

## Modernization and the Family in Japan

Fumie KUMAGAI

### I Concepts of the Japanese Modernization

It is customarily said that the onset of the modernization of Japan is concomitant with the initiation of the Meiji Restoration. That is, a little more than a century ago in 1868 Japan terminated its 250 years of seclusion from the world under the rule of the Tokugawa Shogunate, and launched into its modernization efforts under the Meiji Government. Therefore, it is correct to say that Japanese modernization has been achieved within a remarkably short span of time.

We come to the question, however, of how modern is modern Japan?<sup>1</sup> The family structure of the common people, for example, was more egalitarian during the Edo Era preceding the Meiji Restoration rather than afterwards. This fact indicates that the process as well as the context of the Japanese modernization might differ from one institution to the other. The modernization of Japanese society has been the product of interrelationships among political, economic, social and ideological elements. Each institution possesses unique indicators for assessing the level of modernization of Japan.

In the list of social modernization, concepts such as urbanization, Westernization, individualization, and specialization are often found.<sup>2</sup> Shishido argues that "the Japanese history of modernization over the past one hundred years is indeed a history of Westernization."<sup>3</sup> Although the governmental introduction of Western methods in its systems might have altered drastically the external behaviors of the Japanese people, it might not have changed their internal values and attitudes to any significant degree. In a sense Japanese modernization can be described as a harmonious blending between tradition and modernity.<sup>4</sup> The co-existence of new and old reflects the innate nature of the Japanese that "there appears to be a marked tendency to receive ideas and concepts from diverse sources, and to incorporate them into the existing system without much concern for their compatibility."<sup>5</sup> In fact, the Japanese coined the word "*wakon yōsai*" during the initial stage of its modernization process, meaning "Japanese spirit and Western learning." The modernization of Japanese society was accomplished by absorbing eagerly Western scientific knowledge and technology, but it was not at the expense of lowered appreciation for cultural traditions. This co-existence of modernity and tradition might be indeed the essence of the uniqueness of Japanese modernization.

Therefore, it is the purpose of this paper to analyze and to identify the el-

ements of modernity and tradition in the institution of the Japanese family today. And, the following two critical hypotheses will be examined:

1. External or demographic characteristics of the Japanese family today resemble those of Western counterparts.
2. The internal or structural nature of the Japanese family and household itself maintains traditional elements of its own.

## II Changes in the Japanese Family System

The essence of the Japanese family system today cannot be understood correctly without a full appreciation for the concept of *ie* (house or family). Not only the family system itself, but also the family dynamics of the Japanese today seem to be influenced significantly by the *ie* system. Intergenerational conflict in the three-generation family in Japan today, for example, has its root in the historical development of the Japanese family system. Therefore, it would be appropriate to summarize the changes in the Japanese family system in recent history.

### 1. The Family System during the Edo Era

Intergenerational conflict in the Japanese family, or the so-called problem of *yome* (a son's wife)-*shūtome* (a son's mother) relationship stems from the family system (*ie*) of the feudal Edo Era (1600-1868), where a four-class caste system existed. These four classes consisted of *shi* (samurai warriors), the highest, followed by *nō* (peasants), *kō* (artisans), and the lowest *shō* (merchants) class. There were people called *eta* (untouchable or underclass) who did not belong to any one of these four classes. This four-class caste system was based primarily on the political consideration of the Tokugawa Shogunate rather than the economic basis of the population. The economic power of peasants, for example, was practically nill, and they struggled for survival in their poverty stricken situations. Since the power of an individual samurai warrior was measured by the amount of rice submitted by peasants under his control, they were ranked second in the four-class caste system. Artisans were also valued because of their skill in producing weapons needed by samurai warriors for fighting. Although merchants possessed economic power superior to even samurai warriors they were placed at the bottom of the hierarchy so that they would not become a threat to samurai warriors. In addition, the Confucian ideology taken as the moral code of the Japanese at that time degraded the people who engaged in monetary transactions.

The family system during the Edo Era was feudal rather than familial in its structure. More specifically, the Japanese family system at that time was feudal in the following three aspects. Firstly, since social ranks were closed at that time, marriage was strictly endogamous, and inter-class marriage was

prohibited. The violation of the regulation resulted in ostracism to the *eta* class. Secondly, there existed a clear hierarchy of power in the family on the basis of two variables; one was sex and the other was generation. Thirdly, the succession of household ownership was codified on the basis of the hierarchy of power and responsibility.

