Leaving Home in a Stem Family System : Patterens of Children's Migration in the Late-Nineteenth Century South-Tama

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LEAVING HOME IN A STEM FAMILY SYSTEM: PATTERNS OF CHILDREN'S MIGRATION IN THE LATE-NINETEENTH CENTURY SOUTH-TAMA

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This paper investigates the pattern of leaving home in a stem family society in the late-nineteenth century Japan, using the South-Tama household register (2,057 households). With the use of life table analysis, the dynamic patterns of leaving home became clear. The process of leaving home starts after age 15 and reaches 50% at age 22 for daughters, when some 80% of the sons are still at home. A notable difference in the process is also found depending on the children's position in the family. Although the exit of younger sons from home is slower than those of daughters, their risk of leaving home rises quickly, peaking at age 24. The age of leaving home was found to be earlier for children in households of low economic status. The main reason for this early departure from the parental home was service migration. But daughters in high economic status also left early for marriage. The analysis on social and geographic mobility among sons and daughters showed that more daughters than sons were often sent outside of the village via marriage and adoption. Migration for service launched children, both sons and daughters the farthest from home. Social mobility of children was mostly horizontal via adoption and marriage, followed by downward for adopted sons, and both directions for brides. No downward mobility was observed among adoption of eldest sons. Thus the hold-and-release policy of the stem family was well at work. It was the eldest sons who were kept home and the remaining children who were launched to various social and geographic destinations.

Keywords: JAPAN, HOUSEHOLD REGISTER, MIGRATION, MOBILITY, FAMILY, HISTORICAL DEMOGRAPHY.

"To leave home is the most straightforward of all migratory moves." When Richard Wall started his article "Age at Leaving Home" with this notion, he was stressing preindustrial England where "there did come a time in the lives of most individuals when they would make a break with their first home." (Wall 1978: 181) Yet he was aware of certain types of family, the stem family, for example, which restricts an individual's right to move. This paper deals with such a type of family on which Wall remained only speculative in his article.

This simple migratory move of children is to a large extent concerned with individual and family life cycles and reflects the condition of the social institution. In the contemporary society, it implies a significant life transition of children to adulthood and of their aging parents to the post-parental stage. This perspective is gaining more attention in developed countries due to the aging population (e.g. Young, 1975 and 1987; Mayer and Schwarz, 1989; Ravanera *et al.*, 1995). Some cohort analyses suggest the rise of the age at leaving home due to economic situation (Ravanera et al., 1995) and the

institutionalization of the age when children leave home due to the universal formal education (Mayer and Schwarz 1989: 146).

In the pre-industrial societies, the timing of leaving home is influenced by the economic condition of the family and reflects the family strategy within the regulation of succession. Children frequently remained on the parental farm as the labor force until they married. If they were destined to take over the farm they did not leave at all (Imhof 1984: 27-55). The family strategy appears clear in the stem family and this is most articulately mentioned by Saito (1996) in his discussion of Smith (1977). The strategy considered here is to "keep the size and composition of the household within a relatively narrow range as required by the size and nature of the family farming." (Saito 1996: 13) Smith refers to the set of collective decisions taken by the households (ie) as the 'hold-and-release policy,' which was practiced through their children's ages of marriage and leaving home (1977: 140–5). The 'hold-and-release policy' should vary through differences in farming or social/economic institutions. For example, in the Pyrenean stem family system, younger sons remained single and were kept as the labor force in the household of origin (Fauve-Chamoux 1988). Such practices were unknown in the stem family system in North-Germany where the system of "Heuerling" assured universal marriage. Benefitting from this system, non-inheriting sons all left and were provided with a small piece of rented land, and a cottage to live in (Schlumbohm 1992: 190). The strategy of 'launching children' (Young 1975) is different in these two stem family systems. In both cases however, the choice appears to be determined by a collective decision of the family. It is this collective decision which the present paper tries to uncover in a Japanese stem family system in the late-nineteenth century.

The issue of leaving home was discussed in studies of Japanese historical demography only indirectly and in separate contexts; for example, adoption in the context of heirship or a pattern of marriage, marriage in relation to fertility and the marriage market, and service observed as temporal migration which affects the timing of female marriage and, in turn, the fertility level. This paper attempts to determine the occurrence of these events as the migration of children, and to empirically examine how the household strategy is reflected in the age and pattern of children leaving home by using a large household register from 1870. The task of revealing the hold-and-release policy among South-Tama peasants is three-fold. First, those who are present, and who left home and for what reason are investigated, in order to see if there was a standard schedule or reason of leaving home. Second, the positions of the children in the family are compared and the dynamic process of leaving home is revealed with the use of life table analysis. This is also examined by differential economic status. Finally, the geographical and social mobility is examined of those who left home in order to understand the social space and network of the life among peasants.

