engaged with their children (Ishii-Kuntz 2003), the image of the “work-oriented” father was still prevalent. Examining through what social interaction they had learned the paternal images is important to understand the connections between “interactions and roles” (LaRossa and Reitzes 1993). I asked the participants where they got this image of Japanese fathers. The most frequent answer was from “co-workers.” They usually said that because co-workers stayed in the office very late, most did not have time with their family. As mentioned before, the home realm was not permeable to the workplace for Japanese fathers, and thus they seldom talked about their families at the office. This meant, too, that they did not actually know the co-workers’ paternal aspects but guessed from the behaviors that they saw.

In order to examine what kinds of Japanese fathers they mentioned, I asked the men, "Are there any groups that do not include your image?" Although they usually answered, "No, it is in general," several fathers said that generation affects fatherhood. Several fathers mentioned their own fathers when they talked about the images of Japanese fathers.

> Mori: In my fathers' generation, they are so-called traditional fathers, who keep a distance from their children and don't know anything about their families. In my generation, fathers come to take care of their families along with the women's participation in wage work.

Mori pointed out the gradual changes in fatherhood across generations. He described the traditional image of fathers as authoritative figures, as discussed in most of the literature on the history of Japanese fathers (Shwalb, Imaizumi, and Nakazawa 1987; Ishii-Kuntz 1992:1993; Shwalb et al. 2004). As for his generation, he mentioned the image of more engaged fathers. In addition to generational differences, some participants pointed out the influence of occupation and region on paternal figures. A participant gave examples: "fathers whose jobs are on a normal schedule (day time/ weekday schedule) can spend time with their children more than fathers who work irregular hours (e.g. doctors and restaurant owners)." As for region, "fathers in rural areas can have more time with their children than fathers who live in the metro cities because of the time saved commuting."

CULTURAL EXPECTATIONS OF AMERICAN FATHERHOOD

Most of the participants provided a similar image of American fathers. Contrary to the images of Japanese fathers, American fathers in their images were "family-oriented," "family men," "going back home early," "having dinner with their family,"

"having much time with their children," "taking care of family," "being so kind to their children," "being active in their children's school events." Because they thought of American fathers as the very opposite to Japanese father, they also stated that American fathers were not as committed or as responsible to their work.

> Hayashi: Maybe because I work for the Japanese company, I work until relatively late even in the United States. American workers go back home at five o'clock. So, the Japanese have to deal with some problems and cannot have time for my children. From a father viewpoint, I envy that American fathers have much time with their children after five everyday. At the same time, from a worker viewpoint, I often think "work harder!" (laugh)…..anyway, I envy American fathers' private life.

On one hand, Hayashi was positive about the fact that Americans make more time for their families; on the other hand, he was negative about their work attitude. Other participants also raised the issue of loyalty to a company.

> Iijima: Japanese father's dependence on the company is strong. But, here a company and worker are not dependent on each other. In Japan, there is a basic assumption that you work so hard, and in turn, a company takes care of you and your family financially until you retire. On the contrary, here, "comfort" is the issue, and there is less restraint from a company. Therefore, American fathers can be "family-oriented."

Iijima revealed the relationship between the degree of loyalty to a company and a sense of being a worker and, eventually, a sense of being a father. From his point of view, as loyalty to a company grows stronger, they have less time with their children. In fact, this formula was often mentioned among the participants. Therefore, the participants viewed American fathers, who go back home at five o'clock even when they still have work to do, as irresponsible. Overall, there was a consensus that Japanese fathers prioritize work over family, and American fathers prioritize family over work.

When I asked the participants where they got their images of American fathers, the most frequent answers were from “co-workers” and “media.” Since they spent most of their time at the office, it is reasonable that the participants accessed American culture through American co-workers. In addition, over half of the participants stated that they had gotten images of American fathers, even before coming to the United States, from movies, TV shows, or books.

> Miyao: Before I came here, I had an image of American fathers that they are really family oriented. I think that image came from the American movies or articles in newspapers, and now I think that’s true. They go back home earlier and have much time with their family members.

Due to the globalization of media, the participants had a chance to access the American culture through movies in which the so-called “New fathers” are depicted. Interestingly enough, none of the participants mentioned the differences between American fathers in media and the American fathers whom they actually saw after moving to the United States. A few fathers also answered that they learned their images of American fathers in public, such as restaurants, shopping malls, or parks.

> Kimura: When I go to the parks with my family, I often see that many American fathers, without their wives, are with their children. I think, in Japan, it is rare that only father go to the parks with his children.

Kimura gained the image of American fathers who actively take care of children based on what he saw in a public space. Overall, in the case of Japanese fatherhood, the participants received the images from their own experiences or from intimate persons, such as their own fathers, relatives, or neighbors. On the other hand, the participants

accessed American fatherhood through more distant objects or persons such as media and fathers in public.

In order to examine what kinds of American fathers they mentioned, I asked them, "Are there any groups that do not include your image?" Most of the participants answered, "No, I think it is in general." However, when I asked about American people around them, it was revealed that their co-workers and neighbors were mostly white. Accordingly, for the participants, "Americans" roughly corresponded to "white" (cf. Pyke 2000). As for social class, they mentioned they usually had interactions with middle-class to upper middle-class Americans like them. Although the participants detailed the images of Japanese fathers depending on the generation, education, region, or occupation, they offered relatively simplistic and monolithic images of American fathers. Thus, their sense of American fatherhood was bound by race and class.