**Figure 1. The Family Structure in Japan**

Figure 1.a. The Feudal IE (家) System in Japan:

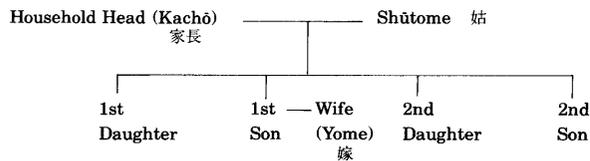
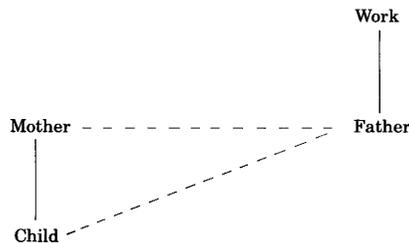


Figure 1.b. The Family Dynamics in Japan Today:



The feudal family structure of the *ie* system found in Figure 1.a. came into existence in the Edo Era. The Chinese character of *ie* (家) signifies people under one roof, comprising the roof at the top and the people at the bottom of the character. That is, the *ie* is “a concept and physical entity handed down as inheritance in direct succession from generation to generation. The headship was inherited by the oldest son, and he also succeeded to the family estate.”<sup>6</sup> The oldest son’s wife became a *yome* upon marrying. The Chinese character of *yome* implies “bride” consisting of “woman” and “house” meaning a woman of the *ie*. That signifies the status of the *yome* in the *ie*. That is, she is a woman who enters into the house from another family. A *shūtome*, on the other hand, is a woman who is a senior member of the house. The intergenerational relationships between *yome* and *shūtome* reflect the feudal *ie* system in hierarchical society. *Ie* was conceived of as a personal possession of the *kachō* (house-

hold head), not in material terms but in symbolic terms including family prestige, class, and ranking. It was usually the eldest son in the family who succeeded to this household headship. The *ie* system, however, existed only among the upper strata, i.e., the Shogunate (lord) and samurai warriors. In the *ie* system the continuation of the family lineage depended upon the existence of a male offspring in the family.

There was no *ie* system among the lower strata, i.e., peasants, artisans, merchants, or *eta*. Although all except *eta* were given names these were not family names, but were names given to show their occupations. The family here was a functional unit of economic activities. All of these classes engaged in economic production, and the family members included not only kin but also tenants and servants. Succession to the household headship was not restricted to the eldest son in the family. In order to guarantee the success of one's family, each family selected a son of superior ability either among the male siblings or by the adoption of a man as a son-in-law. To succeed to the household headship in such a household was to succeed to the family business. A merchant family frequently established *bunke* (branch) families beside its *honke* (main family). A peasant family, on the other hand, could not usually divide the farming land since it was the basis of their family economy. Therefore, they adopted an extended family in which one person inherited the household headship along with some responsibility for other members of the immediate family. The family here was regarded as a unit which engaged in farming, and the hands of the family members were considered precious labor. Therefore, more equality existed among the members of the stem and extended family of the lower strata, regardless of their sex and age differences, than among those of the upper strata.

## 2. The Family System under the Civil Code of 1898

Even though the Meiji Restoration in 1868 terminated the feudal era in Japan, it was only after the enforcement of the Civil Code in 1898 that the class system was abolished officially. The Japanese people were united under the Emperor. As a consequence, the nature of the *ie* system changed. The *ie* system permeated not only upper class but also lower class families. Each family was considered to be directly subordinate to the Emperor. Therefore, it could be said that the Meiji Restoration had impact on strengthening the hierarchical-traditional nature of the Japanese family on a larger scale rather than modernizing its institution.

In the new *ie* system the household headship was transferred only to the eldest son, as had been the case among the upper class families of the feudal period. Moreover, succession to headship changed to signify the inheritance of the family assets and properties. Therefore, the family was no longer a unit of

production and/or consumption where an egalitarian familial relationship was emphasized as it had been among the lower strata families. The family structure shifted to a hierarchical-vertical organization comprising the ruler and the ruled. Confucianism was adopted as the moral code of the Japanese and was taught as part of the compulsory educational program. It emphasized two major concepts: one, *chū* (loyalty and subordination to the Emperor), and the other, *kō* (filial piety). These two concepts molded into the *ie* system, and then contributed to solidify the hierarchical vertical orientation of the human relationships within the structure.

