

表5-5 男女の仕事や働き方に関する意見の男女別パーセント分布：
2000年に20～49歳の日本人男女

| 質問項目 | 賛成 | どちらとも いえない | 反対 | (総数) |
|---|------|---------------|------|-------|
| 就職口が少ない時、女よりも男が就職の優先権をもつべきだ | 26.3 | 41.0 | 32.6 | 2,099 |
| 男 | 14.2 | 33.5 | 52.3 | 2,374 |
| 女 | | | | |
| 妻が外で働くのは、家族のためにお金が必要になった場合に限られるべきだ | | | | |
| 男 | 17.8 | 40.3 | 41.9 | 2,086 |
| 女 | 9.4 | 30.0 | 60.6 | 2,361 |
| 小さな子どもがいる女性は職場で差別されている | | | | |
| 男 | 13.1 | 63.7 | 23.2 | 2,095 |
| 女 | 23.1 | 57.5 | 19.4 | 2,378 |
| 働く母親も専業主婦の母親と同じように、暖かく安定した関係を子どもとの間にきづくことができる | | | | |
| 男 | 52.7 | 36.5 | 10.8 | 2,099 |
| 女 | 62.4 | 29.3 | 8.3 | 2,377 |

5 まとめ

以上本稿では、2000年に実施された全国調査データを用いて、結婚や家族そしてジェンダー役割をめぐるさまざまな意識について、男女別および年齢階層別のパターンを分析した。その結果、結婚・離婚そして家族形成をめぐる伝統的価値観からの乖離は男性よりも女性でずっと大きく、また妻や母という女性の伝統的ジェンダー役割意識の男女差は、特に若い年齢層で大きいことを見出した。有配偶女性の就業についても、伝統的価値観からの乖離は男性よりも女性に大きく、特に若い世代である20歳代～30歳代で意識の男女格差が大きい。

さらに、家計や住居を共有する血縁集団としての家族と、その家族を形成するための性行為や結婚についても大きな年齢階層格差がみられた。ここから、わが国では性と結婚をめぐる意識の変化が近年急速に進行しており、社会制度としての結婚と家族の変容が今後さらに進む可能性は大きいと考えられる。

わが国の少子化や未婚化および離婚の増大といった結婚・出産行動の変化の背景には、結婚や家族をめぐる急速な意識・価値観の変化がある。そして結婚や家族そして男女の家庭役割をめぐる意識の男女差が若い人ほど大きいということは、若い未婚男女の間で結婚や家族形成に対する期待や理想におけるジェンダー・ギャップが大きいということを示唆しており、特に若い女性の間でわが国の結婚と家族が伝統的な特徴を色濃く残していることに対する否定的意識が強い。これが結婚の遅れと未婚者割合の増加という結婚行動につながっているとすれば、それがさらなる出生力低下を引き起こすことになる。したがって、今後しばらくはわが国の未婚化と少子化は続くのではないかと予想される。

注

1) 多くの共通する調査項目を含んだ全国調査が、2001年にタイでもチュラロンコーン大学人口研究学部により実施されている。その調査報告書は現在作成中であるが、調査の概況や内容の簡単な説明は Tsuya and Chayovan (2003)を参照されたい。

2) また、男性の人生の充実にとっての子どもの必要性を否定（つまり「男は子どもがいなくても充実した人生をおくることができる」という意見に賛成）する割合は、男にとっても結婚の必要性の場合より男女両方の回答者で高い。ここから、男性の人生の充実には結婚の方が子どもよりも重要と考える傾向が男女ともみられるといえる。

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第6章 Family, Gender, and Intergenerational Support in Japan

Sawako Shirahase

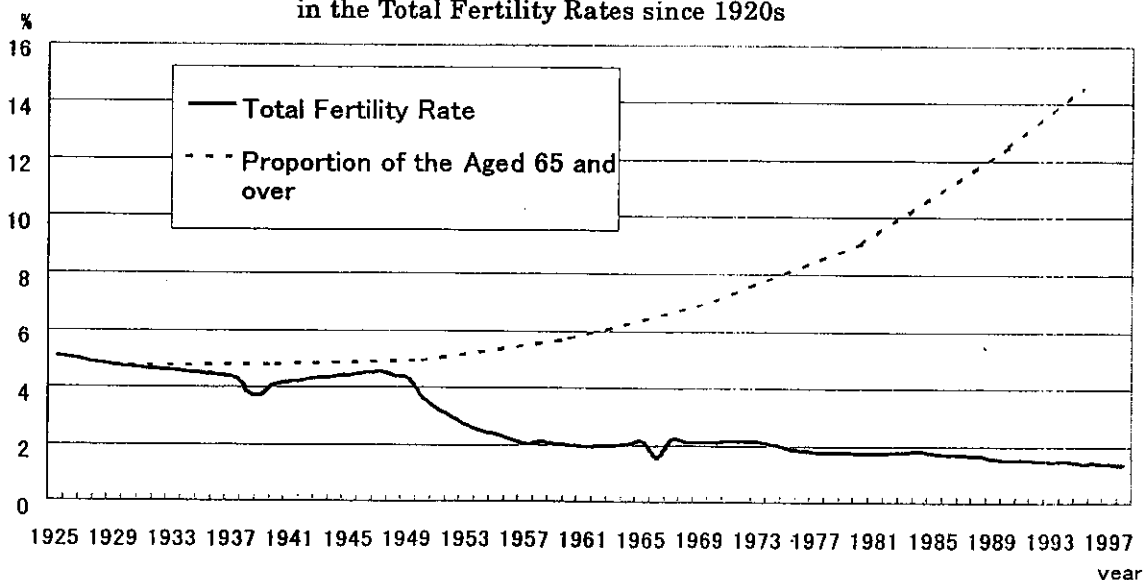
1 Introduction

Family has been playing an important role as an agent of social welfare in contemporary Japan. Since the mid 1970s, the Japanese government has emphasized the role of the family in providing fundamental care and security for family members. This system was often referred to as “the Japanese-type welfare state.” However, there are trends which may threaten the family to provide social welfare assistance. First, the rate of female labour force participation, particularly among married women, has grown since 1975, and Harada (1988) considers that this trend weakens the family to serve social welfare functions. Second, Arichi (1993) claims the diversity of family type following the growth of divorce rate and single rate, suggesting that families no longer play the same role to provide assistance to family members.

