

Population and the Family in Japan

Introduction and Overview
by Toshio Kuroda

Population and the Family
by Toshio Kuroda

Trends and Analysis of Factors Causing Changes in the Family
by Yoichi Okazaki

Family and Regional Development
by Hiroaki Shimizu

Population Aging and Family
by Sumiko Uchino

Forecast of Future Households and Changes in Japanese Family Structure
by Makoto Ato

The Japanese Family: Public Opinion Survey Findings
by Michio Ozaki

February 1989

**The Asian Population and Development
Association**



Population and the Family in Japan

February 1989

**The Asian Population and Development
Association**

THE ASIAN POPULATION AND DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION, 1989
Nagatacho TBR Building, Rm 710
10-2, Nagatacho 2-chome, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo 100
Telephone: (03)581-7770
Printed in Tokyo, Japan

Foreword

The family, which forms the social organization and is the foundation of societal development, is beginning to waver. This is a global trend.

In advanced countries even the significance of marriage itself, which is a prerequisite for the formation of the family, is now being questioned. In many developing countries there is an increase of people leaving the rural community to work in the cities or people going abroad to work as manual laborers. It is well known that this kind of migratory behavior is creating social problems.

Japan is no exception. There are cases of fathers or husbands temporarily moving to another place by themselves for work-related reasons. There is a rapid increase of the participation of housewives in the labor market, an increase of juvenile delinquency, increasing divorce of the middle- and advanced-aged and single-parent families (especially mother and child families). This has all resulted in fundamental questions being raised about the way the family should be.

In particular, the drastic change in the Japanese lifestyle due to the phenomenally rapid aging of its population, the conspicuous lowering birthrate and the remarkable improvement of mortality rate are causing a diversification in the composition of and qualitative changes in the functions of the family.

The active assimilation by Japan of Western culture since the Meiji era, while at the same time firmly holding on to the influences of Confucian culture, has formed the distinctive character of Japanese culture. This report focuses on and tries to shed some light on the family, an essential place where the above Japanese culture manifests itself.

There are some issues which could not be sufficiently dealt with due to space and time restrictions. I am hoping for further elaboration some time in the future.

I would like to give my heartfelt thanks to those specialists in the field who were kind enough to cooperate in the preparation of this report.

Lastly, I would like to express my gratitude to the Japan Shipbuilding Industry Foundation (Chairman, Mr. Ryoichi Sasakawa) and UNFPA (United Nations Population Fund; Executive Director, Dr. Nafis Sadik), which greatly supported the production of this report.

February, 1989

Tatsuo Tanaka
Chairman
The Asian Population and
Development Association



Table of Contents

Foreword	1
Chapter 1 Introduction and Overview	5
1. Emerging Issue of Family	7
2. Changes in the Family as it Exists in Japan	7
Chapter 2 Population and the Family	13
1. Introduction: The Debate concerning the Breakdown of the Family	15
2. The Demographic Factors of Family Changes	16
3. The Family System and the Social Structure	17
4. The Types of the Family Systems	18
5. The Functions of the Family	20
6. Trends in the Family and Marriage	21
Chapter 3 Trends and Analysis of Factors Causing Changes in the Family	29
Introduction	31
1. Household and Family	31
2. Changes in the Family Structure	34
3. Regional Differences in Family Structure	36
4. Changes in the Head of Household Ratio	37
Chapter 4 Family and Regional Development	45
1. Introduction	47
2. Family and Regional Development: Significance of the Study	47
3. Regional Differences in Family Structure	48
4. Family and Regional Development	50

5.	Theories on Japanese Family Structure	51
6.	Summary and Conclusion	52
Chapter 5	Population Aging and Family	59
1.	General View of Population Aging	61
2.	Family Types of the Aged	62
3.	Family Types of Aged Population by Region	64
4.	Future Prospects	65
Chapter 6	Forecast of Future Households and Changes in Japanese Family Structure	73
	Introduction	75
1.	Method and Summary of Forecast	75
2.	Assumptions Regarding Future Households	76
3.	Estimate Results	78
	Conclusion	80
Chapter 7	The Japanese Family: Public Opinion Survey Findings	85
1.	Introduction	87
2.	Single Life	89
3.	Marriage and Remarriage	91
4.	Divorce	92
5.	Preparations for the Aging Society	94
6.	Conclusion: The Image and Role of the Family	96

Chapter 1

Introduction and Overview

**Toshio Kuroda
Director Emeritus
Population Research Institute
Nihon University**

1. Emerging Issue of Family

The importance of re-examining fundamental questions concerning the precise nature of the family is becoming increasingly emphasized. Since the 1960s in the United States and Northern Europe, and since the 1970s in Japan, the family has become a subject of concern not only among specialists but among people in all walks of life. Problems such as divorce, re-marriage, the single-parent family, domestic violence or juvenile delinquency have caused people to reflect on a common underlying factor, namely the family itself.

The family is a universally fundamental unit of society. Its form and structure will vary, however, according to the social and economic structure of the particular culture and society of which it is a part.

Of particular relevance to the study of the family are the conditions related to a society's population and the changes therein. Birth rates, mortality rates, and population migration, and all these factors bringing about the rapid population changes have had a profound impact on the structure of the family since the Second World War. Nowhere is this more typical than in Japan.

The very existence of a term such as "family demography" or "demography of family" is indicative of the importance of the population factor in family study. The sudden drop in the birth rate has given rise to a sharp decline in the average number of children per family; an improved mortality rate has produced a dramatic increase in the average expectation of life which, in turn, has resulted in revolutionary change in life cycles; the accelerating aging of society, has increased the number of families composed only of the elderly (elderly couples only, and elderly persons living alone). These are all examples of the impact that population changes have had on the family.

Of course changes in the family are not based exclusively on population factors. For example, the effect of legal amendments abolishing the "Ie" system, introducing the systems of equalized inheritance of property, cannot be ignored. Also, conspicuously elevated living standards produced by high economic growth and highly developed structure of industry, the rich diversity in the types of jobs available today, and advancing urbanization, have all wrought changes in attitudes towards marriage and in the structure and function of the family.

2. Changes in the Family as it Exists in Japan

Although the subject attracts a great deal of international interest, this book is concerned primarily with the nature and problems

of the family as it exists in Japan. However, shedding light on the changes in the family in contemporary Japanese society, with its mixture of Confucian and Western cultural influences, is bound to be highly significant for the study of the family in an international context as well. The present research is also expected to be a useful point of departure for comparative studies with the family system in Korea and in China, two countries that share Confucian culture with Japan, or for studying the future evolution of the family system in other Asian countries.

This book is organized into seven chapters. An introduction and summary of the material is presented in Chapter One; the other six chapters each deal with a different topic related to the family in Japan.

Chapter One provides an overview of the entire study. Chapter Two "Population and the Family", while emphasizing research carried out from the perspective of family demographic studies, deals with historical changes related to the family, especially concerning fundamental problems such as types and functions of the family. It also serves as a more detailed introduction to the material covered in the subsequent chapters. The family is the fundamental building block of society and its characteristics vary according to the cultural differences which exist between different societies. The nuclear family has come to be the dominant form in modern society. In recent years, however, changing attitudes towards marriage have even begun to threaten the nuclear family system. Although the collapse of the nuclear family is often pointed out, neither a substitute nor even the changes suggesting its emergence are apparent. Nevertheless, it is clear that the family unit is undergoing some kind of change. This change is, however, proceeding in diverse directions. In Singapore and Korea, both of which share a strong Confucian influence, the three-generation extended family is the norm, while the nuclear family is dominant in China. However, in spite of the fact that the political systems and the extent of modernization in Japan and in China are widely divergent, in both countries the nuclear family has developed in the same way. It is this author's earnest wish that more sociological studies on the family and also international comparative research in family demographic studies will be carried out in the future.

Chapter Three deals with "Trends and Analysis of Factors Causing Changes in the Family". It begins its examination of changes in the family structure by analyzing the increase in the number as well as the shrinking scale of households in post-war Japan, paying special attention to the disappearance of the "Ie system" as it existed in pre-war Japan, and the development of the nuclear family system centering around the husband and wife. It also looks at intensified population migration, the increasing tendency for the elderly to live separately from their married children, and the sharp decline in the birth rate in connection with change of family structure.

The regionality of family structure is a topic examined in this chapter. The proportion of nuclear family-type households for example is high in prefectures within the large metropolitan areas and low in prefectures in the northern or north-eastern regions such as Yamagata, Akita, or Fukui. The proportion of persons living alone is highest in Tokyo, followed by Kyoto and Kagoshima.

There is, however, very little regional variation among prefectures in the proportion of nuclear families and persons living alone as indicated by comparisons which employ the "nuclear family household proportion" (total of nuclear and persons living alone households as a proportion of all ordinary households) as an index for describing the degree of modernization in family structure.

There are also some noteworthy changes in the headship rates by different age brackets. Namely, in the last ten years, the headship rates of young generations like twenties or thirties has exhibited a declining trend. In the past, their headship rates had been on the increase and contributed to the increase in the number of households. The recent decline is due mainly to the decreasing trend of proportion of married young men and their increasing tendency to live with their parents. On the other hand, male headship rates in their sixties and seventies are rising due to an increase in the proportion of married men, a decrease of rates of co-residence with their married children. There is a need for further research as to reasons behind the drop in the headship rates of younger male persons since 1975.

Chapter Four discusses "Family and Regional Development". An index used for indicating the regional character of family structure is a ratio of the number of nuclear family households composed of persons aged 65 years old and older plus those of 65 years old and older living alone, to all ordinary households with relatives aged 65 years old and older. Regions where this value exceeds 50 percent are defined to have a "nuclear family system." while less than 50 percent indicates an "extended family system". Typical of the former are 13 prefectures including Tokyo, Kagoshima, and Kochi, whereas the latter are 34 prefectures including Yamagata, Toyama, and Akita.

In planning regional development, the characteristics of a region's dominant family system should be taken into account. For example, regarding policy to support elderly dependents in a region of extended family type where common residence is the norm, there should be a provision for welfare assistance to help ease the burden of those family members who must look after their aged relatives. In a region of social environment characterized by the nuclear family where living in separation is dominant, assistance should take the form of constructing facilities for the use of the elderly.

Finally, this author presents a fundamentally different arguments about Japan's family system. According to his analysis there are three

different theories regarding the family in Japan: firstly there is the "homogeneity theory" which states that the traditional extended family continues to be the dominant type, secondly there is the "structural change theory" which maintains that the extended family system has collapsed and been replaced by the nuclear family, and thirdly there is the theory that both nuclear and extended family systems co-exist. The second of these theories, namely the "transformation theory" is the most commonly held.

Chapter Five considers "Population Aging and Family." First of all, she outlines the aging of the Japanese population. It looks at the increasing number of the elderly, changes in age dependency ratio, the present and future situation regarding the aged population, the declining trend in the birth rate, and the improvement in the mortality rate of aged population. It suggests that the aging trend in the population may grow more pronounced in the future.

Next, this chapter deals with the number of households and types of family where elderly population are contained. In particular, it draws attention to the possibility that the number of nuclear family of old couple and old persons living alone will increase considerably in the future.

The number of households and types of family systems of the elderly are then analyzed by prefectures. Population characteristics of a region are not only affected by the national aging trends but also by migration. For this reason, aging of a regional population will vary considerably from that of the national population.

The distribution of types and number of elderly households is thus analyzed in light of such regional characteristics.

One of the author's important conclusions is that overall aging of the population produces the aging of the household structure.

Chapter Six is entitled "Projection of Future Households and Changes in Japanese Family Structure". It gives an outline of results and methodology employed to arrive at future estimates concerning Japanese households carried out by the Ministry of Health and Welfare's Institute of Population Problems in 1987.

These estimates cover the years from 1985 to 2025, describe the changing situation of households according to the headship rate method by age and sex, and are based on a detailed analysis of the dramatic changes in Japanese households since the end of the war.

Refer to the main body of the text for details.

Chapter Seven, the final chapter, presents a part of the results of the "National Sample Survey on the Japanese Family" which was carried

out by the Mainichi Newspaper in cooperation with Nihon University in April 1988. This survey is highly significant in terms of the new information it offers regarding the Japanese family and household on the verge of transition. Some interesting items covered by the survey is described below.

Seventy-three percent of women in their twenties, and 63 percent of men in their thirties, indicate favorable attitude toward the single life. Many married people had also considered divorce but decided against it mostly for the sake of their children. Concerning men helping in the kitchen, 75 percent of total surveyed, and 70 percent of men were in favor. Concerning the significance of the home, economic or child-rearing considerations were secondary to the place of repose or the personal training of family members. On the other hand, the majority of those surveyed indicated a strong desire to take care of their ancestor's tombs. The results of the survey suggest that a mixture of traditional and changed attitudes coexist and also signs of a change in value system among the younger generation appear. The survey illustrates, in other words, the characteristics of the transition which the Japanese family is currently undergoing.

Nevertheless, there were no suggestions of an imminent collapse of the family, in fact there were even indications of a trend towards a certain conservative stability. As far as support for the elderly was concerned, the Japanese model attempts to strike a balance between the Western model which relies heavily on social assistance, and the Asian model which relies exclusively on the family. The state of the family in Japan, with its rapidly aging population, is a fundamental problem of the most profound social and economic implications.

Chapter 2

Population and the Family

Toshio Kuroda
Director Emeritus
Population Research Institute
Nihon University

1. Introduction: The Debate concerning the Breakdown of the Family

Recent years have witnessed much emphasis on such pessimistic ideas with regard to the family system as the disintegration, breakdown, or latent breakdown of the family.¹ The debate concerning the breakdown of the family in the U.S. has been much more intense to the extent that even the prerequisite of family formation, the institution of marriage has been called into question. The divorce rate has reached a high level of 5 per 1000 inhabitants (1985), which is unprecedented anywhere in the world. The cycle of marriage, divorce, separation, re-marriage is a frequent occurrence. Children are passed on to a family, where one of the parents is unknown to them. In the U.S. there is a social class known as DINKS (i.e., Double Income, No Kids). Typically, a couple belonging to this category are both highly educated and are both employed in professional or managerial high-income jobs. But it is said that even serious attention has been paid to the reassessment of concept of "the bright family" in the context of the marriage confusion occurring in the U.S.²

In the U.S. the number of nuclear families decreased in the 1970's, while single-parent families and persons living alone increased by about 75% and 60% respectively.³

It can be concluded that this change in the family and household patterns, in particular, the rapid increase in the number of single-parent families and persons living alone over a period of 10 years, implies a great change in the home and the family in American society.

Of late, the number of single-parent family households has been increasing also in Japan. In the ten year period between 1965 and 1975 the rate of increase was low at 9.8% for single-parent father families and at 4.6% for single-parent mother families. However, in the decade between 1975 and 1985 the former increased sharply to 38.5% and the latter to 31.8%, indicating that changes in the family structure have become more pronounced in recent years in Japan.⁴

Even so, these changes are clearly insignificant when compared with the increase of 75% in single-parent family households that took place in the U.S. in the 1970's.

In the case of Japan, the fact that the proportion of single-parent mother families in single-parent households is overwhelmingly large appears to indicate the heavy burden borne by women in family problems. As of 1985, 85% of all single-parent households were single-parent mother families. One person households, in which people live alone, increased in Japan from 6,560,000 to 7,890,000 in the ten year period between 1975 and 1985. However, the rate of increase was 20%, being only one third of the rate of increase in the U.S. of the 1970's.

However, it is certain that changes are occurring in the smallest social unit known as the family, home, household not only in the U.S. but also in Japan.

Is this a trend toward the breakdown of the family system or will it produce on a broad scale a social unit which transcends the family, for example, single living or cohabitation with roommates and partners, which will replace family relationships?"⁵

2. The Demographic Factors of Family Changes

The family is an important element of the social structure. In the study of human groups, when single individuals are the objects of observation, one talks of atomistic observation. This is in opposition to molecular observation, the term used when the family constitutes the unit group serving as the object of observation.⁶ Demography has been concentrating on the analysis of the individual as an atomistic unit but it has been noted that groups of molecular units known as families or households participate in all human activity with the result that demographic research in this area has been undertaken actively.

In recent years, the term "demography of the family" or "family demography" has come to be used and demographic studies of the family have produced fruitful results.⁷

One must say that this has been natural. This is because families are formed generally through marriages and marriages in turn are directly affected by the size of population of the marriageable age, age at marriage, the proportion of married population, the birth rate, the mortality rate, (life expectancy), population movements, etc. "These phenomena which are increased by births, deaths, marriages, and divorce augmented by individual, and the mobility and out of living arrangements are the engines of household change."⁸

One important field in which demography has contributed to the study of the family is the development of the concept of "the family life cycle." The study of the extent and structure of changes in the family and household which take place in accordance with the phases of the family life cycle is relatively recent, as the changes of this family life cycle itself are phenomena which occurred only some time after World War II.

Sociological and anthropological studies of the family have continued and resulted, of course, in a vast quantity of literature. However, they were studies of the family as the smallest social group and they were not conducted from the demographic point of view. The object of such studies focused exclusively on family questions such as the human and socio-psychological relations between various family

members, or on familial functions, especially tensions between parents and children and family insecurity. It was demography which introduced the dynamic concept of the life cycle to such sociological studies of the family.

The important contribution which family demography has made or is in the process of making through its theoretical research is a series of studies concerning the mutual relations between the major changes in the size and structure of the family and household, and the demographic transition in the process of modernization, industrialization, and urbanization. Research into the trend of recent "nuclearization" of the family which have brought about a significant reduction in the size of the household and family and also modern declining birth rate is beginning to gain importance.

The powerful control of fertility and mortality after World War II have substantially reduced the birth and death rates. The decrease in the birth rate has reduced the average number of children in families and the size of the household to a remarkable degree.

At the same time, spectacular improvements in the death rate have brought about a remarkable increase in the average life expectancy. This has resulted in a drastic change in people's life style for the duration of their whole lifetime whose starting point is marriage. Moreover, it can be easily seen that factors such as the postponement of marriage and the increase of proportion never marrying⁹, etc., have greatly affected the nature of the family.

3. The Family System and the Social Structure

The family system in a society is formed by the social and economic structure of this society. However, at the same time, the family system affects the structure of the social system. It is thought that both in an interactive process are in an inseparable relation of interdependence. However, although the importance of the social system in providing an explanation of the family life patterns has been widely recognized, there is no consensus as to how certain specific characteristics of the social organization are linked to certain specific characteristics of the family system.

The family is a universal system existing in human societies, and it has three major dimensions as follows:

- 1) The family is formed by kinship relations made up by marriage, succession, or adoption. Although, of course, family life patterns and the contents of kinship relations within these kinship groups vary from culture to culture, it is an invariable fact that kinship relations form the basis of the family.

- 2) The differences observed in practice between and within kinship groups are characterized by different forms of the family system.
- 3) Although it is recognized that the family fulfills numerous functions, the family system cannot be simply defined by these functions. This is because of the fact that certain functions which operate within the family system in some societies, operate outside the family system in other societies.