What was the situation of the *yome-shūtome* relationship during this period? Women were completely subordinate to the authority of the household head. The *yome*'s value in the family rested solely upon her ability to produce children, especially a son who could continue the family lineage. The *yome*, who was the newcomer to the house, was forced to assimilate the norms of the husband's family. The education of the *yome* in these norms was conducted by the *shūtome*. Thus, the relationships between *shūtome* and *yome* became those of a ruler and the ruled, even though both had to submit to the authority of the household head.

### 3. The Family System after World War II

With the enactment of the new Civil Code in 1947, after World War II, the family system in Japan experienced drastic changes. In addition, Article 24 of the Constitution explicitly stipulates the dignity of the individual as well as the equality of the sexes in the family life. The *ie* system was abolished by the revised Civil Code, and the family unit was reduced only husband, wife and children. With the abolition of the household headship, husband and wife were given equal rights in the family. In addition, the son's as well as the parents' family became independent of each other, and both were accorded equal position in the family.

The *yome*'s name was no longer registered in the family register of the household head. Instead, upon marriage, now based on the mutual consent of the two parties involved, an independent family register for the husband and wife only was established. The rejection of the old direct-lineage family system and the adoption of the married couple system is the basis of the nuclear family. Therefore, the new Civil Code of 1947 is regarded as a modernizing force of the traditional Japanese family.

In reality, however, the stated ideals of equality and independence in the family have never been realized. Legislative revolution cannot necessarily be followed in practice in everyday life, and the unique family system of *ie* still persists in social custom. This fact indicates that the nature of the Japanese family system may not truly be modern but it may contain both the elements

of tradition and modernity as well. The Japanese family structure today will be examined in more detail later in this study.

### **III Demographic Characteristics of the Japanese Family Today**

#### **1. The Nuclear Family**

Now let us turn our discussion to several demographic characteristics which seem to be the basic requisites for the formation of the family. First of all, let us examine the proportion of the nuclear family in Japan. Goode pointed out that industrialization and the nuclear family go hand in hand. Because there exists a close relationship between industrialization and such societal characters as geographic mobility, upward social mobility, emergence of various agencies, achievement orientation, and the economic liability of children.<sup>7</sup> Thus, the nuclear family can be regarded as one of the most representative types of the family systems in modern society.

The proportion of nuclear families of all households in Japan today is approximately 60 percent. Ever since the enactment of the new Civil Code after World War II, this proportion has been increasing from around 45 percent.<sup>8</sup> In urban areas, the proportion of such families amounted to 80 percent in 1975. The fact that a high proportion of the Japanese households today are classified under the nuclear family indicates that the Japanese family system has been shifting from the traditional to the modern type.

#### **2. The Stem Family**

The trend that the Japanese family has been moving in a nuclear direction will become more apparent when we analyze the changes in the proportion of the three-generation family in Japan. The proportion was about 45 percent in 1955 and it decreased dramatically to 16 percent in 1982.<sup>9</sup> The above statistics for 1955 are the proportion of stem families, which usually includes siblings of the married male of the second generation. When these families were included in the three-generation family in 1982, the proportion of the stem family in the referent year became about 22 percent. The dramatic decline in the proportion of stem families in Japan over time seems to have been absorbed into single-person households (approximately 10 percent in 1955 to 19 percent in 1982) including both unmarried and widowed, and also into those of married couples only (about 8 percent in 1965 to 14 percent in 1982). When the nuclear family and single-person households were combined they constituted 78.3 percent in 1982. That is, approximately eight in every ten households in Japan today are nuclear families.

#### **3. Family Size**

The average number of family members in one household also decreased

dramatically over time. They were 5.00 in 1953 and 3.25 in 1982.<sup>10</sup> After World War II Japan faced a serious problem of population growth due to the baby boom, the repatriation of soldiers, and the loss of colonies which limited the number of people emigrating. Then, the Japanese government loosened restrictions on abortion by modifying the Eugenic Protection Law in 1952. This legal modification played a restraining function in the fertility behavior of the Japanese woman.