Despite the emphasis on the growing number of working women and the diversity of the family, the family is still expected to take the main role of taking care of children and the elderly in contemporary Japan. The large majority of respondents of the second National Family Survey conducted in 1998 claim that mothers should stay at home while the children are small. Similarly, the majority of the respondents support the idea in which the old parents have better live with their son’s family (IPSS 2000).

On the macro level, the intergenerational unbalance between the benefits and contributions has been emphasized, following the change in the demographic structure; that is, the growth of the proportion of the elderly population and the decline in the proportion of the youth following the decreasing birth rate (Figure 6-1).

Figure 6-1 Trend in the Proportion of Those Aged 65 and over and in the Total Fertility Rates since 1920s



source: National Institute of Population and Social Security Research, 1999.

In 1961, the Universal Medical Insurance Law and the National Pension Law which guaranteed universal pension and medical care to Japanese citizens were enacted. The elderly have been able to become more independent because of these legal foundations. Particularly, during the high economic era of the 1960s, urbanization accelerated the growth of the nuclear family. These changes in the family structure led the function of the family change. (Particularly, a high speed of aging population makes people worried about the future of social security system in Japan. In Japan, it only took 24 years to change the proportion of those who were 65 and over from 7 percent to 14 percent, while the corresponding figures in Britain, Sweden, and France are 46 years, 82 years and 114 years, respectively.) People live longer and demand social security benefits, while the proportion of the younger generation who have to contribute to the social security system is decreasing. People are concerned that the extent of intergenerational inequality will be expanded by the increasing burden that has to be shared by the younger generation (Minister of Health and Welfare 1999a). It is not clear, however, whether such a potentially conflicting relationship between generations can be similarly seen in individual families.

According to the 1998 Basic Survey of National Living conducted by the Ministry of Health and Welfare (Ministry of Health and Welfare 1999b), 29.7 percent of the households of old-aged people over 65 were multi-generational households in which they lived with their children. The proportion of the elderly aged 65 and over living with their children's family has declined since 1975, although its figure is still much higher than those in Europe (Ministry of Health and Welfare 1996. (The proportion of those aged 65 and over living with their children was about 60 percent in 1990 in Japan, while the corresponding figures in Western Europe such as Britain and France were lower than 20 percent.) Sharing a household by different generations can be economically rational and facilitate mutual family support. However, the empirical studies about the support among family members using large-scaled data set have been restricted in number in contemporary Japan.

Gender is another critical framework in examining the role of the family in welfare policies. It should not be overlooked that Japanese housewives who have taken good care of working husbands made the economic miracle come true (Brinton 1993). During the era of high economic growth, the number of women who became housewives has increased (Osawa 1993; Ochiai 1993), and along with this growth of married women staying at home gender division of labour became firmly rooted in the household (Ueno 1990). Unpaid work mainly taken by women became one of the central issues in gender studies. For instance, Ungerson (1995) and Lewis (1992) discuss the welfare state from the gender perspective, focusing on "care" which is mostly unpaid.

In this study, I examine the role of the family from the perspectives of gender and generation, focusing on the support provided by different family members. Family support is explored within the following three aspects: (1) intergenerational

support system between parents and children, (2) differences in the support system due to the side of the kin (that is, between husbands' parents and wives' parents), and (3) gender differences in the support system between parents and children. The intergenerational relationship at the macro level of the society and at individual families will be explored in this study. I would like to examine if a potentially conflicting relationship between generations as presented at the macro level in the intergenerational unbalance between the elderly who enjoy benefits and the younger generation who supports the social security can be seen at individual families.

2 Data

The data set analyzed in this study is the First National Family Survey in Japan conducted by the National Institute of Population and Social Security Research in 1993. This nationally representative survey is the first large-scaled survey about the role of the family, containing variables about family support between parents and children. The respondents are married women and men. (If married women were not available, the heads of the household, usually men, were interviewed.) The total sample size of this survey is 9,252, and this study focuses on married women (7,391 cases) excluding men. The ages of women respondents ranged from 14 to 92.

Married female respondents are asked to report the extent of support to their parents and to their children. Parents are distinguished among own father, own mother, husband's father, and husband's mother, so that I can examine gender differences (mothers or fathers) and the differences in the side of the kin (own or husband's) through these distinctions. The support for parents include following items: (1) glossary shopping (2) cooking and laundry, (3) care during illness, (4) counseling, (5) assistance to living expense, (6) assistance to fees incurred at hospital and other institutions, and (7) other kinds of assistance. The support for children is restricted to support to grown up children who lived separately from their parents. (If there are more than one children, then the responses about the child to whom the parents provided most support are used. Thus, the grown-up children whom parents take care of the most are not necessarily the eldest.) The support items are (1) glossary shopping, (2) cooking and laundry, (3) care at the time of child birth, (4) looking after grandchildren, (5) assistance to expenses related to grandchildren, (6) care during illness, (7) counseling, (8) assistance to living expense, (9) assistance to marriage-related expense, and (10) assistance to purchasing home.

3 Analysis

3.1 Gender differences in intergenerational family support

I would like to first examine gender differences in family support, that is, the

differences between fathers and mothers and the ones between sons and daughters.