4. The Types of the Family Systems

The family system is determined on the basis of several standards which apply to the role structure and the structure of the family groups and households. The family system can be roughly classified into two categories: the nuclear family (parents and children) and the extended family (a group larger than a nuclear family). The nuclear family, also referred to as the elementary family, individual family, conjugal family or biological family, is a kinship group formed by the parents and socially recognized children. The term "marriage family" is used in the sense of the "modern" nuclear family which does not live together with other family members. The concept of nuclear family can also be extended to include the cell of husband, wife and children which form a part of a larger extended family. In such cases, the term "elementary family" is often used, especially in anthropology.

The term "traditional family" denotes either the traditional nuclear family or, in some cases, the extended family. The traditional nuclear family is different from the modern nuclear family in several respects. Within a modern nuclear family the right to make decisions, property ownership, duties and privileges are easily determined by mutual relationship between husband and wife, and also parents and children. A nuclear family has its own independent residence, and there are few direct connections with kinship group members other than members of the family. Also, the individualistic value system forms the basis of it. In a traditional family, kinship relationships by far exceed marital links. The rights of decision concerning economic problems and property ownership extend even to the marriage question and belong in general to the most senior member of the group. Moreover, the attitude of family members toward work differs in these two systems. To the extent that the traditional family is the basis of the family mode of production, the intra-familial hierarchy within the family determines division of labor within the family. In a society of the modern nuclear family, in which production is performed in the market economy, the work ethic based on initiative, individualism, and self-reliance are stressed. It goes without saying that when the term "nuclear family" is used in this paper, it is used mainly in its modern sense.

As opposed to the extended family, which is linked to agricultural

society, the nuclear family is frequently considered an outgrowth of industrialization and urban society. For the first time in the world's history, in every part of the world, all social systems advance at a faster or slower pace toward the marriage family system and industrialization. The traditional family system, usually known as the extended, combined family, has been disintegrating. It could perhaps be said that it is a world-wide family revolution.¹⁰

It has been said that this "modern" nuclear family is favorable to geographic, spatial movements as well as social mobility which is characteristic of industrialized society. However, the shift from agricultural society to the industrial, urban and market economy has been slow, and accordingly the pace of changes in the form of the family system has also been slow. As a result, the different types of family systems can coexist in cases when social and economic changes take place within societies at varying pace. The functions of the traditional family are adaptable, at least for some time, to the life of urban industrialized society.

The extended family, which has also been called the traditional family, the joint family, or compound family, is a kinship group which is composed at least of more than one nuclear family, and generally speaking, is a group containing different generations. In such cases, they do not necessarily live together in the same households. Generally, common residence is assumed but this is not a necessary condition for the extended family. The important point is that strong kinship relationships and family ties exist independently of the places of residence of nuclear families which make up groups. The term "modified extended family" has been proposed¹¹ to describe the family which, although dispersed spatially, is linked through close mutual relationships. On the other hand, the extended family living together in the same household or homestead is at times distinguished from other kinds of extended family by use of the term "joint family".

The term "compound family" is applied to a polygynous household or to a family in which the widow/widower remarried and produced offspring. The definitions of household composition are by no means precise; at times there can also be an overlap. In other words, there are determined by the classifications criteria used. These include also such concepts as the simple family household (one generation with children), the extended family household (two generations with children), the multiple family household (family household consisting of two or more generations with lateral conjugal units). There is also the concept of stem family, used to specify the nuclear family which includes one set of grandparents.

The dichotomous distinction between the extended family and the nuclear family is by no means precisely defined. Doubts have been cast as to the correctness of the hypothesis that the most common family form, found in the developing nations and in the pre-industrial European

societies, was indeed the extended family. At present, it is assumed that the majority of population in pre-industrial European societies and probably also in the developing nations lived and live in nuclear family households. There are as yet no sufficient materials to prove this assumption but the data obtained in India, Nepal and some regions in Europe seem to support such a view.¹²

5. The Functions of the Family

Traditionally, the family has been fulfilling several functions, such as economic, reproduction, socialization, recreation, protection, as well as judicial functions. However, the contents of these functions differ not only from culture to culture but also between nuclear and extended family. In extended families, the economic function depends on the production mode of a family, especially in agricultural society or artisanal occupations. In order to maintain this economic basis and protect its livelihood, the extended family takes the form of a patriarchal hierarchy, and the inheritance system and transmission of property are necessary means of preserving group solidarity.

The reproductive function is related to the economic function which supplies and maintains labor force for the family production system in the extended family. However, the scale of the extended family is maintained by social values such as the necessity of producing male children to ensure protection to the elderly, or religious rituals. As long as the economic function is fulfilled by the production mode of the family, important elements of the socialization function are realized through vocational training within the family. The transmission of religious and social customs is an important structural element of the socialization goals. In the absence of the family law, the family fulfills a judicial function, defining and assigning rights and duties obligations within the kin group. Social recognition of children and the procedures for the formations of marriage, etc., are part of this. The protective functions include care and assistance for the elderly, as well as psychological and physical protection, etc.

The functions of the nuclear family differ to some extent from those of the extended family in their nature and scope. The family and its functions are influenced by social change, modernization, and industrialization of the market economy. The change in the economic functions of the family is especially pronounced. The change in the economic functions is linked to the shift away from the domestic mode of production to work outside the family. The economic basis of the family shifts from the kinship group to the nuclear family. The economic assistance from the kinship group for conjugal family and their children decreases. Changes in the economic functions affect also the socialization functions of a family. As the mode of production becomes separate from the family, the nuclear family has no longer any necessity

to provide vocational training to its members, such as was the case in the extended family. This fact in turn weakens the nuclear family's dependence on the kinship group and makes a further increase in the autonomy of the nuclear family.

The value system of the family becomes more individualistic as a matter of course. The family protective functions in industrialized, urbanized society are partially or completely fulfilled by the state. The socialization functions are supplemented by non-familial activities of political organizations and religious groups, while education, too, is taken care of by the public sector. As the family mode of production declines, the training of family members concerning the family enterprise ceases to be necessary, while, on the other hand, industrial production requires the provision of high-level technical training such as the family cannot provide.

The reproduction function of the family is again different in the nuclear family. As the necessity of having a large family for manpower, the necessity to have many children to provide assistance in old age, as well as the need to produce numerous offspring in view of high infant mortality decreased, the desire for a large family also declined. Efficient birth control methods also being a factor, the size of the family has decreased, and the fertility preferences depends increasingly on the needs, wishes and decisions of the couple, while the pressure coming from demands by the kinship group has disappeared. Of course, there are also other factors which operate at the same time. For example, factors such as an increase in geographical mobility as a result of industrialization and diffusion of birth control methods made the reduction in the size of the family practically possible.

6. Trends in the Family and Marriage

Marriage as a system has traditionally been considered to be the basis of the family. In contrast to this, it has also been thought that the family, seen as a by-product of the social organization, has also shaped the characteristics of marriage. Of course, these characteristics of marriage are substantially different in the case of the nuclear and the extended family. However, it cannot be said that research has clarified to what extent the characteristics of marriage are directly determined by the family system, and, likewise, to what extent the forms of the family and characteristics of marriage are determined by their common social environment. However, many studies indicate that changes in marriage patterns are related to socio-economic and cultural factors. It can be easily understood that the form of the family is also affected by changes in marriage patterns.

Generally speaking, a tendency to have a relatively high expectation toward marriage can be observed in the nuclear family system

but social and family pressure with regard to the unmarried status is clearly weaker in comparison to extended family society. In a society in which the nuclear family system is widespread, social pressure with regard to legal marriage is reduced and co-habitation which does not resort to marriage becomes, more or less, a general practice. Even such cases are often socially accepted and, also, in many cases there is the view that the increase of this kind of cohabitation is related not only to the disintegration of the marriage system but also to the disintegration of the family system.

On the other hand, the increasing tendency in the number of divorces is striking in Europe and in the U.S. The number of divorces started increasing after about 1965, the number of divorces at present having doubled since then. Especially, in the United States the number of divorces is five per 1,000 inhabitants, which is almost four times as high as the Japanese figure of 1.3.

Modernized society produced the nuclear family system centered on marriage. This system was an adaptation of people to modernized society and it was favorable to the economic development. It was a social change which could be called a social revolution. But at present a new change is taking place in this nuclear family system itself.

First, there is a change in the marriage system which is the basis of nuclear family formation, as well as a change in the people's attitude toward marriage. In Japan, the age at marriage is already remarkably late even from the international point of view, but in spite of this, the tendency toward single life is increasing quite sharply in the young age group. For example, 54% women and 42% men approve of single life,¹³ while 89% women and 82% men think that there are advantages or merits of leading a single life.¹⁴ It is not clear to what extent this trend will influence the proportion never marrying and age at marriage but, at least, the influence resulting in a delaying marriage furthermore may be inevitable.

It can also be noted that there has been a significant shift away from the traditional form of marriage, namely from arranged marriage "miai" toward love marriage. Some 60% women, and 55% men prefer love marriage. These figures are even higher for young people in their around twenty at about 70%.¹⁵

Secondly, there are the signs of changes within the form of the nuclear family. There is some argument that husband and wife who form a nuclear family have become more autonomous or "privatized"¹⁶ in their relationship in accordance with the development of the wife's socio-economic independence.

Such a trend may threaten the stability of family groups through divorce, remarriage, cohabitation, etc. It is argued that the family is not a group known as a family but, from an individual's point of view,

is a group formed at a certain time by some individuals. Therefore, family life is only one of many available life styles to be chosen by an individual.¹⁷

Although such a change in the nuclear family does not necessarily lead to the disintegration of the family, it is necessary to note that it as an important manifestation of the change in the family system.

Likewise, it is considered that comparative research of countries with Confucian societies such as China, Korea, and Singapore would be profitable from the point of view of the study of the family issue in Japan. Although all these are Confucian societies, the form of the family is different with the nuclear family form being dominant in China while the extended family with married children living together with their parents is dominant in Korea and Singapore.¹⁸

Comprehensive analysis of the family system based on social-demographic and family demographic research is greatly desired.

Notes:

1. Seimei Hoken Bunka Senta (ed.), Yamane Tsuneo (survivor), Yureugoku Gendai Kazoku (Trembling Modern Family, Nihon Hoso Shuppan Kyokai, 1984, pp. 198-199; Seimei Hoken Bunka Senta (ed.), Ima no Kazoku, Kore kara no Kazoku (Today's Family, the Family from now on), II. Yamane Tsuneo, Kazoku to wa Nanika -- Senzaiteki Kazoku Hokai ni Tsuite (What is the Family -- Latent Disintegration of the Family), Nihon Hoso Shuppan Kyokai 1985, pp. 11-15.
The latent disintegration of the family proposed here by Yamane is defined as the case when the form of the family is preserved but the family does no longer function sufficiently.
2. Kimura Shozaburo: Kazoku no Jidai - Yoroppa to Nihon -, (The Family Era, Europe and Japan, Shincho Sensho, 1985, pp. 212-213.
3. White, Michael J., and Tsui, Amy Ong,: "A Panel Study of Family-Level Structural Change," Journal of Marriage and the Family 48 (May 1986), p.435.
4. According to the results of the National Census, the figures with regard to single parent with children households are as follows.

Unit=1,000 households

Year	Father with Children	Mother with Children
1965	234	1,485
1975	257	1,553
Rate of Increase		
1965-75	9.8%	4.6%
1985	356	2,047
Rate of Increase		
1975-85	38.5%	31.8%

5. Masnick, George and Bane, M. J.,: The Nation's Families: 1960-1990, Auburn House Publishing Co., Dover 1980 (translated by Aoki and Kumon, Amerika no Kazoku, 1960-1990, Taga Shuppan, 1986, pp. 141-142, Ningen Kankei).
6. Tachi Minoru, Keishiki Jinkogaku - Jinko Gensho no Bunseki-Hoho, (Formal Demography: Analytical Methods of Population Phenomena), Kokon Shoin, Tokyo 1960, pp.247-248
7. Interest in family demography is relatively new. In order to promote the study of family demography as part of Science of Demography, the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, established in February 1982 a Scientific Committee on Family Demography and the Life Cycle with the objective of increasing interest in the field among demographers and also in

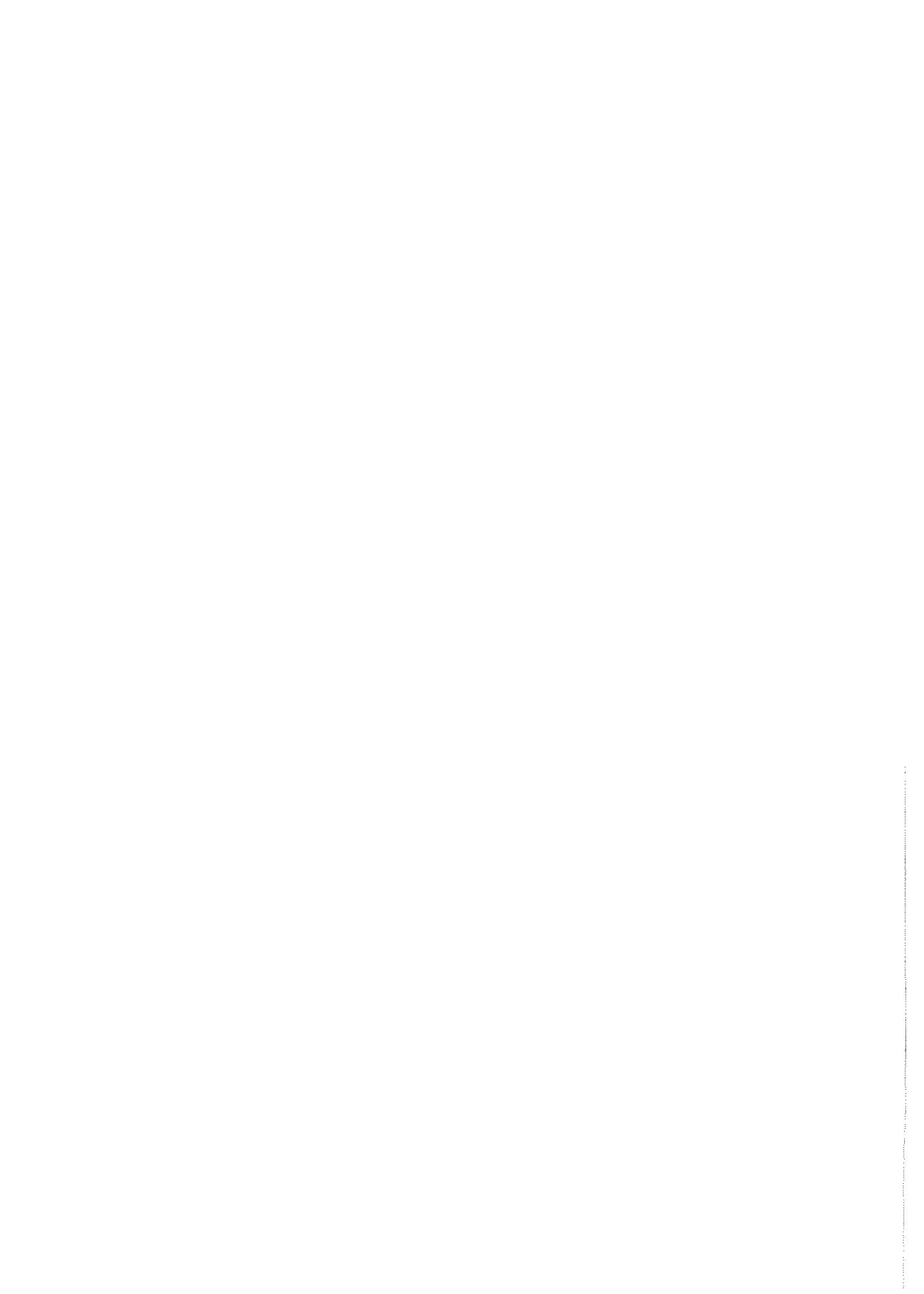
response to the rapidly growing interest in various aspects of family demography. The committee's recent activities include the Seminar on New Forms of Familial Life in MDC's, held in France. The recent noteworthy literature includes:

- Bongaarts, J., (1983), the Formal Demography of Families and Households: an Overview, IUSSP Newsletter, No. 17, pp. 27-42.
- CICRED, (1984) Demography of the Family, Inter-Center Cooperative Research Programme, Project No. 2, Final Report, Paris.
- Bongaarts, J., Burch, T., and Wachter, K. (ed.), Family Demography -- Methods and their Applications, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1987. There is an introduction to this work written by Watanabe Yoshitoshi, Jinko Mondai Kenkyu (Studies of the Problems of Population), Institute of Population Problems, Japan's Ministry of Health and Welfare, No. 187, 1988, p. 67
8. White, op. cit., p.435.
9. In demography, based on the view which assumed the anatomical infertility of women over 50 years of age, the proportion of women over 50 who have never been married is called the "proportion of those never married" or the "proportion ultimately marrying". This proportion never married is high in Europe and the U.S. and low in developing nations. For example, the proportion ever married is 99.6% in India (1981), Bangladesh 99.1% (1981), China 99.8% (1982), Korea 99.8% (1980). In Japan it is somewhat low at 95.6% (1980). In European countries it is about 93% (1980-1981) and in the U.S. it is 95.4% (1980). However, what should be particularly noted is Ireland's proportion of 85.5% (1981) and Finland's of 89.5% (1980). In Ireland, women over 50 who have never been married constitute as many as 15%, which has a significant influence on the family pattern distribution (United Nations, First Marriage: Patterns and Determinants, New York, 1988, Table 5). In Ireland the proportion ever married for the age group 45-49 years of age (including divorcees, widowers, and widows) was 65.9% for men and 74.0% for women in 1940, 67% for men and 74% for women in 1950. This indicates in other words that there was a remarkably high number of single households, namely over 30% for male, 25% for female never married up to the age 45-49. (Goode, W. J., World Revolution and Family Patterns, the Free Press of Glencoe, London 1963, p. 49 Table 11-7).
10. Goode, W. J., Changes in Family Patterns, in The Family and Change, edited by John N. Edwards, Alfred A. Knopf, N. Y., p.19. This paper is a part of Goode's The Family (Anglewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice Hall Inc. 1964).
11. Kumagai, F., Modernization and the Family in Japan, Journal of

Family History, vol. 11, No. 4, pp. 371-382. China is an example of a country where strong family ties are maintained even though members of the family do not share the same household. Even in the case when Chinese peasants do not share the same residence with their parents and siblings, they frequently live in the neighborhood. As this physical proximity has a strong effect on household ties between relatives, to focus only on the household would be to overlook an important aspect of the family relations (Lavelly, W. R., and Bohua, Li., Household Structure in Liaoning, Hebei, and Fujian; A Preliminary Survey (presented to the International Conference on the One Per Thousand Fertility Survey, Beijing, October 14-18, 1985).

