

Family and Household Changes in Contemporary Japan  
Results of the 4<sup>th</sup> National Survey on Household Changes (1999)

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## I Outline of the Survey

### 1. Outline of the 4<sup>th</sup> National Survey on Household Changes

Japan has experienced marked demographic changes during past several decades. Although the improvement in life expectancy continues due to the mortality decline in older ages, it is predicted that the total population starts declining because of the very low fertility rate prevailing since 1970's. Rapid population aging will continue and even be accelerated when the post-war baby-boom cohort reaches at age 65. Changing gender relationship has been prompting such nuptiality changes as the delay in marriage, the increase in the proportion never marrying, and the rise in the divorce rate.

These changes have exerting impacts on the static distribution of household size and composition as well as on the dynamic process of household formation and dissolution. Such household changes as increase in the propensity to live alone among the elderly, the growth in the number of one-parent family households, and the growing propensities of young adults to stay longer in their parental households are of great concern both for academic and political worlds.

The 4<sup>th</sup> National Survey on Household Changes was conducted on July 1, 1999, succeeding the previous round conducted five years before. This series of household surveys are designed to study various household changes and to obtain important parameters for household projections. The survey covered a similar set of topics as in the previous survey, which included the size and the composition of the households, individuals' experiences of assuming and resigning headship, timing of young adults' leaving parental home, transitions between marital states, and so forth.

### 2. Survey Procedures and Collection of Questionnaires

This survey was conducted as a "rider" of the Comprehensive Survey of the Living

Conditions of People on Health and Welfare conducted by the former Ministry of Health and Welfare (presently the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare). Out of 1,048 survey areas sampled for the Comprehensive Survey, 300 were assigned for this survey. Designated interviewers distributed and collected questionnaires, which were, in principle, requested to be filled out by household heads.

Out of a total sample of 16,267 households, completed questionnaires were collected from 13,385 households, among which 12,434 were regarded valid for analysis. The collection rate was 82.3 percent while the valid response rate was 76.4 percent.

The age distribution of respondent household heads is shown in Table I-1. Comparing with the result of the 1995 Census, the number of household heads below age 50 seems to be under-represented. Although this gap partially reflects the change in age structure of the population in the past four years, the lower collection rate from one-person households of people in their 20s did cause some distortion in the data file.

Besides calculation and analysis by household, this survey calculates and analyzes all the household members at age 18 and above. The age structure of the body of respondents aged 18 and above of the survey with that of the population estimate in 1999 (Table I-2) are almost the same, because the year of statistics is the same, and the collection rates among different ages were not much different except for heads of households in their 20s.

Table I-1: Number of Heads of Households by Age Group

Age of Household Head	Household Survey (1999)		Census (1995)*		Differences
	Number of responded households	Age distribution (%)	Number of private households (x 1000)	Age distribution (%)	
Total	12,434	100.0	43,900	100.0	-
-19	123	1.0	585	1.3	-0.3
20-24	391	3.1	2,537	5.8	-2.6
25-29	613	4.9	2,879	6.6	-1.6
30-34	870	7.0	3,141	7.2	-0.2
35-39	905	7.3	3,260	7.4	-0.1
40-44	1,016	8.2	4,140	9.4	-1.3
45-49	1,345	10.8	5,383	12.3	-1.4
50-54	1,503	12.1	4,802	10.9	1.1
55-59	1,387	11.2	4,376	10.0	1.2
60-64	1,263	10.2	4,130	9.4	0.7
65-69	1,116	9.0	3,466	7.9	1.1
70-74	913	7.3	2,355	5.4	2.0
75-79	505	4.1	1,524	3.5	0.6
80-84	312	2.5	907	2.1	0.4
85 and over	172	1.4	415	0.9	0.4

\*Report on the 1995 Census, Statistics Bureau, Management and Coordination Agency

Table I-2 Number of Household Members at Age 18 and over by Age Group

Age	Household Survey (1999)		Population in 1999*		Differences (%)
	N	Age distribution (%)	N(x 1000)	Age distribution (%)	
Total of members at 18 and over	28,767	100.0	103424	100.0	-
18-19	829	2.9	3,135	3.0	-0.1
20-24	2,265	7.9	8,890	8.6	-0.7
25-29	2,515	8.7	9,895	9.6	-0.8
30-34	2,371	8.2	8,678	8.4	-0.1
35-39	2,195	7.6	7,916	7.7	0.0
40-44	2,336	8.1	7,897	7.6	0.5
45-49	2,799	9.7	9,444	9.1	0.6
50-54	2,822	9.8	9,856	9.5	0.3
55-59	2,559	8.9	8,897	8.6	0.3
60-64	2,271	7.9	7,630	7.4	0.5
65-69	1,996	6.9	6,951	6.7	0.2
70-74	1,618	5.6	5,737	5.5	0.1
75-79	1,042	3.6	3,926	3.8	-0.2
80-84	639	2.2	2,468	2.4	-0.2
85 and over	510	1.8	2,104	2.0	-0.3

\*Population Estimates as of October 1, 1999, Statistics Bureau, Management and Coordination Agency

## II. Present Status of Households

There can be three types of household statistics; first, targeting at the heads of households, second, targeting at household members, and third, statistics based on the relation between specific members within a household. The first type of statistics has been conventional, but it can hardly reflect the life of elderly people in the recent rapid population aging in Japan. The second type has been employed for recent years and is able to demonstrate the living arrangements of the elderly. In this section, the present status of households will be discussed mainly based on the statistics taken by the second method, seen from individual members.

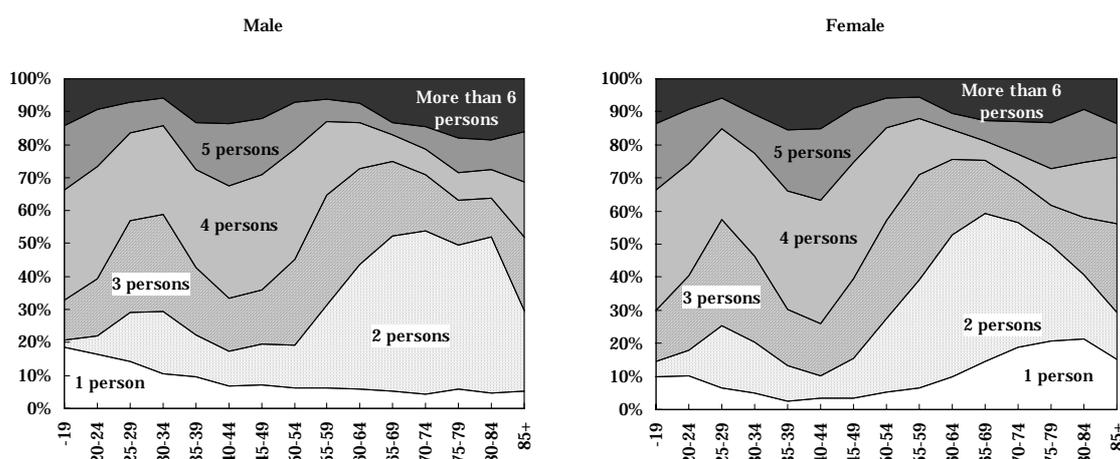
### 1. Household Sizes and Family Types

The sizes of households to which individuals aged 18 and over belong were, by order of frequencies, 4-person households (24.9%), 3-person households (22.7%), 2-person households (21.7%) and 5-person households (12.0%). The order remains the same as the previous survey, as shown in Table II-1. The largest increase over the previous survey was found in the proportion of 2-person households (plus 2.9 points), followed by 3-person households (plus 1.6) and 4-person household (plus 0.4) but the number of 5-person or larger households has decreased. The average number of household members was 3.5 persons, a fall by 0.1 from 3.6 persons in the previous survey.

Table II-1 Distribution of Household by Size

	Number of persons at 18 and over				Number of households			
	4 <sup>th</sup> survey	1999	3 <sup>rd</sup> survey	1994	4 <sup>th</sup> survey	1999	3 <sup>rd</sup> survey	1994
		(%)		(%)		(%)		(%)
Total	28,767	100.0	20,788	100.0	12,434	100.0	8,578	100.0
1 person	2,456	8.5	1,621	7.8	2,456	19.8	1,621	18.9
2 persons	6,229	21.7	3,914	18.8	3,184	25.6	1,993	23.2
3 persons	6,525	22.7	4,380	21.1	2,543	20.5	1,660	19.4
4 persons	7,149	24.9	5,098	24.5	2,501	20.1	1,764	20.6
5 persons	3,446	12.0	2,884	13.9	1,053	8.5	853	9.9
6 persons	1,856	6.5	1,786	8.6	464	3.7	445	5.2
7 persons	813	2.8	795	3.8	179	1.4	181	2.1
over 8 persons	293	1.0	310	1.5	54	0.4	61	0.7
average (persons)	3.5		3.6		2.9		3.1	

Figure II-1 Household Composition by sex, age group, and household size



The numbers of households by size were in order of 2-person households (25.6%), 3-person households (20.5%), 4-person households (20.1%), and one-person households (19.8%). Comparing with the results of the previous survey, 2-person households increased by 2.4 points, followed by 3-person households by 1.1 points, while 4-person households and larger decreased, with the largest fall occurring in 5-person households by 1.9 points. The average household size with household base, not individual base, was 2.9 persons, a decrease by 0.2 persons from 3.1 persons.

Household sizes to which people aged 18 and over belonged are shown by age group in Figure II-1. The largest portion of both men and women under age 24 and below, one of three, belonged to 4-person households. Among men aged 25 and over, the largest portion (a little less than 30%) of people in the 25-34 age group belonged to 3-person households, the largest proportion of people in the 35-54 age groups were those who belonged to 4-person households (30-35%), the largest among men in the 55-59 age group were in 3-person households (33%), that among men at age 60 and over (32%) were in 2-person households, and in particular, about a half of the 65-84 age groups were living in 2-person households. Among women, the largest portion of the 25-29 age group (32%) belonged to 3-person households, followed by 4-person households among the 30-49 age group (the 30-percent level), 3-person households among the 50-54 age group (30%), and 2-person households among the 55-79 age groups (30-45%). In particular, the percentage of women who were living in 2-person households as 2.4 times greater in the 65-69 age group than in the 25-29 age group, the largest body among younger generations. Among women aged between 80 and 84, the largest portion (21%) belonged to one-person households, while among women at 85 and over, 3-person households occupied the largest share (27%). Around 20 percent of

older elderly women lived alone, which was four times more than men in the same age group living alone (around 5%). The higher ratios of people living in 2-person households suggest that children who had lived with parents have left their parents' houses.

The average household size by age and sex is shown in Fig. II-2. Although women lived in larger households among people below age 50, men lived in larger households at 50 and over. Starting with 3.8 for men and 4.0 persons for women aged 19 and below, the average household size gradually became smaller hitting bottom at 3.4 persons for women in the 25-29 age group, and 3.2 persons for men in the 30-34 age group, then rose again to the largest at 4.0 and 4.2 persons in the 40-44 age group for men and women respectively. The smallest size for men at 3.0 persons was found in the 60-64 age group, and for women at 2.9 persons in their 65-69 age group, after which the average household size became larger again increasing to 3.7 persons for men and 3.5 persons for women after they became 85 years old. Comparing with the outcome of the previous survey, both men and women in all age groups, except for men in the 25-29 age group, were living in smaller households. Larger gaps between the two survey times were found among women aged 60 and over, and among those aged 85 and over, the average size decreased from 4.1 to 3.5 persons, a decline by 0.6 persons.