Figure 6-2 Support for Parents

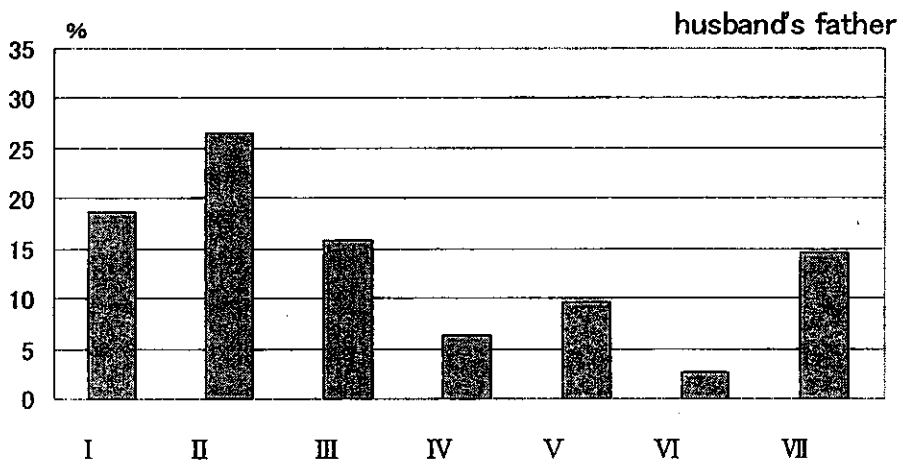
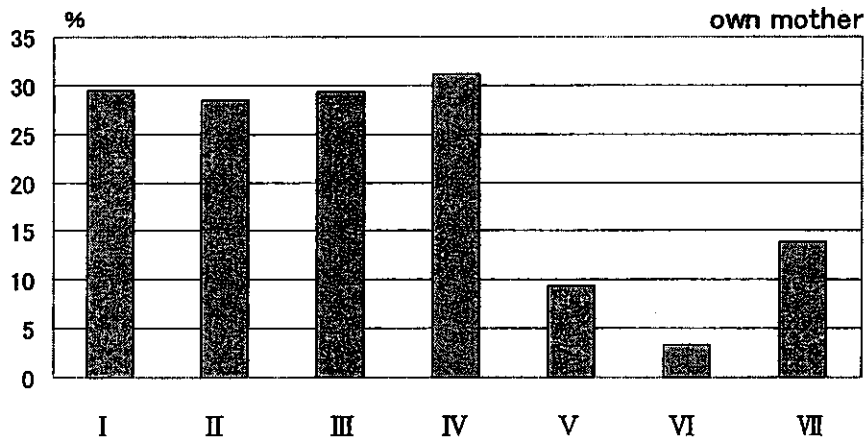
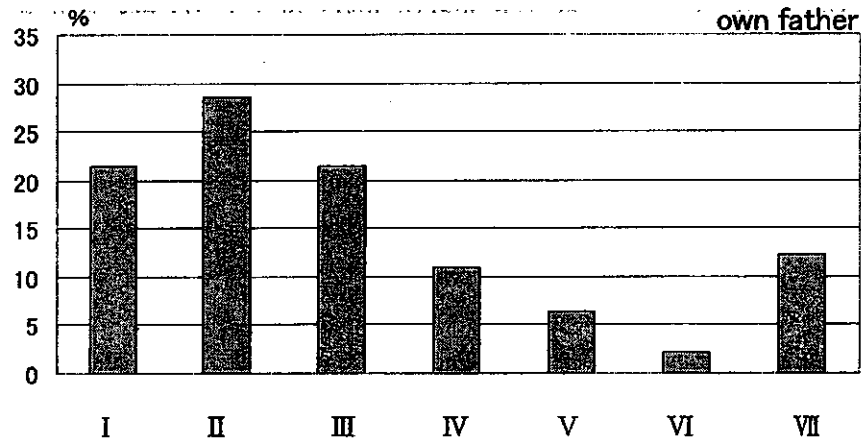
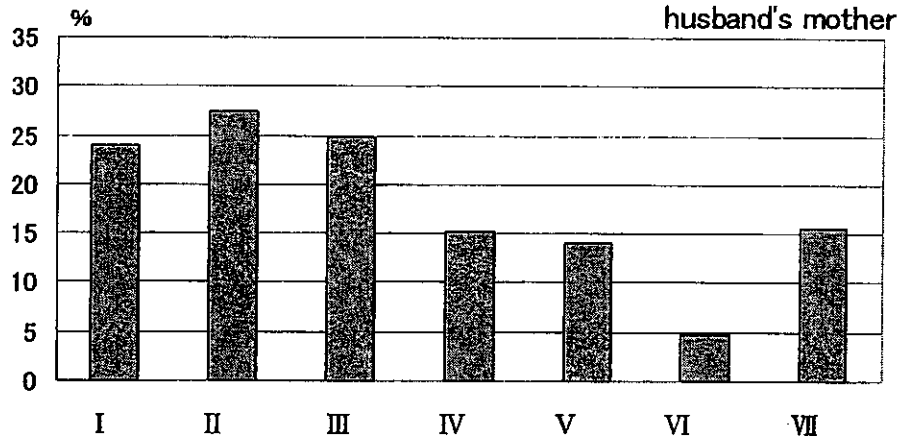


Figure 6-2 continued



Notes: I shopping, II Cooking and Laundry, III Care during illness, IV Counseling
 V Assistance to Living Expense, VI Assistance to Fees at the hospital and institutions, VII Others

Figure 6-2 presents the proportion of the respondents (married women) who offer support to parents by support items. It appears that there is no large difference in support items between support to own parents and support to husband's parents. The only exception is that the proportion of counseling with their own mother is higher than that with mother-in-law: 31 percent versus 15 percent. Counseling can be interpreted as an evidence of strong bonding between mothers and daughters. Nishioka (1995; 1997) pointed out an intimate relationship between mothers and daughters by frequent contact and telephone.