12. Regarding India, see Goode's *World Revolution and the Family Patterns* (1963), V *Changing Family Patterns in India*, pp. 203-269. Regarding pre-industrial Europe, see Hajnal, J., "Two Kinds of Preindustrial Household Formation Systems," Population and Development Review, vol. 8, No. 3, 1982, pp. 449-494. Regarding China, see Fei Xiao Ton, (Yokoyama Hiroko, transl.) *Seiku Seido (The Breeding System) - China's Family and Society*, Tokyo University Press 1985, appendix I *Changes in China's Family Structure*, pp. 289-302. Prof. Fei makes clear that, although it is a prevalent but mistaken view that in China the family is very extended, in fact that is not the case. He reports that extended families constituted 10% of the total in 1936 and 21% in 1981, while nuclear families constituted 24% in 1936 and 39% in 1981. Distribution by household size as shown in the National Census of 1982 was 16.1% for three-person households, 19.5% for four-person households, and the figure for the two categories combined was 35.6%, while households with over seven persons accounted for not more than 14.9%. These figures also indicate the overwhelming number of nuclear families (The Department of Population Statistics, The National Bureau of Statistics, (ed.), 1982 *China's Population Census Data, 1985*, 69., Household Size, pp. 474-475). Similarly, according to the 1982 census, two-generation households, the so-called nuclear families account for 67.5%, that is, more than 2/3 of the total. The average household size has been remarkably stable at 4.43 persons per household in 1982, 4.30 in 1953, and 4.29 in 1964. The proportions of large families consisting of three generations or more stayed at about 20%, having maintained the same level for 30 years since the liberation in 1949 (Kuroda Toshio, *Comparative Study of Aging in China and Japan: Project Summary*, Study commissioned by the UNFPA, Sino-Japanese Conference on Aging Problems, Background Paper No. 1, p. 18).
13. "Public Opinion Survey on the Family", a survey conducted jointly by Nihon University and Mainichi Shimbun in April 1988 (Some of the results of this survey were published in the morning edition of Mainichi Shimbun on May 4th, 1988).

14. Institute of Population Problems, Japan's Ministry of Health and Welfare (ed.), Outline of the Nation-wide Survey concerning Views on Marriage of Single People, September 1988.
15. The survey by the Institute of Population Problems, Ministry of Health and Welfare, cited above.
16. Meguro Yoriko, The Individualizing Family, Keiso Shobo 1987, p. ii.
17. *ibid.*, pp. iii-iv.
18. Hashimoto Akiko, "Urbanization and Changes in Living Arrangements," presented at the United Nations International Conference on Aging Populations in the Context of Urbanization, Sendai, Japan, 12-16 September 1988, as well as "Urbanization and the Elderly in Developing Nations with Aging Populations -- from the report by Hashimoto Akiko, the Research Associate at the United Nations University", Asahi Shimbun, morning edition, October 1st, 1988.



Chapter 3

Trends and Analysis of Factors Causing Changes in the Family

Yoichi Okazaki
Professor
Faculty of Law
Nihon University

Introduction

The family serves as the basis on which our everyday activities take place. The family structure changes in response to changes in the economic and social environment.

Large families consisting of more than one married couple and their children living together used to be quite common. With the popularity of modern living environments, many married couples began to live elusively with their children in so-called "nuclear families." Without considering the social ramifications, the overwhelming trend toward nuclear families continues.

The family cannot be free of the influence of the long-held traditions of a society. For this reason, it is difficult to offer simple solutions to problems concerning the family. Also, statistics alone cannot fully analyze the status of the family, a group of people bound together by relationships among each other. As in the case of population analysis, however, we need to use statistical data in the study of the family in order to analyze various factors and discover patterns of change.

The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to carry out a basic analysis of the family.

1. Household and Family

As we all know, the concept of family is based on the blood relationships among people. It is sometimes difficult, therefore, to compile family statistics, since not all members of a family live in the same residence. This is the reason why statistics on the family usually apply the concept of "households" in their compilations.

A household can be defined as "a group of people who live together on the same budget," although a single person can also be regarded as a household. The definition of a household has been expanded in other ways to facilitate statistical surveys of household units.

It is difficult to give an accurate definition of a household. Let us analyze the definition of a household given in the Population Census survey.

First, households are classified into "general households" and "institutional households." General households refer to a group of people living together on the same budget, a single person living alone, a single lodger or single person living in a company dormitory, and the like. Single live-in employees are considered to be part of their

employer's household. An institutional household refers to a person or a group of people other than those constituting the general household. They include: (1) students and pupils in dormitories and boarding houses, (2) patients in hospitals and sanatoriums, (3) occupants of social institutions, (4) residents of barracks of the Self Defense Forces, and (5) inmates of rehabilitation institutions.

Before the 1980 Population Census, households were classified into ordinary households and quasi-households. Ordinary households in this case referred to a group of people living together on the same budget, as in the general household mentioned earlier, and single people renting a house. All other people were classified as quasi-households.

From a statistical point of view, families are classified into different family types, depending on the relationship of the household members to the head of the ordinary household.

A household whose members are related by blood to the head of the family is called a "kinship households." People living together with a family but having no blood relationship to the family members, such as employees and domestic help, are considered to be part of the kinship household. It should be noted that a "one-couple household" would include households made up of a married couple, as well as those households made up of a married couple with domestic help. A "non-kinship household" refers to households that have more than two members, and consists of a head of family living with people that have no kinship relation to the head of the household, such as lodgers, domestic help and employees.

Finally, "single households" refer to households consisting of a single person. So depending on the kinship relations of the members to the head of a family, general households are classified either as a "kinship household," "non-kinship household," or "single household." Kinship households are further broken down into smaller categories. The breakdowns are used in the preparation of statistics in order to clarify changes in family structure. Family structure will be discussed in a later section.

How do the number of households increase? And what is the relationship between the increase in the number of households and the population? Table 1 shows the situation after 1955. The table gives the figures under "ordinary household" and "general household" categories to allow for changes in the definition of a household. However, the pattern of change is almost the same in both categories.

Under the ordinary household category, the number of households in 1985 was 36.478 million, and was made up of 117.832 million people. The rate of increase in the number of households is noted in five-year increments, starting in 1955. The rate was 13.3% in 1955-1960 and 15.5% in 1970-1975, showing more than a 10% growth rate during this

period. In the last 10 years of the survey, from 1975-1980 and 1980-1985, the rate dipped below 10%.

In spite of some fluctuations in the rate, the growth rate in the number of households changed dramatically, compared to the total number of household members, during the period of 1955-1985. Throughout the entire period of the survey the rate of increase in the number of households far exceeded the rate for the number of household members.

In other words, this means that the number of people per household, or the scale of the household, has been decreasing. As can be seen in Table 1, the number grew from 1955-1965, but has leveled off at below 4 members per household since 1970. In 1985, the number was 3.22 for an ordinary household and 3.14 for a general household.

As can be seen in Table 1, families have become smaller as the number of households and the total number of household members have increased at a different pace. There are some important factors that greatly influenced this phenomenon. Those factors that promoted the growth in the number of households include an increase in population (number of persons per household) as well as the division of households. As the noticeable increase in the number of households during 1955-1975 indicates, the increase was largely due to the migration of the population, particularly the younger population, to the cities. Another factor, undoubtedly, has been the growing tendency among married couples to live separately from their parents in nuclear families.

The decrease in the number of children, caused by the decline in fertility, has also played an important role in the reduction of the scale of households. In the old days, Japanese families used to have an average of five children. Simple arithmetic reveals that the number of people per household was at least seven. As the average number of children declined to two after World War II, the average number of people per household dropped to four, consisting of a married couple and two children.

Table 2 shows changes in the number of general households according to the number of people per household. In this survey, which shows conditions after 1970, the number of households with several members had already decreased. Since 1975, the number of households with more than three people has increased only slightly. Households with two people showed the largest increase, followed by single households. The largest group, in the survey in 1985 among general households, was made up of households with four members (23.7%), followed by one (20.8%), two (18.4%), and three (17.9%).

Let us compare the average number of persons per household in Japan, with those in other major industrialized countries (Table 3). Compared to 3.1 persons (1985) in Japan, the figure of the Soviet Union was quite high at 4.0 (1979). The figure for Italy was about the same

as in Japan at 3.0 persons (1981). Other countries have less than three. This low figure can no doubt be attributed to the small number of children and the spread of nuclear families.

2. Changes in the Family Structure

It is often said that the Japanese family has undergone dramatic changes since World War II. The family system based on the "Ie" was abolished after the war, to give way to a new family system based on the married couple. This greatly altered the way people regarded the family system. Now we will examine how these changes are reflected in the statistics.

From a statistical point of view, general households have three classifications, as mentioned earlier, depending on the relationship of the household's members to the head of the family. They are kinship, non-kinship and single households. Kinship households are further broken down into nuclear family households and other kinship households. Further refinements are indicated in the statistical chart. The recent statistics on general households are shown in Table 4. In 1985, general households totaled 37.98 million, out of which kinship households accounted for 30.013 million (79.0%), followed by non-kinship households at 73,000 (0.2%) and single households at 7.895 million (20.8%).

Kinship households are further broken down into nuclear family households and other kinship households depending, in principle, on the relationship between the youngest married couple in the household to the other family members. For this reason, so-called "three-generation," families consisting of mother and father, their child and his/her spouse and grandchildren are classified under other kinship households. As shown in Table 4, nuclear family households refer to households consisting of a married couple only, a married couple and children, father and children or mother and children.

Nuclear family households totaled 22.804 million in 1985, accounting for 60.0% of all general households. The largest group in this category was that of households consisting of a married couple and children. Households consisting of a married couple only accounted for about 23% of all nuclear family households. Households consisting of mother and children, or father and children, did not account for a significant percentage. In actual numbers, however, mother and children households totaled 2.047 million, which is considered fairly large. Kinship households, other than nuclear family households, numbered 7.209 million in 1985, which is 19.0% of all general households. Three generation households fall under this category, but their ratio is gradually decreasing.

The number of households made up of different family types has

shown distinct patterns of increase or decrease since 1960, as shown in Table 5. Nuclear family households increased rapidly at the rate of 22.7% during the period between 1960-1965, when migration to the cities intensified. The rate of growth slowed somewhat after that, to 17.8% in 1965-1970, and to 16.3% in 1970-1975. In the years since 1975, the rate dipped to 8.1% in 1975-1980 and 5.6% in 1980-1985. This was due to a decline in both the marriage rate and the division of households caused by the slowing of the population migration. Although the growth of nuclear family households has currently slowed down, those consisting of father and children or mother and children have increased to over 10% since 1975. The high rate of divorce, and husbands and wives who live separately for career reasons, are being cited as reasons for the rapid growth.

Single households have also shown a significant increase recently. The number of single households totaled 7.89 million in 1985, an 11.1% increase over five years ago. Of these, single persons who live alone in a house totaled 6.39% million; those living in lodgings and dormitories owned and managed by companies and the like totaled 1.28 million; and those renting a house numbered 0.22 million. The highest growth was seen among single persons living alone in a house, at 18.7%. Single persons living in dormitories and lodgings, on the other hand, have decreased in number.

The pattern of change in households, according to family types, illustrates that more and more people are now living in nuclear families or by themselves. It is clear that this trend could have grave consequences as we edge toward an aging society. This issue will be discussed in later chapters.

The result of the Population Census showed single households consisting of a member older than 65 under the general household category have increased 1.9-fold in the decade from 1975, from 0.63 million to 1.18 million. Households consisting of a married couple only have also increased by 1.8 times, from 0.91 million to 1.65 million. The increase in households consisting of a married couple only is expected to accelerate further as the population continues to age.

Various social supports will be necessary to care for these elderly people. On the other hand, households in which aged couples live together with their child and his or her spouse, have also increased. Even if the ratio of people living together with their parents were to decrease, the actual number of families taking care of aged people would not decrease significantly. Faced with the problem of caring for the aged at home, these people will be seeking support from society.

3. Regional Differences in Family Structure

The family structure has changed greatly in all parts of Japan and there are significant regional differences in the pattern of change at a given point. I would like to point out the basic differences among regions here and leave detailed discussions to later chapters.

One index of the family structure is the ratio of nuclear family households to total ordinary households (nuclear family household ratio). Table 6 shows ratios for 47 prefectures in Japan. In 1985, the highest nuclear family household ratio was found in Saitama (70.3%), followed by Kanagawa (69.0%) and Osaka (68.7%). All of these prefectures are located near big cities. The lowest percentages were recorded in Yamagata (46.6%), Akita (51.4%) and Fukui (51.5%). Located considerable distances away from big cities, these prefectures rely heavily on farming. While prefectures with a high nuclear family household ratio are scattered all over Japan, those with a low ratio are concentrated in the western, rather than eastern, parts of Japan. These characteristics have changed very little since 1960.

Another index of the family structure is the ratio of single households to total ordinary households (single household ratio). These ratios are also shown in Table 6. The highest single household ratios were recorded in Tokyo (30.4%), Kyoto (21.8%) and Kagoshima (21.6%), followed by Kochi (20.7%) and Osaka (19.2%). The high ratios for Kagoshima and Kochi deserve attention. The prefectures of Shiga (10.0%), Toyama (10.1%) and Nara (10.7%) had the lowest ratios. The single household ratio was also somewhat lower in eastern Japan compared to that of western Japan.

We have examined regional differences in family structure using two indices, the nuclear family household ratio and the single household ratio. One reason for the disparity between them is that households in western Japan have a high ratio of households consisting of aged persons, which in turn also have a high ratio of nuclear family households (including households consisting of aged couples only) and single households (including households consisting of an aged person only). We must note, therefore, that regional differences in the population migration patterns and everyday customs lie behind the regional differences in family structure.

The nuclear family household ratio and single family ratio can be combined to give an index called the "nuclear-family-type household ratio." The first two ratios are computed by using the number of nuclear family households and single family households as numerators, over the denominator of total ordinary households. The nuclear-family-type household ratio is given by adding the number of nuclear family households and single households and dividing this by the number of ordinary households. Simply, the nuclear-family-type household ratio

indicates how modernized the structure of families in a given region is. Table 6 shows the situation in 1985 only. After checking the figures since 1970 to assess the changes during that period, it was found that the nuclear-family-type household ratios have increased in all regions of Japan. The variation coefficient (standard deviation divided by average) of ratios in 46 or 47 prefecture was either 0.103 or 0.104, showing little change in regional differences.

4. Changes in the Head of Household Ratio

The concept of the head of a household plays an important role in the analysis of households. Population and household surveys are carried out on the idea that there is one and only one head to a family. The decision on who is the head of the family is left to the family concerned.

I explained that the classification of households into family types depends on the relationship of the family members to the head of the family. It is impossible to make this classification unless the head of a household is determined. Also, as long as we assure that there is only one head to a household, then we can find out the number of households by counting the number of heads of family. For this reason, the head of household ratio - the ratio of heads of household to the sex-age specific population - becomes a key factor in the future estimation of the number of households. If a sex-age specific population is given, and the future estimate of a sex-age specific ratio of family head can be established we can then estimate the number of households for a given period for both sexes and all ages.

The Population Census and other surveys indicates that the sex-age specific family head ratio has been relatively stable over the years, although it has shown a somewhat unusual trend recently. Table 7 shows that head of household ratio for males broken down by marital status.

The overall head of household ratio for young males in their 20s and 30s has declined in the last decade, while that for males in their 60s and 70s has risen. In the past, the head of household ratio for young males had been increasing every year, and this has helped push up the number of households. The recent trend is reversed.

In all three marital-status classifications, the head of household ratio is declining among the younger generation in general and rising among the older generation.

This extraordinary trend seems to have been influenced by factors such as the percentage of the married population, the ratio of parents and children living together and the relationship dynamics of parents and children living together.

As an insight into this problem, Kiyoshi Hiroshima, in his "Factors Influencing the Recent Changes in the Head of Household Ratio" ([Study of Population Problems]), No. 182, April 1987), gives an explanation of the result of his analysis.

"The most important factor that contributed to the decline of the head of household ratio among young males is the decrease in the percentage of the married population. Another important factor is that more and more couples are living with parents, bringing down the head of household ratio in that age group. Families living separately from parents do little to slow down the decline in the age-specific head of household ratio.

The rise in the head of household ratio among elderly males, on the other hand, is caused by an overall increase in the population of married people (due to a decline in the mortality rate among females), a decrease in the ratio of elderly males living together with married children, and a rise in the head of household ratio when living together with their children."

The most important issue here is whether the decline in the child's head of household ratio and the rise in the parent's head of family ratio are caused by cohabitation of these two generations. The above-mentioned article by Hiroshima analyzes that more and more married males under 40 are living together with their married fathers. In this case, only a small percentage of the married males under 40 assume the role of head of household. This is also true when they are living together with their father without a spouse or person other than the father.

It was customary in the past for a married male to establish a household and declare himself the head of his household. As more people have begun to live separately from their parents and establish nuclear families, the head of household ratio was expected to rise, at least among males. But in the new trend that emerged around 1975, the head of household ratio among young males was on a downward trend. So far we have not been able to clearly identify the factors that have caused this phenomenon.