Figure II-2 Average Household Size by Sex and Age Group

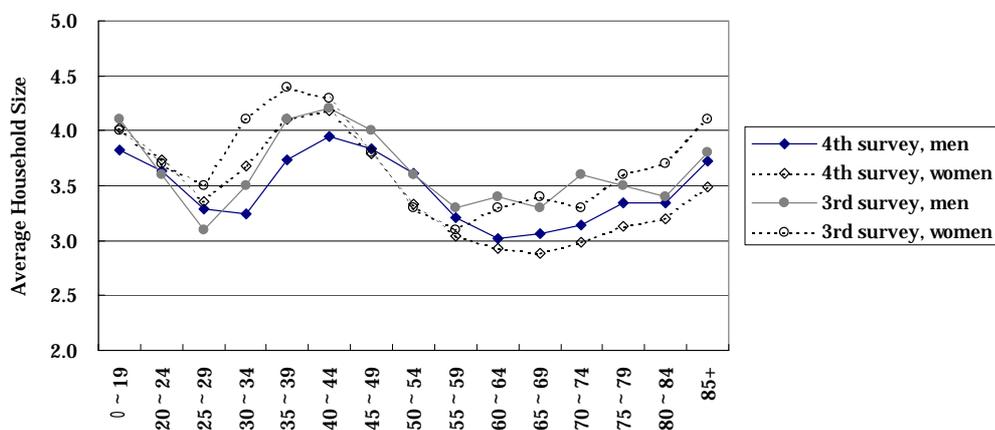


Table II-2 shows respondents' household compositions. The majority (64.4%) lived in "nuclear family" households, 25.3 percent lived in "other households," and 8.5 percent in "one-person households." This order was the same as in the previous survey with some increases in both "nuclear family" and "one-person" households, while "other private households" decreased by 5.8 points. It may suggest that the household composition is becoming simpler in Japan.

Table II-2 Number of Persons and Households by Family Type

	Number of people aged 18 and over				Number of households			
	4 <sup>th</sup> survey(1999)		3 <sup>rd</sup> survey(1994)		4 <sup>th</sup> survey(1999)		3 <sup>rd</sup> survey(1994)	
	persons	%	persons	%	N	%	N	%
Total	<b>28,767</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>20,788</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>12,434</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>8,578</b>	<b>100.0</b>
One-person	<b>2,456</b>	<b>8.5</b>	<b>1,621</b>	<b>7.8</b>	<b>2,456</b>	<b>19.8</b>	<b>1,621</b>	<b>18.9</b>
Nuclear family	<b>18,509</b>	<b>64.4</b>	<b>12,687</b>	<b>61.0</b>	<b>7,769</b>	<b>62.5</b>	<b>5,215</b>	<b>60.8</b>
Couple-only	4,771	16.6	3,031	14.6	2,406	19.4	1,518	17.7
Parent/s and child/ren	<b>13,738</b>	<b>47.8</b>	<b>9,656</b>	<b>46.4</b>	<b>5,363</b>	<b>43.1</b>	<b>3,697</b>	<b>43.1</b>
Couple + child/ren	12,140	42.2	8,556	41.2	4,568	36.7	3,155	36.8
Father + child/ren	262	0.9	196	0.9	128	1.0	94	1.1
Mother + child/ren	1,336	4.6	904	4.3	667	5.4	448	5.2
Other private households	<b>7,280</b>	<b>25.3</b>	<b>6,457</b>	<b>31.1</b>	<b>1,966</b>	<b>15.8</b>	<b>1,721</b>	<b>20.1</b>
Parent/s + a child's couple	925	3.2	591	2.8	293	2.4	186	2.2
Parent/s + child/ren + a child's couple	54	0.2	81	0.4	13	0.1	18	0.2
Parent/s + a child's couple and their child/ren	4,459	15.5	4,041	19.4	1,124	9.0	1,013	11.8
Other relatives households	1,657	5.8	1,698	8.2	462	3.7	482	5.6
Non-relatives households	185	0.6	46	0.2	74	0.6	22	0.3
Unknown	<b>522</b>	<b>1.8</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>0.1</b>	<b>243</b>	<b>2.0</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>0.2</b>

Note: Non-relatives households are included in "Other private households"

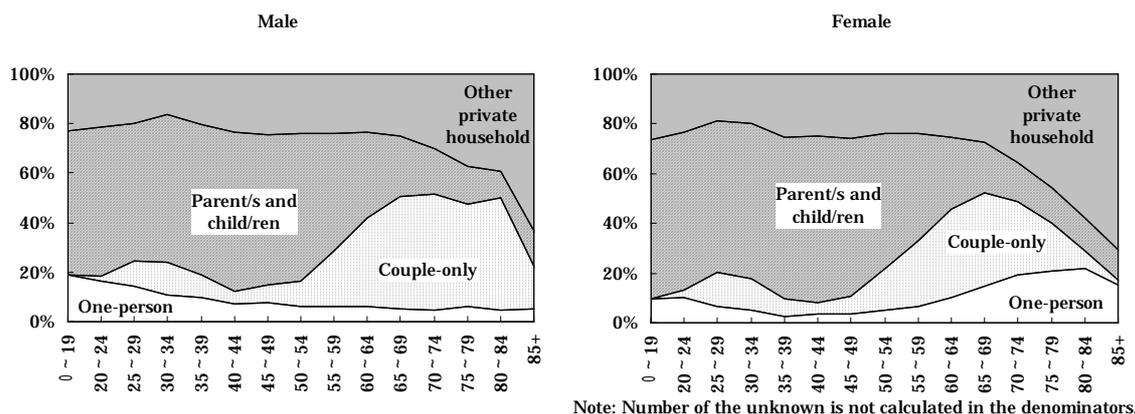
A close examination into the table reveals that the largest portion (42.2%) belonged to households "consisting of a married couple and their child/ren" followed by "couple only" (16.6%) and "parent/s and a married child's couple and their child/ren" (15.5%). In the previous survey, the largest portion was shared by the same nuclear families with 41.2%, but the second largest was by three-generation families with 19.4% and the third place was by couple-only households with 14.6%.

Seen by household basis, not by individual basis, households consisting of "a married couple and their child/ren" had the largest share with 36.7 percent just as above, but "one-person households" ranked second with 19.8 percent and "couple-only households" third with 19.4 percent. The order remained the same from the previous survey time with some increases in second and third places.

Family types constituting households to which respondents belonged are shown in Figure II-3 by sex and age group. The majority of both men and women less than age 60 belonged to households of "couple and child/ren," followed by "other private households." Among men in the 60-84 age group, "couple-only" and "other" households occupied first and second places, and the order was reversed among men aged 85 and over. The first and second largest portions of women in their 60s lived in

“couple-only” and “other” households, and women in their 70s lived in “other” and “one-person” households. With regard to “one-person” households, men continued to fall from their peak at 19.0 percent among men younger than 20 to 5.3 percent among men aged 85 and more. Contrary to this, older elderly women living alone were more than double of the ratio of young women (especially high in the 80-84 age group with 21.8%).

Figure II-3 Households by (4) family types by sex and age group



## 2. Housing

Table II-3 showing the breakdown of the houses by ownership revealed that the majority (66.2%) lived in detached houses owned by themselves. Those who were living in private rented houses (15.3%), condominiums of their ownership (7.0%), and public rented houses (4.4%) followed. Similar tendencies were observed both among men and women, but a little more women were living in detached and condominium houses of their own, and in public rented houses than men. From the previous survey, third and fourth places were replaced.

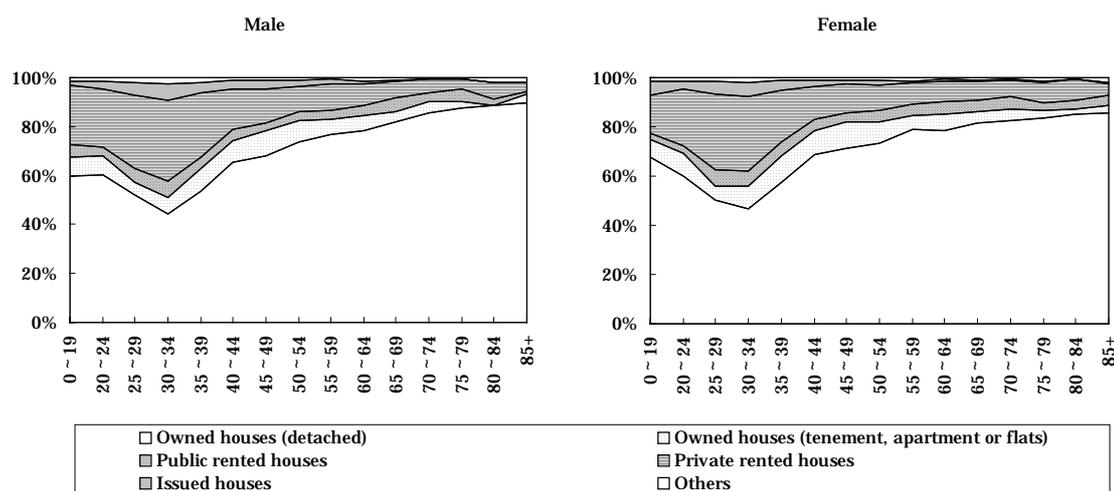
Ownership of houses by sex and age group is shown in Figure II-4. Those who owned detached houses were the smallest among the 30-34 age groups of both men and women with 44.4 and 46.9 percent, respectively. The largest portions of people around age 30 lived in rented houses of both public and private ownership (private rented houses 32.8% and public rented houses 6.9% among men in the 30-34 age group; 30.6 and 6.6 percent among women in the 25-29 age group). People in these age groups were in the early stage of forming households after marriage and have the least financial strength to obtain houses. The proportion of those who lived in detached houses they owned increased among older people. Older elderly people had high percentages between 80

and 90 percent who owned their own houses. As far as house ownership is concerned, older elderly people showed greater stability.

Table II-3 Type of house by sex

	4 <sup>th</sup> survey (1999)			3 <sup>rd</sup> survey (1994)		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Total	28,767	13,853	14,914	26,100	12,647	13,372
Owned houses (detached)	66.2%	65.4%	66.9%	66.5%	65.8%	67.1%
Owned houses (tenement, apartment or flats)	7.0	6.8	7.2	5.0	5.0	5.0
Public rented houses	4.4	4.2	4.6	6.5	6.4	6.4
Private rented houses	15.3	16.1	14.5	14.1	14.2	14
Issued houses	2.5	2.8	2.3	4.0	4.5	3.5
Others	1.3	1.3	1.2	1.1	1.1	1.1
Unknown	3.4	3.4	3.4	2.9	3.0	2.8

Figure II-4: Type of house by age and sex



### III. Availability and Co-residence with Kin

In this section, the availability of kin and their spatial distribution will be discussed. In Japan, inter-generational reciprocal support and assistance have been taken for granted as normal practices. Well-organized studies should be conducted on the level of care, and on what generational relations has care been given. However, even today, inter-generational exchanges of supports are closely dependent on physical distances between the dwellings of both sides. This section investigates co-residence with and spatial distribution of three categories of kin; 1) children, 2) parents, and 3) other

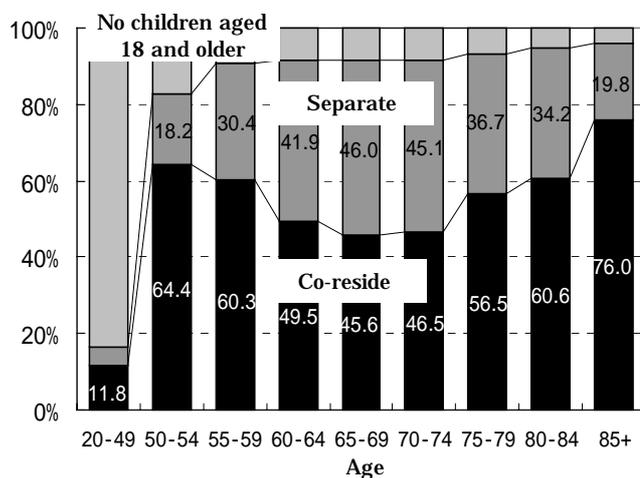
relatives.

### 1. Children

Co-residences with adult children or with parents have had close association with social norms and institutions regarding living or not living together, or with whom to live together. These living arrangements with relatives have been largely determined by socio-economic and cultural factors such as the development of the social security and social welfare systems. The recent changes in values and below-replacement fertility and other demographic changes, however, have exerted influence on the attributes of children and the forms of living together. From a point of inter-generational relationship for support and care-giving to elderly members, the attributes of parents and children and the forms of living together will be described for parents in their 50s and above.