Figure 6-3 Support for Grown-up Children

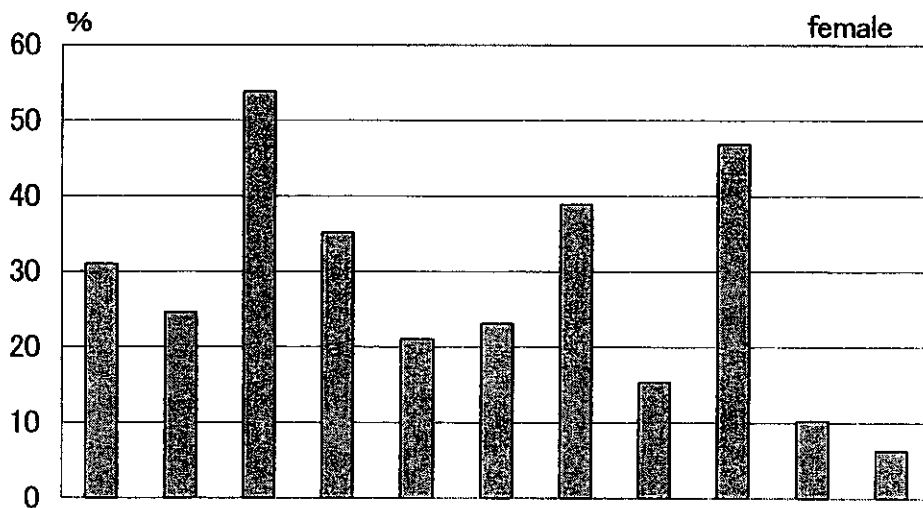
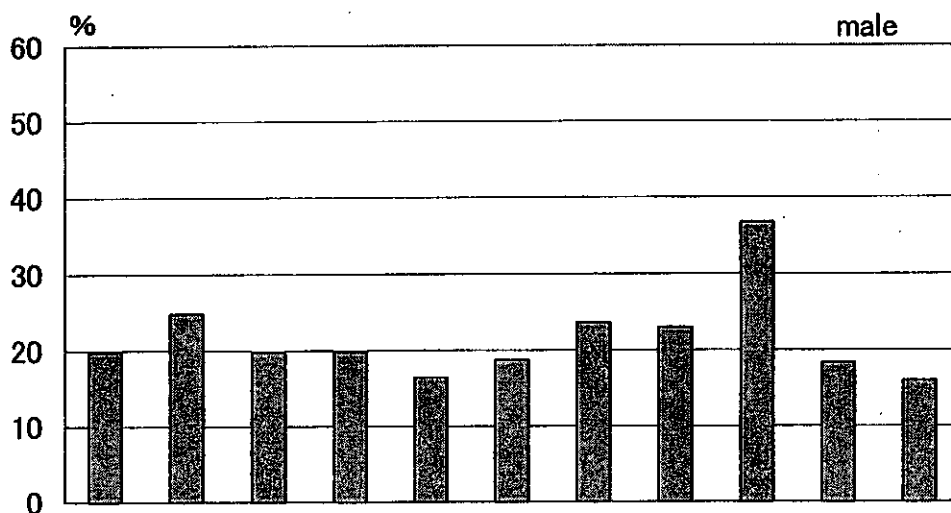


Figure 6-3 continued

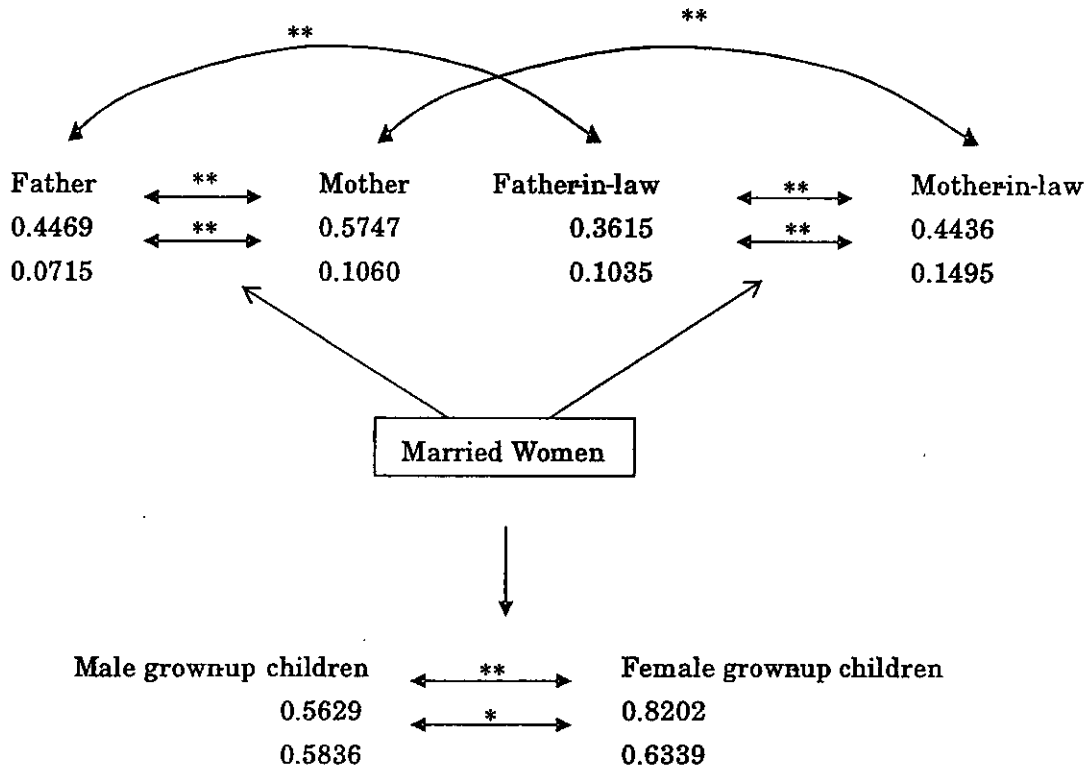


Notes: I Shopping, II Cooking and Laundry, III Help at childbearing, IV Care of Grand Children
 V Financial Help for grand children, VI Care during illness, VII Counseling, VIII Living Expense
 IX Marriage Expense, X Home Expense, XI Other.

Figure 6-3 shows various supports for grown-up children by gender. The kind and extent of support from parents to children are different by the gender of the children who receive parental support. It is obvious that mothers are much more likely to offer care and help at the time of childbearing and childrearing and psychological support to their daughters than to their sons. It seems that the mother's help is crucial when their daughters give birth and bring up young children. Furthermore, parents are more likely to offer assistance to marriage-related expense for their daughters than for sons. A strong bonding between mothers and daughters may be the reason for the family support pattern.

The kinds of support from children (daughters) to their parents and from parents (mothers) to their grown-up children can be divided into the care-related support and the finance-related support. (Care-related support to parents refers to items on shopping, cooking/laundry, care during illness, and, counseling. Finance-related support to parents refers to assistance to living expense, assistance to fees incurred at the hospital and other institutions.)

Figure 6-4 T Tests Related to Support to Parents and Children



note) Figure above are care related support and figure a below are finance related
 ** significant at the 0.01
 * significant at the 0.05

The results of t-tests of the difference in the proportion of providing care-related support or finance-related support by gender of parents and by gender of children are shown in Figure 6-4. First, let us look at the support to the respondents' (that is, daughters') own parents. The figures of care-related help and finance-related help are significantly higher among mothers than among fathers. The extent of support both financially and physically is stronger to mothers than to fathers. Similarly, regarding the support to husband's parents, husband's mothers are more likely to receive both financial and physical support from daughters-in-law than husband's fathers. Therefore, there is a clear gender difference in the support to parents.

