

woman's and man's shadow work

Chapter1 Romantic love and marriage

Itsuko Dohi

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Preface

What I call a "woman's and man's shadow work" is derived from the "shadow work" by Ivan Illich. The Illich's "shadow work" means a labor other than paid labors in modern industrial society, that is, so-called an "unpaid labor". Examples of the shadow work include every-day household chores, commuting not within labor hours, a visit to a medical clinic in order to stay in good health, and useful learning for future career.

In addition to not being paid, the shadow work is thought to be merely a "personal" work that is "arbitrarily" performed by a person or a family. Nevertheless, such a labor is in fact an absolute necessity for doing the socially-acknowledged paid labor. For example, it is a labor of parenting that rears a human who will go out into the world and actively participate in society as a "worker". Also, the act of buying foods with salary, cooking, serving, and eating allows people to diligently work next day. The Illich's "shadow work" is important in casting light on such a shadowed part of the labor.

Taking the essence of the concept of the above Illich's

shadow work, I suggest a framework of the "woman's and man's shadow work". That is, the "women's and men's shadow work" refers to a human relationship or mind as members of an intimate couple, such as wife and husband or lovers, the work being a shadowed part when viewed from society. Such a shadow work tends to be considered as being personal between persons concerned. Actually, however, the shadow work can be a psychological energy that would maintain or sometimes even shake society.

Now, I would like you to keep in mind the following four points. Firstly, here in this document, I will explore research into an area that has been handled in social life as well as the academic field as a "shadowed" part. For example, it is conventionally said that "even dogs do not want to eat" the quarrel of a married couple. In recent years, however, such a quarrel is becoming a matter of concern in a framework of a domestic violence (DV). Secondly, I would like you to be sensitive to a difference between a "personal" work and a "person's" work. Conventionally, in various academic fields, what is compared with society is a "person". However, in a scene of the shadowed life hidden from society, an important thing is that what kind of mind occurs in a human relationship between a "person" and another "person", such as between a wife and a husband and between a man and a woman. Such a human relationship in that scheme is often mentioned as being "personal". However, "person" and "personal" are never the same. Thirdly, a "shadowwork" includes not only a labor (behavior)

but also an intimate human relationship and a mind (mentality) occurring in that relationship, that is, a "couple's mind" in contrast to a "group mind". Fourthly, such a shadow work including the human relationship and mind between intimate man and woman can be considered as having an influence on society. What exists between a man and a woman includes not only a secret love romance. The women's and men's shadow work involves social life.

In the following, I will research into a shadow work between a man and a woman in the course of falling in love, getting married, and then having a married life.

1. Focus Attention to Shadow Work

Difference Between "Person" and "Personal"

In social psychology, one scheme for studying person's behaviors is based on person's attitudes (opinions). In this scheme, it is assumed that if you look into person's attitudes, you can predict actual behaviors of that person. However, the person's behaviors often cannot be predicted only based on the person's attitudes. For example, the person's behaviors may be based on how the person feels the other's opinions or based on how much energy the person has in order to take action.

As for love romance and wife-and-husband relationship, a "person" is asked questions, such as "do you agree with the view of "men at work, women at home?", "do you think premarital sex

is allowable as long as the couple is in love?", and "do you think divorce is unavoidable in some cases or absolutely not acceptable?". From the answers to these questions, the person's behaviors regarding interaction with people of the opposite sex and divorce are predicted. However, the person's behaviors predicted in the above manner are not so reliable. Specifically, for example, even a woman who opposes the view of "men at work, women at home" may think, in her real life, "I will be a house-keeper because my husband is such a hard-worker" or "I have no intention of pursuing a career anymore, so I do not want to let my husband share household chores. In view of person's own circumstances, eventually, it is often the case that only men work and only women do household chores and child-rearing. Love and married life reflects not only "person's" opinions but also depends on opinions formed in a "personal" relationship with the partner, that is, depending on what kind of relationship the person has with the partner and how the partner thinks and reacts. Also, as for person's daily life (behaviors), it seems to be necessary to distinguish opinions as a "person" from personal opinions as a "couple".

Oppose Wife-and-Husband Gender Roles, But This Is Not The Case for Us

Here, are lovers and members of a married couple aware that they behave according to their "personal" opinions? Let's study the case of women. Women often criticize men's opinions and

behaviors of not doing household chores such that "this well depicts a difference between his words and actual intention" or "this clearly depicts that, although men are saying that men and women are equal, their attitudes have never been changed". Do such criticizing women let men share the role of doing household chores based on their opinions as a person? Once going back home, some women agree to or complacent about taking care of their husbands, even though these women opposes, from the bottom of their heart, a society in which wife and husband play their respective gender roles. That is, attitudes taken as a person are different from those taken in a "personal relationship", without her being aware of that. She behaves according to the opinions formed in the personal relationship, not according to the opinions as a person.