Table 1 Increase in Population and Number of Households

Household category	Number of households (1000)	Number of persons in households (1000)	Number of persons per household	Rate of increase (%)	
				Number of households	Number of persons per household
Year					
Ordinary household					
1955	17,540	87,173	4.97	13.3	3.6
1960	19,871	90,285	4.54	17.2	4.6
1965	23,280	94,393	4.05	16.3	5.9
1970	27,071	99,983	3.69	15.5	8.0
1975	31,271	107,970	3.45	9.1	5.3
1980	34,106	113,733	3.33	7.0	3.6
1985	36,478	117,832	3.22	-	-
General household					
1960	22,538	93,419	4.14	15.9	5.2
1965	-	-	-	-	-
1970	30,297	103,351	3.41	10.9	6.8
1975	33,596	110,338	3.28	6.6	4.6
1980	35,824	115,451	3.22	6.0	3.4
1985	37,980	119,334	3.14	-	-

Source: Population Census

Table 2 Number of General Households According to Number of Persons per Household

	Number of general households (1000)			
	1970	1975	1980	1985
Total	30,297	33,596	35,824	37,980
1	6,137	6,561	7,105	7,895
2	4,184	5,257	6,001	6,985
3	5,322	6,259	6,475	6,813
4	6,885	8,301	9,070	8,988
5	3,907	3,904	3,982	4,201
6	2,285	2,037	2,033	1,985
More than 7	1,577	1,277	1,157	1,113

	Ratio according to number of persons per household (%)			
	1970	1975	1980	1985
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1	20.3	19.5	19.8	20.8
2	13.8	15.6	16.8	18.4
3	17.6	18.6	18.1	17.9
4	22.7	24.7	25.3	23.7
5	12.9	11.6	11.1	11.1
6	7.5	6.1	5.7	5.2
More than 7	5.1	3.7	3.2	2.9

	Rate of increase (%)		
	1970-1975	1975-1980	1980-1985
Total	10.9	6.6	6.0
1	6.9	8.3	11.1
2	25.6	14.2	16.4
3	17.6	3.5	5.2
4	20.6	9.3	-0.9
5	-0.1	2.0	5.5
6	-10.9	-0.2	-2.4
More than 7	-19.0	-9.4	-3.9

Source: Population Census

Table 3 Size of Households in Major Industrialized Countries

Name of country (year)	Size of households
Japan (1985)	3.1
Soviet Union (1979)	4.0
Italy (1981)	3.0
U.S.A. (1980)	2.7
France (1982)	2.7
West Germany (1972)	2.7
England (1981)	2.7
Sweden (1980)	2.3

Source: UN, Demographic Yearbook

Table 4 General Households According to Family Type

Family type	Unit: 1,000 households (%)		
	1975	1980	1985
Total	33,596 (100.0)	35,824 (100.0)	37,980 (100.0)
A. Kinship household	26,968 (80.3)	28,657 (80.0)	30,013 (79.0)
1. Nuclear family households	19,980 (59.5)	21,594 (60.3)	22,804 (60.0)
Married couple only	3,880 (11.6)	4,460 (12.5)	5,212 (13.7)
Married couple and children	14,290 (42.5)	15,081 (42.1)	15,189 (40.0)
Father and children	257 (0.8)	297 (0.8)	356 (0.9)
Mother and children	1,553 (4.6)	1,756 (4.9)	2,047 (5.4)
2. Other kinship household	6,988 (20.8)	7,063 (19.7)	7,209 (19.0)
B. Non-kinship households	67 (0.2)	62 (0.2)	73 (0.2)
C. Single households	6,561 (19.5)	7,105 (19.8)	7,895 (20.8)

Source: Population Census

Table 5 Percentage Change in the Number of General Households According to Family Type

Family type	1960-65	65-70	70-75	75-80	80-85
Total	-	-	10.9	6.6	6.0
A. Kinship household	14.2	12.5	12.1	6.3	4.7
1. Nuclear family households	22.7	17.8	16.3	8.1	5.6
Married couple only	39.8	29.6	30.6	14.9	16.9
Married couple and children	23.6	18.0	14.6	5.5	0.7
Father and children	-5.7	8.2	1.7	15.6	19.6
Mother and children	2.7	0.4	4.2	13.1	16.6
2. Other kinship household	-0.7	1.1	1.7	1.1	2.1
B. Non-kinship households	18.4	13.7	-33.5	-7.5	18.0
C. Single households	-	-	6.9	8.3	11.1

Source: Population Census

Table 6 Regional Differences in Family Structure (1985)

Name of prefecture	Nuclear family households	Single households	Nuclear family type households
National average	62.5	17.5	80.0
1. Hokkaido	66.9	18.9	85.8
2. Aomori	57.5	14.8	72.3
3. Iwate	53.2	14.8	68.0
4. Miyagi	55.8	17.4	73.2
5. Akita	51.4	11.9	63.3
6. Yamagata	46.6	11.0	57.6
7. Fukushima	54.1	13.3	67.3
8. Ibaraki	60.6	11.7	72.3
9. Tochigi	59.0	12.3	71.2
10. Gunma	62.0	12.2	74.2
11. Saitama	70.3	13.4	83.7
12. Chiba	68.2	14.2	82.4
13. Tokyo	59.0	30.4	89.4
14. Kanagawa	69.0	18.3	87.4
15. Niigata	52.1	12.1	64.3
16. Toyama	51.7	10.1	61.8
17. Ishikawa	53.4	16.6	70.0
18. Fukui	51.5	11.7	63.2
19. Yamanashi	58.8	14.8	73.6
20. Nagano	56.5	13.0	69.5
21. Gifu	58.4	11.4	69.8
22. Shizuoka	60.5	12.9	73.4
23. Aichi	64.9	15.1	80.0
24. Mie	60.1	12.0	72.1
25. Shiga	59.7	10.0	69.8
26. Kyoto	60.9	21.8	82.7
27. Osaka	68.7	19.2	87.9
28. Hyogo	66.9	15.5	82.4
29. Nara	65.5	10.7	76.2
30. Wakayama	62.3	14.5	76.7
31. Tottori	52.5	13.7	66.2
32. Shimane	52.5	14.4	66.9
33. Okayama	59.3	15.3	74.6
34. Hiroshima	64.0	17.8	81.9
35. Yamaguchi	62.4	17.1	79.4
36. Tokushima	55.6	15.6	71.2
37. Kagawa	58.9	14.5	73.4
38. Ehime	62.4	17.4	79.8
39. Kochi	60.4	20.7	81.1
40. Fukuoka	63.9	18.6	82.6
41. Saga	56.5	12.3	68.8
42. Nagasaki	64.0	15.9	80.0
43. Kumamoto	58.3	16.1	74.4
44. Oita	59.9	17.3	77.1
45. Miyazaki	65.9	16.4	82.3
46. Kagoshima	66.7	21.6	88.3
47. Okinawa	66.7	16.9	83.5

Source: Population Census

Table 7 Head of Family Ratio - Males (%)

Age	Total			Married			Unmarried			Separated by divorce, death and other reasons		
	1975	1980	1985	1975	1980	1985	1975	1980	1985	1975	1980	1985
15-19	4.1	4.9	4.5	56.4	68.8	68.2	3.9	4.7	4.3	36.7	54.0	50.3
20-24	25.5	26.7	26.3	77.8	75.9	74.0	18.4	22.1	22.4	41.4	48.5	43.3
25-29	51.8	48.4	45.3	77.6	76.3	75.5	24.3	25.8	25.9	45.2	49.2	47.0
30-34	76.5	70.5	65.7	83.4	80.1	78.0	37.2	36.7	35.7	57.7	57.0	54.9
35-39	83.9	83.6	77.9	87.0	87.4	83.8	40.4	47.2	45.8	63.9	69.0	64.8
40-44	88.3	88.3	87.2	90.6	90.8	90.4	39.0	47.2	53.8	70.4	73.9	75.7
45-49	92.0	91.7	90.9	93.8	93.7	93.3	39.1	45.6	52.9	75.3	77.7	79.7
50-54	94.2	94.2	93.5	95.8	95.8	95.5	38.5	44.2	50.2	77.7	80.8	81.9
55-59	94.7	94.7	94.8	96.8	96.3	96.5	36.4	41.8	47.5	78.8	81.0	82.8
60-64	91.5	91.4	92.0	93.6	93.2	93.7	32.6	37.6	44.0	73.7	76.2	79.1
65-69	83.3	85.7	86.8	86.5	88.2	89.0	27.5	33.8	38.7	63.2	67.4	71.1
70-74	67.8	74.3	78.9	73.1	78.4	82.2	23.2	30.0	33.8	48.0	55.0	60.2
75-79	53.9	59.6	67.0	61.3	65.9	72.3	22.4	30.6	31.7	37.1	41.8	48.5
80-84	41.7	46.8	52.5	51.5	55.9	60.9	25.2	30.8	29.2	28.4	32.1	36.1
85 or older	31.7	34.5	38.4	47.2	48.7	51.6	26.4	29.4	26.2	21.2	23.8	26.4

Source: Population Census; "Factors Influencing the Recent Changes in the Head of Family Ratio", No. 182 Study of Population Problems

Note: Ordinary households are used as denominator

Chapter 4

Family and Regional Development

Hiroaki Shimizu

Director

Department of Population Dynamics

Institute of Population Problems

Ministry of Health and Welfare

1. Introduction

In the study of the family and region in Japan, we perhaps have paid little, if any attention to what Peter Laslett calls the three dogmas.¹

According to Laslett, "In Europe and probably in other parts of the world, it is mistakenly believed that, prior to industrialization, people lived together in large families, in a complex kinship structure. "Let us call this idea the large-scale household dogma. A second mistaken idea is that such groups - always and everywhere - have changed over time from large-scale to small-scale, and from complex to simple. Let us call this the one-directional dogma. Thirdly, it is mistakenly supposed that the industrialization or 'modernization' process always entails changes corresponding to the one-directional dogma. We call this the industrialization dogma."²

I believe that we must free ourselves from these dogmas if we are to develop studies that will help improve people's welfare. This paper examines the problems of family and region from this viewpoint.

2. Family and Regional Development: Significance of the Study

I would like to reflect on the problem of regional development, based on the idea that the family serves as the basic model giving us an insight into the regional characteristics.

The family may be thought of as a mirror that reflects the social structure of the region. It has been pointed out, for example that "the family is the ground which cultivates all social relations, and a mirror in which all social functions are reflected."³ "The sociological studies of marriage and family must not restrict themselves to attempting to understand social phenomena. They should thoroughly investigate, through these phenomena, the large-scale social structure and the principles underlying it. Family sociology is the one and only magnifier to study the society and its history."⁴ "In social anthropology, the family is considered basic to the social structure. The family is obviously an important idea in examining society's group structure and human relationships. In any given society, the traditional family system clearly reveal the sociological orientation of the society's members. The process in which modernization erodes the system also displays this tendency. So a comparison of sociological orientations between societies would be key to understanding the social structures inherent in different societies."⁵

In what context, then, is the word development used? One recent definition holds that development refers to "a process of a series of

planned, intended actions aimed at improving the welfare of the people by developing the economic, social, and cultural aspects of all or part of the society."⁶

Many discussions have been presented on the ideas of regional development and its direction. Here, I would like to introduce some opinions gleaned from the Council on Population Problems' reports and study meetings. I would also like to touch on the significance of continuing to study on regional development.

In 1963, the Council on Population Problems reported to the government on its views regarding "Regional development items which require special attention, from the viewpoint of resolving population problems." The report emphasized that the idea and the ultimate goal of regional development lay in "improving the true welfare of the people; in other words, of local residents."⁷ Welfare, here "refers to a condition in which individuals are able to fulfill their needs and attain happy lives."⁸

Also, reports by the Board of Inquiry on Regional Economic Problems and the planning subcommittee of the same Board point out that regional development programs of the past have had little comprehensive understanding of regional problems and regional differences. They also said, "a program may be labeled appropriate if upon its implementation, the average needs of residents in each region - i.e., after providing for regional differences - are fulfilled."⁹ The report thus recognized that regional differences exist in Japan, and suggest the need for development policy that considered the culture and thinking unique to each region.

I would like to approach regional development from the basis of regional differences in family structure. I believe that this is an important consideration and one which merits further study.

3. Regional Differences in Family Structure

The family structure here refers to the norm or value systems considered ideal within a given society or family. In other words, it is the structure which a people in the society think best. For some societies, the ideal is for parents to live together with children and children's spouses; this is the "stem family system," in which the family centers on the parent-child relationship or on the father-son line of succession.¹⁰ In other societies the ideal is for parents and married children to live separately, in "conjugal family system"; i.e., as couples or as nuclear families.¹¹

Here, I would like to follow the idea that, "In Japanese society, qualitative and quantitative differences exist in the standards for

family structure. There exists also a specific distribution range for each standard."¹²

Let us consider the regional differences in Japanese family structure, basing on discussion on the above definitions of family structure and regional difference.

The study of regional differences in family structure must utilize vast data from past surveys. I have decided to divide regions into those which are conjugal family system societies and those which are stem system societies, the basis for the division being the ratio of nuclear-type households (i.e., nuclear family households plus single households) among all households containing at least one member over 65 years of age. Regions for which the ratio exceeds 50% were termed conjugal-system societies; the remainder, stem-system societies.¹³ For Japan, the 1985 Population Census shows that 13 prefectures are conjugal systems, these include Kagoshima (71.2%), Tokyo (61.7%) and Kochi (55.9%). The stem family system is found in 34 prefectures, headed by Yamagata (22.6%), Toyama (24.9%), and Akita (26.9%).

A close examination reveals that conjugal-family societies are distributed around metropolitan areas and in the regions of Sanyo, Shikoku and southern Kushu, while stem family system societies are scattered over a wide area in the Tohoku and Hokuriku regions. (see Fig. 1)

What is the relationship between the regional differences in family structure and regional ideas regarding families and households? The "Demographic Survey on Changes in the Family Life Course and Household Structure" was conducted in 1985 by the Institute of Population Problems, Ministry of Health and Welfare.

The survey asked: "We wish to know your opinion about parents and married children living together. Various arguments have been expressed on this issue, and we would like to hear yours." The results showed that, on the whole, the highest preference was for three-generations (grandparents, parents, and married children) to live together (e.g., "three generations should live together if possible," "it is better if three generations could live together" "it is natural that three generations live together"). Regional examination showed that nuclear families were preferred in the metropolitan areas, and in Hokkaido, Shikoku, and southern Kyushu (e.g., I would prefer to live in a nuclear family; "it is natural to live in a nuclear family," "we should live in nuclear families if possible"), while Tohoku and Hokuriku were particularly in favor of three-generation families. The study further showed that the actual regional conditions of families correlated presently with these preferences. (see Figs. 2 and 3).

In this section, we have discussed the concept of regional development, the direction it may take, and the pertinence of regional

differences in family structure. Based on this discussion, in the next section we will consider the problems associated with the family and regional development.

4. Family and Regional Development

In this section, I will address the issue of family and regional development based on the relationship between the form of residence or family structure and support of aged parents suggested by Professor Kiyomi Morioka. I am addressing this issue because I thought it would be the most important concern in any regional society.

Professor Morioka says "When we say a family is living together, it means family members actually form one household (and not just in family register forms). So, daily contact is the rule in families living together.¹⁴ Families whose members live separately but not far away from one another can have contact on a daily basis, but this is not always possible. They can withhold contact if they wish to because they are not members of the same household.¹⁵ When we say family members are living far away from one another, we mean the distance between them is so large that family members cannot have contact on a daily basis."¹⁶ Professor Morioka also identified three aspects of supporting aged parents. One is economic support (assistance to fulfill a need for economic stability) health-related care (assistance to fulfill a need to maintain good health and to be carried for in case of illness as well as to receive medical treatment free of charge) and emotional support (assistance to fulfill a need to talk with someone to get a sense of security through human relationships among family members).¹⁷

Based on this formula, Professor Morioka also argues that living together offers the most stability in economic support, health-related care and emotional support, but it falls short with regard to protecting privacy and avoiding emotional conflict. Family members living close to parents can meet their needs for economic and emotional support just as fully as when living together, if they have the willingness and ability to do so. However, they may find it difficult to cope with emergency health situations. Living far away from one another would be the best option in order to protect privacy and avoid emotional conflict. Since daily contact is not possible, even by using telephone and letters, parents' needs for emotional support cannot be met as fully as living close by, this living arrangement is also inadequate in meeting parents' health-related needs (economic support is possible if family members are willing to provide it). Living far away therefore cannot work well when it comes to supporting aged parents.¹⁸ (see Fig. 4)

If we apply Professor Morioka's formula explaining the relationship between living arrangements and support of aged parents to cases in Japan, we see a coexistence of "stem family" societies, in which married

children live together with aged parents in principal (Yamagata, Toyama, Akita and other prefectures) and "conjugal family" societies, in which married children live separately from aged parents (Kagoshima, Tokyo, Kochi, and other prefectures). Now, let us take Yamagata and Kagoshima prefectures as examples, and make a comparison between stem family societies and conjugal family societies.

The living together form of habitation represented by Yamagata provides for considerable stable care of aged parents in terms of economic support and health related care. This living arrangement, however, has potential problems in protecting privacy and avoiding emotional conflict. At the same time, the idea that married children should live together to take care of aged parents prevails in households consisting of "aged people who need various forms of care." In such cases, the spouse or the daughter-in-law often is burdened with caring for aged parents. It is not socially acceptable to go against the prevailing logic and put aged parents in a nursing home. These regions, therefore, will need welfare services based on home care; services that help spouses or daughters-in-law care for the aged and relieve them of some of their burden. In prefectures such as Kagoshima, aged parents and married children living close by used to be the most popular living arrangement but it has changed since and living far away from one another is gaining ground. Living close by is more effective than living together in protecting family members' privacy and avoiding emotional conflict at home. If the family consists of an "aged person needing care," however, there is not much difference in family members' contact between these two types of living arrangement. Home care would not be suitable since they in principle live separately. In these regions, therefore, it will be necessary to improve the welfare system based on institutional care. I believe this move will have to be further promoted for family members living far away from one another.

A reflection on the relationship between living arrangements and support of aged parents in Japan, as suggested by Professor Morioka, indicates that in prefectures such as Yamagata and Kagoshima there will be different problems in supporting aged people. If so, diverse development measures which allow for support of the aged will be called for. I believe that only by formulating and promoting development measures suitable for the region in question we can hope improve the welfare of residents in the region.

5. Theories on Japanese Family Structure

Finally, I would like to touch on where the aforementioned theory on regional differences in the family structure stands in the previous studies on the Japanese family.

In Japan, empirical research on the family started in early 1930's.

In about fifty years various debates on the family structure in Japan and its structural changes have been made in many academic disciplines.

First, these seem to be two views on the traditional Japanese family structure. One view holds that stem families were the most dominant traditionally and the other holds that while stem families were dominant, conjugal families also existed concurrently.

Views on the traditional family system and the direction of structural change also vary. Scholars considering the "stem family system" most dominant can be broken down into those who argue the stem family structure has been maintained up to the present ("homogeneity theory") and those who insist that the stem family system has undergone structural changes to be replaced by the conjugal family system ("structural change theory")

Scholars insisting that stem family and conjugal family systems existed concurrently can also be divided on how the system has changed over the years. Some say the two family structures are still maintained and they reflect regional differences ("heterogeneity theory"). Others believe that the conjugal family system has the potential to be transformed into the stem family system. ("structural change theory") (see Table 1)

The structural change theory is believed to be most valid of all theories on family structure. Only a small number of scholars support heterogeneity theory.

6. Summary and Conclusion

There are many ways to conceptualize the Japanese family structure and its structural changes as we have seen so far. This diversity basically stems from different understanding of what the structure of traditional family was like: whether emphasis is put on changes or the preserved, traditional aspects.

As regards the relationship between different ways of understanding family structure and social/economic changes, "transformation theory" holds that the traditional family structure will undergo structural changes in response to social and economic changes. "Homogeneity theory" and "heterogeneity theory", on the other hand, hold that the traditional family structure has persisted in spite of economic and social changes.

I have considered the relationship between the above theories and promotion of regional development that takes regional differences into account. I felt that subjects (people) who can recognize the unique values inherent in each region (structure of culture and perception =

the way people think and feel) and problems associated with regional differences have to assume the majority before development policies for "improvement of residents, welfare" can be formulated and promoted.¹⁹

I also feel that emergence of subjects or people with heterogeneous views,²⁰ who are liberated from Peter Laslett's dogmas, may be necessary in realizing development aimed at improving the welfare of the residents.