Looking at the side of the kin (that is, between the wife's side and the husband's side), there are interesting differences depending on the kinds of help. With respect to the care-related help, daughters are more likely to provide support to their own parents than to their in-laws. A close relationship between daughters and their mothers even after marriage can be seen. On the other hand, in terms of finance-related support, daughters are more likely to offer support to their in-laws than

to their own parents. Financial support is more likely to be provided to the paternal side of the family probably reflecting family values which emphasize the responsibilities of the sons in taking care of the parents. However, care-related support is probably performed out of a strong bonding between daughters and mothers, rather than out of the sense of family responsibilities.

Let us move to examine support from respondents (mothers) to grown-up children as shown at the bottom of Figure 6-4. Female children are more likely to receive both care-related and finance-related support from parents (mothers) than male children. These gender differences in receiving parental support are statistically significant. An intimate relationship between mothers and daughters is documented in the pattern of parental support to grown-up children.

The proceeding analysis showed that intergenerational family support from children to parents and from parents to children is carried out within the gender framework. In the next section, I would like to examine factors which determine family support between generations.

3.2 Analysis on support to parents

The logistic regression analyses are performed to explain care-related support and finance-related support to parents. We examine three hypotheses: (1) the individual attribute hypothesis states that individual characteristics of the respondents who provide support such as their educational credentials and employment determine support to parents: (2) the socio-economic environment hypothesis states that the geographical area where the respondents live, the number of siblings, the order of birth, the economic status of the household are important determinants of family support: and (3) the parental characteristic hypothesis implies that the situation of parents, such as age, health condition, the existence of spouse, and co-residence and the distance from the children, affect intergenerational family support. The first hypothesis claims that the higher the educational credentials of the respondents, the less likely they are to offer support because they are more likely to emphasize the independence between generations. If respondents (married women) are in the labour force, they will be less likely to support their parents due to the matter of time. Under the second hypothesis, those who live in the urban area are less likely to support their parents because the proportion of co-residence with parents is lower in the urban area than in the rural area (Ministry of Health and Welfare 2000). Those who have more siblings, particularly male siblings, are less likely to support their parents. If their husbands are the eldest son, they are more likely to offer support to parents. This second hypothesis implies that the paternal side of the family network is critical in family support. The economic status of household is also hypothesized to affect support: the better the economic situation of the household, the more likely they are to support financially their parents.

With respect to the third hypothesis, those who are co-resident with parents,

those whose parents have become widow (widower), those who live closer to their parents, and those whose parents are sick, are more likely to offer support to their parents. In this hypothesis, the situation of parents is important in determining the support from their children.

3.2.1 Care for parents

Table 6-1 Logistic Regression Analysis of Care for Parents

[own father]

| Variables | equation 1 | equation 2 | equation 3 | equation 4 |
|--------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| B.A | -0.2792 | | | 0.0650 |
| Diploma | -0.3034 | | | -0.1454 |
| Full-time work | 0.1497 | | | 0.0326 |
| Part-time work | 0.1803 | | | 0.1440 |
| Self-employed | -0.0779 | | | -0.1984 |
| Urban area | | -0.2981 ** | | -0.1263 |
| Eldest son | | 0.0056 | | 0.1201 |
| Male siblings | | 0.0288 | | 0.0749 |
| Household income | | -0.2000 | | -0.2 |
| Parent's age | | | -0.0003 | 0.0020 |
| Marital states | | | -0.6946 ** | -0.6918 ** |
| Living arrangement | | | 0.7385 * | 0.8655 * |
| Distance | | | -0.1562 ** | -0.1499 * |
| Health of Parents | | | -0.6503 ** | -0.6485 ** |
| Constant | S-0.1201 | 0.0771 | 1.2531 ** | 1.3134 ** |

[own mother]

| Variables | equation 1 | equation 2 | equation 3 | equation 4 |
|--------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| B.A | -0.1570 | | | 0.0350 |
| Diploma | -0.1849 | | | -0.1162 |
| Full-time work | -0.0722 | | | -0.1897 |
| Part-time work | -0.0329 | | | 0.0315 |
| Self-employed | -0.2710 * | | | -0.3767 ** |
| Urban area | | -0.1640 | | 0.0078 |
| Eldest son | | 0.0128 | | 0.1078 |
| Male siblings | | -0.0568 | | 0.1670 |
| Household income | | -0.0900 | | 0.0339 |
| Parent's age | | | -0.0127 * | -0.0130 * |
| Marital states | | | -0.3153 ** | -0.3284 ** |
| Living arrangement | | | 0.7397 ** | 0.8308 ** |
| Distance | | | -0.1573 ** | -0.1758 ** |
| Health of Parents | | | -0.6862 ** | -0.7002 ** |
| Constant | 0.2339 * | 0.4750 ** | 2.4003 ** | 2.3269 ** |

Table 6-1 continued

[husband's father]

| Variables | equation 1 | equation 2 | equation 3 | equation 4 |
|--------------------|------------|-------------|------------|------------|
| B.A | -0.5738 ** | | | 0.1701 |
| Diploma | -0.2381 | | | 0.1908 |
| Full-time work | 0.1444 | | | -0.3703 |
| Part-time work | 0.0046 | | | -0.1690 |
| Self-employed | 0.4210 * | | | -0.0594 |
| Urban area | | -0.5864 ** | | 0.0481 |
| Eldest son | | 0.5909 ** | | 0.4165 ** |
| Male siblings | | -0.1458 | | -0.1351 |
| Household income | | -0.0100 | | -0.1000 |
| Parent's age | | | 0.0295 ** | 0.0371 ** |
| Marital states | | | -0.5934 ** | -0.6270 ** |
| Living arrangement | | | 1.3640 ** | 1.2935 ** |
| Distance | | | -0.1341 ** | 0.1356 ** |
| Health of Parents | | | -0.7350 ** | -0.7943 ** |
| Constant | -0.2665 * | -0.3797 *** | -1.3170 * | -1.9214 ** |