#### 4. Fertility Behavior

In fact, the total fertility rate of Japanese women declined dramatically after World War II, that is, from an average number of 4.3 in the 1940s to as low as 1.80 in 1983.<sup>11</sup> The remarkably low fertility rate is also the result of delayed marriage and the extremely short childbearing period of Japanese women today.<sup>12</sup> The low fertility rate is a common phenomenon among the industrialized nations today. And, therefore, it is taken as evidence that the Japanese family today is highly modernized.

#### 5. Marriage

Not only the concept of but also the attitude toward marriage changed significantly. Under the traditional *ie* system the prime objective for marriage rested in the continuation of the family lineage. And therefore, the will of the parents played a significant role in the decision of marriage. Today, on the other hand, marriage is based on mutual consent of the two parties, and their wishes are given first consideration over those of the parents. To attest to this changing trend the type of marriage that Japanese people pursue should be analyzed carefully. During the war the *omiai* (arranged marriage) constituted approximately 70 percent of all marriages and the rest were love marriages. Recently, however, a complete reversal in this regard has emerged. That is, instead of 7-3 ratio, now the proportion of *omiai*-love marriage has shifted to 3-7.<sup>13</sup> In forty years the modern style of marriage has come to dominate in Japan, not only in urban areas but also in rural regions. This dramatic change in matrimony is truly indicative of the Japanese people's attitude toward modernization within the institution of the family.

#### 6. The Elderly

In discussing the relationship between aging and modernization Cowgill and Holmes set forth a series of hypotheses. Among them, the central hypothesis is that "the role and status of the aged varies systematically with the degree of modernization of society and modernization tends to decrease the relative status of the aged and to undermine their security within the social system."<sup>14</sup> Acknowledging this central hypothesis proposed by Cowgill and Holmes, Kumagai conducted in-depth analyses of 211 countries listed in the *United Nations Demographic Yearbook*,<sup>15</sup> and proved the following hypotheses:

(1) The higher the level of modernization of a society, the higher the degree of aging of the population. (2) The higher the level of modernization of a society, the longer the life expectancy of the people in the society.<sup>16</sup> In discussing major characteristics concerning the changing pattern of the elderly population in Japan, Kumagai pointed out the following three trends. They are, aging of the Japanese population (9.8% in 1983),<sup>17</sup> extension of the life-expectancy of the Japanese (74.20 for men and 79.78 for women in 1983),<sup>18</sup> and aging of the elderly population itself, i.e., the decrease in the proportion of "the younger old" and the increase in that of "the older old."<sup>19</sup> These findings support the afore-mentioned two hypotheses depicting the positive correlation between the level of modernization and that of the aging of a society.

#### **7. The Family Life Cycle**

In an analysis of the cohort data of the Japanese, American and Canadian family cycle over the last century Kumagai notes a dramatic change of the Japanese population especially after World War II.<sup>20</sup> Five major findings emerged regarding the Japanese population today: (a) delayed marriage, (b) early childbearing, (c) an extremely short childbearing period, (d) approximately the same length of joint survival as the other two populations, and (e) an extended postparental period for married couples. Furthermore, it was discovered that an overall pattern of the family career of the Japanese women today has a close affinity to their American as well as to their Canadian counterparts.

#### **8. Divorce**

A century of historical perspective on divorce in Japan reveals that it occurred at an extraordinarily high rate before the turn of the century, and then declined until 1964. Since then, however, the rate has been continuously on the rise.<sup>21</sup> Although it is much lower than that of the U.S.A.,<sup>22</sup> and Scandinavian countries, the recent increase in the rate is so remarkable (1.51 in 1983) that it has reached a level equivalent to that of France (1.59) and West Germany (1.56). In other words, for the first time in Japan there seems to appear a positive correlation between the level of modernization of the society and the increasing divorce rate in the nuclear family.

Examinations of these eight aspects of the Japanese family today lead us to conclude that we can prove the first hypothesis stated at the beginning of the present paper. That is, external or demographic characteristics of the Japanese family today resemble those of Western counterparts.