Figure III-1 shows the age pattern of co-residence with children. The proportion of people who have children aged 18 and over was 49.8 percent (52.3% in the previous survey, hereafter, figures in a parentheses are the figures in the survey of 5 years before.), and that of people at 65 and over was 92.6 (94.1) percent. The proportion rises by age and reaches 82.7 (89.7) percent at the age of 50.

Figure III-1: Living Arrangements with Children (aged 18 and over) by Age.



The proportion living together with children older than 18 years was 32.0 (37.6) percent of all survey targets aged 18 and above, and 52.1 (58.3) percent among those at 65 and over. By age group, the proportion co-resident in the 50-54 age group was 64.7 (74.0) percent, and the proportion living apart was 18.2 (15.6) percent. As people grew older, proportion co-residing decreased, while proportion living apart increased. In the

65-69 age group, the co-residence hit the lowest with 45.6 (52.3) percent, while living apart reached the highest with 46.0 (40.6) percent. Proportion co-residing reached the bottom by people at ages 65-69, after which it rose among older age groups while proportion living apart declined. Co-residence is highest among people at 85 and over with 76.0 (78.2) percent.

Figure III-2: Availability and Co-residence with Children by Age and Sex

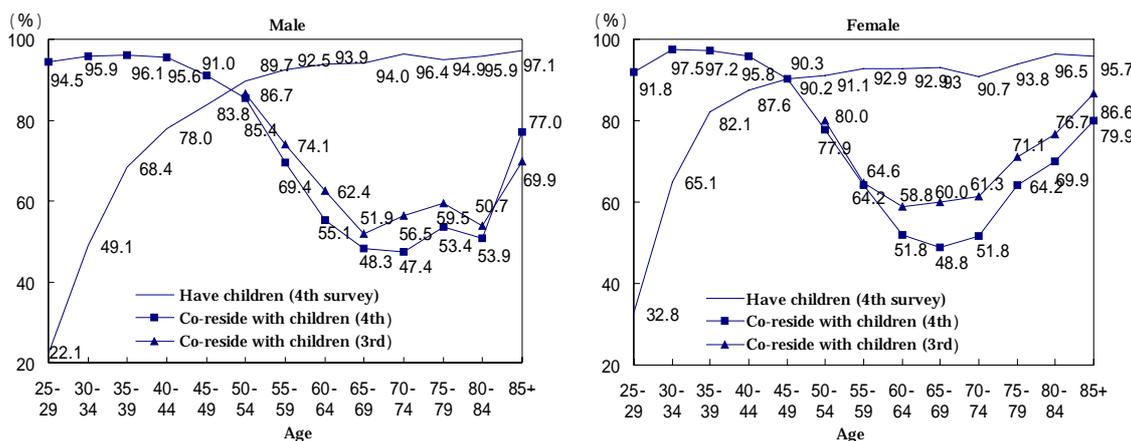


Figure III-2 further looks into the proportion having children and co-residing with children by sex and age group of respondents. More than 90 percent of both men and women at 50 and over have children. The proportion living with children was higher among younger age groups and declined in the early 40s when their children began to leave the nests. Despite the gender difference, proportion living with children was lowest during the empty nest period in the latter 60s and early 70s. The proportion fell from those of the previous survey among both men and women. In the survey five years before, proportion co-residing never fell below 50 percent in any age groups, but in the 1999 survey, the proportion fell to the 40-percent level among people in the latter half of 60s. Until the early half of their 60s, men showed a higher proportion co-residing than women, while women aged 65 and over showed higher proportion than men. This suggests that women after being widowed came to live with their children and that changes in their proportion currently married affected the proportion living with children. The tendency to avoid co-residence with children among the elderly people was further strengthened from the previous survey. The fall of the proportion among women in ages 65-74 is particularly notable. As they grew older, the gap of the proportion between the two survey results was narrowed, and the proportions were higher among older elderly people. More men and women chose to stay independent while they were physically healthy and chose to live with their children when they grew very old. From this result, it is inferred that co-residence with children was not totally

denied.

Figure III-3: Proportion of Parents Living with children by Age and Birth Order of Children

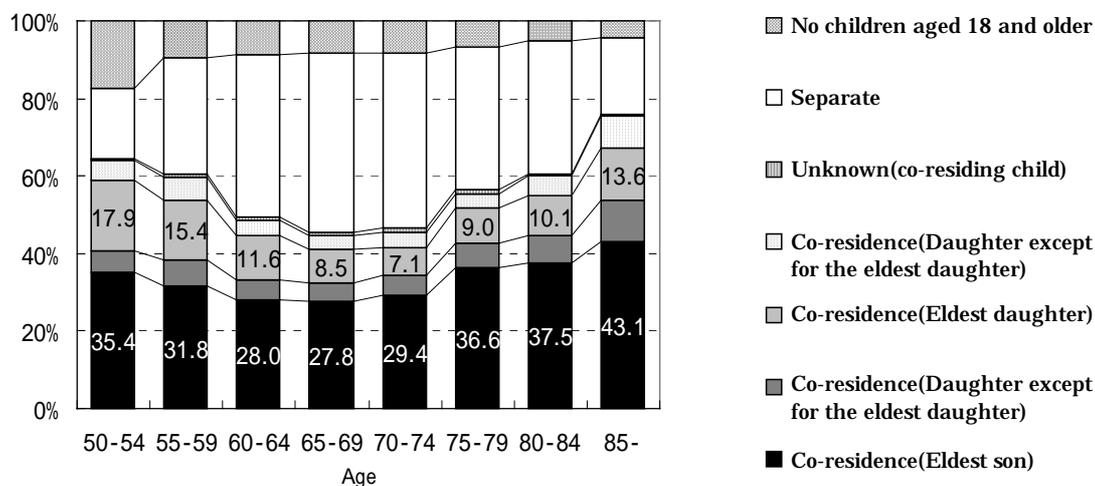
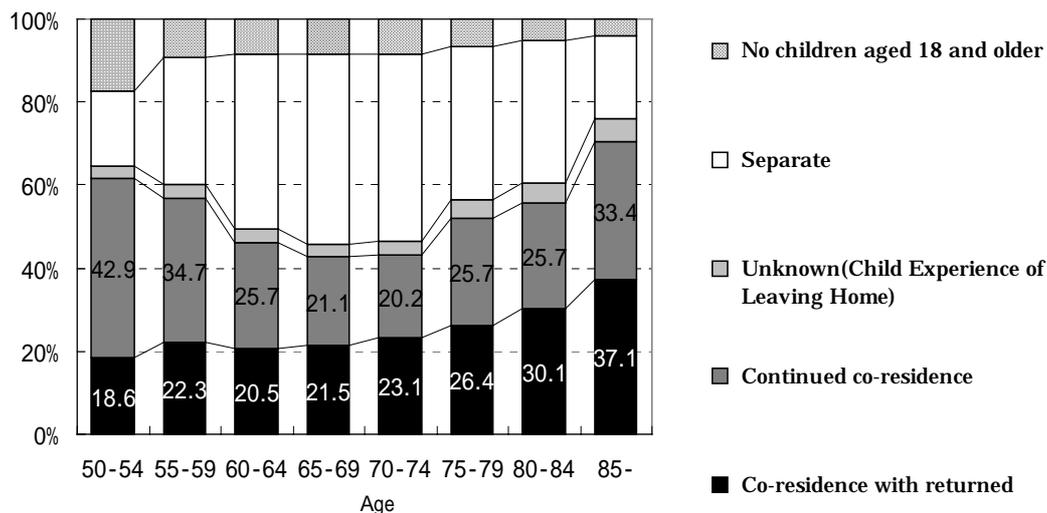


Figure III-3 shows attributes of children who live with respondents. By sex and birth order of children, 18.8 (19.7%) of the total respondents aged 18 and over lived with their eldest sons (58.8% of the children living with respondents, which was 56.2% in the previous survey), followed by those living with their eldest daughters with 7.3 percent (7.1%) (22.6% of the children living with respondents, which was 20.1% in the previous survey). While the propensity to live with adult children lowered, the proportion of eldest sons and daughters among the co-residing children were heightened. The portion of eldest sons and daughters are increasing due to the fertility decline in Japan. The age pattern of co-residence with eldest sons was similar with that of co-residence with all children, and the higher their age, the higher the proportion co-residing. Co-residence with daughters rose after age 70. Among people aged 65 and over, co-residence with sons was 38.0 (41.2) percent while that with daughters was 13.2 (10.6) percent. Of people who were living with their children, 25.4 (18.8) percent was living with their daughters. It implies that parental preferences shifted from living with sons to with daughters during five years.

The process of parents to have come to live with their children is presented in Figure III-4, whether they have lived with their children continuously or they have rejoined after their children once had left home. The portion of continued co-residence fell gradually from 42.9 percent among the 50-54 age group to 20.2 percent among the 70-74 age group, after which it rose to 33.4 percent among people older than 85 years old. Co-residence with returned children began to rise from 20.5 percent among those in the 60-64 age group, and rose further among the 65-69 age group. Among the

people over 85, the proportion was 37.1 percent. The main reason for the rise in the proportion living with returned children when parents entered an older elderly age group (75 and on) may be the consideration extended by their child generations to support and give care to their old age parents for health and other reasons.

Figure III-4: Proportion of Parents Living with children by Age and Child Experience of Leaving Home



## 2. Parents

In the previous section, respondents' co-residence with children was examined from the viewpoint of parent generation. Here, the opposite direction is studied.

Among respondents aged 18 and above, 68.1 (64.1) percent had at least one parent alive, and 31.9 (35.9) percent had both parents deceased (Table III-1). Of those who had at least one parent alive, 45.9 (42.0) percent had both parents alive, 18.8 (18.5) percent only mother alive, and 3.4 (3.6) percent only father alive. Parent survival rates have risen since the 1994 survey reflecting the general tendency toward longevity.

Table III-1: Parents' Survival Rates.

	Total	Total of Living Parents			Both deceased
		Both parents alive	Father alive	Mother alive	
Total	24,396	16,615	11,194	824	7,781
Percentage	100.0	68.1	45.9	3.4	18.8

Figure III-5 shows the survival rates of parents by age of respondents. As respondents grew older, their parents' survival rates fell while their decrease rates rose as a matter of

nature. Those who had both parents alive shared 92.7 (91.4) percent of those in their 20s, 59.8 (52.7) percent of those in their early 40s, after which it sharply fell to 1.2 (0.4) percent of those above 65. However, more than a half of respondents in their 50s and 28.5 percent of those who were in the 60-64 age group had one parent still alive. For the whole body of respondents over 65, 8.2 (4.9) percent had one parent. In the past five years, parental survival rates have risen in all age groups.