[husband's mother]

| Variables | equation 1 | equation 2 | equation 3 | equation 4 |
|--------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| B.A | -0.3051 | | | 0.2568 |
| Diploma | -0.1758 | | | 0.1242 |
| Full-time work | 0.2499 * | | | -0.0899 |
| Part-time work | 0.1399 | | | 0.0990 |
| Self-employed | 0.3696 * | | | 0.0198 |
| Urban area | | -0.5259 ** | | -0.0753 |
| Eldest son | | 0.6528 ** | | 0.4623 ** |
| Male siblings | | 0.0464 | | 0.1322 |
| Household income | | 0.0500 | | 0.0752 |
| Parent's age | | | 0.0129 * | 0.0168 ** |
| Marital states | | | -0.1637 | -0.2249 |
| Living arrangement | | | 0.7328 ** | 0.6059 ** |
| Distance | | | -0.2102 ** | -0.2152 ** |
| Health of Parents | | | -0.7200 ** | -0.7290 ** |
| Constant | 0.1218 | -0.0921 | -0.0745 | -0.2791 |

Table 6-1 presents the results of logistic regression analyses predicting care-related support to mothers, fathers, mothers-in-law, and fathers-in-law. Three hypotheses mentioned above are examined by running separately three regression equations, and the last equation includes all explanatory variables. Let us, first, look at the care for own fathers. None of the individual characteristics of the respondents are statistically significant in explaining the care for fathers. In the second equation, only the geographical variable shows significant effect: those who live in the urban area are less likely to offer the care for fathers than those who live in the rural area. In the third equation, most of parental characteristics show significant effect in determining the care for fathers. Fathers who are widower, live together with their children, less healthy, and live closer, are more likely to receive care-related support from their daughters.

Turning to the care for own mothers, the first equation shows that daughters who work as self-employed or family workers are less likely to provide the care for their

mother than those who are not in the labour force. Socio-economic environment factors do not show any significant effect on the care for their own mothers. This finding means that whether the care-givers have male siblings or live in the urban area does not make any difference in offering the care for mothers. The pattern of the effects on determining the care for mothers is similar to the case of fathers. (Table 1 shows that the older the mothers, the less likely the daughters are to support. This negative effect disappears when the number of children are controlled. In other words, the older the mothers, the more the number of children, and the number of children is negatively related to offering the care for mothers.)

Looking at the care for fathers-in-law, the effects of the educational credentials and employment of the respondents are significant; the higher the educational attainment, the less likely they are to offer the care for fathers-in-law, while respondents who work as self-employed and family workers are more likely to provide the care for fathers-in-law than those who do not work. Among socio-economic environment variables, the geographic environment and the dummy variable representing whether or not the husband is the eldest son show significant effect. Those who live in the urban area are more likely to offer care for fathers-in-law than those who live in the rural area; the respondents whose husbands are the eldest son are more likely to offer the care for their fathers-in-law. All the effects of parental characteristics of the fathers-in-law are significant in determining the care from their daughters-in-law.

Regarding the care for mothers-in-law, the employment variable shows a significant effect: those who work as full-time employees or self-employed and family workers are more likely to take care of their mothers-in-law than those who do not work. Among the socio-economic characteristics, the geographical area and the birth order of husbands are critical in offering the care for mothers-in-law. Those who live in the urban area are less likely to offer care-related support to mothers-in-law, while those whose husbands are the eldest sons are more likely to provide the care support for them. The age of the mothers-in-law, the dummy variable representing living arrangement with mothers-in-law, geographical distance from mothers-in-law, and their health conditions show significant impact in explaining care-related support to mothers-in-law.

In summary, the gender differences in determining care-related support to parents cannot be found in our analysis, while there is difference in the pattern of explaining the care for parents by the sides of the kin (wives' or husbands' side). In particular, those who work as self-employed and family workers are more likely to offer care-related support to in-laws than those who are not in the labour force, but the same pattern cannot be found when it comes to the care for their own parents. Working as self-employed or family workers is likely to be associated with the husband's business, so the work implies playing the role of a daughter-in-law. Family business is often organized around the conventional family values which imply that, once women get

married, they should serve as a good daughter-in-law. The significant effect of the eldest sons on the care for husband's parents suggests that when women get married with the eldest son, there still exists family value which expects women to support parents-in-law.

In the fourth equation, it is clear that the characteristics of the parents who receive assistance are more important in explaining care-related support than the individual characteristics of the care-givers. In other words, regardless of the level of educational attainment and work situation of the women who offer assistance, whether the parents are healthy or not, live together, or live closely with the care-providers or not, are critical in explaining the care for parents.

3.2.2 Financial support to parents

Table 6-2 Logistic Regression Analysis of Financial Assistance for Parents

[own father]

| Variables | equation 1 | equation 2 | equation 3 | equation 4 |
|--------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| B.A | -1.0578 ** | | | -1.1680 ** |
| Diploma | -0.5623 * | | | -0.6288 * |
| Full-time work | 0.6586 ** | | | 0.6667 ** |
| Part-time work | 0.3065 | | | 0.3552 |
| Self-employed | 0.3829 | | | 0.3337 |
| Urban area | | -0.4497 * | | -0.2095 |
| Eldest son | | -0.2498 | | -0.0095 |
| Male siblings | | -0.6922 ** | | -0.6155 ** |
| Household income | | 0.3000 | | 0.4000 |
| Parent's age | | | 0.0097 | 0.0030 |
| Marital states | | | -0.3953 | -0.3802 |
| Living arrangement | | | 2.0083 ** | 1.7812 ** |
| Distance | | | 0.0202 | 0.0633 |
| Health of Parents | | | -0.6210 ** | -0.6676 ** |
| Constant | 2.2563 ** | -2.4946 ** | -2.0796 ** | -1.9565 ** |

[own mother]

| Variables | equation 1 | equation 2 | equation 3 | equation 4 |
|--------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| B.A | -0.7935 ** | | | -0.7605 ** |
| Diploma | -0.5591 ** | | | -0.5551 ** |
| Full-time work | 0.4515 * | | | 0.4219 * |
| Part-time work | -0.0129 | | | 0.0357 |
| Self-employed | 0.1249 | | | 0.0993 |
| Urban area | | -0.2477 | | -0.0489 |
| Eldest son | | -0.2491 | | -0.0244 |
| Male siblings | | -0.5401 ** | | -0.3481 * |
| Household income | | -0.0200 | | 0.0775 |
| Parent's age | | | -0.0004 | -0.0016 |
| Marital states | | | -0.3062 | -0.2571 |
| Living arrangement | | | 1.7086 ** | 1.6347 ** |
| Distance | | | 0.0197 | 0.0109 |
| Health of Parents | | | -0.6735 ** | -0.6882 ** |
| Constant | -2.1513 ** | -1.9927 ** | -1.2139 * | -1.2921 * |