(Note)

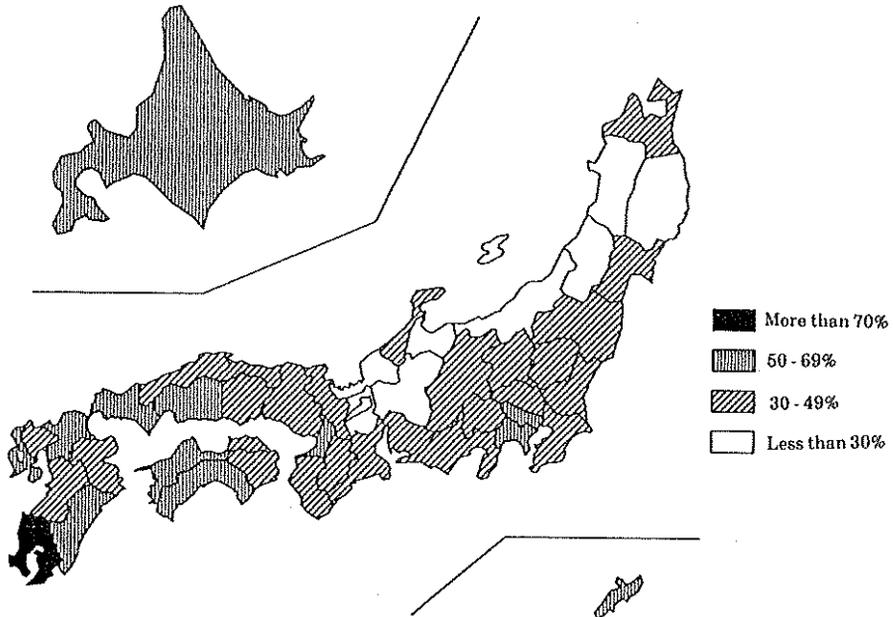
1. Laslett, Peter, "The European Household and its History as Viewed from Japan." In Osamu Saito (eds); Peter Laslett et al. Historical Sociology of Family and Population - Study of Cambridge Group, Libroport, 1988, pp. 28-29.
2. Laslett, Peter, Ibid. pp. 28-29
3. Koyama, Takashi, "Study of Family Structure in Etchu Goka-yama and Hida Shirakawa Region (1)." In Research Journal vol. 6, No. 2, Takaoka (Old) High School, 1933, p. 278.
4. Halchev, A. G., Marriage and Family in the Soviet Union: A Sociological Study (translation by Hiromi Teratani). Sogen Shinsha, 1967, p. 15.
5. Nakane, Chie, The Family Structure - A Social Anthropolopological Analysis. The University of Tokyo Press, 1970, p, iii.
6. Iwaki, Sadayuki, "Development", In Sosuke Mita, Akira Kurihara, Yoshihisa Tanaka (eds). Encyclopedia of Sociology. Kobunsha, 1988, pp. 121-122.
7. Minister's Secretariat Planning Division. Ministry of Health and Welfare (ed). Citizens' Life and New Industrial City - Report from Public Seminar on New Industrial City for Related Prefectures. Printing Bureau, Ministry of Finance, 1964, p. 166
8. Minister's Secretariat Planning Division, Ministry of Health and Welfare (ed). Ibid p. 157.
9. Minister's Secretariat Planning Division, Ministry of Health and Welfare (ed). Ibid. p. 159.
10. Nakane, Chie, Ibid. pp. 35-38.
11. Nakane, Chie, Ibid. pp. 35-38.

12. Gamo, Masao, Materials on Sociology Lecture III. Keibundo, 1956, p. 13.
13. See Shimizu, Hiroaki, Sociology of Population and Family. Saishobo, 1986, p. 88 on this point.
14. Morioka, Kiyomi, "Support of Aged Parents". Kiyomi Morioka and Takashi Mochizuki. The New Sociology of Family (revised edition). Baifukan, 1987, p. 124.
15. Morioka, Kiyomi. Ibid. p. 124
16. Morioka, Kiyomi. Ibid. p. 124
17. Morioka, Kiyomi. Ibid. pp. 121-122.
18. Morioka, Kiyomi. Ibid. pp. 124-125.
19. I said this because I agree with the statement: "Regional development would not serve as a means to realize a welfare state in the true sense unless we adopt the thinking that the subjects as well as objects of development are people" (Minister's Secretariat Planning Division, Ministry of Health and Welfare (ed). Ibid. p. 166.)
20. Professor Martine Segalene says, "As a system the family had dual forces; to resist or adapt to social changes. The family has survived times of economic and social fluctuations as the European society transformed from an agrarian economy to an industrial society. Seen historically from some distance, we can say the family as a system - rather than as a (basic unit) of the society or the last fort for protection against hardship in the society - has responded and at the same time resisted to changes in the society" (Martine Segalene (translated by Yoko Kataoka, Kimiko Kimoto, Sonoko Kokuryo, Mizuyo Shibayama, Mineko Suzuki and Kayoko Fujimoto). Historical Anthropology of the Family. Shinhyoron, 1987, p.3)

Table 1 Perceptions of the Traditional Family Structure and Its Structural Changes

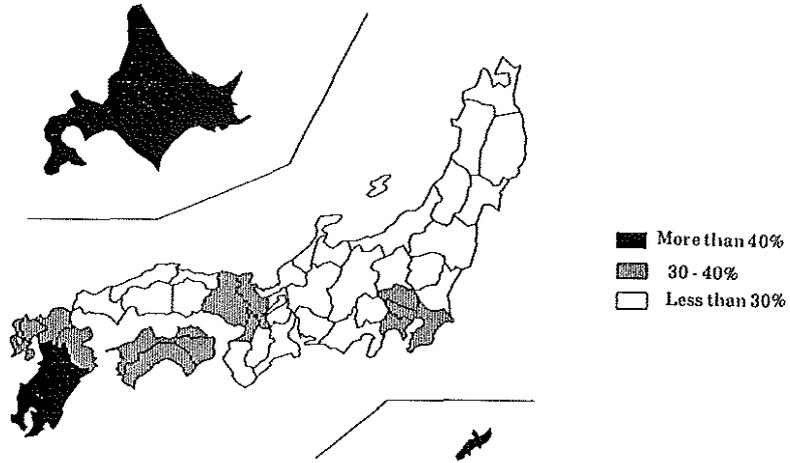
Direction of Structural Change	No change (Continuous)	Change (Transformation)
Traditional Family Structure		
Stem family system	Homogeneity theory	
Stem family system + Conjugal family system	Heterogeneity theory	Structural change theory

Figure 1 Regional Differences in the Ratio of Nuclear Families Consisting of Aged Persons (1985)



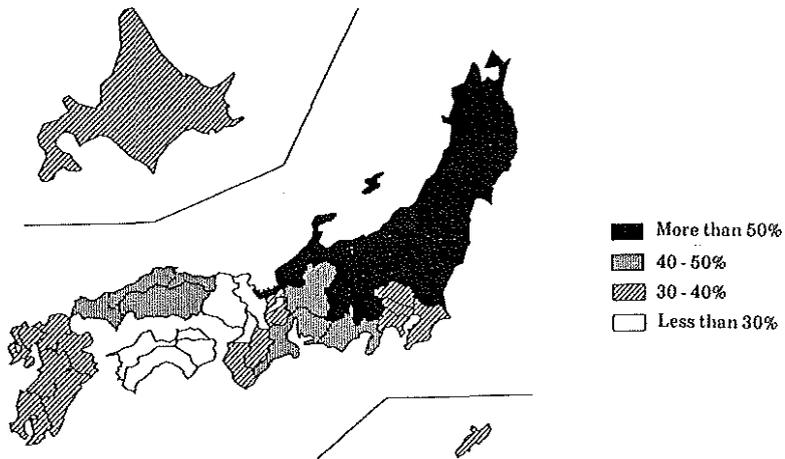
Source: "Population Census," Statistics Bureau, General Affairs Agency

Figure 2 Nuclear Family Orientation(1985)



Source: "Demographic Survey on Changes in the Family Life Course and Household Structure,"
Institute of Population Problems, Ministry of Health and Welfare.

Figure 3 Willingness to Live in a Tree-Generation Family (1985)



Source: "Demographic Survey on Changes in the Family Life Course and Household Structure,"
Institute of Population Problems, Ministry of Health and Welfare.

Figure 4 Magnitude of Functions and Reverse Functions Concerning Support of Aged Parents according to Living Arrangement

Aspects of support	Functions			Reverse functions	
	Economic support	Emotional support	Health-related care	Protection of emotional	Generation of conflict of privacy
Living together	○	○	○	⊗	⊗
Living separately					
Living close by	○	○	○	⊗	⊗
Living far away	○	○	•	•	•

Large ○ ⊗
 Medium ○ ⊗
 Small • •

(Source): Kiyomi Morioka and Takashi Mochizuki, The New Sociology of Family (revised edition). Baifukan, 1987, p. 125.

Chapter 5

Population Aging and Family

Sumiko Uchino
Director
Department of Population Structure Studies
Institute of Population Problems
Ministry of Health and Welfare

1. General View of Population Aging

Population aging in Japan is progressing more rapidly than in any other developed countries. According to the population projections conducted by the Ministry of Health and Welfare in 1986, the proportion of the aged population of Japan (65 years and older) is estimated to increase to 16.3% in year 2000, 20% in 2011, 23% in 2017, and 24% in 2040.¹⁾

The proportion of the aged population of Japan in 1985 was 10.3% which was the lowest level comparable to Canada and Australia, but as shown in the above projections it will reach 16.3% in a decade or so, posting the world's highest figure equivalent to Sweden's. Furthermore it is projected to become 23-24% in the 21st century, surpassing major western countries and have the largest proportion of aged population in the world.

At this juncture, a few facts regarding population aging in Japan must be pointed out. First of all, increases in the number of the elderly in the population. In 1980, the aged population of Japan, 65 years and older, numbered a little more than 10 million. However, according to the projections this figure will double by 1998 to 20 million and triple by 2015. The rate of increase is too high to be overlooked.

Secondly, the change in the dependency ratio. The dependency ratio represents the proportion of children and the elderly dependent on the productive-age population. It is equally important to study trends in the dependent population as a whole as well as its components to understand the burden imposed on society by population problems. For example, an increase in the aged population aging will naturally raise the dependency ratio. However, if the child population declines, accordingly, the total dependency ratio may not be affected. The breakdown will show an increase in aged population and a decline in child population.

In 1985, the total dependency ratio was 46.7% and is projected to increase to 52.1% at the end of this century, 62.8% in 2010, and 67% in 2015. Furthermore, in 1985 there were 48 elderly people to every 100 children (aging index), and according to the projections the aging index will become 90/100 in 2000 and 108/100 in 2010. As mentioned above, there will be more elderly people than children in early next century and the focus of society's attention will be shifted from children to the elderly.

The third factor is the problem of progressive aging process of elderly population. Among the aged population, the "old-old" group (75 years and older) is expected to increase more rapidly than the "young-old" (65-74 years old). In 1985, 38% of the total aged population was

accounted for by the old-old group, and this figure is expected to increase to 40% in 2000, 46% in 2010, 52% in 2023, and 57% in 2028. The fact that more than half of the total aged population will be shared by the old-old group will have a significant impact on the future social and economic life.

Table 1 summarizes several indices of the future population aging. The current trend of population dynamics also needs to be considered at this point. First, the birth rate statistics show that since 1973 both the crude birth rate and the total fertility rate have continued to decline and in 1987 the crude birth rate was 11.1 and the total fertility rate 1.69, the lowest figures ever recorded. The birth rate to date has continued to drop and this suggests the seriousness of the problem of population aging.

Another point is the decline in the death rate among the aged group. As shown in Table 2, in 1980, 1985, and 1987 the death rate shows a definite declining trend. It is also to be noted that even in the past two years (1985-1987) the death rate in general declined. Again, this means an increasing probability of survival of aged population which will lead to the increase in aged population.

In consideration of the declining trends in the birth rate and the death rate, population aging may be progressing beyond our projections. Not only will this phenomenon affect our society, but also the present family and household structures.

2. Family Types of the Aged

After the war, Japanese household structures gradually changed. Traditional three-generation households have been on the decline and in contrast nuclear families and single households grew. The quinquennial population census during 1970 and 1985 shown on Table 3 indicates these changes.

Nuclear family households can be further broken down into households composed of (a) a couple only and (b) a couple and their unmarried child(ren). The nuclear family households accounted for 56.7% of the total ordinary households in 1970, 60.3% in 1980, and 60% in 1985. Though a slight decline percentage-wise was recorded in 1985, it is important to note that the actual number of nuclear family households continued to increase (Table 3).

In fact, nuclear families consisting of a couple and their unmarried child(ren) outnumber those consisting of a couple only. The former accounted for 83% of the total nuclear family households in 1970 but declined to 77% in 1985 while the latter increased from 17% to 23% during the same period. This increase is mainly due to the growth of

the aged couple households resulting from progressive population aging.

Furthermore, during the the same period (1970-1985) the number of nuclear families consisting of a couple and their unmarried children rose from 14.21 million to 17.59 million, an increase of approximately 3.4 million or 23.8%; while that of nuclear families consisting of a couple only from 2.97 million to 5.21 million, an increase of approximately 2.24 million or 75%.

The increase of single households is also noteworthy. In 1970 the total number of single households was 6.14 million which grew to 7.9 million in 1985, an increase of approximately 1.76 million or 29%. An examination of census data for five-year periods also shows rapid changes in the annual average rate of increase (1.34% for 1970-75; 1.61% for 1975-80; 2.13% for 1980-85). Again, this is largely due to progressive population aging.

It is said that nuclear family households have reached the saturation point, suggesting a possible decrease. However, actual numbers still continue to increase, mainly due to the growth of "couple only" households. Therefore, in the consideration of the above, even though there will be a slight decrease in nuclear families consisting of a couple with their unmarried children the increase in the number of "couple only" families will augment the total number of nuclear family households.

Table 4 shows the general trends in households of the aged. In 1975, heads of household who are 65 years and older numbered 3.4 million which rose to 5.23 million in 1985, an increase of approximately 1.8 million or 54%. "Couple only" households and single households doubled in a decade from 870,000 to 1.6 million and from 630,000 to 1.2 million respectively.

In reviewing the figures in Table 3, the number of "couple only" households rose from 3.88 million to 5.21 million in total between 1975 and 1985, an approximate increase of 1.33 million or 34%. However, as mentioned earlier the number of households consisting of couples of 65 years and older doubled in a decade and its ratio to the total "couple only" households rose from 23% in 1975 to 31% in 1985.

The number of aged people living alone also doubled in ten years (1975-1985). However, it is interesting to note that the number of single households as a whole increased by 1.33 million or 20% during the same period. The ratio of the aged single to this total single households is 10% in 1975 and 15% in 1985.

Therefore, as seen from the projection, this population aging problem will be reflected in significant changes in the nuclear family and single households in the future.

3. Family Types of Aged Population by Region

The regional population aging show different characteristics and trends than that of national population. Other than the aforementioned fertility and mortality, "migration" is another factor to be considered. Many young people leave their home town for big cities or other urban communities for various reasons and as a result the elderly people are left behind, statistically increasing the aged population of the respective region while on the other hand rejuvenating the population of the urban cities as a result of im-migration of the young.

The retirement system is also another factor which very much affects the family structure in regional communities. Therefore the family types of the aged in the rural districts are quite complicated since many other factors such as the two mentioned above cannot be overlooked.

The population census conducted in 1985 shows the distribution of aged households by prefecture, while categorizing them into three types, namely: (a) ordinary households with elderly members, (b) nuclear family households composed of elderly members only, and (c) households of single elderly persons. (Figures 1, 2, and 3)

According to the national average based on the census, households with elderly members accounted for 24.4% of the total ordinary households. The highest rate was recorded for Yamagata Prefecture (38.3%) and Shimane Prefecture (38.6%). The lowest was recorded for Kanagawa Prefecture (16.9%), Tokyo (17.7%), and Saitama Prefecture (18.0%). The figure proves that there are a smaller number of households with elderly members in the urban areas such as Tokyo. In Shimane and Yamagata Prefectures posting the highest figures, the aged population of 65 years and older accounted for 15.3% and 13.4% of the total prefectural population respectively. In contrast, in Kanagawa Prefecture the percentage of people who are 65 years old and over to its total population is 7.48%, corresponding to a low level of the percentage of ordinary households with elderly members.

On the national average, households of aged couples only accounted for 17.8% of the total ordinary households. Looking at individual prefectures, Kagoshima Prefecture has the highest ratio (28.9%) followed by Hokkaido (25.8%). On the other hand, it was only 9.0% for Yamagata Prefecture. As shown in Figure 2 the lower proportions of households of aged couples only are found in Tohoku, Hokuriku, while major urban areas such as Tokyo (23.0%), Kanagawa (20.2%), and Osaka (21.3%) and Kyushu showed opposite trends.

The national average ratio of aged single households was 12.7% to total ordinary households with elderly members. Looking at individual prefectures, Kagoshima (28.0%) more than doubles the national average,

followed by Kochi (20.7%). In contrast, figures for Tohoku and Hokuriku were at the 7-8% level. Western Japan as well as urban areas such as Tokyo, Osaka, Kyoto, Hyogo and Wakayama show high percentages ranging from 15-16%.

The preceding analysis of family types by region indicates diversified family structure. The population aging in Japan, migration between Prefectures, and other complicated regional characteristics of family types all interrelate. Further research on interrelationships among these factors along with historical trends is needed.

4. Future Prospects

In terms of future trends, the rapid increase in households of couples only and single households is anticipated due to population aging. It is projected that households consisting of couples only who are 65 years and older will triple in the period of 35 years (1985-2020) and that households of single people who are 65 years and older will increase to over 3.8 million in 2020 from the present 1.18 million. (Table 5)

The total number of households consisting of couples only and that of single households are compared with respective households of members who are 65 years and older in Table 6. Aged couple households in 1985 accounted for 30% of total couple household and is estimated to reach 41% in 2000 and 52% in 2025. Likewise, aged single households in 1985 accounted for approximately 15% of the total single households and is forecasted to reach 20% in 2000 and 28% in 2025.

Population aging will bring forth the aging of the family and household structure as well. The Japanese population in the 21st century will face the increase in aged couples only and aged single households. The growth of these two types of households may eventually lead to the increase of third type, three-generation households (parent-child-grandchild), where the aged parents will be taken care by the married child's family due to economic or healthy difficulties. This will have a significant impact on household structure as a whole.

(Note) 1. "Population Projections for Japan - 1985-2085", Research Series No. 244, dated February 1, 1987, Institute of Population Problem.