The South-Tama Household Register

An ideal data set for this study is the Commoners' Household Register of Hinojuku Village Groups, which is part of the household register gathered in South-Tama, Musashi Province in 1870 (Meiji 3).[1] These villages were located west of Tokyo, the current Hino

and Tama cities. The area in which these households were located included relatively large villages in a flat area of fertile rice-paddies, South of the Tama River, and smaller villages in the hilly landscape of Tama-Hights. This largely agricultural area witnessed the development of sericulture and spinning in the eighteenth century (Hino-city ed. 1990 and 1992) and its gradual incorporation into the larger market of Hachioji, the largest city near by (Yasuzawa 1972: 194-208).

The South-Tama household register derives from one of the experimental household registration systems prior to the first nation-wide household register in 1871 (Meiji 4). The register comprises of 2,121 households, which are the fundamental units of registration.[2] The data provides this study with three types of information.[3] First, one can find all the surviving children of the household, with differentiation of resident children (i.e. resident in the household at the time of the census), and children who left with information on when they left home and for what reason. Second, one can clearly differentiate the natural children, who were born to the household, and migrant children, who came in from different households within or outside the village. And third, as long as the migration took place within the 35 villages, one can find which household in which village the individual migrated from/to (henceforth denoted as "household of origin" and "household of destination"), enabling us to see the geographic and social mobility of the children.

Within each household, the members are denoted following the head of the household with his/her relationship to the head, with information on age and sex, and whether or not the person is present in the household at the time of the census. Migration history is attached for any entry into or exit from the households: year when entry/exit took place, reason (such as marriage, adoption, service), and the village and head's name of the household of destination/origin. If there is no migration record attached, one can comfortably assume that the person is born in the household.[4]

The individual records within the observed households include 10,312 entries denoting the current residents of the registered houses in 1870, and 3,324 entries of those who were born in these households but have left the household and live elsewhere as of 1870. This large sample is another strong feature of the South-Tama data. As the majority of studies on Japanese historical demography have been based on the longitudinal records of a limited number of villages, this data set allows us to engage in more detailed statistical analyses. Also the attached migration information enables it to serve as retrospective data for the event history analysis. One has to be aware, however, that the data is not free of the problem of selectivity; i.e. we are only dealing with the survivors in 1870. Therefore, an assumption is necessary here that the patterns of leaving home among those who are present in the sample and those who are not (those who have died) are similar (for the selectivity problem in life history data, see Wagner, Poetter, and Gilberg 1995).

Some technical handling of the data is required. For convenience, the Japanese year is translated to the western calendar year. Also individual ages which are given in conventional Japanese counting, where newborns are already 1 year-old, is adjusted to contemporary counting by subtracting one year. Information on landholdings are used to examine the economic standing of the household. Similar to their treatment in studies of villages in the Tokugawa period (e.g. Hayami 1992; Smith 1977), landholdings are

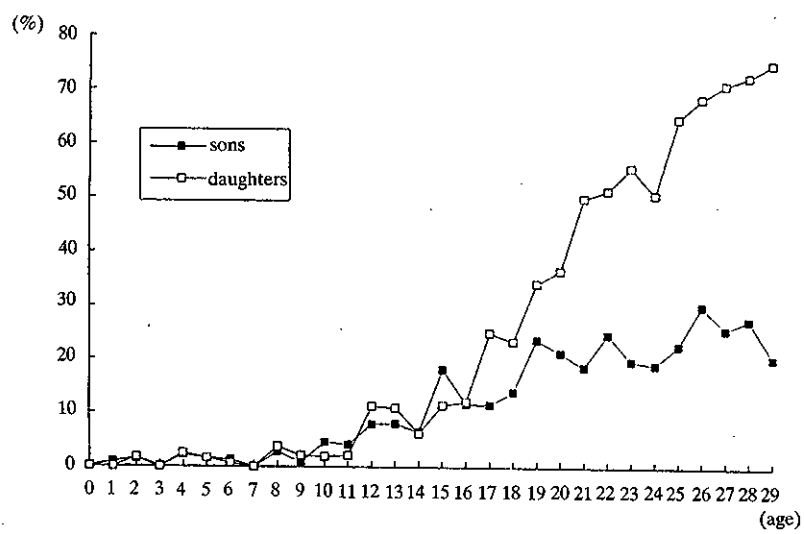
measured as the sum of the yield, expressed in measures of rice (koku), or where other crops were grown, in rice equivalents (Smith 1977: 30). One koku equals approximately five bushels. The sum is classified into "below 2 koku," "2-10 koku," and "10 koku or more," roughly indicating tenant-farmers, part-owner and owner farmers, and the landlord group who take turns serving as village officers, respectively. In South-Tama where life is centered around agricultural activities, the landholding was the basis for political and economic control of the governors (Yasuzawa 1972: 18). In this paper, they will be referred to as low, middle, and high economic status.