Table 6-2 *continued*

[husband's father]

| Variables | equation 1 | equation 2 | equation 3 | equation 4 |
|--------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| B.A | -0.8820 ** | | | -0.3076 |
| Diploma | -0.6712 ** | | | -0.2958 |
| Full-time work | 0.5472 * | | | 0.1877 |
| Part-time work | -0.1538 | | | -0.2870 |
| Self-employed | 0.4121 | | | 0.0545 |
| Urban area | | -0.8110 ** | | -0.3149 |
| Eldest son | | 0.7857 ** | | 0.5708 * |
| Male siblings | | 0.2052 | | 0.2512 |
| Household income | | 0.4000 | | 0.3000 |
| Parent's age | | | 0.0268 * | 0.0290 * |
| Marital states | | | -0.1933 | -0.1737 |
| Living arrangement | | | 1.7915 ** | 1.6196 ** |
| Distance | | | 0.0645 | 0.0916 |
| Health of Parents | | | -0.4432 * | -0.4405 * |
| Constant | -1.8615 ** | -2.4081 ** | -3.6419 ** | -4.3631 ** |

[husband's mother]

| Variables | equation 1 | equation 2 | equation 3 | equation 4 |
|--------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| B.A | -0.6237 ** | | | -0.4024 |
| Diploma | -0.2657 | | | -0.0567 |
| Full-time work | 0.4681 ** | | | 0.2356 |
| Part-time work | 0.0415 | | | -0.0109 |
| Self-employed | 0.7237 ** | | | 0.3892 |
| Urban area | | -0.3961 ** | | -0.0356 |
| Eldest son | | 0.9929 ** | | 0.8439 ** |
| Male siblings | | 0.0987 | | 0.0683 |
| Household income | | 0.5000 ** | | 0.6000 ** |
| Parent's age | | | 0.0143 | 0.0134 |
| Marital states | | | 0.5199 ** | -0.5765 ** |
| Living arrangement | | | 1.2840 ** | 1.0907 ** |
| Distance | | | -0.0454 | -0.0231 |
| Health of Parents | | | -0.4818 ** | -0.5137 ** |
| Constant | -1.3329 ** | -2.0965 ** | -2.1607 ** | -2.7285 ** |

Table 6-2 shows the results of logistic regression analysis predicting financial assistance using the same set of explanatory variables that were included in the analysis of care-related support. Let us first look at the financial support to the respondent's own father. The effect of educational credentials of the respondents is statistically significant; the higher the educational attainment, the less likely they are to offer financial assistance to their fathers. Working on the full-time basis shows a significant effect on the financial support to their father; those who work on the full-time basis are more likely to support financially their fathers than those who do not work, probably because work increases economic discretion. Among socio-economic environment variables, those who live in urban area and those who have male siblings are less likely to support financially their fathers than those living in rural area and those who do not have male siblings. Regarding parental situation variables, co-habitation and parental health present significant effect on providing the financial help. Those who share the same household and whose parents are not healthy

tend to support financially their fathers.

Similarly, in supporting respondent's own mother financially, those who have higher educational credentials and work on the full-time basis are more likely to support financially their own mothers than who do not have. Having male siblings is also important in determining the financial support to their mothers. Parental situation variables - living together with children and parental health - are also important for supporting financially their own mothers.

Looking at financial support to fathers-in-law, educational credentials and working on the full-time basis show significant effects; those who have higher educational credentials and work as full-time employees are more likely to offer financial support to their husband's fathers. Among socio-economic environment variables, the birth order of their husbands shows a significant effect on supporting financially husband's fathers; those whose husbands are the eldest sons are more likely to support financially fathers-in-law than those whose husbands are not the eldest. Among parental characteristics, living with children, parental health, and parental age are significant in determining the financial support to their fathers-in-law.

Regarding the financial support to their husbands' mothers, educational credentials and employment status show significant effects. Those who have higher educational attainment and those who work as self-employed and family workers or as full-time employees are more likely to support financially their husbands' mothers than those who do not work. Socio-economic environment variables which show significant effect in explaining financial support for mothers-in-law are the geographical area, the birth order of husbands, and the household income. Those who live in the urban area, those whose husbands are the eldest sons, and those whose household income is high are more likely to support their mothers-in-law. Among the parental situation variables, living with children, parental health and the dummy variable of having their spouse alive show significant effects.

Looking at the final equation which includes all the independent variables, parental health and living with children are significant in explaining financial support to both own parents and parents-in-law. Living with parents makes easy not only care-related support but also finance-related support to parents. We found that financial support is less frequent in the urban area than in the rural area, but this difference disappeared once the fact of higher proportion of co-habitation with parents in the rural area is taken into account. Therefore, less frequent support to parents in the urban area does not mean weak-tie in the kinship in big cities, but it is due to the low proportion of co-habitation with parents.

In the final fourth equation, the effect of educational credentials is significant only for its effect on their own parents: obtaining higher educational credentials leads to lowering the probability of financial support to their own parents. It is possible, however, that this persistent negative effect of education on financial support to their own parents is due to the fact that these parents who were able to provide

advantageous education to their daughters were better off and did not require financial assistance from their daughters. (The data set did not contain the question about the parents' economic status, so we cannot rule out this possibility. A significant relationship between the economic status of parents and educational attainment of the children has already been pointed out by Japanese sociologists (Ishida 1993; Kariya 1995).)

Another interesting difference in the factors affecting financial support to their own parents and financial support to their parents-in-law is whether the respondents have male siblings or not and whether the respondents' husbands are the eldest or not. In predicting support to their own parents, having male siblings leads to lowering the probability of financial support. (It should be noted that the important factor is the existence of a male sibling, rather than the number of siblings.) On the other hand, in predicting support to the parents of their husbands, the husbands who are the eldest leads to increasing the probability of financial support. Thus, financial support is performed along the paternal line of the kin in contemporary Japan.