Table 1 Major Indices of Future Population Aging in Japan

Year	Population (1,000)				Average annual increase				Age structure			Average age	Median age	Ratio of dependent population (%)			Aging index
	Total	0-14	15-64	65-	rate (%)				(%)					Total	a	b	
					Total	0-14	15-64	65-	0-14	15-64	65-						
1985	121,049	26,042	82,534	12,472	0.52	-0.34	0.89	3.51	21.51	68.18	10.30	35.68	35.19	46.66	31.55	15.11	47.89
1990	124,225	23,132	86,274	14,819	0.53	-0.65	0.21	3.98	18.62	69.45	11.93	37.40	37.39	43.99	26.81	17.18	64.06
1995	127,565	22,387	87,168	18,009	0.56	1.05	-0.21	3.45	17.55	68.33	14.12	38.78	38.76	46.34	25.68	20.66	80.44
2000	131,192	23,591	86,263	21,338	0.46	1.30	-0.32	2.54	17.98	65.75	16.26	39.78	39.42	52.08	27.35	24.74	90.45
2005	134,247	25,164	84,888	24,195	0.23	0.11	-0.35	2.30	18.74	63.23	18.02	40.62	40.09	58.15	29.64	28.50	96.15
2010	135,823	25,301	83,418	27,104	0.02	-1.15	-0.48	2.48	18.63	61.42	19.96	41.52	41.06	62.82	30.33	32.49	107.13
2015	135,938	23,876	81,419	30,643	-0.09	-1.33	-0.08	0.79	17.56	59.89	22.54	42.39	42.47	66.96	29.32	37.64	128.34
2020	135,304	22,327	81,097	31,880	-0.10	-0.23	0.00	-0.26	16.50	59.94	23.56	43.03	43.60	66.84	27.53	39.31	142.79
2025	134,642	22,075	81,102	31,465	-0.09	0.83	-0.26	-0.30	16.40	60.24	23.37	43.29	43.67	66.02	27.22	38.80	142.54
2030	134,067	23,009	80,057	31,001	-0.14	0.77	-0.45	-0.04	17.16	59.71	23.12	43.22	42.84	67.46	28.74	38.72	134.74
2035	133,133	23,914	78,278	30,941	-0.22	-0.10	-0.56	0.51	17.96	58.80	23.24	43.04	42.07	70.08	30.55	39.53	129.38
2040	131,646	23,798	76,110	31,738	-0.25	-0.85	-0.08	-0.22	18.08	57.81	24.11	42.93	42.08	72.97	31.27	41.70	133.37
2045	130,017	22,809	75,824	31,384	-0.21	-0.75	0.16	-0.71	17.54	58.32	24.14	42.95	42.56	71.47	30.08	41.39	137.59
2050	128,681	21,967	76,433	30,281	-0.15	0.05	0.09	-0.92	17.07	59.40	23.53	42.99	42.86	68.36	28.74	39.62	137.85
2055	127,704	22,017	76,770	28,917	-0.12	0.64	-0.17	-0.56	17.24	60.12	22.64	42.86	42.49	66.35	28.68	37.67	131.34
2060	126,947	22,728	76,107	28,112	-0.12	0.47	-0.36	0.06	17.90	59.95	22.14	42.56	41.68	66.80	29.86	36.94	123.69
2065	126,215	23,266	74,751	28,199	-0.11	-0.15	-0.27	0.34	18.43	59.23	22.34	42.30	41.25	68.85	31.12	37.72	121.20
2070	125,518	23,095	73,746	28,677	-0.10	-0.55	0.00	0.01	18.40	58.75	22.85	42.24	41.42	70.20	31.32	38.89	124.17
2075	124,890	22,466	73,739	28,685	-0.08	-0.36	0.14	-0.43	17.99	59.04	22.97	42.32	41.80	69.37	30.47	38.90	127.68
2080	124,401	22,066	74,256	28,079	-0.05	0.19	0.06	-0.55	17.74	59.69	22.57	42.37	41.89	67.53	29.72	37.81	127.25
2085	124,066	22,277	74,473	27,316					17.66	60.03	22.02	42.26	41.51	66.59	29.91	36.68	122.62

Note: (a) Child population (b) Elderly population

Above figures are taken from "Population Statistics #251," Institute of Population Problems, March 15, 1988; page 67

Table 2 Improvement of Mortality Rate for the Aged

(Per 100,000 population)

Age group	1980	1985	1987	Decrease rate (%)	
				1985/1980	1987/1985
65-69	1865.8	1554.0	1410.5	16.7	9.2
70-74	3297.9	2717.5	2460.2	17.6	9.5
75-79	5911.1	4980.5	4422.0	15.7	11.2
80-	12968.6	11415.1	10693.4	12.0	6.3

Source: Ministry of Health and Welfare Vital Statistics of Population in 1987.

Table 3 Trends in Ordinary Households by Family Type

(Unit: thousand)

Year	Ordinary Household							
	Grand Total	Sub-total	Kinship Household			Other kinship household	Non-kinship household	Single household
			Nuclear family household	Couple only	Couple & children			
1970	30,297	24,059	17,186	2,972	14,214	6,874	100	6,137
1975	33,596	26,968	19,980	3,880	16,100	6,988	67	6,561
1980	35,824	28,657	21,594	4,460	17,134	7,063	62	7,105
1985	37,980	30,013	22,804	5,212	17,592	7,209	73	7,895
Distribution of ordinary household (%):								
1970	100.0	79.4	56.7	9.8	46.9	22.7	0.3	20.3
1975	100.0	80.3	59.5	11.6	47.9	20.8	0.2	19.5
1980	100.0	80.0	60.3	12.5	47.8	19.7	0.2	19.8
1985	100.0	79.0	60.0	13.7	46.3	19.0	0.2	20.8
Average annual increase rate (%):								
1970-1975	2.09	2.31	3.06	5.48	2.52	0.33	-7.85	1.34
1975-1980	1.29	1.22	1.57	2.82	1.25	0.21	-1.55	1.61
1980-1985	1.18	0.93	1.10	3.16	0.53	0.41	3.37	2.13

Source: Population Census, Statistics Bureau, Management and Coordination Agency

Table 4 Trends in Ordinary Households with a Family Head of 65 Years and Older

Year	Total household	Couple only	Single	Others
1975	3,404	873	630	1,901
1980	4,330	1,245	885	2,200
1985	5,234	1,597	1,181	2,455

Distribution of each type household (%):

1975	100.0	25.6	18.5	55.9
1980	100.0	28.8	20.4	50.8
1985	100.0	30.5	22.6	46.9

Average annual increase rate (%):

1975-1980	4.93	7.37	7.03	2.96
1980-1985	3.86	5.10	5.94	2.22

Source: Population Census, Statistics Bureau, Management and Coordination Agency

Table 5 Projection of Ordinary Households with a Family Head of 65 Years and Older

Year	Total household	Couple only	Single	Others
1985	5,234	1,597	1,181	2,456
1990	6,260	1,927	1,447	2,886
1995	7,893	2,483	1,873	3,537
2000	9,610	3,109	2,374	4,127
2005	11,019	3,626	2,820	4,573
2010	12,310	4,073	3,211	5,026
2015	13,916	4,617	3,654	5,644
2020	14,380	4,780	3,827	5,773
2025	14,031	4,638	3,791	5,603

Source: Population Census, Statistics Bureau, Management and Coordination Agency

Table 6 Trends in Distribution of Households with Elderly Members by Family Type

(Unit: thousand)

Family type	1985	2000	2025
A. Total number of "couple only" household	5,212	7,585	8,923
B. "Couple only" household (65 years and older)	1,597	3,109	4,638
B ÷ A (%)	30.6	41.0	52.0
C. Total number of single household	7,895	11,478	13,638
D. Single household (65 years and older)	1,161	2,374	3,791
D ÷ C (%)	14.7	20.7	27.8

Figure 1 Ratio of Households with Elderly Members (1985)

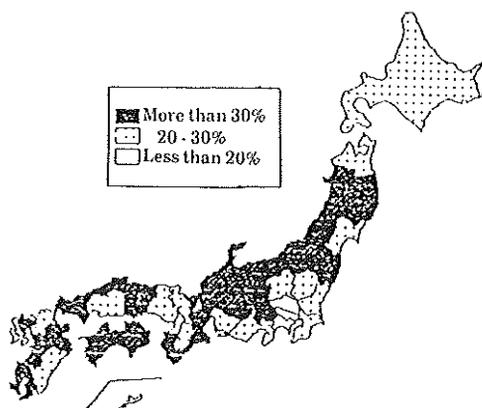


Figure 2 Ratio of Households with Elderly Couples Only (1985)

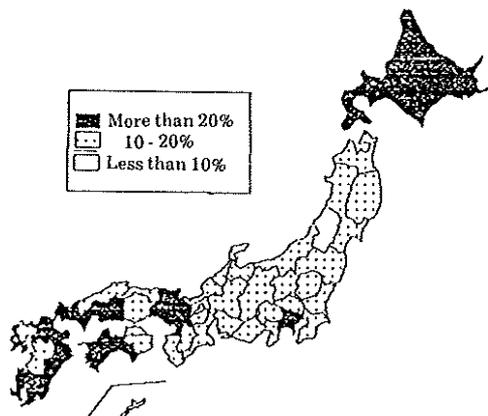
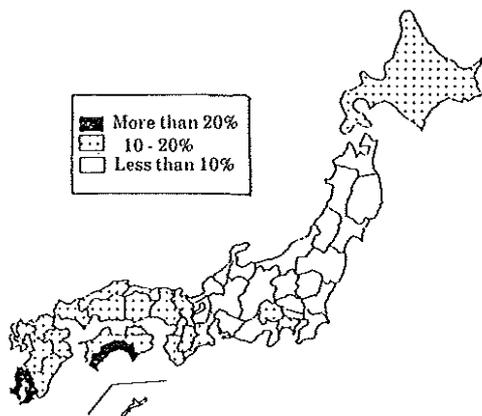


Figure 3 Ratio of Households with Single Elderly People (1985)



Chapter 6

Forecast of Future Households and Changes in Japanese Family Structure

Makoto Ato
Director
Department of Population Policy Studies
Institute of Population Problems
Ministry of Health and Welfare

Introduction

After the war, the structure of the Japanese family changed greatly. Especially during the high economic growth period, nuclear family households and single households increased significantly, while three-generation households (parent-child-grandchild) gradually declined, along with the average number of family members per household.

Today it is said that the growth of the nuclear family household is stagnant, while the decline of three-generation households continues. On the other hand, since 1965, with the ongoing increase in the aging population, aged single and aged couple households continue to grow. Furthermore, while the family formation which determines the size and structure of a household was relatively stable during the high economic growth period, it has not been quite as steady since the middle of the 1970s. The decline of the marriage rate, the rise in the proportion single, the rise in the average age at first marriages, and the decline of the birth rate have continued up until now.

Many are keen on this subject today both on a personal and public basis. It is necessary to grasp these changing trends in terms of planning the future administrative services for the public and in developing ideas for consumer needs. For this reason a study was conducted based on four assumptions to be defined here in order to examine the changing family structure and its formation and how this will affect the "family" in the 21st century. The assumptions are based on the results of a survey conducted by the Institute of Population Problem in October 1987, on "Estimation of Future Households."

1. Method and Summary of Forecast

The subject of this forecast is (a) the number of general households nationwide (headship by sex, age, and marital status) and (b) the number of nuclear-family households (couple and couple/child), kinship households, non-kinship households, and single households to the number of general households. The forecast period is for forty years starting from October 1, 1985, to the year 2025. The study will be conducted quinquennially.

(1) Outline of the Forecast Method

In order to forecast the number of general households, the headship rate method was used. This is a method by which the headship rate of the population structure is estimated first, then multiplied by the estimated future population structure to get the number of households. Here population structure means population by sex, age, and marital status.

Procedures:

- a) The future population estimate of the basic figures used in estimating the number of households, was extracted from the "Estimated Median of the Future Population of Japan" (December 1986 Institute of Population Problems).
- b) Estimated population ratios by sex and age (every five years of age), and that by marital status respectively.
- c) Multiplied the two numbers obtained in (b) above to get the estimated future population by sex and age, as well as by marital status.
- d) Estimated general household headship rates by sex and age, as well as by marital status.
- e) Multiplied the two rates obtained in (d) above to get the estimated general headship by sex and age, as well as by marital status.
- f) Estimated household composition ratios by headship age (every five years of age) and by family type.
- g) Multiplied the two ratios obtained in (f) above to get the estimated number of general household headship by age and family type.

(2) Estimate of Population by Marital Status

In regard to the marital population, a chart showing marital status structure was drawn, based on the past population composition by sex, age, and marital status per birth cohort (every five years of age) and current first-marriage rate, divorce rate, death rate, and deuterogamy rate by age. The future population by sex, age, and marital status was forecast using this chart.

The result of the estimate, in regard to the middle-advanced age male population, shows an increase in the unmarried and divorce ratios and the decline of the married population and separation by death of the elderly. On the other hand, the middle-advanced age female population shows a decline in separation by death, but an increase in the divorce as well as married ratios.

2. Assumptions Regarding Future Households

Headship rates by sex and age (every five years of age), and by marital status (hereafter referred to as headship rate) of future households was sought using the following four assumptions:

(1) Case 1

Assume Tokyo undergoes a typically average household movement in the future. That is to say, assuming the nation's average headship rate reaches the same level as that of 1985 Tokyo in 20 years (2025) and thereafter by a half-level difference to 1985 level in 2025 and a quarter-level difference in 2045. A curved line was interpolated on the respective graphs (Graphs 1-6) based on actual and an estimate obtained from subject assumption and headship rate from 1990 to 2025 was determined.

(2) Case 2

Assume the average 1985 headship rate of the four major urban communities (hereafter referred to as the Big Four) - Tokyo, Kanagawa, Osaka and Hyogo - as a typically average household movement in the future. Like Case 1, assuming that the nation's average headship rate will reach the same level as that of the Big Four's 1985 average in 2025, and thereafter by a half-level difference to 1985 Big Four level in 2025 and a quarter-level difference in 2045, a curved line was interpolated on the respective graphs.

The above assumption is based on several facts. First of all, the ratio of nuclear-family type households (nuclear family + single household) to general households, including the Big Four, is rising, but it is also important to note that the average headship rate of the Big Four in 1965 is close to the same of the nation's average in 1985. The same is true with the ratio of nuclear family households to kinship households. Secondly, by comparing the same rate with the aged population (65 years and older), the 1985 national average is close to that of the 1970-1975 average figure of the Big Four. Thirdly, again a similar phenomenon can be seen in the trend of the headship rate of the 20-64-year-old population; that is the 1985 national average is close to the same of the 1970-1975 average figure of the Big Four. The average data proves that the national growth of nuclear-family-type households will reach the same level of the Big Four in a 15-20-year span. In consideration of this trend, a 20-year time lag was estimated for this Case study.

(3) Case 3

In studying the headship rate by time series, a substantial change is seen in the rate before and after 1975. The decline in the headship rates of unmarried males and females, as well as middle-aged married males, is especially noticeable. The stagnated population movement, due to low-economic growth, the beginning of the eldest son-daughter age, and the sluggish declining rate of three-generation households, accounts for such trends. A curved line based on the past ten-year phenomenon (1975-1985) was applied and estimated the next 40-year headship rate on the premise that the declining/rising headship rate will not vary more

than 10%.

(4) Case 4

Assume the headship rate is to be fixed from 1985 onwards.

(5) Estimate of Distribution Coefficient by Family Types

In this estimate, general household were divided into five family types, namely: (a) couple households (b) parent + child households, (c) kinship household, (d) non-kinship households, and (e) single households. Types (a) through (c) make up the kinship households of which (a) and (b) are the nuclear-family households. The composition ratio by family type of future general households was estimated based on the four assumptions mentioned above: Case 1 and 2 assume Tokyo and the Big Four as typically average future models, Case 3 assumes the past ten-year trend will continue, and Case 4 assume, the 1985 trend is a fixed standard.

3. Estimate Results

(1) Forecast of the Total Number of General Households

The total number of households in Japan grew more rapidly than expected after the war and continues to grow, with a record 38 million households as of the October 1, 1985, survey. Estimated results, according to Case 2, show the total number of general households will reach 47 million in 2000 and 50 million in 2025 (refer to Graph 1).

Hereafter, the growth rate of total general households will exceed that of the total population. The growth rate of the total population in 2000 is 1.08% to 1985 and 1.11% in 2025, while the same of total general households is expected to be 1.24% in 2000 and 1.32% in 2025.

Case 1 show general households will total 50 million households in 2000 and 56 million in 2025; according to Case 3 a slightly lower number is estimated, with 44 million in 2000 and 45 million in 2025. The Case 4 estimate is very similar to that of Case 3, as shown on the graph.

(2) Forecast of the Average Number of Persons per Household

The average number of persons per household in Japan declined after the war and in 1985 averaged 3.14 people per household. Studying the number worldwide, it parallels those of Canada and Australia, and is considered relatively high among the developed countries.

In the Case 2 estimate, the average number of persons per household will continue to decline, with an estimated 2.75 persons per household

in 2000 and 2.62 persons in 2025, which is the present level of the United States (see Figure 2). The overall rise in the headship rate forecast accounts for this decline.

Likewise, an increase in the headship rate is forecast in Case 1 and the result is a lower number in persons per household - 2.60 persons in 2000, and 2.36 persons in 2025. On the other hand, in Case 3, where a slight change in the headship rate is assumed, the decline is small and is estimated at 2.92 persons in 2000 and 2.90 persons in 2025.

(3) Forecast of Single Households

As of 1985, number of single householders was 7.9 million, or 20.8% of Japan's total households. According to the Case 2 estimate the number of single households will continue to grow, and, as indicated in Figure 3, will total 11.5 million in 2000 and 13.6 million in 2025. Out of total households, which are expected expand by 1.32 in the next 40 years, total single households will reach 24.4% in 2000 and 26.4% in 2025.

The Case 1 estimate shows the total number of single households will grow to 14 million in 2000 and 18.1 million in 2025, while the Case 3 estimate forecasts 10.1 million in 2000 and 11.6 million in 2025.

(4) Forecast of Nuclear-Family Households

The number of nuclear-family households grew rapidly after the war, while the share they held among total households grew gradually. However, from 1980 to 1985 their growth was sluggish, with their ratio to total households declining slightly, to 22.8 million, or 60.0% of Japan's total households as of the 1985 survey.

Case 2 estimates that nuclear-family households will number 30.7 million in 2015, and thereafter will decline to 30.5 million in 2025 (refer to Figure 4). Afterwards, the rate of growth of nuclear-family households and total households will not show much variance.

Case 1 estimates constant growth in nuclear-family households will reach 31.9 million in 2025, but their ratio to total households will drop to 57.3%. Case estimates that nuclear-family households will reach 25.6 million in 2005 and thereafter decline to 24.3 million in 2025, or 54.4% of total households.

(5) Forecast of General Households Made up of Householders 65 Years of Age and Older

Due to the growth of both the aging population and the nuclear family, general households with householders 65 years of age and older (hereafter referred to as aged households) have grown remarkably. In the ten-year period between 1975-1985, the total number of households

grew by 1.13 times while aged households grew by 1.53 times.

Case 2 estimates that such households will grow steadily from 5.2 million as of 1985 to 9.6 million in 2000, ultimately reaching 14.0 million in 2025 (see Figure 5). The growth of aged households will surpass that of total households. The growth rate in the total number of households will be 1.24 times larger in 2000 as compared to 1985, and 1.32 times larger in 2025 and the same for the same period for aged households will be 1.84 times larger and 2.68 times larger respectively. Case 1 estimates the number of aged households will be 10.5 million in 2000 and 16.7 million in 2025. Case 3 estimates 7.48 million in 2000 and 12.4 million in 2025.

(6) Forecasts of Couple and Single Households with Households 65 Years of Age and Older

Couple and single households, with householders 65 years of age and older (hereafter referred to as aged couple/single households) grew 1.83 times to 1.87 times larger in the ten years from 1975 to 1985.