The terms 'parental home' and 'parental household' are used interchangeably with 'household of origin'. In some cases, both parents passed away, or were not listed in the household register. But the relationship to the current household head makes it possible to distinguish children without matching them to their parents.

(1) Age and reason of leaving home

When do children leave home? According to the stem family rule, one child remains in the parental household as successor of the next generation (Cornell, 1987). If this rule holds true, there should be always one child who remains at home. First, children and young adults under 30 years old will be compared to examine whether they are resident at their parental home or at what respective age they left home (Figure 1). Only those who are recognized to be natural children of the observed households are examined here.[5] The distinction of whether or not the child is a natural one or migrant is determined by looking at the combination of the relationship to the household head and the migration record. Among 7,163 individuals listed in the register, 6,190 are natural children of the existing households, and the rest migrants from elsewhere.

Figure 1. Proportion of natural children who are absent from home in 1870



Leaving home starts at an age below 10 years for both boys and girls. The first leap in which the proportion of those who leave home that goes beyond 10% is clearly 15 years old for boys, the age which local custom recognizes as the coming of age (Ministry of Justice 1976). For daughters this leap is a bit ambiguous but appears three years earlier, at age 12. The second leap is apparent for daughters at age 17 when 20% of them are no longer at the parental home. For boys this appears again, at age 19. While half of the daughters at age 21 have left home, 70% of the sons are still present at the parental home even at the end of their 20s. There appears to be a distinctive pattern of 'stayers' as well as 'leavers.'

For what reason do children leave home? Three major ways of leaving home are marriage, adoption and service (Table 1). It should be noted that service includes temporary migration while adoption and marriage, unless individuals return after divorce, imply a permanent change of residence (i.e. registered household). The rest are all summed in the category 'other,' which includes a variety of reasons of migration: the most numerous one is leaving to work (*dekasegi*), followed by becoming a priest, and a few cases of branching out (*bunke*), to be taken care for, and the re-establishment of the extinct households (*tsubure-nyuseki*). In the definition of this register, work migration is more permanent than service, and involves formation of a new household elsewhere. It also includes family migration; that is, migration with parents, and therefore children do not leave from the parental home in the same manner as in other migrations.

Table 1. Reasons for leaving home

Below 20 years old

	sons	%	daughters	%
adoption	20	14.6	15	9.3
marriage	–	–	49	30.4
service	89	65.0	78	48.4
other	28	20.4	19	11.8
total	137	100.0	161	100.0

20 and above years old

	sons	%	daughters	%
adoption	100	50.0	4	0.8
marriage	–	–	419	88.4
service	79	39.5	47	9.9
other	21	10.5	4	0.8
total	200	100.0	474	100.0

Under 20 years old, leaving home to become servants is the most common reason for the exit from the household among both sons and daughters. While in the 20s, it is taken over by marriage for daughters and adoption for sons. Since the majority of adoption includes marriage to either natural daughters at the household of destination or simultaneously taking brides (Kurosu and Ochiai 1995: 267), it is appropriate to think that marriage is the prime reason for the exit in the 20s among both sons and daughters. It

should be noted, however, that service still plays a significant role in the exit from the household among males in the 20s. Beside these major reasons and work migration which is synonymous with family migration, it is of interest to note that leaving home to become priests (apprenticeship at temples) stands out among the other reasons. This is particularly the case among sons under age 20 and shows that the life in these villages is strongly tied with religious activities.