Couple-Unit Society

Why do people put importance on the opinions formed in the personal relationship as well as the person's opinions? Because there seems a social mechanism that forces them to do so. The following are two examples.

Firstly, Japan has a system of a "couple-unit society" (Ida, 1995). In Japan, it seems a major premise in society that people live in units of wife and husband. As long as people live in accordance with this premise, they can live a reasonably happy life. Here, one example of a cynical phenomenon in the couple-unit society is as follows. Assume that a married woman applies for

a job as a full-time worker. Here, one feature of the couple-unit society resides in traditional wife-and-husband gender roles (that is, men at work, women at home). Therefore, under the current circumstances, the married woman would be very difficult to become a full-time worker. Also, since employment opportunities are not equal between men and women, as with the workplaces at which the women applied for a job, the husband's workplace is also quite likely to recruit new staff with unequal employment opportunities for men and women. Therefore, if the married woman has no chance to get a job, her husband, on the other hand, is still protected from losing a job. Consequently, although the woman is suffered from recruitment discrimination as a person, she is assured of living a stable social life as long as she accepts the fact of being as a couple. In addition, it is often the case that, even a person who is highly oriented to equal rights for men and women is not aware of enjoying the couple-unit society and merits obtained by being as a couple, such as a feeling of security or stability of life.

Japanese-style Collectivistic Society

Secondly, another example of the social system oriented to a "personal" wife-and-husband relationship is a Japanese-style collectivistic society. If you simply say a "collectivistic society", you may associate it with a society in which a higher priority is given to benefits of a group even at sacrifice of

individuals. However, this is not the case. The word "Japanese-style" means that Japan is a society in which the group is of great value in order to keep benefits of individuals. People get on through the world with "when in a hurry, take a roundabout way". I, the author, think that one reason for the Japanese strong tendency toward the approval of gender roles is that people are living as having a dependence particularly on home by always placing primary importance on a relationship with others around (Dohi, 1997). Wives and husbands living with independent mind although being married may feel themselves as not being not cute and somewhat emotionally distant and, in extreme cases, may feel somewhat guilty.

The Social is Personal

Now, consider a relationship between the shadow work, which reflects a "personal" relationship, and society. Kate Millet takes the slogan "The Personal is Political", claiming that people should be aware that things that seem to be personal are in fact directly influenced by society. However, there must be some influences in a reverse direction. The shadow work, which reflects a personal relationship, is not only influenced by society but also may possibly have an influence on society. For this reason, such an influence can be represented as "The Social is Personal".

The proverb "even dogs do not want to eat the quarrel of a married couple" includes the meaning that things occurring in

a married couple should not be interfered by others and these things are nonsense not related to others, so just go ahead and have a quarrel, you two. Also, affinity (between people of opposite sexes) called in everyday language is one example of expressions representing a personal relationship between the two. Things such as affinity seem to be considered as not being able to be objectively analyzed. Rather, these things are handled as if they were concerns to be left to fortune-tellers. However, from the author's standpoint of focusing attention to shadow work, these things are exactly the ones to which attention should be focused. I feel that accumulation of shadow works performed between wife and husband in everyday life, which are not eaten even by dogs, will become a power for gradually changing the society.

In the descriptions below, I will explore influences on society of shadow works performed by lovers and married couples. Lovers and married couples think that they are experiencing the most "personal" things full of secrets only between the two, but do such shadow works really have a possibility of changing the society?

2. Shadow Work in the Course of Love Romance to Marriage

(As you read until the last sentence, please refer to Figure 1 I'll fax soon.)

Figure 1 : Shadow works in the course of love romance to marriage and their probable influence on society

Date With Lover According To Love Manuals?

According to a study by the author, lovers often behave as a man or a woman according to general love manuals when dating with a partner. Furthermore, the higher the degree of desires of getting married to the partner, the more the man expects a female behavior from her and the woman expects a male behavior from him.

A little apart from the subject to be discussed herein, there may be various reasons why they are dating according to love manuals. For example, if you do not know how to behave or speak with an opposite sex, it will be at least "safe" to refer to things generally expected. Furthermore, as can be imagined from an extreme example of "*enjo kosai*" or "compensated dating", which is a polite word that has become synonymous for teenage prostitution, real and serious love tends to be avoided these days. Therefore, safe dating seems to become more acceptable.

Returning to the subject, the above-described phenomenon of dating according to love manuals can be expressed by using the above-mentioned slogan "The Personal is Political". Individuals behave under the influence of the social tendency of being shy of serious things. As the lovers keep dating according to love manuals, they come to take such manuals for granted as being "relevant". Then, the shadow works performed by the lovers become a power for maintaining the general idea of ideal man and husband,

ideal woman and wife, and an ideal bright, happy family, thereby influencing the society. The manuals created in human society, that is, so-called common sense, stay long because they are actually used by women and men for real behaviors.