SELF-IDENTITY AS A FATHER

After hearing about the men's images of Japanese and American fathers, I was interested in how the participants perceived of themselves, that is, "Japanese fathers in the United States." There appear to be three types of self perception among the participants. The most prevalent type was for the participants to see themselves in between Japanese and American fathers. Since the men perceived American fathers as having a lot of time with their children, when they saw themselves having more time with their children, compared to when they were in Japan, they said they were becoming more like American fathers. However, they never completely identified themselves with

American fathers, because they did not think that they spent as much as time with children as American fathers did. Thus, even though they felt that they were not typical Japanese fathers, they were not American fathers either.

Interviewer: You mean you think that you want to be like American fathers?

Noguchi: Actually, no. I mean, I think that it's not like "I want to be" but it's more like "it might be good" while I am in the United States. When going back to Japan, I will be a Japanese style father. So, I don't evaluate that American fathers are "good," but, as long as I'm staying here, I want to experience the American fathers' life.

Interviewer: Do you feel now that you are "American style father"?

Noguchi: Well, I cannot "completely" be like an American father. I don't think that I could never be…but I guess I can't. It could not be helped. I always tend to be concerned with my job. I work for my family.

The interesting point in Noguchi's statements is that he said, "I don't evaluate that American fathers are 'good'," even though he also suggested that he wanted to experience the American fathers' life while in the United States. Noguchi thought that if he could have time with his children, "it might be good" and if he could not have time with his children because of work, "it could not be helped." From my observation, and contrary to my assumption, I could not find any connotation of "negative" feelings in the phrase, "It could not be helped." They had relatively positive feelings toward American fatherhood, and they tried to be like American fathers to a degree. However, it was not because they wanted to embrace American fatherhood, it was because they could do so while in the United States. This suggests that their paternal conduct was based on their "situational adjustment" to a different environment, not due to changing individual agency.

Second, two of the participants identified themselves with American fathers. These fathers recognized that they had been actively engaged with their children both in Japan and the United States. The men criticized Japanese fatherhood and showed their respect for American fatherhood. For example:

> Suzuki: American fathers' attitudes and the way of thinking about their children are very similar to mine. My American co-workers always try to have time to play with their children, like me.
>
> Interviewer: How do you think of Japanese fathers?
>
> Suzuki: In my image, they always socialize with co-workers or bosses on the way to home and come home very late. Or, they work late and come home late. Japanese fathers are too concerned about their relationships with work-related people, and ignore their children, whom they should think most of. So, I, who is like American fathers, am very strange in Japan, I think.

Suzuki identified himself with American fathers in that he prioritized his children over work and had much time with his children. He expressed his negative feelings about Japanese fathers' attitudes toward their children.

I asked the fathers if they were more comfortable with fathering in the United States, since I had thought that they might feel less stressed because the American people around them or cultural expectations in the United States were closer to their performances. I had assumed that they found comfort in the United States. However, one father stated that he did not feel any difference because his "close" co-workers in the United States were also Japanese who had the same expectations on work and family time as they had in Japan. Another father, Fujiwara, also told me that he did not feel any difference because "nobody complained about what he did in Japan, and nobody says anything about what he does in the United States." Then, he added,

Fujiwara: I know I was doing the right thing, for example, I used all of paid holidays in Japan, while other co-workers did not use any of them. I just thought, why do Japanese fathers care too much about their work and work-related people? And when I saw the American workers, I made sure that I was doing the right thing, because all American workers are similar to me.

Fujiwara said that he did not feel any difference in doing fathering. However, from the above statement, it is clear that he "made sure" that he was doing the right thing by seeing Americans as doing the same thing. Although Fujiwara seemed to identify himself with American fathers, I learned that he also identified himself with Japanese fathers.

Interviewer: You said that you totally agree with American fathers' attitude toward children. Then, your model is an American father rather than a Japanese father?"

Fujiwara: I agree with their attitude, but I think they should be stricter in children's discipline. They always praise their children.

In general, Japanese parents are concerned with children's discipline, and fathers take a part in scolding their children for impolite behaviors. Thus, Fujiwara identified himself with American fathers only in that he had more time with his children than fathers in Japan usually do. Besides that, he still had a sense of being a Japanese father.

Third, some fathers were conscious that they were Japanese style fathers, whether they were in Japan or in the United States. They usually agreed with Japanese fatherhood and disagreed with American fathers' attitudes.

Ono: Before coming to the United States I had a positive image about American fathers. But after living in the United States for several years, I came to see them as losers.

Interviewer: What do you mean by a "loser"?

Ono: In my image, it is the best if fathers are work-oriented and can help their wives or children when they need. But, I think that American fathers take care of their children too much from the morning to night, I mean "always." They are so family-oriented and job is the only tiny part of their days. Maybe I can say that American fathers overprotect their children. American mothers are stricter in discipline, and they reverse their roles. American fathers are too kind. But, I don't know whether it is good or not, because it is a culture of Americans. But, from the Japanese viewpoint, American fathers do too much; I mean they do even very detailed things for their children.

Since Ono evaluated American fathers based on his definition of a "good father" who is work-oriented and also takes care of his family when needed, he had a negative image toward American fathers who prioritize family over work. He also revealed the traditional ideology of gender role in Japan. That is, fathers are strict and take a role to discipline their children, and mothers take care of their children on an everyday basis. Another father offered a similar story to Ono's, and provided more specific reasons why he rejected American fatherhood and adhered to Japanese fatherhood expectations even in the United States.

Matsuda: I don't think that I want to make more time with my family by seeing American fathers. I do not want to emulate American fathers.

Interviewer: Why do you think so? I mean, do you have any reasons for that?

Matsuda: Well, because I want to be successful in my work. If someone in my family has serious problems, such as refusing to going to school or having serious problem in health, I have to pay more attention to my family, but other than that, I leave family matters to my wife, and I want to concentrate on my work. It doesn't matter in Japan or in the United States.