### **IV The Structural Nature of the Japanese Family Today**

#### **1. The Family Dynamics**

The family dynamics in Japan today can be illustrated as in Figure 1.b. It

is by no means as hierarchical-vertical as was found in the *ie* system (Figure 1.a.), but it still maintains the vertical orientation in its dynamics. In an analysis of filial violence in Japan Kumagai pointed out two characteristics of the family interaction patterns of the average Japanese today. They are firstly, an unintegrated conjugal relationship, and secondly, the psychological absence of the father in the family.<sup>23</sup> This diagram (Figure 1.b.) clearly illustrates lack of integration among the individual member, and an imbalance in relationships. The modern age has not only established the nuclear family for sometime in Japan, but has also altered family dynamics significantly.

Modifications in the family dynamics can be seen in five aspects of the interpersonal relationships in the Japanese family today. Kumagai summarized them as follows: Firstly, the nuclear family pattern in Japan has resulted in a strong intergenerational tie, especially between mother and children. Secondly, the advanced technology of Japan has greatly modernized everyday life, leaving the housewife and mother with a great deal of spare time, which she mostly devotes to child rearing, even to the extent of overprotecting and over-indulging the children. Thirdly, as a consequence, Japanese mothers today become frantically education-minded in their socialization practices and they no longer play emotionally nurturing roles. Fourthly, the status of fathers in the family has decreased considerably after World War II, and Japanese fathers are no longer authoritarian figures in the house. Lastly, mothers compensate for frustrations in their relationships with their spouses by intensifying the close-knit tie with their children to the extent that they conceive of their children as their own personal property.<sup>24</sup>

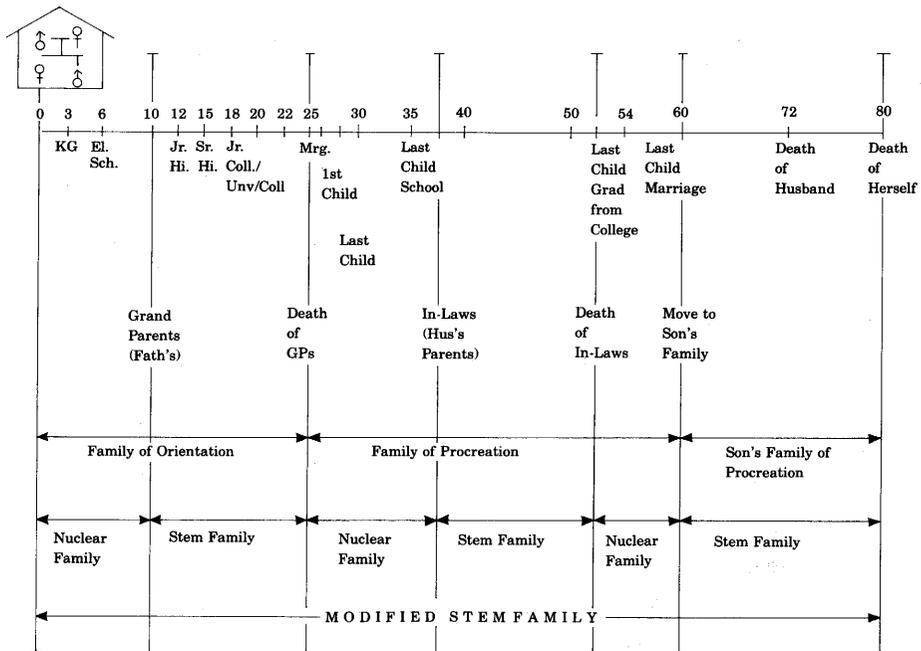
A brief examination of the family dynamics in Japan today reveals that the nuclear family does not place emphasis on the horizontal husband-wife relationship as is the case of Western society. Instead, a strong vertical generational tie still persists as was seen in the traditional feudal *ie* system. by maintaining the strong tie with children, Japanese mothers presume that security in their old age will be provided by their children. Recently, however, the demographic changes in the Japanese population can no longer guarantee this security. And, the Japanese elderly are obliged to acquire skills and attitudes toward a more independent lifestyle. At least at present, therefore, the nature of the Japanese family dynamics can in no way be as modern as that of Western counterparts.

## 2. The Modified Stem Family

The fact that the majority of the Japanese elderly still adopt co-residence housing arrangements (73.6 percent of the people 65 and over in 1981) brings about the question that the high proportion of nuclear families may not accurately reflect reality.