Figure III-5: Parents' Survival Rates by Age of Respondents

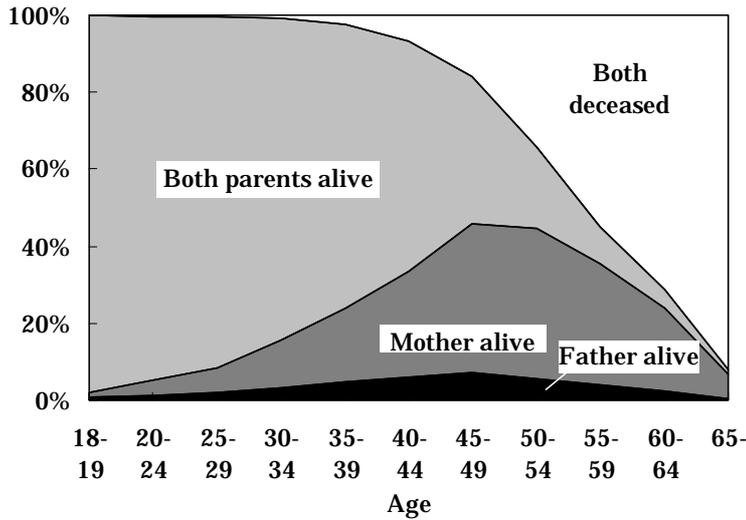


Figure III-6: Number of Alive Parents by Age of Respondents (includes Parents-in-law)

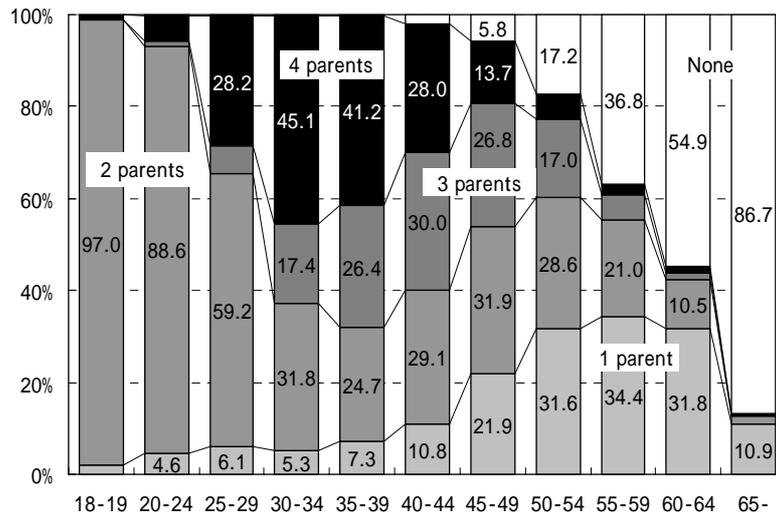


Figure III-6 illustrates the survival rates of four parents including the parents of one's spouse. Among respondents aged 18 and over, 24.8 (27.9) had their four parents deceased, in turn, 75.2 (72.1) percent had at least one parent alive. The breakdown

showed that 16.5 (15.8) percent had one parent, 37.4 (31.2) percent two parents, 13.3 (11.2) percent three parents, and 17.3 (13.9) percent had all the four parents alive. Parents' survival rates have increased over the previous survey. By age group, the majority of parents were deceased for respondents aged 65 and over, yet, one out of eight persons had a living parent, as 10.9 (7.9) percent of them had one parent, and 1.7 (1.1) percent had two parents still alive.

The survival rates of one's own parents and co-residence with them are shown in Table III-2. The proportion living with at least one of parents was 27.3 (26.3) percent, that living separately was 41.3 (37.8) percent, and that both parents deceased was 31.5 (35.9) percent. Proportions co-residing with at least one parent were 32.8 (33.2) percent among men and 22.0 (19.7) percent among women, that living separately were 38.2 (33.6) percent among men and 44.1 (42.0) percent among women. Proportions co-residing were higher among men in both surveys, but the figure increased slightly among women in the past five years.

Table III-2: Co-residence with Own Parents by Age of Respondents

Sex	Total		Co-residence with Parents				Separate	Both of parents deceased
	Actual Number (persons)	(%)		with father and mother	with father	with mother		
Total	24,703	100.0	27.3	18.8	1.4	7.0	41.3	31.5
Male	12,026	100.0	32.8	21.7	1.9	9.3	38.2	28.9
Female	12,677	100.0	22.0	16.1	1.0	4.8	44.1	33.9

Figure III-7 charts the breakdown of male and female age pattern of parental survivorship and co-residence. Difference by sex becomes apparent at age 30 and thereafter. Both men and women in the 20-24 age group lived with their parents at around 80 percent. Women living with their parents showed a sharp decline while they were in their 20s and 30s because they leave parental households for marriage. Men between age 30 and 34 who live with their parents stood at 39.0 (41.2) percent, and women in the same age range 22.9 percent, which was larger than the data in the previous survey five years ago with 21.5 percent. This increase coincides with the increase of unmarried women and the delay in leaving home. In general, co-residence with parents fell along with ages among both men and women. Yet, 4.3 (3.3) percent of men and 1.1 (0.8) percent of women were living with their parents after they became 65 years old.

Figure III-7 Survivorship and Co-residence with Own Parents by Age and Sex of Respondents

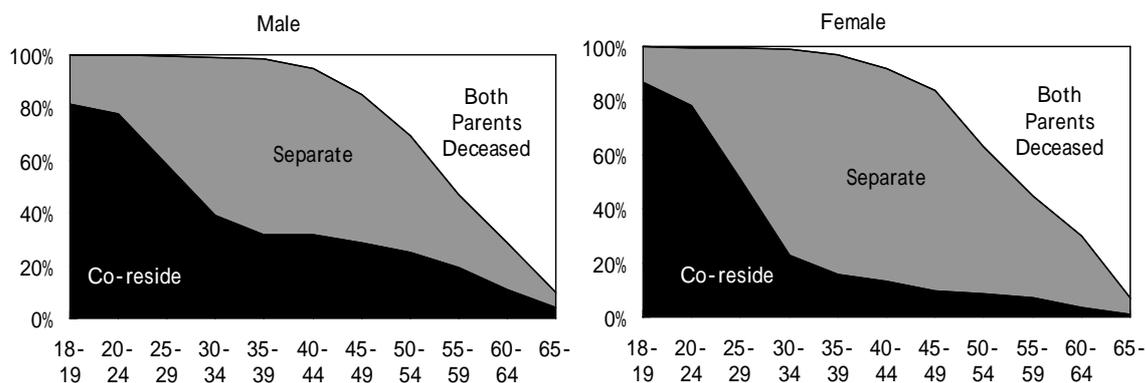
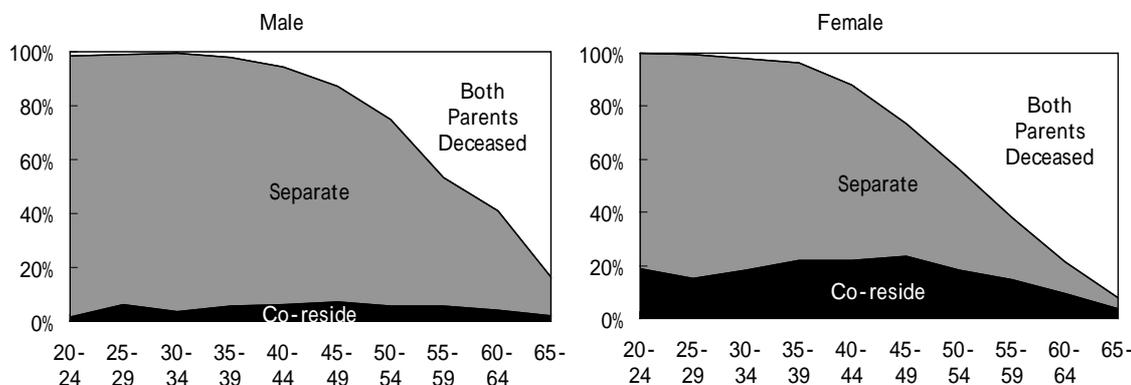


Figure III-8 shows the living arrangements with parents-in-law among currently married respondents. The proportion living with one of their spouse’s parents was 10.6 (11.3) percent, that of those who were living apart was 53.4 (49.0) percent, and that of whose spouse’s parents were dead was 36.0 (39.7) percent. Currently married men who lived with their wife’s parents stood at 4.8 (4.0) percent while those who lived separately occupied 60.8 (58.6) percent. Among currently married women, 16.3 (18.0) percent were living with their husband’s parents and 46.0 (40.0) were living apart. More wives were living with in-laws, reflecting the traditional characteristics of family formation in Japan. Comparing with the data of the 1994 survey, husbands living with their wife’s parents remained almost the same, while wives living with husband’s parents decreased slightly. The proportion of men living with parents-in-law peaked at 7.3 percent in ages 45-49 while that of women peaked at 23.7 percent in the same age group. That the proportion reached the peak in the 45-49 age range would mean that the survival rate of their in-laws were high and they are entering latter old age.

Figure III-8 Survivorship and Co-residence with Parents-in-law by Age and Sex of Currently Married Respondents



### 3. Other Relatives

The availability of kin other than spouse, parents and children has greatly been shrunk in recent cohorts comparing to prewar and immediate postwar cohorts.

Here, only the changes in number of living siblings are presented (Table III-3, Figure III-9, and Table III-4). The average number of living siblings (including oneself) peaked with 4.31 by 1935-39 birth cohort and declined rapidly to 2.38 by 1975-79 birth cohort. The average number of siblings in the 1999 survey was 3.21, which was lesser than 3.44 of the previous survey. This fall reflects not only the decrease in born siblings due to fertility decline but also the decrease in living siblings due to the death of old siblings. Among people born after 1960, the average number of siblings has stayed around 2.5.

Decreasing numbers of siblings have consequent increases in daughters-only or sons-only sibling sets. The proportion of female respondents without male siblings increased from 23.7 percent of the 1935-39 cohort to 44.9 percent of the 1975-79 cohort (Table III-4). The proportion of the eldest son and that of the eldest daughter were also increasing, reaching at 71.7 percent of male respondents in the 1975-79 cohort were the eldest sons.

Table III-3: Average Number of Siblings by Birth Cohort

Birth cohort	Total	Average Number of Siblings (persons)	
		4 <sup>th</sup> survey	3 <sup>rd</sup> survey
Total	28,153	3.21	3.44
~ 1924	2,305	2.94	3.31
1925 ~ 29	1,677	3.77	4.22
1930 ~ 34	2,026	4.19	4.58
1935 ~ 39	2,268	4.31	4.59
1940 ~ 44	2,596	4.12	4.21
1945 ~ 49	2,939	3.70	3.80
1950 ~ 54	2,685	3.28	3.31
1955 ~ 59	2,311	2.77	2.88
1960 ~ 64	2,212	2.52	2.57
1965 ~ 69	2,366	2.44	2.46
1970 ~ 74	2,526	2.43	2.43
1975 ~ 79	2,242	2.38	-

\* Total does not include "unknown."

Figure III-9: Number of Siblings by Birth Cohort

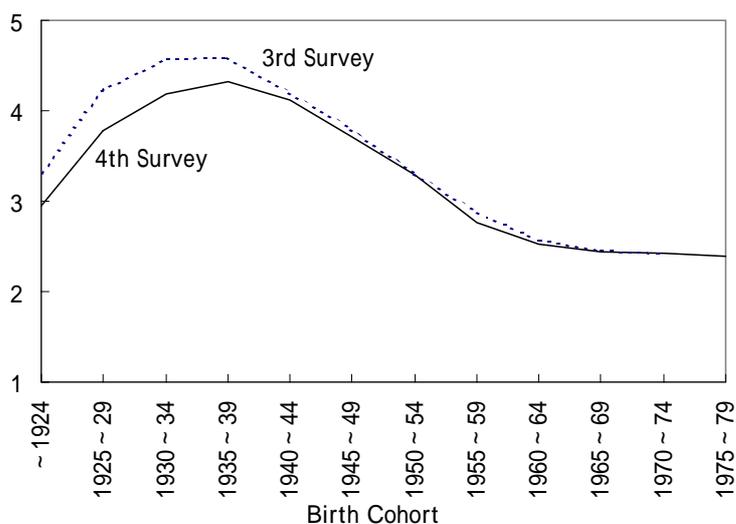


Table III-4: Relation with Parents (based on living siblings) by Birth Cohort

Birth cohort	Male			Female			
	Total (persons)	Eldest son	Others	Total (persons)	No brothers		Have brothers
					Eldest daughter	Others	
Total	13,470	63.0	37.0	14,478	22.3	14.1	63.6
~ 1924	834	84.7	15.3	1,452	43.7	11.7	44.6
1925 ~ 29	779	70.9	29.1	891	23.1	12.9	64.0
1930 ~ 34	964	60.1	39.9	1,045	17.8	11.8	70.4
1935 ~ 39	1,103	52.2	47.8	1,155	13.7	10.0	76.3
1940 ~ 44	1,258	49.0	51.0	1,320	17.0	10.3	72.7
1945 ~ 49	1,473	51.5	48.5	1,453	15.1	10.1	74.7
1950 ~ 54	1,349	54.8	45.2	1,316	15.5	13.7	70.8
1955 ~ 59	1,158	63.2	36.8	1,140	21.7	16.8	61.5
1960 ~ 64	1,110	68.8	31.2	1,086	25.9	15.3	58.8
1965 ~ 69	1,187	72.3	27.7	1,167	24.9	17.0	58.2
1970 ~ 74	1,176	69.5	30.5	1,324	23.6	18.8	57.6
1975 ~ 79	1,079	71.7	28.3	1,129	23.3	21.6	55.1

\* Total does not include "unknown."