Matsuda also had the image of Americans that prioritize family over work, and he consciously rejected internalizing American fatherhood in order to follow Japanese

fatherhood even in the United Sates. In addition, he also stated that because he worked for a "Japanese company," the basic assumption on work attitude did not change. Thus, he not only intentionally chose not to internalize American expectations, but he also claimed he did not "need" to do so, due to his Japanese cultural environment. In short, he felt he did not have to negotiate with American cultural expectations.

Identities are defined as self-images in a role and are hierarchically organized by salience. In general, the more salient the role, the more frequently it will be invoked (LaRossa and Reitzes 1993). I asked the participants, "How important is it to you that you are a father?," to investigate how significant fatherhood was to them. They usually divided their identities into three roles (fathers, workers, and individuals) or two roles (fathers and workers). For the fathers who felt that they did not change in their paternal conduct, the proportion of their identities as fathers, workers, or individuals had not changed.

However, for the fathers who recognized increased engagement time with their children, the proportion of identification as fathers among several roles had increased compared to when they were in Japan.

> Ono: When I was in Japan, I put 95 percent of my emphasis on my work, and 5 percent on my family. But, in the United States, I can divide it to 50 percent for each. I can spend much more time with my children here.

Ono addressed that it was hard to have a sense of being of father in Japan because he could not spend time with his children. But as his time to spend with his children had increased in the United States, his identification as a father also went up.

PATERNAL ROLES

Although some fathers explained that working was a part of the overall set of paternal roles, most of the participants did not mention economic provider as their most important paternal role. In a survey of 1,160 Japanese fathers (Shwalb, Kawai, Shoji, and Tsunetsugu 1997), 74 percent said that breadwinner was their role in their family. The following were the percentages of men who described various duties: support for child to go out into society (71 percent), emotional support to my wife (68 percent), protect the family (53 percent), family leader and decision maker (35 percent), support wife's child rearing and housekeeping (34 percent), supportive of mother-child relations (33 percent), and participate in housekeeping (30 percent).

When I asked the participants, "What are the important things that fathers do for children or families?," the most frequent answer was to support the child to go out into society, which was ranked second in Shwalb et. al's survey (1997). However, none of the participants mentioned the role of breadwinner, which was ranked first in the survey, although one father did state, "The most important thing I can do is to give my children high quality education. So, I have to earn more." A possible reason for the different results between Shwalb et. al's survey (1997) and this study is related to the participants' socioeconomic status. Some of the men I interviewed seemed to consider being an economic provider as one of the paternal roles; however, they thought that being a breadwinner was not enough to be a "good father." This might be because the men were middle or upper- middle class and did not need to care about basic necessities but could

focus their attention on high quality education in order to support their children's future independence.

The other participants seemed to think of being a worker and being a father separately, by saying that they would work as hard as they were doing now, even if they were not fathers. In fact, some fathers mentioned that the "job" was their purpose for living. White (1988) discussed the meaning of work to Japanese fathers.

> Work, in Japan as elsewhere, is both an economic necessity and a source of personal identity. However, the function of work to give life meaning, what is called *ikigai*, or, a reason for living, is particularly strong in Japan. Japanese employees identify more strongly with their workplaces than do their counterparts in any other industrialized country. (P. 81)

As White theorized, the significance of work to the participants seemed to be very strong. More research is needed on the meaning of work to Japanese fathers. This would give us more insight into the relationship between men's identification as workers and fathers.

Although the majority of the fathers suggested that the important paternal roles did not change after coming to the United States, some of the participants (two fathers) stated that the most important role was "to keep the amount of time to spend with my children while I am in the United States." Since the participants' image of American fathers was to have much time to spend with their children, these two fathers appear to have been influenced by American fatherhood. When I asked the participants, "Is there anything to be added to your paternal roles after moving to the United States?," some fathers told me that, because they lived in an unaccustomed environment, their desire to

protect their family became stronger, which was ranked fourth in Shwalb et. al's survey (1997). Similarly, some fathers mentioned that "because my wife cannot have support from her parents as she could in Japan, it is important for me to support her childrearing," which was ranked third in Shwalb et. al's survey (1997). Thus, the intensity of some fathers' roles became stronger, according to their situations.

Overall, there are two major interesting points regarding paternal roles. First, although the majority of the participants did not change their definitions of paternal roles after coming to the United States, the priority among several paternal roles was defined by their situations, thus reflecting, situational adjustment. Second, the most shared paternal role among the Japanese fathers, "economic provider," was not mentioned among the participants in this study. As previously noted, there are several possible explanations for this difference, and this would leave questions to be explored in future research.

WHEN AND WHY DO JAPANESE FATHERS NEGOTIATE?

In this section, I will detail when and why Japanese fathers in the United States actually negotiate between different cultural expectations. There appear to be two situations when the participants incorporated American's cultural expectations. First, some men wanted to "experience" parts of American life, while they were in the United States, so they tended to incorporate the way of American fathers.

> Kimura: When I first came here, everybody except some Japanese went back home at five o'clock. There are two types of life I can choose: "American" life and "Japanese" life. Some Japanese co-workers stay in the office until eleven and come to the office at

> seven in the morning. On the other hand, non-Japanese co-workers go back home at five and have plenty of time with their children. I thought a lot about my life in the United States, and decided that I would go back home at six or seven, because when I move back to Japan two years later, my life will be a totally "Japanese" one. So, I think that it may be good to have time with my children while I am in the United States, as Americans.

Kimura had decided to have more time with his children as "American fathers" did, because he knew that he would go back to Japan in several years where he would have to prioritize his work over children, and he thought he could prioritize his children over work just for several years.