Nimkoff defined the *nuclear* family as “the smallest family unit usually consists of father, mother and offspring. By virtue of its irreducible size, and also because it is the building block of all larger family systems, it is often called the nuclear family.”<sup>25</sup> The traditional Japanese *ie* system is called the *stem* family, i.e., “an adaption of family structure to the problem of limited land holdings and a large family of sons. In this arrangement the extended family would decide which of the married sons would stay on at the family household.”<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, Litwak coined the word a *modified extended* family, in that the family may be geographically dispersed but that is united through and by a network of aid and interaction.<sup>27</sup> In light of the high co-residence situation where the elderly parents move into one of their adult children’s households later in their life cycle, Nasu called the Japanese family system today a *modified stem* family.<sup>28</sup> In the modified stem family a person experiences the modern nuclear and the traditional stem family alternately throughout one’s life cycle. This modified stem family seems to blend in itself harmoniously both the traditional and modern elements of Japan.

Figure 2. The Modified Stem Family in Japan



Sources: F. Kumagai, “The Life Cycle of the Japanese Family” *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 46 (1984); Ministry of Health and Welfare, *The White Paper on the Japanese Population 1984* ; The Prime Minister’s Office, *Japanese Women Today and Prospect 1983*.

Thus, it would be of significance to examine the developmental process of the modified stem family throughout the life cycle of a Japanese individual today. Figure 2 is based on the median ages of the several family life cycle stages of Japanese women in 1983 (for some events only 1982 data were available). It should be noted, however, that the statistics presented in Figure 2 are those for a specific point in time of the cross-sectional data, *not* those for the birth cohorts of the longitudinal data. That is, although the event starts from the birth of a woman to her mother at age 26, the following statistics represents the median ages of the events today, *not* the expected ages that the newborn woman would experience in her future life cycle. Since the major objective here is to examine the nature of the modified stem family rather than the life cycle of a Japanese woman the lack of precision in the numerical data presented in Figure 2 should not pose any serious problem.<sup>29</sup>

Until her marriage, a Japanese woman is in her family of orientation to which she was born. From her marriage to death she is in the family of procreation in that she establishes a new unit with her spouse. It should be noted, however, that she experiences two types of procreational families; one is that of her own, and the other is that of her son assuming that she adopts co-residence housing arrangements in her old age.

The family of orientation that she experiences during the early part of her life cycle can be divided into two: the nuclear family followed by the stem family. Until around the age of 10 she is in the nuclear family living with her parents and a younger brother. When her grandparents on her father's side move into the household, she is in the stem family under the family of orientation. Upon her marriage she establishes her family of procreation. Here again, she experiences the nuclear family followed by the stem family. Until her in-laws, i.e., the parents of her husband, move into the household, the family system that she is in is nuclear, and then the stem family follows when the household becomes three-generational. Another transition occurs in her family of procreation. That is, she is again in the nuclear family upon the death of her in-laws. Finally, when she moves into her son's family of procreation she is in the stem family again. This model shows that a Japanese woman experiences two types of family systems alternately, between the nuclear and the stem. The unique family experiences of the Japanese people are identical to the characteristics of the modified stem family, which contains the modern elements of the nuclear family as well as the traditional characteristics of the stem family simultaneously.

The analyses of the family dynamics and the modified stem family highlight the persistence of the traditional nature in the Japanese family today. Therefore, we can prove our second hypothesis that the internal or structural

nature of the Japanese family and household itself maintains traditional elements of its own.

## V Conclusion

Analyses of external and internal aspects of the Japanese family today reveal that it is not modern or traditional, but is a harmonious blending of both modernity and tradition. External or demographic characteristics of the Japanese family examined in the present study all demonstrate the modern nature of the Japanese family today. They are the prevalence of the nuclear family, an extremely low birth rate and reduced family size, popularity of love marriages over *omiai* marriages, a remarkable increase in the elderly population and the prolongation of life expectancy, a close affinity of the Japanese family life-cycle to that of Western counterparts, and an increasing divorce rate to the extent that it is attaining the level found in some Western societies such as France and West Germany.

On the contrary, the examination of the internal or structural nature of the Japanese family and household today exemplifies the existence of traditional elements in itself. The family dynamics is strong in the generational-vertical tie over the conjugal-horizontal relationship. And, the modified stem family seems to be a more accurate way to describe the family experiences of the Japanese throughout their entire life cycle.