#### IV. Continuity and Emergence of Households

Various household changes such as the reduction in household size and increase in nuclear-family households have been observed in contemporary Japan. More insights could be obtained by relating such cross-sectional changes with dynamic processes of household formation and dissolution. This chapter examines retrospective data on household dynamics such as transitions to and from headship, migration of members to and from household, and changes in household size and family type.

## 1. Experiences of Household Heads

Among household members at age 18 and above, 75.8 percent of men and 14.0 percent of women were the heads of household on the survey date. Although a majority of them were already the heads five years before the survey, some newly became the heads in the past five years. The heads that held the status for five years numbered 9,863 persons, or 85.4 percent of the current household heads (Table IV-1). New household heads counted 1,691 persons, or 14.6 percent. Among the continued household heads, there were heads labeled “unchanged” whose household did not include an individual who was the head of other household in 1994 (82.1% of the current household heads) and those labeled “merged” whose household include a former head (3.3 %). The new heads could be divided into “replaced” heads who succeeded the headship without leaving the household (5.1%), and “emerged” heads who newly established households (9.5%). Since households of “unchanged”, “merged” and “replaced” heads already existed five years before, these are called “continued” households. The heads of these households occupied 90.5 percent. It is clear that the number of households decreases by merging and increases by emerging. That the number of “emerged” heads was nearly triple of the number of “merged” heads indicates the increase in the total number of households during past five years.

Figure IV-1 shows age profile of type of heads described above. It is noted that nine household heads under 18 were included in the age group 18-19. Most male heads in their tens to twenties belonged to the “emerged” type as they left homes to live independently, after which most belonged to the “unchanged” type. The highest portion of the emerging type was found in the 25-29 age group with 20.1 percent, and that of unchanged type in the 65-69 age group with 91.7 percent. The household heads of the “merged” and “replaced” types were comparatively few in number, although the merged type increased among those in their early 30s (3.2%), and then again from people in their early 50s to early 60s (6.4%). The rise in the early thirties may suggest the formation of new households by a merger of two single-heads upon marriage, and that in latter ages by a merger with a child’s household. Most of the replaced heads might be children succeeding their parents. From people in their 20s to 50s, this type of heads maintained the 3-percent level, with the highest ratio at 4.0 percent in the 30-34 age group.

Female heads occupied small portions in all age ranges. The proportion of heads remained 10 percent or so among women in their early 20s, fell among women in their 30s, after which gradually rose until it reached the peak among women in their early 80s (31.3%). By type of heads, female heads in their early 20s belonged to the emerged type (10.4%) as was the case with men. After this, the proportion of women heading households declined, mostly upon marriage, and increased again among women in their 50s and on by replacing the former household heads. Among female heads in their 50s and older, those belonging to the unchanged type kept increasing. The largest portion of the replaced type was seen among women in the 70-74 age group (6.5%). The increase in female heads of replaced and unchanged types in old ages may imply that they became and remained the heads after the death of their husbands.

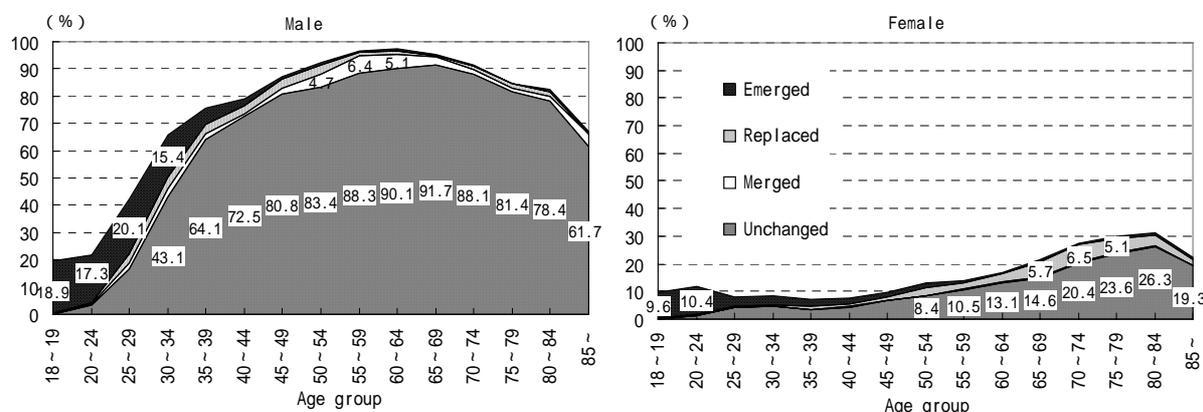
Even though the proportion of heads decreased among men in their latter days, more than 80 percent remained as household heads in the 80-84 age group. In addition to the high proportion of elderly women of the unchanged and replaced types, elderly men remained as household heads in their late years. This fact may reflect a recent tendency that many elderly people prefer living apart from their children.

Table IV-1 Profile of Current Household Heads

Total No. of Current Household Heads	12,432 persons	(%)
(1) Continued heads	9,863	85.4
(1-1) unchanged	9,483	82.1
(1-2) merged	380	3.3
(2) New heads	1,691	14.6
(2-1) replaced type	590	5.1
(2-2) emergent type	1,101	9.5
(1)+(2-1) (continued household heads)	10,453	90.5

Percentages are based on the number of current household heads excluding the number whose profiles are unknown.

Figure IV:1 Age Profile of Household Heads by Type



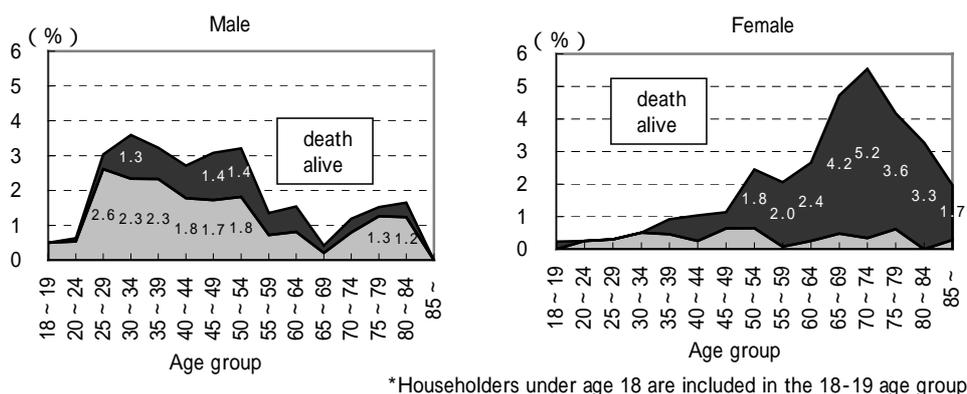
Note: Proportions are to the total number of respondents of each age group. However, heads below age 18 are included in the 18-19 age group.

Among the 590 household heads of the replaced type, 42.5 percent succeeded the status from their parents, while 42.0 percent from their spouses; and these two occupied more than 80 percent. The remainders included spouse's parents (3.7%), a child (2.0%), and grandparents (1.9%). Among male heads of the replaced type, 72.8 percent of their previous household heads were their own parents, 6.0 percent were their spouses, and 5.6 percent were their spouse's parents. Among female household successors, 79.9 percent of their previous householders were their spouses, and 10.8 percent were their parents. Replacement rates with parents were higher among men in their late 20s to those in their early 50s (the peak was 3.3% among men aged 30-34). Replacement rates with spouse were higher among women in their late 60s and early 80s (5.2% as the highest among those aged 70-74).

Among the replaced type, 43.1 percent had been living together, and 56.9 percent came into the position upon the death of former heads. More than half (65.6%) of the male heads of the replaced type had been living with the former heads, while the great majority (80.6%) of women became new household heads after the former heads' death. By age group, men became heads when they were in their latter 20s to early 30s while they were living with the former heads. Women succeeded headship when their latter 60s to early 80s after the death of former heads.

As a whole, men succeeded headship from their parents while they were living with their parents, and women from their husbands after their death.

Figure IV-2: Replacement Rate by the Condition of Former Heads of Household



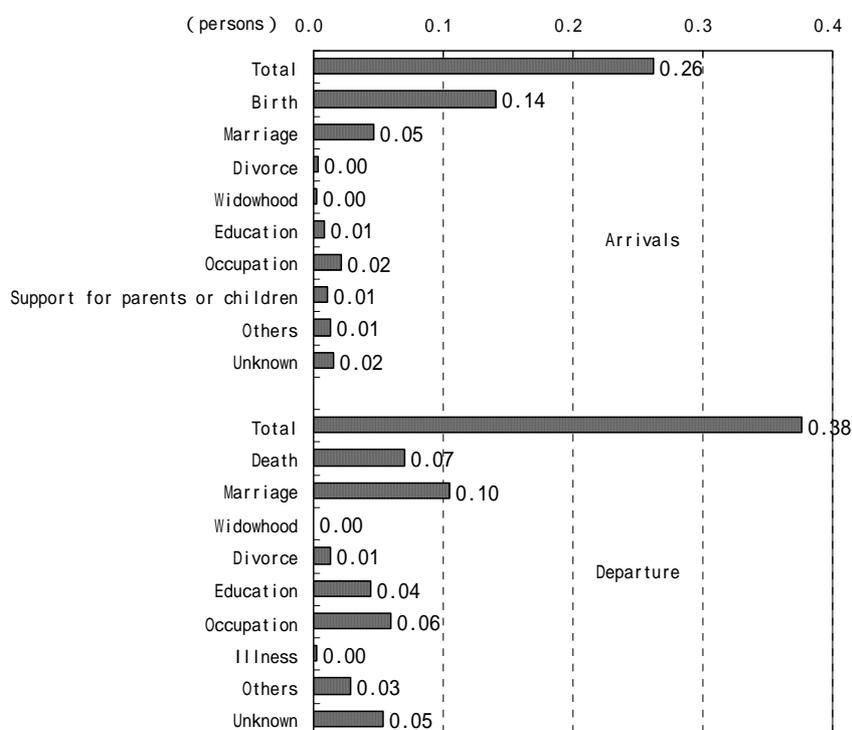
## 2. Arrivals and Departures of Household Members

Among the continued households that already existed in 1994, 16.1 percent experienced arrivals of new members, while 26.7 percent experienced departures of their members.

The larger percentage of households experiencing reduction suggests the overall decline in the mean household size, although this depends on the number of persons moving in and out.

Figure IV-3 shows the reasons for arrival and departure of household members. The first reason for arrival was childbirth (0.14 persons per continued household), followed by marriage (0.05), occupation (0.02), others (0.01) and support for parents or children (0.01). The reasons for departure were marriage (0.10 persons per continued household), death (0.07), occupation (0.06), and education (0.04). When all of these were calculated, the number added per household was 0.26 and that reduced was 0.38, indicating net reduction in household size.