Case 2 estimates a constant growth, from 1.6 million to 1.2 million households, respectively, as of 1985 which will expand to 3.1 million (1.95 times larger) and 2.4 million (2.01 times larger) in 2000 and 4.6 million (2.90 times larger) and 3.8 million (3.21 times larger) in 2025 (refer to Figure 6).

Case 1 estimates 3.4 million and 2.6 million households respectively in 2000, and 5.4 million and 4.4 million in 2025. Case 3 estimates 3.16 million and 2.02 million in 2000, and 4.26 million and 3.32 million in 2025.

Conclusion

The "family" in Japan is in a period of transition today. The movement of "family nucleation" is ebbing - with that of the nuclear family, the number of persons per household and single households seen as stagnant. Meanwhile, looking at population dynamics, the major factor in the composition of family, we see a decline in the marriage rate, a rise in the rate of single persons, remarkable decrease in the birth rate and a high level in the divorce rate.

In regard to the household movement mentioned above, it should be noted that the Japanese family is basically different from its Western counterpart in that the parent-child relationship is always the core of the family - past, present, and future. From this viewpoint, it is forecast that the number of households will grow accordingly in proportion to population expansion and the size of the household.

From the viewpoint of the population-movement situation, single households will increase, due to the increase in single persons and the decreasing number of children per couple, and Western-type couple relationships will probably prevail. In consideration of this, the growth in households will exceed population growth; consequently the size of households will be smaller. In this chapter, an emphasis was placed on the Case 2 estimate results (from the population movement viewpoint), which predict that the Japanese family 40 years from now will be Westernized; however, this is looking at the long-term picture and does not mean that the Japanese family will be suddenly Westernized in 10 to 15 years.

Finally, from the Case 3 estimate single households made up of aged persons will increase by 2.8 times the figure reported in the survey 40 years from now, to 3.3 million households. Even though three-generation households will not change much with the aging population, the aged who will be living alone will increase and nuclear families expand even more. In consideration of this, as well as other results, the support of the aged will be a serious problem in the 21st century which will also affect family structure. This will become an unavoidable truth to be faced in Japan's future.

Figure 1 Trends in General Households

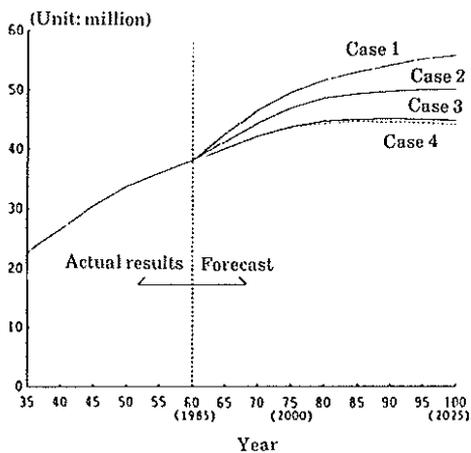


Figure 2 Trends in Number of Persons per Household

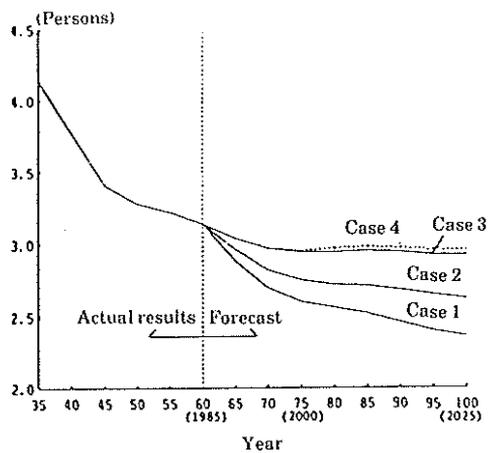


Figure 3 Trends in Single Households

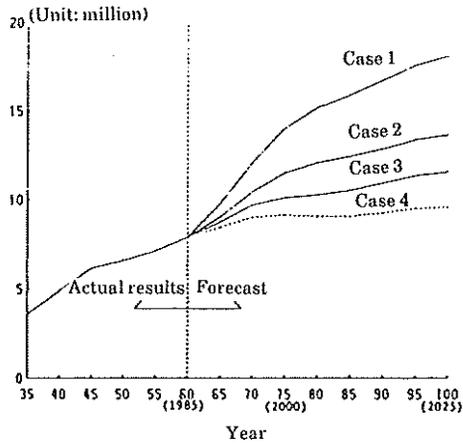


Figure 4 Trends in Nuclear Family Households

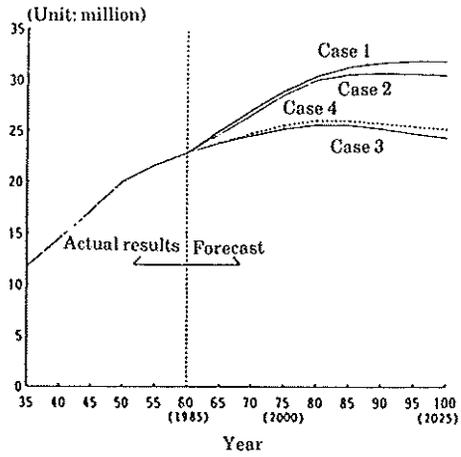


Figure 5 Trends in General Households with Headship
65 Years of Age and Older

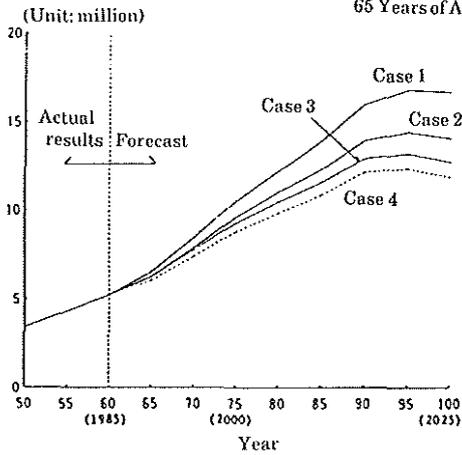
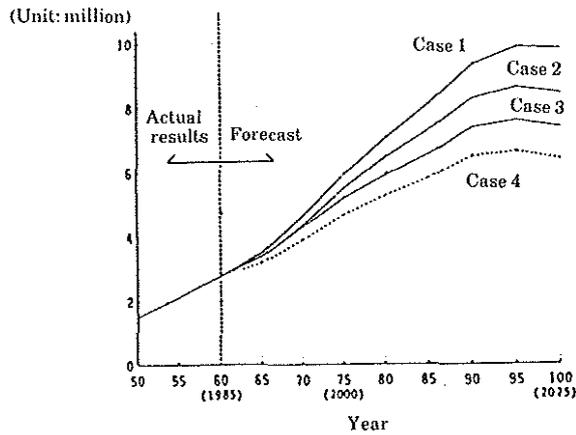


Figure 6 Trends in Couple and Single Households with Headship 65 Years of Age and Older



Chapter 7

The Japanese Family: Public Opinion Survey Findings

Michio Ozaki
Manager
Opinion Research Department
The Mainichi Newspapers

1. Introduction

The Population Problem Research Council of the Mainichi Newspapers (established in 1949) has conducted a "nationwide public-opinion survey on family planning" every two years since 1950.

This series of surveys contains some questions that are repeated, unchanged, in each survey, in order to assess changes in Japanese values regarding parent-child relationships. For example, "What do you think about children taking care of their aged parents?"

Other questions dealing with current topics are also included. However, the main and on-going purpose of the surveys is to reveal clues to future demographic trends by noting such factors as the number of children Japanese mothers desire, preferred contraception practices, and the incidence of induced abortions. This purpose is underlined by the newspaper headlines reporting the results of the past surveys: "Population control" (1st survey conducted in 1950), "Birth-control practices" (2nd survey in 1959), "Has the population changed? 20 years of family planning and the population revolution" (10th survey in 1969), and "Reduced reproduction has planted its roots" (15th survey in 1979), and so on.

Clearly, the emphasis of the surveys overlap with the purposes for the establishment of the Research Council. When World War II ended in Japan's defeat, she was deprived of all her overseas colonies. Her small land mass, consisting of four major islands, was overpopulated with thousands of repatriates and ex-soldiers. The continuing baby boom of that time accelerated further a rapid increase in population. A critical shortage of food and the growing population resulted in famine, and people lived on the verge of starvation. Increasing food production and improving population control were the two most critical tasks facing the defeated Japanese.

It may seem arrogant to say that the Research Council was established to fulfill the public responsibility of the newspaper. But the problems of population and famine had such a serious impact at that time that we felt there was a clear need to establish a council to address these problems.

However, Japan has achieved a successful "population transition" from being a "high birth and mortality" society to a "low birth and death" society. Currently, the low-birth trend has taken root.

Japan also has become a world economic power, as a result of the high-growth period of the "Golden 60s." She has even overcome two "oil crises." Japan has grown to be a country that wields great international influence and is among the leading nations of the world. In the present "Satiation Age," the memories of famine in the post-war

era have faded away.

It is said that "the family is the single most important magnifier through which you can see a racial or social structure." ("The Population Encyclopedia," edited by the Population Problem Council). The transition from Japan's post-war society, where people continuously felt the pressure of the population explosion and the threat of starvation, to that of the present day, in which it has the second-largest GNP (gross national product) in the world, has brought about fundamental changes in the state of the Japanese family.

In the post-war period, under the strong leadership of the U.S., as the leading member of the occupation army, the democratization of national policies was aggressively carried out in various fields. During this process, fundamental amendments of the Civil Law Act were also carried out. These changes were enforced through legal initiatives. But traditional Japanese familial values, supported by the extended family system of the pre-war period and the teachings of Confucianism, have not faded away. There is much evidence that such traditional values still remain at the center of various aspects of Japanese social life.

Nevertheless, economic policies aimed at achieving high economic growth have promoted an increase in the number of nuclear families through a large-scale population migration from rural to urban areas. In addition, various other factors, such as income growth, higher educational levels, the improvement of the social position of women and their large-scale participation in the work force, have changed the Japanese people's way of thinking regarding the family, parent-child and husband-wife relationships, marriage, and the value of having children.

Such present-day phenomena as the increase in divorce, the popularity of best sellers dealing with single life, cohabitation, and the emergence of DINKs (Double Income No Kids couples), are not compatible with traditional familial values although it should be admitted that these phenomena tend to be exaggerated. Moreover, the Japanese population is aging at a pace unmatched by any other country. It is evident that the problems found in any aging society, primarily the nursing and care of the aged, are having a great impact on the family unit in Japan.

In the post-war era, the number of children a family had and how to control their numbers were serious problems for the Japanese family. The number of children was a critical factor in a family's quality of life, or even its survival. Little attention was paid to the dynamics of family structure, such as parent-child and husband-wife relationships. In recent years, however, as trend of the low births has spread widely, the phenomenon of "family disruption" is frequently talked about. What is the role of the family in society? The nature of the family is being questioned now from various viewpoints.

To see a cross section of the changes in Japanese society through the window of the "family"... this is why we selected "The family" as the theme for the 1988 survey. In particular, we had a keen interest in how Asian and Confucian traditions and the values of the contract-based society of the West are combined in the Japanese family system. This article will report some major findings from the "nationwide public opinion survey on families," which was conducted by the Mainichi Newspapers' Opinion Research Department and conducted among 3,400 respondents of 20 years of age or older in April 1988.

2. Single Life

The trends of the times have produced such best sellers as "Single Life (1986)," written by Takeshi Ebisaka, and "Single Days (1983)," by Saburo Kawamoto. A long time ago, a girl who was "left on the shelf" was not considered a legitimate member of the society and even was treated as a disabled person. Now we are living in quite a different age.

In this year's survey, the respondents were asked the following question: "In recent years, there are increasing numbers of young people who live alone without getting married. What do you think about such a life style?" The results shows that among male respondents, the number of cons exceeded the number of pros: 42% of the male respondents "approved" of the single life style, while 54% expressed "disapproval." By comparison, the majority of the female respondents approved of the single life style: 54% approved, while 40% disapproved. Looked at more closely, 73% of the total female respondents in their 20s approved of single life, of which 76% of those were unmarried. Among the male respondents in their 30s, 53% answered that they "can approve" of the single life style. (Figure 2)

People of older generations take a more critical attitude. However, as shown by the fact that about half of the respondents expressed their approval, the bias against unmarried men and women is diminishing.

Greater understanding and sympathy with a life style that is free of the bonds of marriage is greatly affected by the economic and psychological independence of women, and sexual liberation by parental influence. At the same time, it should not be overlooked that markets aimed at single people have been established and effectively support such a life style. This is evidenced by the fact that there were more respondents who approved of single life in urban areas, where there are many convenience stores which are open 24 hours a day and various other food-service facilities. In more rural areas, fewer people expressed approval of single life. It is hard to judge which appeared first, unmarried people or businesses catering to the needs of unmarried

consumers. Nevertheless, it is evident that the growing number of young people who enjoy their single lives and the businesses and industries which target single people who form a substantial sector of our society, in what could be called a "convenient life style." By comparison, in rural areas where the shortage of marriageable girls is a serious problem, about 70% of the respondents expressed disapproval for remaining single.

However, general approval of the single life style, mainly among younger generations, does not necessarily reflect their ideas about their own lives and marriages. In this survey, one question asked of all the single respondents was "At what age do you want to get married?" Answers included "I want to remain single all my life." More than 50% of the male single respondents (52%) and more than 40% of the female respondents answered that they want to get married between 25-29 years of age. Those who answered "I want to remain single all my life" accounted for only 2% of the male respondents and 8% of the female respondents. This reveals the ambivalent feelings of those young people who "want to enjoy single life, but at the same time want to get married." This also reflects the deep-rooted Asian philosophy that "everyone should get married once." As regards the age at which they want to get married, 15% of all the respondents (both male and female) answered "at any age," 12% answered "between 30 to 34," and 11% said "20-24." There is a large proportional gap between these answers and the answer of "25-29," and this suggests that the idea of "marriageable age" remains clearly defined.

According to the survey conducted by the Ministry of Health and Welfare, the average age for first marriages is 28.3 years of age for men and 25.6 years of age for women, an increase of 1.1 years and 0.7 years, respectively, compared to the figures of 10 years ago. Stronger single-life orientation suggests the development of a trend toward later marriages. Japan is already seen as a "late-marriage" country in the world. If the preferred marriage age is getting older, more couples will experience difficulty having children due to physical and psychological conditions. Therefore, it is anticipated that the low-birth trend will accelerate.

It can be said that the life style of DINKs, who prefer to marry and enjoy life without having children, has developed along the same line as this life style of unmarried people.

"DINKs voluntarily choose not to have any children and, furthermore most of them are free from the generally accepted ideas of society, as well as the compelling force of human relations. In many cases, they are indifferent to traditional values. For instance, DINKs do not care to buy their own homes as others do, by saving money by having only three dishes a meal for the purpose of getting their own houses. If it takes two and half hours to commute from their homes to their offices, they would rather rent an apartment near their offices. They care more

about traveling and other leisure activities in their desire lead an affluent life style. If they can only rent a small apartment near their offices, they do not mind reducing the amount of furniture they have. For DINKs, having a comfortable living space is more important than any guilt feelings over disposing of inconvenient." (Izumi Inui, "Editorial Meeting" 1988, 3)

Close attention must be paid to future changes in this new life style which is challenging the accepted cycles of birth, growth, marriage, and child bearing. It is interesting to question whether this is just a phase among the young, or if it is a powerful enough trend to take root as an enduring social force.

3. Marriage and Remarriage

Among the questions regarding marriage, the respondents were asked "What factors do (did) you think important when you get (got) married?" They were asked to answer the level of significance for each of eight factors, including educational background, occupation, income, age, etc.

The chart in Figure 3 illustrates the answers of the male and female respondents. Income and occupation are the only two factors for which the percentage combining "very important" and "important" exceeds the 50% line (indicated by the dotted line in the middle): 57% for income and 54% for occupation. Living with or without parents ranked third (39%). In contrast, inheritance from parents (12%), family status (19%), religion (23%) and education (28%) appeared much less important, compared to the above three factors.

This seems to suggest in general that such practical conditions as income, occupation, and living with or without parents carry greater weight when choosing a future husband or wife.

Expected inheritances and family status, which used to be the most significant conditions in the decision to marry, are no longer considered important. As far as these research results are concerned, education and age now are considered less important as qualifications in choosing future spouses.

Of the male respondents, deciding factors, in order of relative importance, are: (1) living with or without parents (38% combining both "very important" and "important"), (2) occupation (35%), then (3) age and income (33% each). In the female respondents, (1) income (78%) comes first, (2) occupation (70%) comes next, and then (3) living with or without parents (39%). This view of marriage reflects the dry and rational trend of the present society, especially in the case of females.

Attitudes towards remarriage were surveyed because opportunities for remarriage are expected to increase as the aging of the population advances. It was expected that there should be a considerable difference in views between those of the younger generations in their 20s and 30s including singles, and older generations, including those whose spouses have already passed away. To the question "If you survive your spouse after you are older, do you think you will remarry?", the respondents answered as follows:

I want to find a good person I can remarry	4%
I want to remarry if I can find somebody	33%
I want to live by myself if I can	40%
I never want to remarry	20%
No answers	3%

Adding the active supporters of remarriage and those who may get remarried according to the availability of prospective candidates, the number of respondents who showed positive attitudes towards remarriage accounted for 34% of those surveyed. This is a relatively smaller percentage than those who expressed completely negative attitudes, or somewhat negative attitudes (60%). However, it should be noted that one out of three of the respondents expressed their desire for a second marriage, although the degree of approval was somewhat diversified. Based on these results, one may be able to discern the retreat of old-fashioned moral views, as expressed by the saying, "Never marry two men."

Taken by age groups, younger generations were found to be more willing to marry again. The older the generation is, the lower the ratio of approval. In the age group of 60 years or older, the male respondents have more favorable views about second marriages than the female respondents. By educational background, the higher the education the respondents have, the stronger the expressed desire for remarriage.

4. Divorce

In this survey, we took three approaches toward probing the issue of divorce in spite of the concern that questions regarding divorce might skew other subjects of the survey. We included this issue because divorce is a problem we cannot ignore if we are to correctly assess family dynamics, especially the relationship between man and wife. It was also expected that such a survey will also aid comparative studies between Japan and Western nations, as well as other Asian countries. The three approaches included: (1) All respondents were asked their attitudes towards the so-called "Break-up Principle," the ruling by the Supreme Court which admitted claims for divorce caused by a husband who was responsible for the break-up of the marriage by conducting love affairs and other reasons under certain conditions; (2) length of the

marriage and the reasons for divorce were asked of those who had experienced divorce; and (3) those who are currently married were asked about their latent desires for a divorce and their reasons for not getting divorced.

To the question concerning the judgment by the Supreme Court, the respondents answered as follows:

I support the decision because this judgment has provided a solution to ending a mere shell of a marriage which only exists on the census register. The court decision is in accord with the current trends of the society... 38%

I do not agree with the decision because it will help the spouse, male or female, who is really responsible for the cause of divorce, and makes women's position more disadvantageous... 25%

I don't know... 32%

No answers and other answers... 5%

Although one-third of the respondents answered that they did not know, those who supported the court decision from a realistic viewpoint exceeded the number of those who were opposed due to their moral positions. The Supreme Court's decision per se is based on the "Actual Breakage Principle," in itself a ground-breaking decision. In addition, the fact that the relative majority of the Japanese people supports the decision reflects the realistic and practical attitude of the general public toward divorce.