4 Support to grown-up children

In this section, I would like to examine support to grown-up children who live separately from the respondents (i.e. mothers). The analysis focuses on the intergenerational support from mothers to grown-up children. Similar to previous analyses of support to parents, care-related support and finance-related support are separately analyzed. Three sets of variables are included in the analysis: (1) individual characteristics of the respondents - educational credentials and work status, (2) socio-economic variables which include the number of siblings, geographical area, household income, and (3) children's characteristics which are their age, their marital status, and the physical distance between the child and the mother.

Table 6-3 Logistic Regression Analysis of Care fore Grown-up Children
[Male]

| Variables | equation 1 | equation 2 | equation 3 | equation 4 |
|--------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| B.A | 0.3058 | | | 0.5808 |
| Diploma | 0.0089 | | | 0.1295 |
| Full-time work | -0.1127 | | | 0.1205 |
| Part-time work | -0.1494 | | | 0.1691 |
| Self-employed | -0.2629 | | | 0.0048 |
| Urban area | | -0.2244 * | | -0.3163 ** |
| Eldest son | | -0.2130 | | -0.3597 |
| Male siblings | | -0.2000 | | -0.0200 |
| Household income | | | -0.0053 | 0.0088 |
| Parent's age | | | 0.5378 * | 0.4526 |
| Marital states | | | -0.1230 ** | -0.1526 ** |
| Living arrangement | 0.1704 | 0.9254 ** | 0.9909 | 1.8969 ** |

Table 6-3 *continued*

[Female]

| Variables | equation 1 | equation 2 | equation 3 | equation 4 |
|--------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| B.A | -0.1861 | | | 0.4134 |
| Diploma | -0.2778 | | | -0.0882 |
| Full-time work | -0.4359 | | | 0.0495 |
| Part-time work | -0.0555 | | | 0.5148 |
| Self-employed | -0.6922 * | | | -0.2925 |
| Urban area | | -0.0654 | | -0.2183 |
| Eldest son | | 0.0838 | | 0.0014 |
| Male siblings | | -0.4000 | | -0.2000 |
| Household income | | | 0.0309 | 0.0413 |
| Parent's age | | | 0.8077 ** | 0.7634 * |
| Marital states | | | -0.1422 * | -0.1488 * |
| Living arrangement | 1.1209 ** | 1.9982 ** | 1.1554 | 1.7949 * |

Table 6-3 shows the results of logistic regression analysis of parental support to grown-up children living separately. None of the individual characteristics of the mothers are significant in predicting parental care for male children. The number of siblings is negatively related to offering parental care for male children; the greater the number of siblings, the less likely male children are to receive care-related support from their parents (mothers). Male children who are married and living close by are more likely to receive care-related support.

Moving to the care for female children, mothers who work as self-employed and family workers are less likely to offer care-related support than those who do not work, while socio-economic characteristics do not show any significant effect. Female grown-up children who are married and live close by are more likely to receive care-related support from their mothers than those who are single and live far away.

Table 6-4 Logistic Regression Analysis of Financial Assistance for Grown-up Children

[Male]

| Variables | equation 1 | equation 2 | equation 3 | equation 4 |
|--------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| B.A | 0.3070 | | | 0.5334 |
| Diploma | 0.4181 * | | | 0.5388 * |
| Full-time work | 0.1883 | | | 0.4784 |
| Part-time work | 0.0478 | | | 0.3096 |
| Self-employed | -0.1316 | | | 0.1102 |
| Urban area | | -0.2915 ** | | -0.2766 * |
| Eldest son | | 0.0934 | | 0.0315 |
| Male siblings | | -0.1000 | | -0.7000 |
| Household income | | | -0.0476 ** | -0.0222 |
| Parent's age | | | 1.5133 ** | 1.4798 ** |
| Marital states | | | 0.0089 | 0.0125 |
| Living arrangement | 0.6717 ** | 1.3118 ** | 1.9836 ** | 2.4574 ** |

Table 6-4 *continued*

[Female]

| Variables | equation 1 | equation 2 | equation 3 | equation 4 |
|--------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| B.A | 0.7309 * | | | 0.8253 * |
| Diploma | 0.4287 * | | | 0.4108 |
| Full-time work | 0.2207 | | | 0.1669 |
| Part-time work | 0.3249 | | | 0.2723 |
| Self-employed | -0.4688 | | | -0.4870 |
| Urban area | | -0.0169 | | 0.0254 |
| Eldest son | | -0.2957 | | 0.2661 |
| Male siblings | | 0.0500 | | -0.0900 |
| Household income | | | -0.0238 | -0.0190 |
| Parent's age | | | 0.4309 | 0.4244 |
| Marital states | | | -0.0446 | -0.0629 |
| Living arrangement | 1.0243 ** | 0.6675 * | 1.5344 ** | 1.8178 ** |

Table 6-4 presents the regression analysis predicting financial assistance to grown-up children. The first sub-table relates to male children. Respondents who obtained higher education are more likely to support financially male grown-ups than are those who have lower educational attainment. Similar to care-related support for grown-ups, when a child is married, parents tend to support them financially. The younger the male children, the more likely the parents are to support financially. Parents try to prevent their children from financial problem because of being young. On the other hand, with respect to financial support from parents to female grown-ups as shown in the second sub-table, only the effect of educational credentials of the mothers is statistically significant. While the educational credentials of the respondents had a negative effect on determining support to parents, they have positive effect on support to the children. Those who attained high educational credentials try to prevent children from falling from the advantaged socio-economic status. Children who possess sufficient cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984) are also likely to enjoy financial support from their parents. However, it should not be overlooked that financial support to female grown-up children is not affected by work situation of the mothers, socio-economic characteristics, and the characteristics of the children.

In the analysis of parental support to children, gender and marital status of children are important, although the effect of individual characteristics of the mothers who offer assistance is limited. However, we have to bear in mind that the reason why the children's marital status is important pertains to the content of care. Because taking care of grandchildren constitutes an important aspect of care, the marital status of children becomes significant in explaining care-related support to children. The fact that the number of children has a significant negative effect on affecting support from parents to male children has an interesting implication for the declining fertility. The declining fertility rate implies fewer children which is likely to intensify support from parents to children per child. Furthermore, the birth of grandchildren makes the relationship between mothers and daughters more intimate, so marriage (and