Figure IV-3: In- and Out-Flows of Members Per Household by Reason



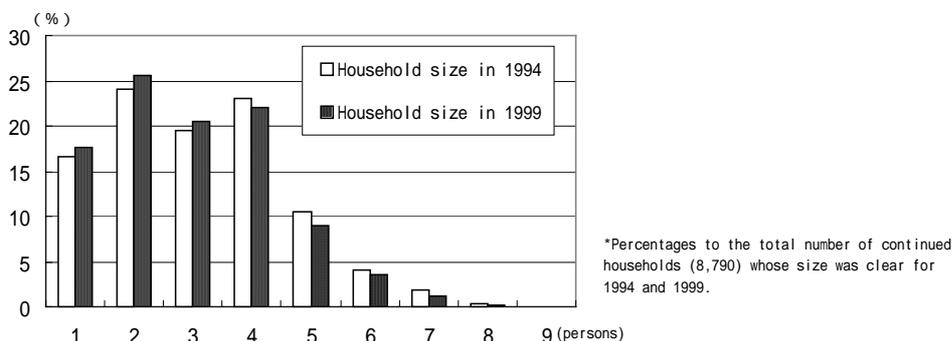
\*Targets are only the continued households whose membership changes are clear.

The increase of divorce-related reduction from the previous survey indicates the increase in divorce rates, and those in occupational reasons and marriage may be a direct result of the second baby boomers reaching the ages for such life events. The great number of births as a reason of arrival is a result of a five-years period of inspection. There were more arrivals for “support for parents or children” among merged households, suggesting the needs for elderly support or childcares were met by uniting child and parent households.

### 3. Changes in Household Size

Comparison of household sizes of continued households shows a reduction of members by 0.1 persons from 3.08 to 2.97 in the five years. The proportions of one-person, 2-person and 3-person households increased among continued households, while that of 4-person households decreased (Figure IV-4). Households with a net member increase occupied 13.7 percent, while 22.0 percent saw a net decrease. From this angle, the declining tendency of household size is obviously ongoing. A closer look into the chronological change for the past five years proves that households with more than three members five years ago generally were reduced in size. The decline from three to two among them (20.8%) was larger than the rate of increase from three to four (16.7%). However, of these households which had two members five years before, more saw expansion than reduction in the five year period. This trend expected to reverse when more two-person households are the elderly couples than young couples because of the rapid population aging in Japan.

Figure IV-4: Continued Households by Size



### 4. Changes in Family Types

Table IV-2 compares distributions in family types for continued households, except for households whose types are unknown, are shown in. One-person and couple-only households increased from 16.7 to 17.8 percent, and from 19.2 to 20.1 percent, respectively, while parents-children households and other types decreased.

Transitions in family type in the five years are observed in Table IV-3. The most notable changes were from one-person households to parents-children households (8.9%), from couple-only households to parents-children households (15.1%), from parents-children households to couple-only households (8.7%), and from other households to parents-children households (10.4%). While the former two transitions expand household sizes, the latter two cases reduce them. Regarding couple-only

households, greater numbers were in the direction of expansion rather than reduction toward one-person households (9.4 %). As population aging proceeds, however, the gap between these two transitions would be narrowed.

Table IV-2: Changes in Family Types (Continued Households)

Family type	1994		1999	
	No. of Households	(%)	No. of Households	(%)
One-person	1,455	16.7	1,548	17.8
Couple only	1,676	19.2	1,748	20.1
Parent/s and child/ren.	4,181	48.0	4,032	46.3
Other	1,401	16.1	1,385	15.9
Total	8,713	100.0	8,713	100.0

\*Households whose composition in 1994 were unknown are excluded.

\*\*“Parent/s and Child/ren” include households the sex of whose parent is unknown.

Table IV-3: Changes in Family Types (Continued Households)

1994 \ 1999	One-person	Couple only	Parent/s and child/ren.	Other	Total
One-person	81.9	7.8	8.9	1.4	100.0
Couple only	9.4	72.9	15.1	2.6	100.0
Parent/s and child/ren.	3.8	8.7	83.8	3.7	100.0
Other	2.9	3.6	10.4	83.2	100.0
Total	17.8	20.1	46.3	15.9	100.0

## 5. Ceasing to be Household Heads

In this survey, those who had been the heads of households five years before (including those who lived alone) but who were no longer the heads of households on the survey date were defined as “former heads.” They were further grouped into those who ceased to be householders because they were absorbed in another household (“absorption” type) and those giving away the position within the same household, (“replacement” type). The former heads of household of the “absorption” type occupied 1.5 percent among men and 2.5 percent among women aged 18 and above (including below-18 household heads), and those of the “replacement” type 0.3 percent of men and 0.5 percent of women. The higher portion of the “absorption” type among women indicates that more women cease to be the heads of household because of marriage.

By age group, both men and women showed higher portions of the “absorption” type in their late 20s (men 6.7%, and women 10.9%). The proportion declined toward ages 50s and rose afterward. The rise in their late 20s may be caused by their marriage or returning home (so called U-turn, going out to large cities for education and employment and returning home later) to live with their parents. The rise among the

elderly may mean that increasing numbers of them come to live with their children's families. In the "replacement" type, proportions increased among men in their 60s and onward, and among women in their late 50s. Many people appear to hand over headship to their children around these ages.

Most former heads who returned to parents' households in their late 20s are likely to have done so to seek new employment opportunities in their hometowns. It is considered that these returnees increase when the economy is unfavorable. Therefore, the trend of increasing co-residence with parents may reflect, to some extent, recent economic conditions in Japan.

## V. Household Formation and Expansion

This section studies the household formation behavior of young individuals in the process of transition into adulthood. The process involves life course events such as leaving parental home, marriage and childbearing. Household size and composition are affected not only by timing of each event but also by coincidence and sequences of events. This section examines these sequential patterns as well as the prevalence and the average age at each event is experienced.

### 1. Leaving Parental Home

It is thought that leaving home before marriage has been promoted by social changes such as growing demand for higher education, participation in labor force as employees, and decline in traditional stem family system. Even today, however, not all of the young people leave their homes before marriage in Japan. Hence, the trend of leaving parental home is affected by nuptiality changes. Recent nuptiality decline is thought to delay the leaving home of children and increase the propensity of young adults to stay in their parental households.

It is considered that, in addition to the delay in home-leaving at marriage, leaving home among single persons are also declining. These pre-marital leavers leave home in order to enter colleges or to get jobs that are not available in their hometown. Such home-leaving for educational or occupational purpose was prevalent in 1950s and 1960s, the period of rapid economic growth and intensive rural-urban migration in Japan.

Today, however, as domestic migration has calmed and city-born children (second generation of migrants) have increased, the necessity for leaving home for education and employment is lowered. Further, the decline in the number of siblings and worsened labor market condition also may deter young adults from leaving home before marriage.

Figure V-1 compares the proportion living with parents between the 1994 and 1999 surveys. Increase in women staying with their parents is obvious, especially among women in their late 20s. The proportion among men did not increase, except for those in their late 20s. However, it is not clear whether the declining proportion among men in other than late 20s suggests increases in home-leaving or decreases in returning home after leaving.

Figure V-2 shows the average age at respondents left home for the first time by sex and cohort. The data of the youngest cohort of 1965-69 do not present accurate figures because of censoring. Therefore, it can be seen that delay in home-leaving has been occurring after 1945-49 birth cohort among men and after 1950-54 cohort among women. Since the average ages at leaving were between 20 and 22 for most of the cohorts, it is inferred that the delay started around 1970 when the rapid economic growth in Japan was slowed down.

Figure V-1a: Proportion Living with Parents: Men

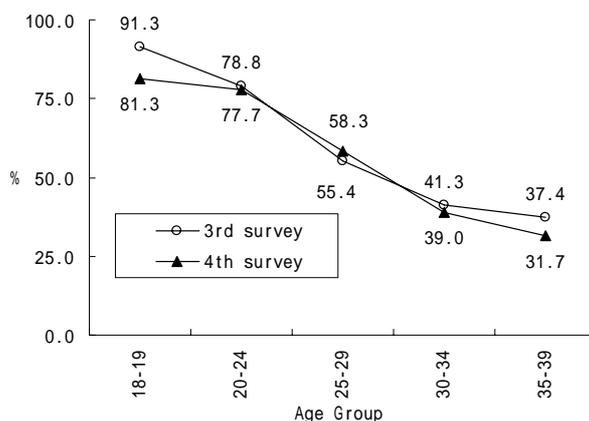


Figure V-1b: Proportion Living with Parents: Women

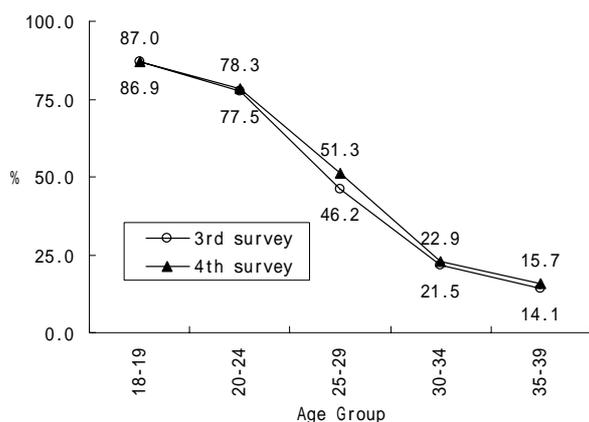


Figure V-2: Average Age at Leaving Parental Households

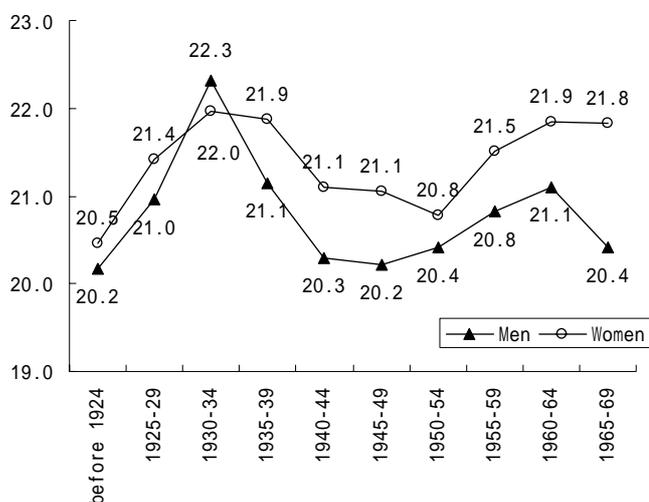


Figure V-3 shows the reasons for leaving by sex and birth cohort. The greatest difference between men and women was found in the share of leaving at marriage. More than 70 percent of men who have left parents appeared to have left before marriage, while more than half of women remained with their parents until they married. Although the difference has been narrowed, there still is a considerable gender gap even for the youngest cohort.

Figure V-3a: Reasons for Leaving Parental Households: Men

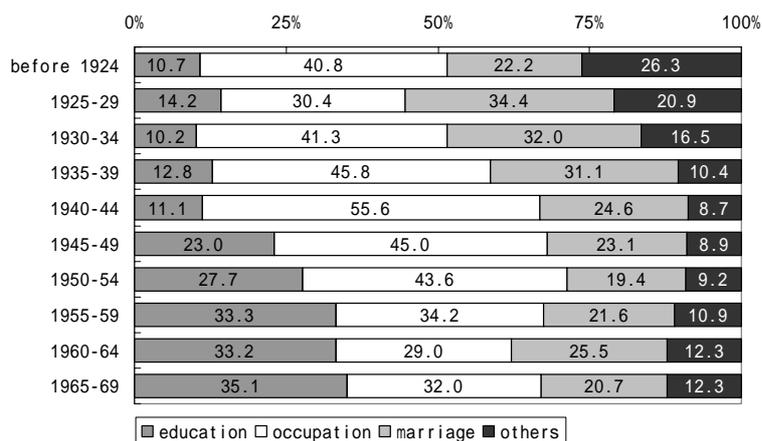
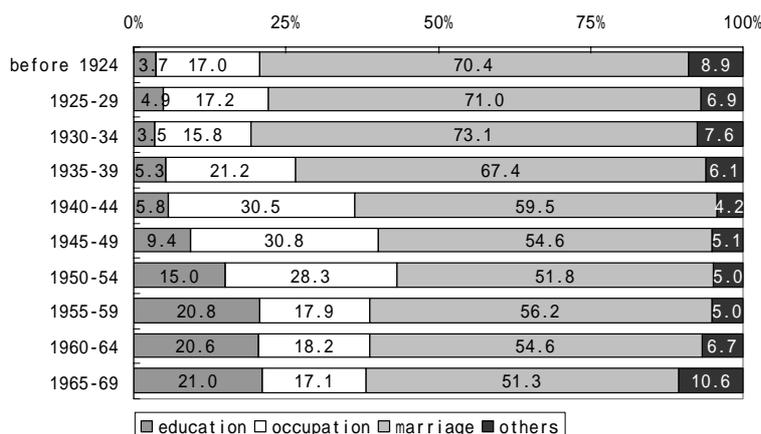


Figure V-3b: Reasons for Leaving Parental Households: Women



Most people leaving home for higher education or employment are thought to be pre-marital leavers. In those days when secondary and tertiary educations were less common, leaving for employment constituted an overwhelming majority. However, as more people go to higher educational institutions, leaving home for these two reasons came close to each other in recent years. Although the leaving home for higher education increased promptly after 1945-49 birth cohort, the growth rate seemed to have hit the ceiling for the latest cohorts.