However, when you look at how to date until getting married, the shadow work performed by lovers seems more flexible than ever before. Lovers can behave under less constraints of masculinity and femininity. If they are sensitive to such a change of circumstances, they can make a creative human relationship of their own. I think such a flexible shadow work will make a society under less constraints of the notion of masculinity and femininity.

Marry With the Feeling of Love Romance?

Next, I will clarify the possibility of changing the society depending on how the married couple relates their love romance with their marriage.

How they met first each other is varied and is definitely a "personal" matter, and therefore it may seem inherently nonsense to classify marriages into arranged marriages and love marriages. Anyway, in Japan, love marriages currently far exceed arranged marriages, according to data. However, love marriages do not necessarily seem ideal because of the following reason. That is, what is important in love romance is a flame of love vigorously burning even temporarily, and it is the best to have a relationship with the partner with whom you feel heartthrobs best at one moment.

Also, lovers have always a possibility of separation, which causes the flame of love to burn even more. By contrast, as for marriage, no couples initially have an intention of divorce or an intention of limited-time marriage, thinking that "I will say goodbye to my partner when I become XX years old". That means, in the course of love romance to marriage, the object of dating is greatly changed. Love romance should be short and sweet, while marriage should be long and frugal. This difference is a problem for love marriages. The skyrocket-like relationship between lovers has to be changed to a sparkler-like relationship that lasts a lifetime.

In order to cope with this change, how most people relate their love romance to marriage? People of one type think that they once had a love romance and then got married to the partner, but the love romance was over. That is, these people get married with the feeling of love romance being separated. One problem of such a "romance-forgetting" type may be a possibility that the couple's ties will become dry and unsavory with less talks, just playing their roles as wife and husband. In this type, after marriage, the couple forgets the feeling of love romance, which was a crucial factor for getting married. Therefore, the inevitability of living with the partner right before you is reduced. Consequently, the couple may think "why do I have to continue this married life with such a person?". However, most of the couples have children serving as a link between wife and husband. With the feeling of love romance and the doubt about partner selection

being faded, they become buried in daily life. However, such a relationship between wife and husband is not so attractive to young people these days. If many couples of the romance-forgetting type talk about discontent with their marriage, saying "marriage is a grave of life", for example, the society will become the one in which marriage is not attractive and the orientation toward marriage is low.

Some of the couples of the romance-forgetting type may go into a new relationship with the partner. That is, such couples positively forget their love romance, so to speak, and each have his/her own goal even though they are united as one and encourage each other to achieve the respective goals. That is, they have a so-called best-friend relationship. Also, they do not retreat to their closed human relationship, but expand a human relationship through their respective friends. An increase of such couples will achieve a society in which independent people can collaborate with each other.

By contrast, there is another type of couples who do not think love romance and marriage separately but keep going with the feeling of love romance, that is, a "romancing-even-in-marriage" type. A couple who presumes that they have to have the same feeling of love romance forever would think that love to the other is expressed by men as being at work and women as being at home. As I see some couples of a wife depending on the husband's ability to earn a living and a husband depending on the wife's ability

to take care of daily life, I, as being of a dry type, feel that they are not in love anymore but are merely in a cozy relationship with each other (however, conjugal affection will occur). Anyway, how would the society be with the spread of such a shadow work as sticking to the fact of the love marriage and presuming that the couple should act with one heart and mind? In the field of child education, their children might be forced to behave in a manner in which boys should be boyish and girls should be girlish. Furthermore, this might form insinuations such that you will build a happy couple relationship full of love if men behave like men and women behave like women and that it is love marriage that is a happy goal.

Choose Three-highs or Man Capable of Housekeeping?

Now, some women get married to a person not in love by thinking that love romance and marriage are separate things. Of such women, in order to get an easy, stable life, some want to marry a man with "three highs" (high physical height, high education, and high salary). Such a marriage used to be called an "arranged marriage" a decade ago, and can be currently called a life-oriented marriage rather than a love-oriented one. For this reason, people have desired information about "how to marry into money", such as techniques for getting married to a man of "three-highs" and spots where you will have many chances to see such a man, and such information has been published in magazines or the like. The couple

of such marriage will participate in maintaining the framework such that the couple should act with one heart and mind with the husband being trusty and the wife being cute.