Table 2. Reasons for leaving home by economic status

	Sons				Daughters			
	all	left			all	left		
			adoption	service			marriage	service
low	798	89	11	62	728	89	8	62
%		11.2	1.4	7.8		12.2	1.1	8.5
middle	1118	52	10	37	1083	70	35	24
%		4.7	0.9	3.3		6.5	3.2	2.2
high	360	20	7	6	338	32	25	3
%		5.5	1.9	1.7		9.5	7.4	0.9
total	2276	161	28	105	2149	191	68	89
%	100	7.1	17.4	65.2	100	8.9	35.6	46.6

The experience of leaving home varies with the different economic status of the households. When we focus on children below 20 years old, 11% of the children of low status are not present at home, while it is about 5% for those of middle and high economic status. The reason for migration by economic status reveals that the difference is brought about by the institution of service (Table 2). More children of low status leave home for service at an early age than those of higher status. In 1870, 8% of all children in the lowest status left for service while it was less than 3% in the higher status. The proportion of daughters who left home at an age below 20 are U-shape—higher at both ends of economic status (12% for the low, 7% in the middle, and 10% in the high status). This is due to the fact that more daughters of low status leave for service in their 20s (9% compared to less than 2% in other status), while more daughters of high status leave early for marriage (7% compared to less than 3% in the other status).

So far, we have been looking at the age of leaving home cross-sectionally—whether the child is at home and at what respective age. In order to give more dynamic view of this process, survival analysis will be applied below.

(2) Process of leaving home: Life table analysis

Does gender or birth order have an important bearing on when a child leaves home? In this section, we will compare the process of leaving home, first by gender, second by the children's position in the family, and further by the economic status of their households. In the first analysis, all natural children under age 30 are considered. In the second analysis, in order to control the position in the family, only those are treated who belong to the following five categories of relationship to the household head—eldest son, other son, daughter, brother, and sister. These are the major categories of relationship to the

household head observed in 1870.[6] The 'eldest sons,' 'other sons,' and 'daughters' are native children of the current household heads in 1870. 'Brothers' and 'sisters' are children of the previous household head and therefore are siblings of the current head. This distinction is important in considering the household strategy. If one child has been already nominated to be the heir of the household, his/her siblings are nothing but surplus children in the stem family household formation rule. However, they are converged together in this paper due to the use of cross-sectional data. To be specific, we only know the child's status in the family in 1870 and not at the time it left home. Whether the timing of one of the children's heirship determines the other children's exit should be investigated with longitudinal data. In this paper, therefore, the position in the family is summarized into three categories: eldest sons, other sons (including brothers of the head), and daughters (including sisters of the head).

It should be kept in mind that these family status are as of 1870. The parity differential is condensed into only two categories—either eldest or other sons. In the South-Tama region, succession by native and eldest son was preferred (Kurosu 1994). Therefore there appears to have been a distinct difference in the choice of behaviors being one or the other, while the difference of being, for example, the second or the third son is not well observed at this point. For daughters, the parity appears even less significant. In the household register, parity is not recognized for them. They are all 'daughters' (*musume*) without any birth order while on the other hand, all the sons have birth-order information.[7] Also the parity of daughters did not matter when adopted son-in-law were recruited to be the heir and their husband (Kurosu and Ochiai 1995).

As a way to see the dynamics of leaving home, the life table method of event history analysis is applied using the 'survival' program in SPSS. The analysis allows us to understand the process of leaving home incorporating all individuals who are at risk. The ultimate dependent variable is the duration (by year) from birth to the age of leaving home. The SPSS program provides life tables for each subgroups in great detail but is too complex and is not easy to be used for comparison of subgroups (Blossfeld *et al.* 1989: 122). Therefore plots of the survivor function and the hazard function are shown here comparing subgroups in three steps.

A. Gender difference

The survivor function expresses how many boys and girls have not left home up to a particular age. Figure 2 compares differential patterns of leaving home by gender of the children. For both, sons and daughters, the process of leaving home starts after age 15. After age 17, the difference of the process increases between sons and daughters. Daughters continuously leave home afterwards, reaching almost 50% at age 22, while sons take up moving from home more slowly. Only at the end of their 20s does the survival function reach 50% among sons while less than 20% of the daughters still remain at home.

The hazard function allows us to obtain indications as to whether the process of leaving home (status change of being at home to not being at home) is age dependent or not. Figure 3 shows that among daughters, the probability of leaving home strongly increases after age 15, while that of boys not only lags behind but is less age dependent as well. The steep incline of the hazard function approaching ages around 20-22 suggests that there is a clearer schedule for leaving the parental home among daughters than for sons. Sons are not pushed away from home as drastically as daughters. Their exit is more gradual and towards the end of the 20s.