## 2. Marriage

The delay of marriage among women is a long-term process that has occurred throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, though the tendency was temporarily suspended at times such as in late 1940s when post-war marriage boom took place and in the 1960s and early 1970s when full-time housewives increased. Since the latter half of the 1970s, however, the delay of marriage has been constantly in progress among both men and women. Average age at first marriage in the 1999 Vital Statistics was 28.7 for men and 26.8 for women. Compared with 1975, men’s average age was delayed by 1.7 years and women’s average age by 2.1 years. Census reports show that the proportion of both men and women staying single at the age of 50 were below 5 percent until the 1980s, but men’s proportion went up to 9 percent and that of women exceeded 5 percent in 1995. Hence, it is clear that the trend toward less marriage is also in progress as well as that toward late marriage.

As shown in Table V-1, the proportion of men staying single did not change much in the five years, but the proportion of women in the late 20s and early 30s rose by 4 to 5 points. Although changes in the proportion around age 50 were small, rises by more

than one point were observed among men aged 45-49 and women aged 50-54. These results suggest that the trend of nuptiality decline is still in progress.

Table V-1 Proportion Single by Sex and Age Group (%)

Age group	Men		Woman	
	3 <sup>rd</sup> survey (1994)	4 <sup>th</sup> survey (1999)	3 <sup>rd</sup> survey (1994)	4 <sup>th</sup> survey (1999)
18 ~ 19	99.7	98.5	98.2	97.6
20 ~ 24	93.3	93.4	88.6	88.4
25 ~ 29	66.0	64.4	46.4	51.3
30 ~ 34	33.2	34.2	16.6	20.7
35 ~ 39	20.5	20.9	9.7	9.7
40 ~ 44	13.8	16.3	5.0	6.1
45 ~ 49	9.0	10.7	4.0	4.6
50 ~ 54	5.0	5.4	2.7	4.4
55 ~ 59	4.0	3.8	3.3	3.2
60 ~ 64	1.2	2.2	3.4	2.7
65 and over	0.4	0.9	2.7	2.3

### 3. Life Course Patterns

The life course patterns of household formation will be discussed here by combining leaving parental households, marriage, and childbearing. The household formation process is divided into the following five stages. These stages were divided in accordance with the marital status and the living arrangement at the time of survey.

1) Living with parents:

Never married and living with parents or grandparents, (including those who had returned home after having left once.)

2) Having left parental home:

Never married, not living either with parents or grandparents.

3) Married:

Ever married or cohabitation with a partner, not living either with parents or grandparents.

4) Having children:

Ever married, not living with their parents or grandparents, but living with their own children.

5) Married and had children without leaving parental home:

Ever married and living with parents or grandparents.

The processes of household formation for men and women are shown in Figure V-4. Among the youth aged 18-19, 21.5 percent of men and 14.6 percent of women were

already started household formation. The gender difference in the proportion staying with parents mostly disappears in early 20s but starts developing in the opposite direction in latter 20s when more women leave home for marriage than men. By age 35, however, majority of men and women experiences three life-course events of departure from parental household, marriage and childbearing. The traditional household formation pattern of staying with parents after marriage is more common among men than women.

Figure V-4a: Stages of Household Formation: Men

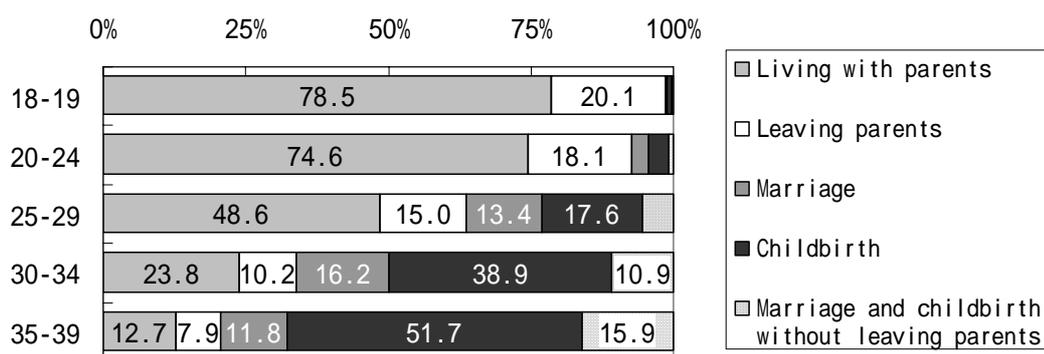


Figure V-1b: Stages of Household Formation: Women

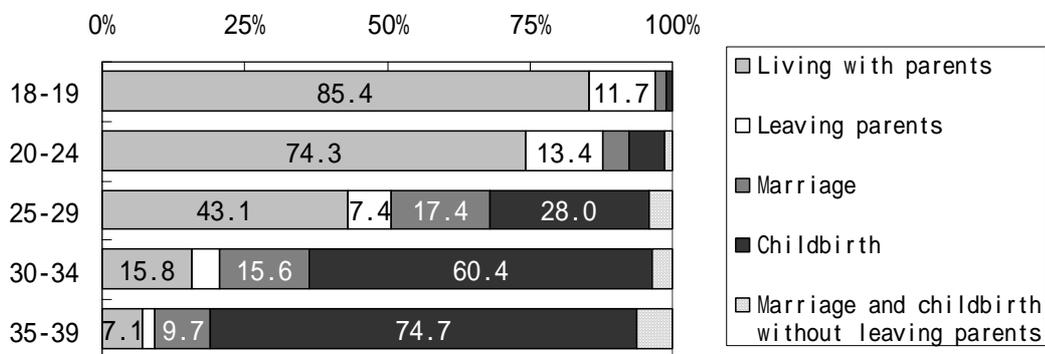


Figure V-5 shows the 1999 status of those who were “living with parents” in 1994. These figures can be interpreted as the transition probability from the initial status and are essential parameters for household projections.

Figure V-5a: Household Formation among Men who were living with parents five years before

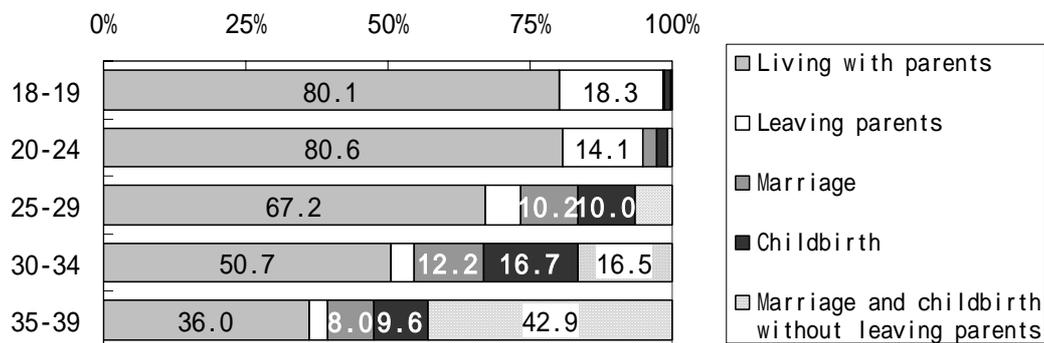
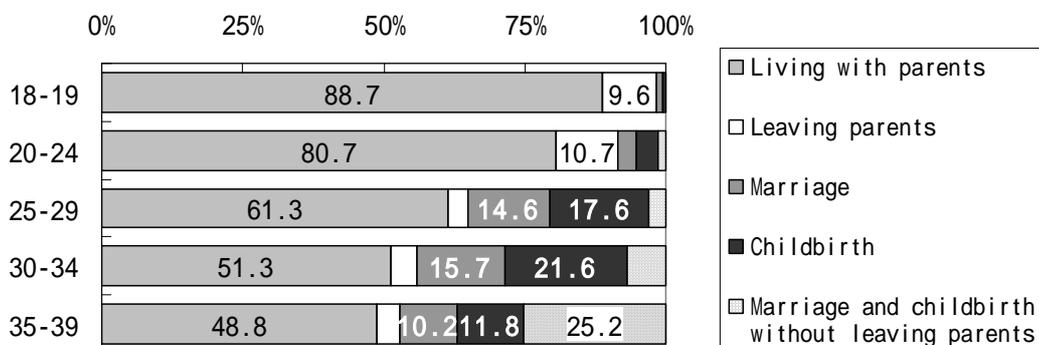


Figure V-5b: Household Formation among Women who were living with parents five years before.



Household formation behavior of a hypothetical cohort can be constructed by sequentially applying these probabilities. For example, the probability of remaining in the initial status of “living with parents” until ages 35-39 will be calculated by multiplying non-change probabilities of each age interval. In the case of men, it will be calculated with  $0.801 \times 0.806 \times 0.672 \times 0.507 \times 0.360 = 7.9\%$ . The actual proportion of men was 12.7 percent according to Figure V-4. From this, it can be imagined that there were quite a few men who returned home after leaving or marriage. Regarding women’s hypothetical cohort, the probability staying in the initial status is  $0.887 \times 0.807 \times 0.613 \times 0.513 \times 0.488 = 11.0\%$ , which is higher than the actual 7.1%. This suggests that overall delays in home-leaving, marriage and childbearing are in progress, and that in future a higher portion of women at ages 35-39 may remain “living with parents” than today.

## VI Household Dissolution and Reduction

The dissolution and shrinkage of households occur along with life course events such as children leaving home, the death of a spouse, and divorce. This section inspects these events that mainly take place in later ages. In addition, the relationships between health status of elderly people and household characteristics are also examined.

### 1. Divorce and Widowhood

The proportion of men who experienced the transition from currently married to widowed within five years was 1.4 percent, while that of women was 4.7 percent. Naturally, the proportions were higher among people at age 65 and over, with 3.4 and 16.7 percent among men and women, respectively.

Table VI-1 shows the transition between family types for those who experienced spouse death within five years interval. Among men, non-transition staying in “other” household, transition from couple-and-children to one-parent-and-children, that from couple-only to one-person accounted for more than 20 percent. Among women, transition from couple-only to one-person and non-transition in other household accounted for more than 30 percent, and transition from couple-and-children to one-parent-and-children accounted for 20 percent. Although somehow different in rates, both men and women showed similar transition tendencies. When men and women combined, more than 90 percent of “couple-only” households transited to “one-person” households, 83.5 percent of which were women living alone.

Table VI-1 Transitions between Family Types in the Past Five Years (Spouse Death)

	(%)					
	Male			Female		
	Present(1999)			Present(1999)		
5 years ago (1994)	One-person	One-parent-and-children	Others	One-person	One-parent-and-children	Others
One-person	9.6	-	1.0	3.2	0.5	0.3
Couple-only	22.1	1.0	0.0	31.3	1.3	0.0
Couple-and-children	1.9	23.1	3.8	1.6	22.4	3.5
One-parent-and-children	-	5.8	1.9	0.3	1.1	0.3
Others	-	1.9	27.9	0.8	2.7	30.7

\*Households whose family types are unknown were excluded. No couple-only or couple-and-children households were found as present family types.