Second, the participants incorporated American's cultural expectations when they felt that doing so would enhance their reputations regarding their work.

> Miyao: I don't display my family photo on the desk. But I have my child's photo in my notebook, because I can show it to my clients when I go to business trips.
>
> Interviewer: Do you show it to them?
>
> Miyao: My clients often ask me "How's your child?" and they want to hear about my child. So, I feel the need to have my child's photo when I go to business trips.

As previously mentioned, displaying a family photo on the office desk is not a part of Japanese culture. Accordingly, Miyao did not display it on his desk. However, he brought his children's photo in his notebook to business trips because he felt that it was "needed." In order to keep better relationships with his clients, he thought that he should have the photo available. Other fathers also said that they incorporated American expectations when it was needed to perform well at the office.

> Ono: When I first came here, because I was so busy with my work, I asked my co-worker, who had time available at that time, to take

my child to the hospital. Then, my American co-workers complained about me, and said "why you didn't go? If you don't take care of your family because of work, nobody trusts you here." So, now I try to take care of my family. Otherwise, I will lose my trust from the co-workers.

Interviewer: When you move back to Japan several years later, will you keep doing the same thing?

Ono: No. If I go to take care of my family during work hours except in the emergency, then, Japanese co-workers consider me as an irresponsible person.

When Ono first came to the United States, he did the "right" thing according to Japanese culture. However, American co-workers criticized what he did, and he learned that, in the United States, he had to prioritize his family over work; otherwise he would lose his trust from his American co-workers. He also said that he would re-adopt Japanese ways when he moved back to Japan. Therefore, it is clear that he negotiated cultural expectations according to people's expectations to perform well at the office. As the two fathers' stories revealed, only when they felt that it benefited them to incorporate American's culture of fatherhood did they perform in an American way.

LIVING IN A "BUBBLE" OF JAPANESE CULTURE

Japanese fathers I interviewed basically lived up to Japanese cultural expectations. Only when they needed to adopt American culture, did they adjust their performances according to what people expected in American society. In short, they usually lived in a "bubble" of Japanese culture. The question then is why? Why did they not need to incorporate much American culture in their fathering? Why and how did they live in the Japanese culture? Although the participants were not immigrants, some of the

perspectives from studies of immigrants may be useful to answer these questions. The relationship between the degree of assimilation to American culture and some elements of their circumstances may explain why they live in a bubble of Japanese culture in the United States.

According to Hosler (1998), "For immigrants, assimilation is an adaptation process to a new set of values, behavioral patterns, and social institutions in the host society" (p. 164). Gordon (1964) stated that there are three levels of the assimilation process: cultural, structural, and marital assimilation. Cultural assimilation refers to the acquisition of the host society's language and behavior patterns such as manner and patterns of emotional expression. Structural assimilation is an advanced stage of assimilation which involves primary-group contacts with members of the host society. Marital assimilation is the final stage represented by intermarriage with members of the dominant group.

Since all of the participants were married to Japanese women, they could not reach the final stage of assimilation. As for the second stage, they showed weak levels of structural assimilation because they usually did not belong to non-Japanese organizations. Regarding the first stage of assimilation, I will discuss to what extent the participants were exposed to America's and their own country's cultural expectations, objects, or people. This discussion will also reveal why they incorporated so little of American culture in their conduct.

In general, people who are structurally assimilated are more likely to incorporate American culture in their lives (Hosler 1998). For the participants, the only structural

contact with American people or institutions was through their work. Although there were American co-workers at the office, they worked for "Japanese" companies that still maintained, to some extent, Japanese culture (e.g., work ethic). Thus, they basically did not belong to any non-Japanese organizations. On the other hand, they belonged to several Japanese organizations, such as "The Japanese Chamber of Commerce," which is a non-profit organization for Japanese and American individuals or for companies that are interested in the Japanese business. In addition, several fathers belonged to the group of sport activities through their children. The majority of their children went to a Japanese Language School every Saturday. After the classes, the fathers taught their children sports, such as baseball, football, or tennis. In fact, more than half of the participants participated in these group activities. The participants' structural assimilation was very low, and they maintained more Japanese organizational activities. Ultimately, they had little chance to be structurally assimilated.

Assimilation is closely tied to social status or socioeconomic mobility for immigrants. The mastery of language is probably the most important element (Hosler 1998). For the participants who had been sent to the United States for several years, language was not a serious issue. Of course, several fathers mentioned their struggles with their language skills. Still, they did not have to think about their language skills as much as the immigrants had to, because they were supposed to stay in the United States for just several years. The participants considered themselves "sojourners" and they indeed often used the phrase, "because I return to Japan after several years…." In addition, they already had certain positions in their companies, and high socioeconomic

status either in the United States or Japan. For this reason, they did not "need" to incorporate much American culture.

Regarding the language usage, Hosler (1998) also examined the immigrants' exposure to their own country's cultural objects in order to investigate the relationship between the frequencies of attachment to their own cultural objects and the degree of the language assimilation. Most of the fathers mentioned that they often went to the Japanese grocery store at least every other week and that they borrowed the taped Japanese TV shows. They also got free newspapers in Japanese at the grocery store. Thus, their exposure to Japanese cultural objects was relatively high. In fact, none of the participants preferred speaking in English during the interviews, and mentioned they also used Japanese at home. Given that the mastery of language is the most important elements for assimilation, as Hosler (1998) suggested, the participants had a very low chance of cultural assimilation.