When these two findings are combined, it would be more appropriate to describe the Japanese family today as externally modern but internally traditional. The modern aspects of the Japanese family are mainly due to the Westernization of society and lifestyles. The traditional nature, on the other hand, may most likely have emerged from the feudal *ie* system of Japan. With the enactment of the new Civil Code after World War II, the *ie* system was legally abolished. The impact of the system, however, persists on the internal aspects of the family life in Japan. It seems as though the value and attitudinal changes of the Japanese people lay behind the scientific and technological advancement of the society. These findings clearly support the ideal that the uniqueness of the Japanese family today exists in the harmonious traditional-modern blend in Japanese culture itself.

Exposure to Western culture contributed to the people's willingness to adopt the modern family system and lifestyles in Japan, but not at the expense of a lowered appreciation of their own society and culture. In fact, the persistence of the modified stem family clearly exemplifies that the virtue of filial piety is still widely appreciated and practiced by the Japanese people. All of these in a certain sense parallel the experience of Japan as a modern society, in that Western industrial technology was enthusiastically adopted, but at the

same time traditional Japanese culture was retained. Certainly, the institution of the family in Japan today is not an exception. That is, the external modernization of the Japanese family was achieved at a similar level to her Western counterparts, but not at the expense of the internal tradition inherent in the Japanese family system itself.

#### NOTES

- 1) R. Dore, "How Modern Is Modern Japan?" in G. Bowans and D. Dickson, eds., *The Asian Phoenix: A Study of Modern Japan*. London, British Broadcasting Corporation, 1972. p.51-57.
- 2) J.W. Hall, "Changing Conceptions of the Modernization of Japan" in M.B. Jansen, ed., *Changing Japanese Attitudes toward Modernization*. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1972. p.7-41; T. Shishido, "Modernization through Industrialization" Mimeographed, 1984.
- 3) T. Shishido, *op. cit.*, p.21.
- 4) F. Kumagai, "Changing Divorce in Japan" *Journal of Family History* 8 (1983) p. 85-108.
- 5) R.J. Smith, *Japanese Society: Tradition, Self, and the Social Order*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983. p.14.
- 6) T. Fukutake, *Japanese Society Today, 2nd ed.* Tokyo, University of Tokyo Press, 1981. p.34.
- 7) W.J. Goode, *World Revolution and Family Patterns*. New York, Free Press, 1963.
- 8) Changes in the proportion of nuclear family households among all households in Japan were as follows: 45.4% in 1955, 44.7% in 1960, 54.9% in 1965, 57.0% in 1970, 58.7% in 1975, 60.3% in 1980, 59.5% in 1982. [『厚生の指標』(*Social Welfare and Social Policies in Japan*) 30:11 (1983) p.231.]
- 9) The proportions of the three-generation family over time were as follows: 43.9% in 1955, 37.9% in 1960, 27.29% (plus 5.3% for others) in 1965, 16.9% (plus 6.2% for others) in 1975, 16.2% (plus 5.4% for others) in 1980, 16.1% (plus 5.6% for others) in 1982. (*Ibid.*, p.231.)
- 10) The average number of family members is as follows: 5.00 in 1953, 4.13 in 1960, 3.45 in 1970, 3.28 in 1980, 3.25 in 1982 (*Ibid.*, p.230.)
- 11) F. Kumagai, "The Life Cycle of the Japanese Family" *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 46 (1984) p.191-204; 厚生省編『厚生白書昭和59年版』(*The White Paper on the Japanese Population*)大蔵省印刷局 1984.
- 12) *Ibid.*
- 13) 人口問題研究所『日本人の結婚と出産』(*Marriage and Fertility Behaviors of the Japanese*)人口問題研究所 1983. p.29.
- 14) D.O. Cowgill and L.D. Holmes, eds., *Aging and Modernization*. New York, Appleton-