Those who divorced in the five years occupied 1.2 percent (0.8% in the previous survey) of men and 1.7 percent (1.1 %) of women. The proportions experiencing divorce were relatively high among people below 40. Among the entire body of

people under 40, 4.0 percent (2.7%) of men and 5.0 percent (3.3%) of women experienced divorce.

Table VI-2: Transitions between Family Types in the Past Five Years (Divorce)

5years ago(1994)	Present(1999)				
	One-person	Couple + children	Father + children	Mother + children	Others
Male					
One-person	14.6	-	-	-	1.1
Couple only	16.9	2.2	1.1	1.1	1.1
Couple+ children	12.4	4.5	5.6	1.1	4.5
Father+ children	2.2	-	2.2	-	1.1
Mother+ children	-	-	-	4.5	1.1
Others	1.1	1.1	-	4.5	15.7
Female					
One-person	2.3	-	-	0.8	3.9
Couple only	10.2	-	-	2.3	3.1
Couple+ children	4.7	3.1	-	37.5	10.2
Father+ children	-	-	-	-	0.8
Mother+ children	-	0.8	-	4.7	3.1
Others	1.6	0.8	-	3.1	7.0

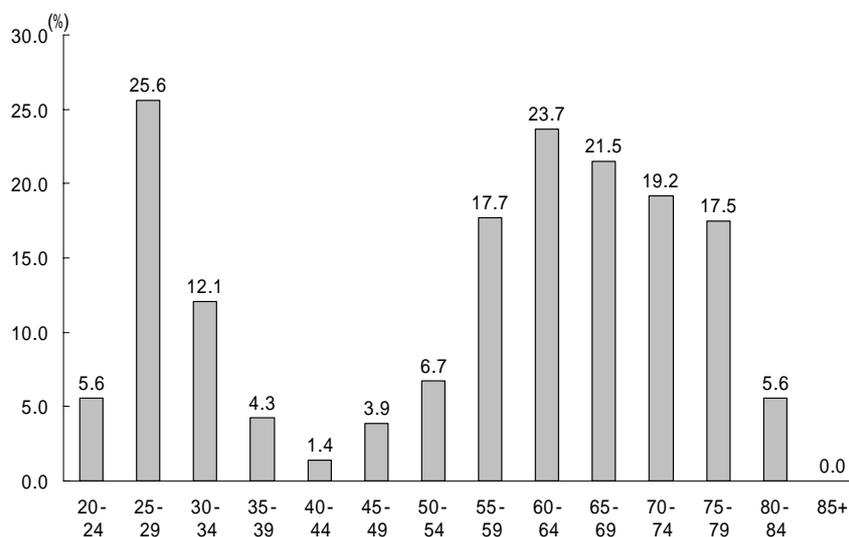
The transition between family types of those who divorced in the five years can be observed in Table VI-2. The greater portions of men transited from couple-only to one-person or from couple-and-children to one-person, accounting for 16.9 percent and 12.4 percent, respectively. Among women, however, more than 30 percent transited from couple-and-children to one-parent-and-children. The cases such as transitions couple-only to one –parent-and-children or to couple-and-children may imply that one of the divorced spouses re-joined one’s parental household. When both men and women are combined, more than 70 percent of couple-only households became one-person households. Unlike the cases of spouse death, the propensities to live alone after divorce were almost equal between men and women.

## 2. Departure of Children and Empty Nests

Figure VI-1 shows the proportions of households that transited from couple-and-children to couple-only households by age of heads. The distribution is bi-modal, with two peaks in the latter 20s and early 60s. For the younger generation, it means that children in couple-and-children households left their parents to marry and form new couple-only households of their own. Therefore, the so-called “empty nest” can be applied to “couple-only” households in 40-44 and older age groups. The transition probabilities to empty nests sharply rose among heads in the latter 50s, reached the peak at ages 60-64 with 23.7 percent, and then gradually decreased. As a

whole, 9.8 percent of continued households transited from couple-and-children to couple-only households in past five years.

Figure VI-1: Households Transited from Couple-and-children to Couple-only by Age of Heads (%)



In the following section, the transition to empty-nest of parental household is examined by dividing the process of children leaving home into the following four stages.

- . Before the transition (All the children live together.)
- . On progress (Some children left and some remain.)
- . Completed within the past 5 years (All the children left after July 1994.)
- . Completed more than 5 years before (All the children left before July 1994.)

Distribution of all the parents by stage were that 45.5 percent (47.2% in the previous survey) belonged to Stage 1, 30.0 percent (32.1%) to Stage 2, 6.2 percent (8.3%) to Stage 3, and 18.3 percent (12.4%) to Stage 4. Comparing the previous survey, those who belonged to Stage 1 increased, and those who belonged to the rest decreased. The parents in Stages 3 and 4 can be regarded as in empty nests because they live apart from all of their children, even though this does not necessarily mean that they are of the form of couple-only households. The proportion of these parents was 24.5 percent, and 7.5 percent of parents who had children in their houses (Stages 1 + 2) five years before, shifted to empty nests (Stage 3) in the past five years.

By age group, as shown in Figure VI-2, the portions belonging to Stage 3 and

rose among men in their early to latter 50s and women in their latter 40s toward early 50s. About a half of both men and women in the ages 65-69 was living in empty nests. It was in the 55-59 age groups of both men and women that showed outstanding transition to empty nests (Stage ) with men 15.1 percent and women 14.3 percent. It is understood that the transition to empty nests occurs most rapidly during this age group.

In contrast, the proportion of Stage and decreased among women above the 65-69 age group, and among men above the 70-74 age group, while that of Stage increased in older ages. This tendency was particularly notable among women. It is considered that parents join their children's households when they become very old. Figure VI-3 shows the proportion of parents in Stages and who live with returning children who ever left home by age of parents. As parents became old, those who were living with children who once had left them increased. More than half of women above 65, and around half of men above 65 were living with children who had once left home. Behind this reunion phenomenon, changes on the parent side such as spouse death, and those on the children side such as divorce may be associated.

Figure VI-2: Transition to Empty Nests by Stage

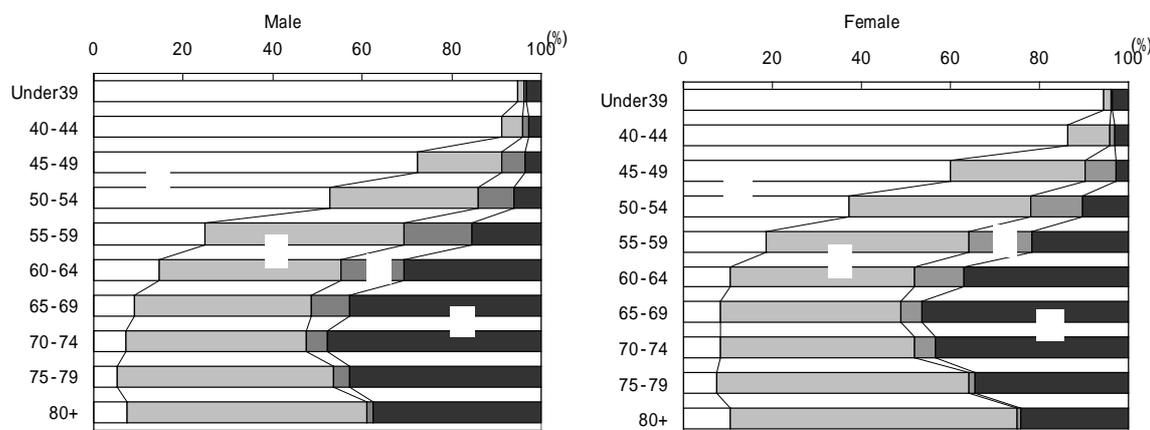
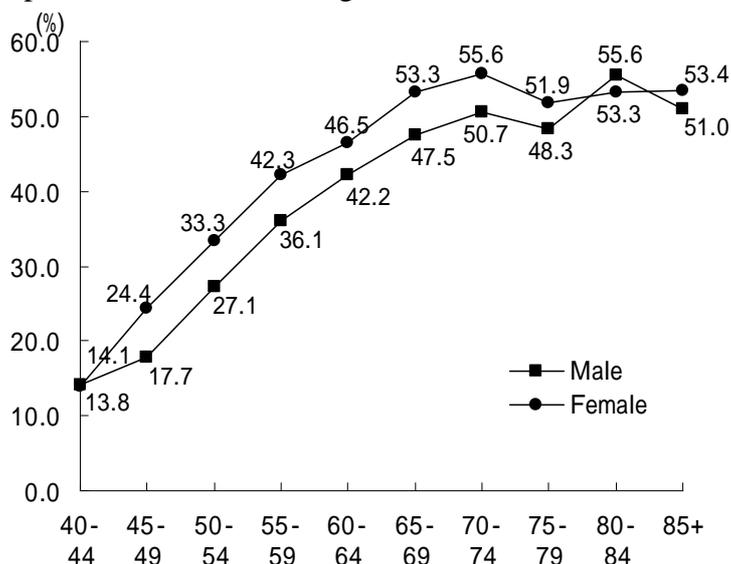


Figure VI-3: Proportion of Parents Living with Children Who Ever Left Home by Age



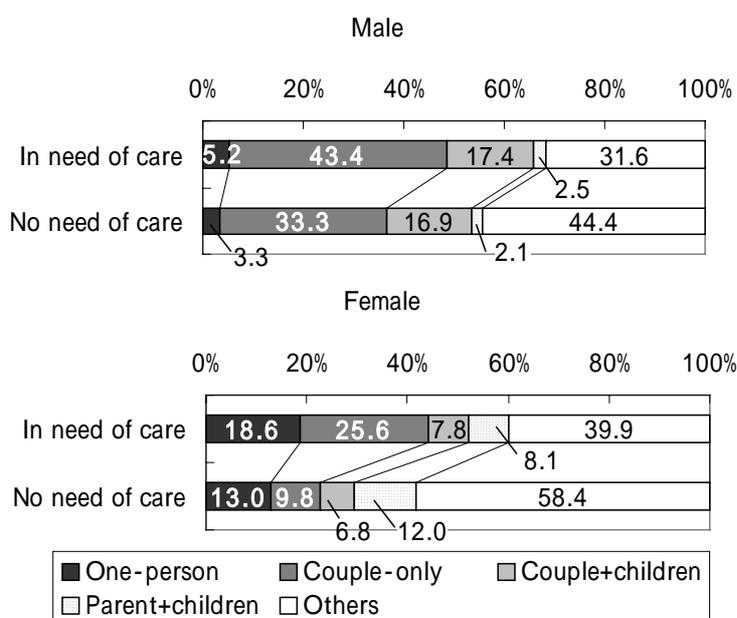
and Sex of Parents

### 3. Health of the Elderly and Co-residence with Children

The proportions of elderly members aged 65 and over who needed care were 10.7 percent and 14.9 percent of men and women, respectively. More than 20 percent of both men and women above 80 needed some care and assistance in daily living.

Family types of respondents above 65 are shown by the need of care-giving in Figure VI-4. Elderly men and women in need of care were less likely to live alone or in couple-only households and more likely to live in “other” households than healthy persons. In particular, there was a great difference among women; 25.6 percent of women who did not need others’ care lived in couple-only households, while only 9.8 percent those in need of care were in couple-only households. Generally in Japan, when a husband requires care, the wife gives care, but, in turn, when a wife requires care, not her husband but a woman within the same household (son’s wife or her own daughter) gives care. From here, it is understood that when a wife becomes weakened and in need of care in a couple-only household, it would entail some kind of structural change in the household.

Figure VI-4. Family Types of Elderly Members Aged 65 and Over by Health Condition



Whether children living with parents above age 65 had left parents in the past or not is shown in Figure VI-5 by sex and by need of care of parents. Men who needed care

had a higher proportion of living with children who once had left them than those who did not need care by 11.3 points, and women by 5.7 points. The backward transition from empty nest to living with a child appears to be triggered by parents' poor health conditions.

Figure VI-5: Elderly Members Aged 65 and Over by Child Experience of Leaving Home