Many studies of Japanese or other Asian immigrants (Hosler 1998; Ichihashi 1969; Kitano 1976; Montero 1980; Pyke 2000; Spickard 1996) discussed the cultural generation gap. The children of immigrants, the second-generation Japanese Americans, are usually more "Americanized" and face the gap between their parents' cultural expectations and American expectations from the outside world. For instance, Pyke (2000) found that Korean and Vietnamese immigrant children relied on American family ideology to give meaning to their domestic relations. Thus, their parents had sources of American culture among their own family members. In my study, only one father described something similar.

Yamamoto: I try to "praise" my child. He plays baseball and the American coach or the teammates' parents always say "good job!" to their children. Japanese parents usually do not praise their children and rather they tell them what they cannot do and scold if they did. I feel that praising my child is good thing. So, I just try to praise my child when he is playing baseball.

Interviewer: Do you try to praise your child at any other occasion?

Yamamoto: Yes, I think it's better because my son is like an American.

Yamamoto and his family had lived in the United States for seven years and he felt that his son had a sense of being American as a result. Therefore, the father incorporated American fatherhood in his paternal performance. However, for the majority of the men I interviewed, their children were not very assimilated into mainstream American culture, due perhaps to their short stay in the United States. With little expectation from family members, the participants did not "need" to adopt the ways of American fathers.

According to Hosler (1998), "Less assimilated parents tend to feel more compelled to raise their children in their own language and culture so that they have more control over children's behavior and do not feel alienated at home" (p. 171). In fact, some of the fathers addressed this point during the interviews.

Kuroki: I have recently taught my child that he is Japanese. For example, his American friends sit on the table. But this is very rude in Japan even if it is okay for Americans. So, I said to him that he is Japanese, and Japanese people do not sit on the table.

Kuroki demonstrated how the fathers became conscious about being Japanese and tried to teach it to their children. As their children become more Americanized, this tendency may be stronger. The factor of "sojourners" may make the fathers more sensitive to Japanese cultural education for their children. The participants considered that if their

children became too “Americanized,” they could not readjust to Japanese society. Thus, they tended to be more sensitive about their children becoming assimilated to American culture. Kuroki made this very point:

> Kuroki: My son is enjoying American school more than a Japanese Language School. We have to consider how we can keep his Japanese aspects because we are moving back to Japan within some years. Actually, we [Kuroki and his wife] plan to send my son to his grandparents’ home during summer vacation in order to for him experience Japanese school for a couple of weeks.

In general, when the participants first came to the United States, they worried that their children might not adapt to American schools. However, as their children came to be assimilated to American culture, they worried that their children might lose important aspects of Japanese culture.

A longer stay in the United States may make this tendency more obvious, because the possibility of the children’s assimilation is higher. A father who had lived in the United States for 18 years stated:

> Honda: My sons are more like Americans. So, there have been conflicts between my sons and me. But I am a “Japanese” father and I have taught them “Japanese ways” of manners or behaviors.

Honda was very conscious about being a Japanese father by often using the word “Japanese” during the interview, compared to the other participants. This may be because he had been living in the United States much longer. His children were much more assimilated into American society.

In contrast, another father who had stayed in the United States 27 years stated that he had to give up pushing Japanese ways on his children, because he knew his children had to “survive” in the United States.

Hirai: I, as a parent, want my children to live in Japanese way, but after a certain point, I have to give up thinking that way, because they have to survive here, in the United States.

Interviewer: When was a certain point for you?

Hirai: Well, after high school, when they started to go into the outside world. So, when it comes to marriage, I cannot intrude Japanese ways of thinking on my children.

Hirai's statement suggested that there might be a difference between "sojourners," like the majority of the participants, whose children would surely go back to Japan, and fathers whose children had chosen the United States for their life-time living place. Therefore, the expectations among family members have an influence. From this viewpoint, it is clear that the participants' children were usually not so assimilated to American culture because of short stays, and therefore, the majority of participants could still stick more to Japanese cultural expectations of fatherhood.

As the examinations regarding assimilation show, it is obvious that the participants had little chance to be culturally assimilated, much less to be structurally assimilated. Therefore, the Japanese fathers usually lived in the Japanese cultural environment even in the United States, and they did not need to negotiate "Americans' cultural expectations of fatherhood," without expectations from their close associates.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The thrust of this thesis was to explore how Japanese fathers negotiate between different cultural expectations of fatherhood. The Japanese fathers who temporarily stayed in the United States usually adhered to the Japanese culture, and accordingly, they lived up to Japanese expectations of fatherhood. Only when they found the need to incorporate American fatherhood, did they adjust their conduct to American ways. More specifically, expectations from close associates caused Japanese fathers to adopt the ways of American fathers. Thus, although the participants' paternal engagement, accessibility, and responsibility were usually higher than what they had been in Japan, it was not due to their embracing American fatherhood, but rather to their "situational adjustment." For example, their family members' low competency in English made the degree of their paternal involvement increase.

One of the strengths of this study was that it focused on fathers' subjective realities, by looking at interpretative and symbolic aspects of fatherhood. Since previous research on Japanese fathers is "often an extension of research on children or mothers, and the study of the father is more often the study of father-child relations" (Shwalb, Imaizumi, and Nakazawa 1987: 265), my project contributes to an understanding of how Japanese fathers themselves develop their paternal aspects, and how they interpret their conduct as fathers. The fathers' stories give us a valuable perspective on Japanese fatherhood. Through the men's accounts, we come to see how structural and individual constraints affect their fathering. Researchers need to acknowledge the environments

around fathers and, most importantly, how cultures can make fathers less engaged with their children.