- Century-Crofts, Educational Div., Meredith, 1972. p.13.
- 15) United Nations, *United Nations Demographic Yearbook 1979, 31st issue*. New York, United Nations, Department of International Economics and Social Affairs, Statistical Office, 1980.
  - 16) F. Kumagai, "Aging in the World and the Elderly in Japan" *Proceedings of the Xth International Conference of Social Gerontology, Davville, France, May 25-29, 1982* (1982).
  - 17) The proportion of older people 65 and over is as follows: 4.7% in 1935, 4.9% in 1950, 5.7% in 1960, 7.1% in 1970, 9.1% in 1980, 9.8% in 1983. [*op. cit.*, see note 8), p.159; 厚生省, *op.cit.*]
  - 18) Changes in life expectancy of the Japanese men and women at birth were as follows: about 43-44 for men and about 44-45 for women during the Meiji Era and it was only after World War II when they reached over 50. 50.06 for men, 53.96 for women in 1947, 65.37 for men, 70.26 for women in 1960, 69.33 for men and 74.71 for women in 1970, 73.32 for men and 78.83 for women in 1980. 総理府『婦人の現状と施策』 (*Japanese Women Today and Prospect*). ぎょうせい1983. p.316; 74.20 for men and 79.78 for women in 1983 (厚生省, *op. cit.*).
  - 19) F. Kumagai, "Aging and Social Policies in Japan" *Proceedings of the XXth International CFR Seminar on Social Change and Family Policies, Melbourne, Australia, August 19-24, 1984* (1984).
  - 20) F. Kumagai (1984), *op. cit.*, see note 11).
  - 21) F. Kumagai (1983), *op. cit.*, see note 4).
  - 22) A continuation of the downward trend is characteristic of recent divorce rates in America. The 12-month divorce rate was 5.2 per 1,000 population in January 1981, 5.3 in January 1982, 5.1 in January 1983, and 5.0 in January 1984. [*Monthly Vital Statistics Report* 33:1 (April 1984)]
  - 23) F. Kumagai, "Filial Violence in Japan" *Victimology* 8 (1983).
  - 24) *Ibid.*
  - 25) M.F. Nimkoff, *Comparative Family Systems*. Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1965. Also, in an attempt to describe contemporary American family Parsons coined the word an "isolated nuclear" family (T. Parsons, *The Social System*. New York, Free Press, 1951). That is, in modern and modernized societies conjugal power is more egalitarian, the individual status is likely to be the result of achievement, and the extended family no longer plays the crucial unit in society.
  - 26) R.R. Clayton, *The Family, Marriage, and Social Change, 2nd ed.* Lexington, D.C. Heath, 1979. p.64.
  - 27) E. Litwak, "Occupational Mobility and Extended Family Cohesion" *American Sociological Review* 25(1960)p.9-21; "Geographic Mobility and Extended Family Cohesion" *American Sociological Review* 25 (1960) p.385-94.
  - 28) 那須宗一『老人世代論』 (*The Elderly Generations*) 芦書房 1962.

- 29) For the detailed analyses of the life cycle of the Japanese family refer to such sources as Kumagai [F. Kumagai, 1984, *op. cit.*, see note 11) and 厚生省, *op. cit.*].

## 要約

### 日本の近代化と家族

熊谷 文枝

日本の家族を、外的及び内的両側面から分析した結果、それは近代的とも伝統的とも断言することはできず、むしろ、近代性と伝統性の両者の調和的融合物であると考えるのが妥当であることが判明した。例えば、本稿で分析した日本の家族の外的、あるいは人口学的要素のことごとくが、日本の家族の近代性を顕著に示していた。つまり、核家族の広汎性、極度に低い出生率とその結果として発生する家族数の縮小化、見合結婚にまさる恋愛結婚の慣行、高齢者人口の飛躍的な増加と平均寿命の伸長、日本の家族のライフ・サイクルと西洋社会のそれとの近似性、フランスや西独と同一レベルにまで達した離婚率の上昇などである。一方、今日の日本の家族の内的あるいは構造的特質には、伝統性が失われることなく存続している事実が浮き彫りにされた。つまり、家族のダイナミックスは、夫婦間の横の連結よりもむしろ、世代間の縦の関係に強い絆が存在し、個々の日本人の一生に亘るライフ・サイクルを通して見ると、日本の家族は核家族というよりも、むしろ修正直系家族と呼ぶのがより適切であると思われる。

これらの結果は、今日の日本の家族が、外的近代性と内的伝統性の双方の特質を兼備していることを示唆しているといえる。家族の中に見られるこの伝統性と近代性の調和的融合性は、ある意味では、日本社会の近代化の歴史と同様の意味合いを持つといえよう。つまり、日本社会の近代化の過程で、西洋の先進産業技術が熱心に取り入れられた反面、日本の伝統的文化は棄却されることなく依然として堅持されているのである。