Nevertheless, there seems to be evidence of a "private thought and public stance," effect, as exhibited by the fact that we collected less than 100 effective answers out of some 2,400 samples to the question concerning the length of their marriage and reasons for divorce, when it was asked of those who had experienced divorce. The small number of responses is incomplete and the sample too small for making effective analysis. This fact alone suggests that the deep-rooted idea of divorce as a shameful deed survives and is still considered a taboo in Japanese society.

Those who are currently married were asked whether he or she had ever desired a divorce. If the respondent answered "yes," he or she was asked the reasons. Figure 4 shows the results and indicates that one out of every three married respondents have thought of divorce (adding both "often" and "sometimes").

The Japanese situation is still far removed from that of the U.S., where one out of every two couples get divorced. However, one out of three married men and women responded that they had wanted to get

divorced or still wanted to do so. This seems to reflect the true conditions among Japanese couples. However, even those who have often thought of divorce rarely do get divorced.

Assuming that those who had thought of divorce had actually done so, 2.4 million people (4%) of all the married people would have been divorced in Japan. This figure is 7.7 times greater the actual number of people who divorced in 1987.

A more important question is, however, why they did not actually get divorced. In other words, if the ties that bind couples together are broken, there is a greater possibility that divorce will increase dramatically in Japan as well.

As shown in Figure 4, "having children" is the reason given most often, and surpasses all other reasons. The second most-cited reason is that they can put up with it one way or another, with the third being that the situation has improved. This means children are the biggest deterrent to divorce. Besides affection for the children, Western society generally puts a greater emphasis on independent relations between man and wife than in parent-child relations. By Asian ethical standards, on the other hand, strong ties with the children control husband-and-wife relations. Such strong relations between parents and children will not change easily. However, it seems that divorce in the middle and older age groups, after their children have grown up, will tend to increase in the future.

5. Preparations for the Aging Society

(1) Kitchen Work by Men

During the analysis sessions of the research results, many of the researchers expressed their impressions that the PR for the aging society has been pretty effective. This effect is described in Figure 5, which shows the survey results of opinions about men working in the kitchen in order to reveal the assignment of family roles by sex.

In response to the question "Do you think it is good for men to do kitchen work?," three out of four respondents answered positively. As expected, more than 80% of the female respondents welcomed men working in the kitchen. On the other hand, among the male respondents, nearly 70% (68%) expressed a willingness to do some kitchen work. The reasons for their approval were also asked. The largest ratio of respondents said that, as the number of working women is increasing, it is natural and necessary for men to provide assistance to their working wives. (39%) Those who argued that it is better for men to cook their own meals in order to prepare themselves for old age accounted for 31%. This second reason exceeded the other reasons, including the denial of

traditional sexual roles per se (19%) and preparation for maintaining a residence apart from the family in the future (6%). Those who were opposed to kitchen work by men were also asked their reasons. Some 60% of these argued that, as men are working outside the home, they should not have to work in the home. However, this answer accounts for only 13% of the total respondents, including those who answered affirmatively regarding men working in the kitchen. According to this survey, it is evident that the basic philosophy of the old family system - that a man works outside and his wife stays at home to do housework - has already begun to collapse, at least in the society's consciousness.

(2) Property Inheritance

Under the pre-war family system, the "eldest son's right of inheritance" was guaranteed in order to maintain the custom of primogeniture. In this survey, the respondents were asked who has priority in inheriting the parents' property when they die. Those who answered "the eldest son" slightly exceeded 10% (12%), while one out of four answered that "a parent's property should be evenly shared by all siblings" (25%). However, almost half of the respondents (48%) answered that "the family member who took care of the parent should have the right of inheritance, even though he or she might not be the eldest son or daughter." Including the percentage of those who answered "anybody who takes care of aged parents" (11%), about 60% of the respondents consider taking care of aged parents as a pre-condition for inheritance.

These results clearly indicate changes in the characteristics of property inheritance in Japanese society: from "the eldest-son inheritance" of the pre-war period which guaranteed the succession of the family, to the "equal allocation of properties" idea based on the new Civil Law principles, and then to more practical and value-weighted ideas of inheritance. It seems that such changes are a kind of psychological preparation among the Japanese people as they move toward becoming part of an aging society.

(3) Living together with Parents

The results of the survey indicate that 53% of the respondents regarded "living with the spouse's parents" as an important criterion in choosing their future mate, as opposed to 39% of them who considered it important. (Figure 3) As a matter of fact, the problem of aging society is deeply embedded in the issue of whether or not "children should live with their parents."

In the Western society, living arrangements in which aged couples live in a separate home but maintain contact with their children by visiting each other or by the phone (i.e., "living separately with contact") are common. Traditionally, "living together with contact" has been a predominant living arrangement in Japan just as in South Korea, China, and Thailand. However, an examination of recent survey data on

married couples' living arrangements by age group indicates that Japan is somewhere in-between in terms of the issue of living with parents.

The results show that the proportion of married couples living with their healthy parents was 5% for 20-29 year olds, 30% for 30-39 year olds, 37% for 40-49 year olds, 23% for 50-59 year olds and 5% for 60-69 year olds. Although 96% of young couples have their parents alive and well, they are less likely to live with their parents. However, the number of people living with their parents sharply increases for 40-49 year olds who have parents reaching 70 years of age. It seems that a pattern has emerged in Japan in which couples live separately when they are young, and then live together with their parents when they become old.

An examination of the place of residence where these two generations live together indicates that the majority of the respondents (66%) moved into their parents' home. In this type of living arrangement, sharing of household expenses is an issue of concern. In more than half of the cases the children pay most of household expenses. When those respondents who answered "We pay more than our parents do" are included the percentage will rise to 68%. This number implies that partly because of housing shortage, there often exists a kind of tacit agreement stating "parents provide housing and children pay the bills."

6. Conclusion: The Image and Role of the Family

Due to the establishment of the new Constitution and the amendments of the Civil Laws, the pre-war patriarchal family system was abolished. However, our consciousness of the old system and its traditions could not completely change all at once. In order to examine how deeply the traditional view of family remains entrenched in our society, we used the following three issues as litmus tests: (1) the eldest son's duty to support his parents, (2) the succession of the family name, and (3) the bequeathing of the family tomb.

The results show that one out of three respondents answered that the eldest son is responsible for supporting his parents, while one out of four answered that the family name should be maintained, if necessary, by adoption. Furthermore, more than 80% (83%) of the respondents believed that the tombs of their ancestors should be maintained carefully and bequeathed to descendants. These data regarding the duty of supporting the parents and sustaining the family name can be read in two ways: the influence of the old system has been weakened or rather, it still has a significant impact. The interpretation of these figures depends on the viewpoint of each person who uses the data. However, it is obvious that the idea of the eldest son's duty to support the parents and the sense of responsibility in sustaining the family name remains much stronger in rural areas,

especially in the Tohoku and Hokuriku districts, than in urban areas. By occupation, such attitudes are especially prominent among workers in the agriculture, forestry, and fishery industries. This fact suggests the strong survival into the modern day of the old family system that supported the agricultural society before the birth of the industrial society. Moreover, such traditional senses of value based on the old family system remain stronger among men than women, and the older respondents showed a higher ratio of approval for the old system. This is probably because the old family system was more convenient and beneficial to men than women.

Many specialists suggest that the growing interest in family tombs shown by modern Japanese is not just because of their symbolic value in the worship of ancestors, but also because of the population migration from rural villages to cities associated with economic development and the subsequent increase in the number of nuclear families. Today, tombs are valued, not as a chain to connect people with their ancestors in the past, but as a monument in memory of closer generations, such as one's parents or grandparents. Together with the social effects of increasing land prices in urban areas, there is a kind of "Tomb Boom" in Japan. If this analysis is correct, the interest in tombs shown by modern Japanese has stemmed from changes in the makeup of the family.

As such, people's attitudes toward family and the family system are on a course of transition, while retaining some of the traditions of the past. There are many analysts who see signs of a "family disruption" in such phenomenon as the increasing pursuit of single life, the DINKs who get married but do not have any children, and the increase in later marriages and divorces already pointed out in this article. Nevertheless, based on the responses to the questions in our survey, people's awareness toward the family is largely emotional. As one question in the survey asked: "There are various roles the family plays. What do you think is the most important?" The respondents were requested to choose the one or two most significant roles of the family. The respondents' selections concentrated on "a place of rest and comfort" (56%) and "a place where the family grows by assisting each other" (55%). Reflecting the lower birth and higher income trends, probably, "a place to bear and raise children" (10%) and "a place to support economic life" (26%) shared relatively lower ratios. Does this suggest that the more people become aware of the crisis in the family system, the more strongly they want to protect their homes?

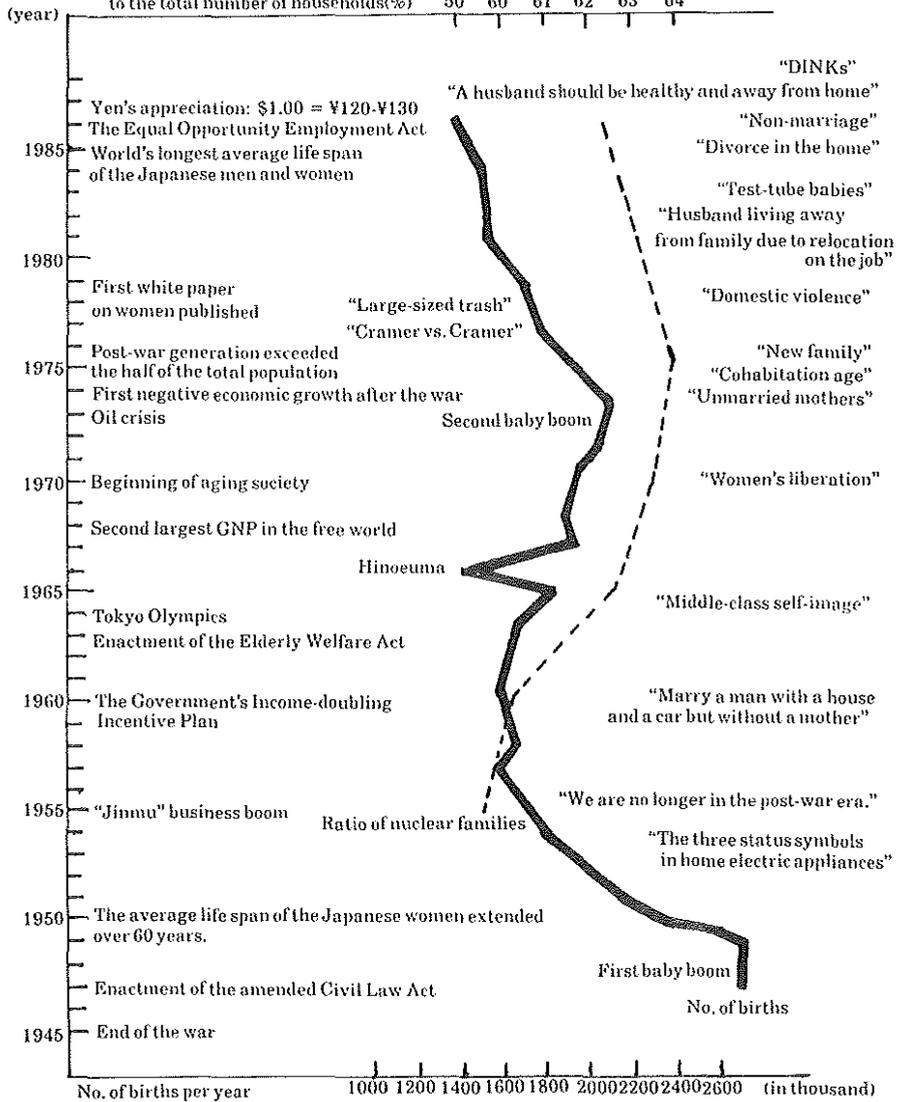
Trying to explain families, gatherings of people, solely by figures is as difficult as analyzing a man qualitatively. Judging from our experience, however, even though each figure is neither totally correct nor reliable, you can abstract a certain trend or pattern among a group of people from all the figures as a whole. This is the fundamental idea behind our research. When we estimate the voting behavior of qualified voters in preliminary surveys for elections, and other surveys concerning current topics, the books they read, or people's lives and

their problems, we are always trying to find what is closest to the truth by using the most scientific method available.

In this survey, an integral analysis of all questions will not necessarily lead us to consistent results. Rather, the answers are mutually contradictory and even suggest the ambivalent state of their minds. However, we believe that this fact per se indicates that the various aspects of human life are filled with contradictions. In particular, this survey clearly illustrates the fact that the Japanese people, who live between the Eastern and Western cultures, have combined and mixed Asian and Western senses of value in their own way. They strongly long for a free single life on the one hand, yet the Asian idea that everybody should marry seems to remain strong. While one out of three has considered divorce at least once, they put up with the situation because of their children. As regards the problem of living with or without parents, the most frequently observed cases are those in which they live separately when the parents are young but together after parents grow older. This is a middle way between "living together with contact" and "living separately with contact." It can be said that all of these are good examples of the Japanese combination of Asian and Western ways of living.

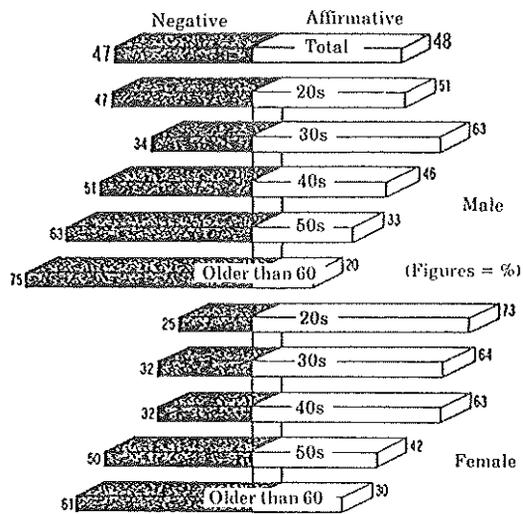
Compared with the absolute sense of value based on Christianity, it has been criticized that such a Japanese mixture of ideas lacks originality. However, new merits can be discovered in such Japanese ways of thinking, which may smoothe the frictions between East and the West that often are seen on spaceship Earth. Also, it is possible that the merits of the large family system, which is not based on the authoritarian system of pre-war era but which facilitates an active and lively exchange and cooperation among the generations, can be emphasized. Needless to say, such advantages should never be used as a convenient excuse for the negligence of an administration which does not take all possible measures for the improvement of the nation's social welfare.

Figure 1 Changes in the Concept of "Family" and Phrases in Fashion
 Ratio of nuclear families to the total number of households(%) 50 60 61 62 63 64



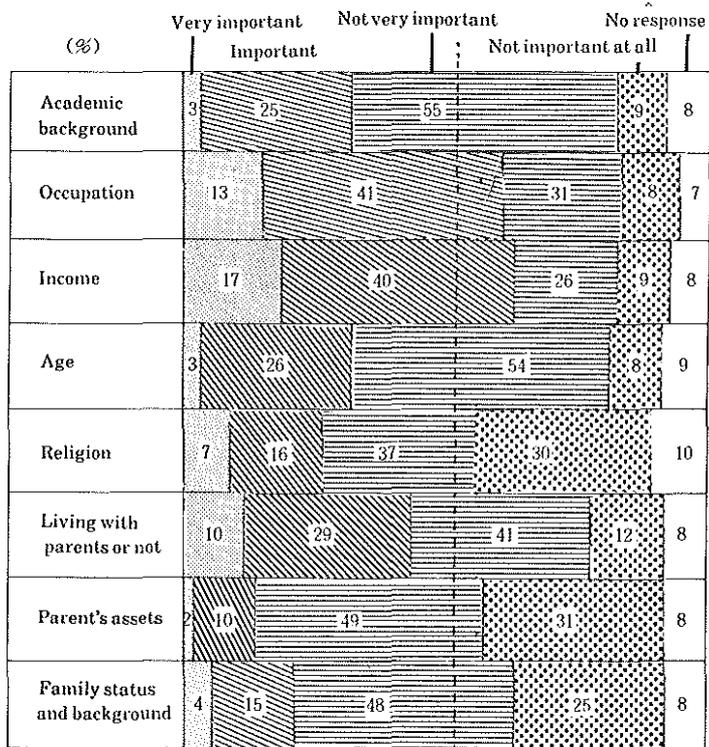
Source: The Mainichi Newspaper, Morning Edition, May 4, 1963

Figure 2 Opinion Polls: What do you think about young people living alone without getting married?



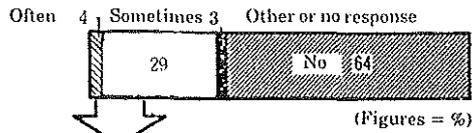
Source: The Mainichi Newspaper, Morning Edition, May 4, 1988

Figure 3 Criteria for Selecting a Future Husband or Wife

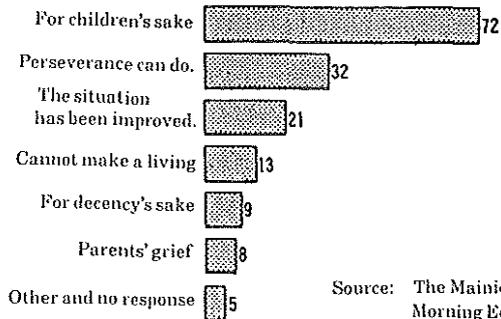


Source: The Mainichi Newspaper, Public Opinions Survey (April 1988) 50%

Figure 4 Have you ever thought of divorce?

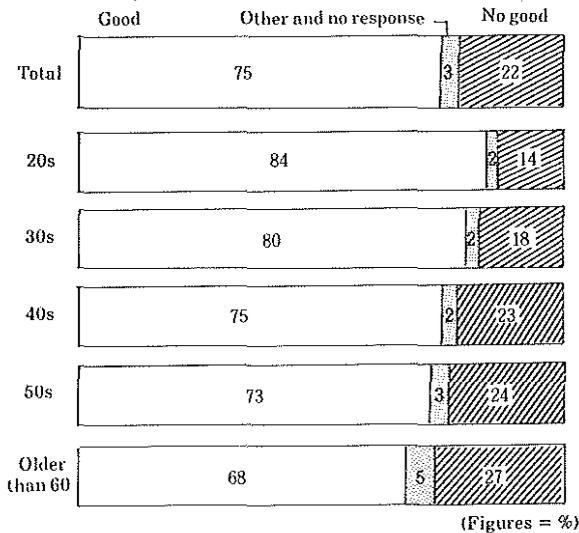


Reason you did not get divorced (no more than two choices)



Source: The Mainichi Newspaper, Morning Edition, May 4, 1988

Figure 5 What do you think about men's working in the kitchen?



Source: The Mainichi Newspaper, Morning Edition, May 4, 1988