This study suggests the need to explore the meaning of work to Japanese fathers in more detail, since it seems that "work" strongly influences their paternal roles. Japanese fathers tended to have a strong identity as a worker. The identification as a "worker" seemed not to have overlapped much with their identification as a "father." In this project, I found an inverse relationship between the degree of identification as a father and the degree of identification as a worker. That is, when a father had a weaker identity as a worker, he tended to have a stronger identity as a father; when a father had a stronger identify as a worker, he tended to have a weaker identity as a father. Moreover, the degree of identity as a father positively influenced the level of paternal involvement (engagement, accessibility, and responsibility) and the men's cognitive boundary (permeability from home to work). Therefore, it could be hypothesized that Japanese fathers are increasingly likely to identify themselves as a worker and as a father separately, as opposed to what previous literature has suggested that the majority of Japanese fathers considered "work" their most import role as "fathers" (Shwalb, Kawai, Shoji, and Tsunetsugu 1997).

This study also has expanded the conceptualization of paternal involvement among Japanese fathers. It has revealed aspects of Japanese fatherhood that Japanese scholars have largely ignored. The participants not only increased their engagement with their children, but they also increased their paternal responsibility by worrying and planning. Interestingly enough, the fathers themselves did not recognize these

components, preferring to define paternal involvement as “direct” interaction with their children. Nonetheless, the “invisible”/ “indirect” aspects of paternal involvement should be considered when we evaluate the men’s paternal performances, because responsibility is related to paternal engagement and accessibility, and without greater responsibility, the “fatherless problem” in Japan cannot be solved. Scholars usually have calculated only the amount of time that fathers spend with their children, and they use only a few categories to recognize the types of paternal involvement. As Ishii-Kuntz, Makino, Kato, and Tsutiya (2004) stated, diverse dimensions of paternal involvement also need to be examined in future fatherhood studies in Japan. Thus, we need to be more conscious about the conceptualization of paternal involvement in social research.

The Japanese fathers in this project are not representative of all Japanese fathers. All of the participants appeared to be middle-class or higher, and white-collar workers. It would be valuable to include in future research lower- or upper-class fathers in Japan. For instance, it could be hypothesized that for the fathers who have a higher position (or responsibility) in their workplaces (e.g., managers vs. factory workers in the same company), the permeability from home to work would be lower. So also their identities as fathers might be lower, and their paternal involvement might be lower. Since responsibility often corresponds to social status (social class), this hypotheses would connect social class, cognitive boundaries, identification as a father and as a worker, and paternal involvement.

Other factors, such as occupation, region, and children’s age, also would be interesting topics of investigation in future research. In this study, I have found that a

child's age affects fatherhood and fathering. For example, the fathers whose children were infants thought that there was nothing that they could do, and fathers whose children were teenagers considered it natural to keep distance between their children. But, the fathers whose children were somewhere between three and twelve years old thought that they needed to interact more with them. Since discussing the influence of children's age would avert from the objective of this study, I did not bring this perspective into the main discussion. However, this factor would be also very interesting to investigate.

This study also found that the expectations of close associates can cause fathers to incorporate different cultural expectations than their own cultural expectations. This shows that internalizing cultural expectations of fatherhood is influenced by the expectations from others. Thus, wives' and children's perceptions of fatherhood are significant in fatherhood research. As Palkovitz (1997) stated, the meanings that fathers and other family members assign to the activities associated with fatherhood are important to examine, because these meanings can have profound consequences for fathers' levels of participation. When wives and children expect fathers to be more involved and fathers recognize their expectations, their paternal involvement is higher. Also, it could be the case that, even when the culture of fatherhood expects fathers to be more involved, if wives and children do not request a higher level of paternal involvement, fathers might not incorporate "new" cultural expectations of fatherhood and perform according to their wives and children's desires.

As for the implications for future research, the idea of cultural negotiation, which

was a major theme in this study, could be expanded. For example, besides the Japanese fathers who reside in the United States, it would be interesting to study Japanese fathers not in the United States but in other countries (e.g., Japanese fathers in Europe or Asian countries). Also, it would be worthwhile to study not just Japanese fathers but also fathers (and mothers) from other countries who have relocated because of their job. Likewise, it would be valuable to expand the notion of "bubble" which ended up being the core category in this study. The notion of "bubble" refers to the ratio between the degree of maintenance of their own culture and the degree of assimilation to the new culture. That is, how do people deal with the boundaries between their old and new culture. Thus, studying the "bubble" could be about not only people who reside in foreign countries but also about people who, for example, change their colleges, companies, or residences within a country.

All things considered, Japanese fathers and Japanese fatherhood are replete with interesting subjects that appeal to the scholars. This study has revealed that it is worth investigating Japanese men's paternal aspects because they constantly negotiate their multiple roles and expectations from family members or society. Moreover, men's cognitive boundaries between home and work, and how fathers decide to internalize cultural expectations also are worth serious investigation. Finally, comparisons with motherhood would be valuable to explore. Although this study has focused only on the fathers' accounts, a study that included both fathers' and mothers' accounts regarding fatherhood would demonstrate how subjective realities pertaining to fatherhood cannot only vary but also conflict

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Appendix A-1: Fryer (Japanese Version)

インタビューにご協力して頂けませんか？

ジョージア州立大学社会学部、修士・博士課程に在籍している阿部由佳と申します。現在、日本人のお父様方が文化の異なる環境で、どのように子育てに関わっていらっしゃるかを題材に修士論文に取り組んでおり、インタビューにご協力くださる方を探しています。

この研究調査は、プライバシーの保護に十分注意を払って行っていますので、個人のお名前、情報が外部に漏れたりするような、ご迷惑のかかるような事は一切ありません。インタビューの内容は、すべて匿名のデータとして処理させていただき、社会学的研究のために利用させていただきます。

研究内容：
２４人の日本人のお父様方とのインタビューを通して、２つの文化を体験なさっているお父様方がどのように文化の異なる環境で、子育てに関わっていらっしゃるかを題材に研究しています。