In recent years, however, due to the economic depression or the like, the three-highs do not have so much divine power as they use to be. Climbing the career ladder a little quicker than the others does not necessarily means earning a huge salary. Moreover, the company's possibility of going bankrupt has been increased. Furthermore, although the orientation to full-time housewives still prevails, the number of women who desire to keep working has been increased. Therefore, for women's convenience, a man who is well capable of doing all household chores and supports woman's carrier life might be more welcome than the three-highs. Compared with the conventional pattern in which a husband works so hard to earn a high salary while a wife works part time, a pattern in which a husband not with an enviably high salary and a wife both work full time often achieve a higher total income after all. If the wives' tendency of working full time is intensified, the standards of attractive men will be changed. The day will come when men well capable of diligently doing household chores, who used to be called here in Japan as "*gokiburi teishu*" or "cockroach husbands" a decade ago, become attractive. Men fostered and cherished by education-crazy mothers to become grinds capable of nothing but studying hard will get themselves into a real trouble for sure. On the other hand, the number of people who are

economically and mentally independent with their own skills in life regarding food, shelter, and clothing will be increased. What women take as a decisive factor in selecting a partner for marriage will decide what type of men will become predominant in society.

Birth Control?

In Japan, the number of divorced couples is rather low. Furthermore, becoming a single mother is rare and disadvantageous. Consequently, getting pregnant before marriage often leads to a "shotgun marriage". Also, the number of women who leave a job not upon getting married but upon the birth of the child is currently increased. Such women have to change their life plan due to their "uncontrollable pregnancy". Every human does not want to think that his or her conducts are under constraints, but wants to think that he or she always live under one's own control. Therefore, it would be quite natural that a woman who has to change her life due to pregnancy brings up an adoration-of-maternity-like idea that "the most important thing in women's life is to rear children, and children should be reared by mothers" in order to rationalize her own situation.

Actually, however, pregnancy and childbirth can be well controlled. I have examined in another book the influence on women of changes in fertility environment due to a possible fertility revolution. Control of "not having children" is increasingly determined by women themselves. As such, in the ever-changing

fertility environment, if women positively plan their lives with pregnancy and childbirth being systematically incorporated therein, that way of life can change the society. For example, it is possible to prevent the reliability of female workers from being impaired by sudden quitting due to childbirth. Also, the couple will have peace of mind to think about how they share household chores and child-rearing. An increase in the number of women who use a childbirth and child-rearing period for recharging themselves for their career lives or for preparing for improving career will cause an increase in the number of universities and other schools for working people and the number of companies recruiting mid-career workers. Consequently, the society will allow career planning in various ways.

Husband at Work, Wife at Home?

Assume that a wife plays a role of only doing household chores and childrearing as a full-time mother for a while after marriage and then, after a burden of childrearing is reduced, starting working part time. This is called "a new gender role", which is basically not different from the traditional gender role. If many women choose such a new gender role, what influences are exerted on the social system? By way of example, the family wage system will be maintained. Such a system is much welcomed by family as long as the family takes a form intended by the system. However, this system encourages husbands to work long hours, during which

wives are assumed to stay at home. This will allow a gender wage difference, because the system causes an increase in the number of cases in which most working women prioritize home as wives.

On the other hand, some couples are two-earner couples working full time. A couple of nuclear family has to take their children to a day-care center, as a matter of course, and also requires flexible role sharing. Even a husband who "superficially" agrees with equal sharing of household chores will actually do some household chores if required in the cases, such as the birth of the second child or wife's sudden illness. Other than that, various tricks are required. The most general example is asking the couple's parents living next door for help. Some repeatedly move their home after they start working full time as gradually approaching their parents' house, while some moves their home close to their offices. Also, the couple becomes sensitive to information for helping household chores and child-rearing. In this way, if the number of full-time couples is increased with the use of human resources and various skills for helping them, the family wage system will be broken down, because preferential treatment given to full-time housewives and wives working part time give the impression of favoritism to full-time workers.

Allow Adultery and Extramarital Affair?

Lastly, I am going to talk about adultery and extramarital affairs. In Japan, upon finding out adultery of the spouse, the

wife or the husband typically forgive the spouse. This is because the divorce ratio in Japan is still low even though adultery is considered as a "typical" phenomenon. However, if adultery is forgiven, the couple ends up with a disguised couple with one having a feeling of distrust toward the other at heart and disguising oneself as being calm. While there are a significant number of couples of wife and husband even devoid of substance, the couple-unit society will still continue.

Conversely, if the couple performs a shadow work such that a wife or a husband does not leave spouse's adultery ambiguous, the number of divorces may be increased, because even the couple who entirely lost their feeling of love romance do not feel good about spouse's adultery. However, from another point of view, as an old proverb saying "after a storm comes a calm", wife-and-husband communication may be activated. Alternatively, would it be a totally impossible story that both a wife and a husband commit adultery and enjoy an "adultery-hiding game"? Aside from such a joke, I think that Japanese couples are too relaxed such that "my wife (or husband) will forgive me even if my adultery is found out, because she (he) cannot live alone..." Such underestimation of the partner could occur if a wife and a husband play totally different roles regarding work and home. It would be desired to enjoy a married life between independent individuals each having an ability to earn a living and an ability to do everything necessary for daily life, these abilities being useful

even after a possible divorce.