対象条件：
１．日本人男性で、現在アメリカにてご家族とご一緒にお住まいの方。
２．１番上のお子様が日本でお生まれになって、こちらにいらっしゃる方。
３．奥様が日本人の方。

インタビュー内容：
日本とアメリカでの子育てのご経験に関して（普段どのようにお子さんと接していらっしゃるかなど）。

日時：土曜日　（4 月から 7 月までを予定しています）
時間：1 時間半ほど
場所：日本語学校

インタビューを受けてくださる方、及び、詳しい内容など何かご必要情報などありましたら、お手数ですが阿部由佳まで下記のいずれかの方法にて、ご連絡をよろしくお願い致します。

阿部由佳
メール：yukapple@comcast.net 又は yukapple77@hotmail.com
電話（家）：（404）841-7953

Appendix A-2: Fryer (English Translated Version)

Would you like to talk about your experiences with fatherhood?

My name is Yuka Abe. I am attending a graduate program in the Sociology department at Georgia State University (GSU). Currently, I am working on my Master Thesis on Japanese fathers who live in the United States.

Through this research study, the records from the interviews will be kept private to the extent permitted by law. Pseudonyms, rather than real names, will be employed during the interview and in the thesis

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Subject
Through in-depth interviews with 24 Japanese fathers in the United States, this research study explores how Japanese fathers experience fathering in a different cultural society, in the United States.

Eligible interviewee
1. Japanese Fathers who currently live in the United States with family.
2. First-born child was born in Japan.
3. Wife is Japanese.

Contents of interview
Fathering experiences both in Japan and the United States (e.g., how do you interact with your children)

When: From April to the middle of July
Time: About an hour and half
Place: Japanese Language School

If you are interested in participating in this research study or have any questions about this study, please feel free to contact me at the following e-mail address or phone number.

Yuka Abe
E-mail:yukapple@comcast.net / yukapple77@hotmail.com
Home Phone#:404-841-7953

Appendix B: Informed Consent Form

Japanese Fathers in the United States: Negotiating Different Cultural Expectations
Yuka Abe
Department of Sociology, Georgia State University

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

You have been invited to participate in a sociological study of Japanese fathers who live in the United States. The study, based on in-depth interviews with between 20 to 25 Japanese fathers, will be conducted by Yuka Abe, a graduate student in the Sociology Department at Georgia State University. Information from the interviews will be used in the completion of her M.A. thesis. The purpose of this study is to investigate how Japanese fathers who live in the United States negotiate different cultural expectations regarding fatherhood. If you choose to participate, you will complete a face-to-face interview regarding your experiences of parenting as a father and your relationships with your wife and children. Answering these questions may take one and half hours to two hours. In addition, if necessary, the interviewer may contact you through telephone or e-mail to follow up the interview. There are a few structured questions; most of the questions, however, are open-ended. The interviews will be conducted at a time that is convenient for you and may take place in your home, your office, or public setting (e.g., coffee shop), depending on your preference.

The interview will be taped and listened to and analyzed later by the interviewer. Also, the tape may be listened to by transcribers. However, whoever listens to the tape for the purpose of transcribing will strictly protect the confidentiality of the interview. In order to ensure that you and the members of your family will not be publicly identified, pseudonyms rather than real names will be employed during the interview and in the thesis and publications stemming from the thesis. Both the tapes of the interviews and administrative files for the project will be under lock and key, and will be destroyed after all analyses have been completed. The records from the study will be kept private to the extent permitted by law.

Participating in the study is voluntary. You have the right to refuse. If you decide to be in this study and change your mind, you have the right to drop out at any time. You may skip questions or discontinue participation at any time. Whatever you decide, you will not lose any benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. There are no foreseeable risks associated with completing the interview, although answering questions about sensitive topics might make you feel a little uncomfortable. However, at any sign of discomfort or distress, you may ask to pause or stop altogether. Participating in this study is not likely to directly benefit you, but the knowledge gained about Japanese fathers will contribute to our understanding of family life.

By completing the interview, you are in no way obligating yourself to provide additional information, or to participate further in the project. If you have questions about the study, you may call Yuka Abe at 404-841-7953, or the faculty advisor, Dr. Ralph LaRossa, Sociology Department, Georgia State University at 404-651-1836. If you have questions or concerns about your rights as a participant in this study, you may contact the Institutional Review Board (IRB)

which oversees the protection of human research participants. You can reach Susan Vogtner in the Office of Research Compliance at 404-651-4350.

You will be given a copy of this consent form to keep. If you are willing to volunteer for this interview, please sign below, using the pseudonym you chose.

_____	_____	_____
Subject	Signature	Date
_____	_____	_____
Interviewer	Signature	Date

Appendix C: Questionnaire

Questionnaire

Pseudonym for yourself Date
Pseudonym for your spouse
Pseudonym for your children
Pseudonym for other household members
Your Age

1. How many years have you been in the U.S.?
2. Age and year when you moved to the U.S.
3. What part of Japan are you from?
4. Did you have any children before moving?
If yes, how old were they when you moved to the U.S.?
5. How many children do you have now?
How old are they now?
6. Are your children joining any educational programs other than school?

7. What is your highest educational attainment?
8. What is your occupation?
9. What is your income?
(1) -$25,000
(2) $25,001-$50,000
(3) $50,001-$75,000
(4) $75,001-$100,000
(5) $100,001-$125,000
(6) $125,001-$150,000
(7) $150,001-
10. Where do you live now? (What part of Georgia?)
11. How often do you go back to Japan?
12. Do you have a plan to move back to Japan?
If yes, about when?

Appendix D -1: Interview Schedule (Japanese Version)

Engagement, accessibility, responsibility (Thought Process)

1. 平日、お子さんと何か一緒にする事はありますか？どの位？休日は？
2. 奥さんは、平日お子さんと一緒にする事がどの位あると思いますか？休日は？
3. 平日に、何時間くらいお子さんにアクセスできる時間が？休日は？（例えば、別の事をしているけれど、近くに居ていつでも話を交わす状況にあるなど）
4. 奥さんは平日にどの位、アクセスできる時間があると思いますか？休日は？
5. お子さんに関して、何か心配事や、考えている事はありますか？どの位の頻度ですか？
6. お子さんの将来について、普段、何か考える事はありますか？（大学など）
7. お仕事中に、お子さんの事を考える事はありますか？何について？どの位の頻度で？
8. お仕事と、子育ての２つの間で葛藤を感じる事はありますか？何故？どの様に？
9. その葛藤の度合い、頻度などはアメリカに来てから、変わりましたか？
10. 奥さんがお子さんについて何か心配している事、気にかかっている事などあると思いますか？
11. その内容について、話し合ったりする機会はありますか？　どの様に、どの位の頻度で？
12. 誰が、お子さんの事に関しての最終的な決断をしていると思いますか？

Culture and Conduct of American and Japanese Fathers

13. 「日本のお父さん」と聞いて思う事について話してください。どんなイメージですか？
14. そのイメージはいつから、どこで得たと思いますか？（映画、本、友達）
15. その日本人の父親は、どんなタイプですか？（人種、社会的地位、地域など）
16. 「アメリカのお父さん」と聞いて思う事について話してください。どんなイメージですか？
17. そのイメージはいつから、どこで得たと思いますか？（映画、本、友達）
18. そのアメリカの父親は、どんなタイプですか？（人種、社会的地位、地域など）
19. 日本とアメリカのお父さんに共通点、又は似ている事があると思いますか？どんな点が、どういう風に？どうして？
20. 日本とアメリカのお父さんに相違点、があると思いますか？あるとしたら、どんな点がどういう風に？どうして？
21. 実際に、自分でどちらのイメージを手本にしていると思いますか？それとも両方のいい所を混ぜていますか？

Identity Issues (Symbolic Interactionism)

22. お子さんや、ご家族に対して、父親として、すべき、又はしてあげたい大切な事はなんですか？
23. その大切な事は、アメリカに来てから変わりましたか？
24. 奥さんが何か父親としてすべき事などやして欲しい事について、あなたはどう感じていますか？
25. その内容は、アメリカに来てから変わったと思いますか？どの様に？
26. 誰かと、父親について何か話す事はありますか？（自分の父親、同僚、友達など）
27. 父親というものに対しての、あなたの考え方、見方に影響を与えた人はいますか？
28. お子さんとの関係が、アメリカに来てから、変わった点、変わらない点は何ですか？
29. お子さんに、もって欲しい、自分の父親としてのイメージはありますか？
30. 日本とアメリカどちらに住んでいる時の方が、自分のイメージに近い父親で居られると思いますか？
31. あなたにとって、父親である事は、どの位重要ですか？

Appendix D-2: Interview Schedule (English Translated Version)

Engagement, Accessibility, and Responsibility (including thought process)

1. What do you usually do with your children? (weekdays /weekends)
2. How do you perceive your wife's interactions with the children? (weekdays / weekends)
3. About how many hours are you accessible to your children? (e.g., doing something separately but being in the same space and having a chance to communicate to each other) (weekdays/ weekends)
4. What do you think about your wife's accessibility to the children? (weekdays / weekends)
5. Do you worry about your children? If yes, what do you worry about? How often do you worry?
6. Do you usually think about your children's future? (e.g., college education)
7. Do you think about your children when you are working? If yes, about what? How often?
8. Do you have any conflicts between your work and childrearing? If yes, how and why?
9. If yes, did the constraints change after moving to the U.S. compared to the constraints in Japan?
10. What do you perceive your wife worrying about when she is thinking about your children?
11. Do you and your wife talk about your worries? If yes, how often and how?
12. Who (you or your wife) do you think is the final decision maker about your children's issues?

Culture of American and Japanese fathers and Conduct of the fathers

13. What are your impressions of "Japanese fathers"?
14. Where do you get your impressions of Japanese fathers?
    (For example, from movies, books, or friends?)
15. What types of Japanese fathers are you thinking about? For example, how about race, class, region, or other variations?
16. What are your impressions of "American Fathers"?
17. Where do you get your impressions of American fathers?
    (For example, from movies, books, or friends?)
18. What types of American fathers are you thinking about? For example, how about race, class, region, or other variations?
19. Do you think there are any similarities between Japanese and American fathers? If so, how and why?
20. Do you think there are any differences between Japanese and American fathers? If so, how and why?
21. In your actions as a father, which image of fathers do you think you are emulating? American fathers? Japanese fathers? Or mixed? How and why?

Identity theory (Symbolic Interactionism)

22. What are the important things that fathers do for children or families?
23. Did the important things that you just mentioned change when you moved from Japan to the U.S.?
24. How do you perceive what your wife believes is important about your fathering?
25. Do you think your wife's idea or expectation about you as a father is different when living in Japan and in the U.S.?
26. Do you talk about your fathering with others? (Friends, Co-workers, your Parents, etc.)
27. Do you think anyone around you has influenced your perception of fathering or fatherhood?
28. Have the relationships between you and your children changed since you moved to the U.S.?
29. Do you have any images of yourself as a father which you want your children have?
30. In which country do you feel can you be a father that is closer to your images of father? Why?
31. How important is it to you that you are a father?