Figure 2. Survival function plot estimated for all natural children by sex

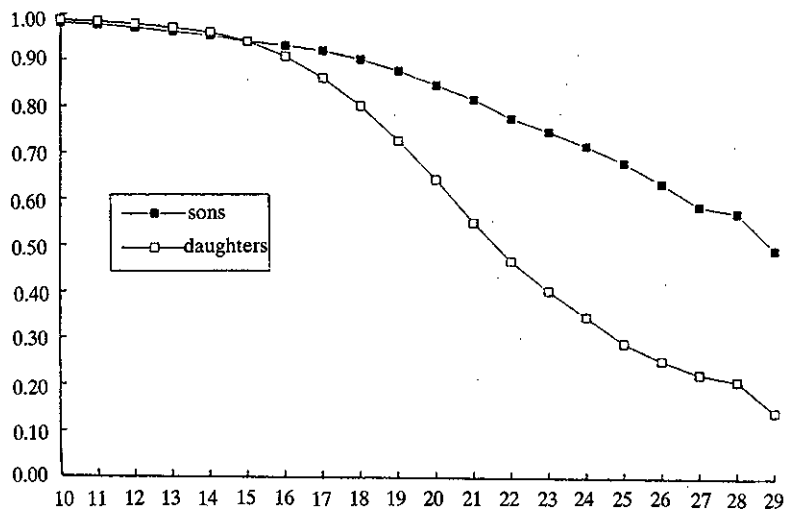
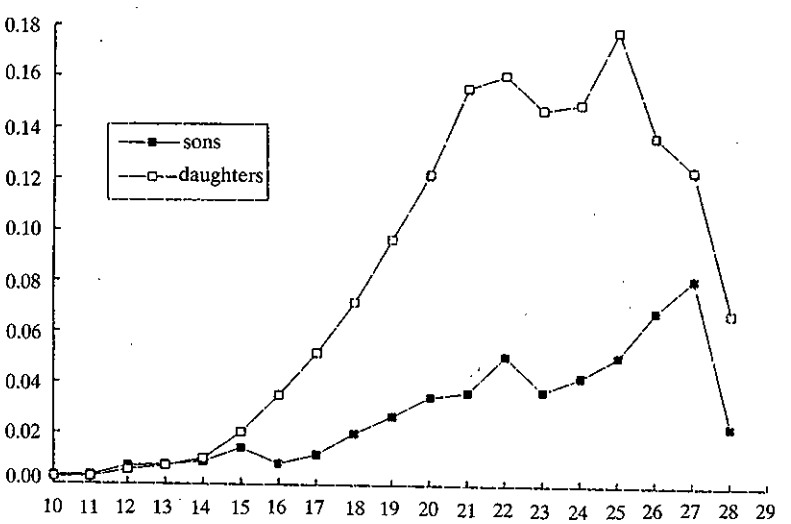


Figure 3. Hazard function plot estimated for all natural children by sex



B. Position in the family

While Figures 2 and 3 portray a clear and destined schedule for sons and daughters, we need to look further into the details of the position in the family, as even among sons, there are stayers and movers. Figures 4 and 5 therefore compare eldest sons, other sons, and daughters. Now the figures look very different. Two different schedules among the sons become clear. The eldest sons are clearly stayers with only 20% of them having left from home by the end of the observation period. The other sons are clearly movers, leaving home as fast as the daughters. But at any age of observation, daughters do exit from home faster than sons. The hazard function reveals that the risk of leaving home among the other sons rises quickly after age 17. Although the incline is not as steep as that for daughters, it peaks around age 24. The risk of leaving home among the eldest sons is negligible. The observation after age 25 is rather hard to interpret as the estimated path of the hazard function is quite unstable and variance is large, due to the small number of persons still exposed to risk. The risk of leaving home was largest and most age dependent among daughters, followed by other sons.

An interesting observation can be noted regarding the difference between siblings and daughters/sons (plots not shown here). As mentioned earlier, this data set is not appropriate for examining the difference in the position of the family at different stages of the life cycle, but such analysis is suggestive for future studies. Between sons and brothers, no significant difference was observed. Both of them leave as portrayed in Figures 4 and 5, although the exit of brothers are slightly faster. Among females, some notable differences are observed. The schedule and speed of leaving home is similar between sisters and daughters until age 24. Afterwards however, the survival curve for daughters tapers off, leaving about 20% at home, while that for sisters continues to drop. The hazard function also reveals that the schedule of leaving home among sisters is more dependent on age, peaking higher than daughters at age 22-24. Although tentative, this observation indicates that the process of leaving home is accelerated once an heir is determined. Some of the daughters did stay. These may be the cases in which the household eventually recruits adopted sons to be husbands for their daughters and to form the succeeding generation. The proportion, in fact, matches the observed proportion of the heirship (20%) by adopted sons (Kurosu and Ochiai 1995).

Figure 4. Survival function plot estimated by family status

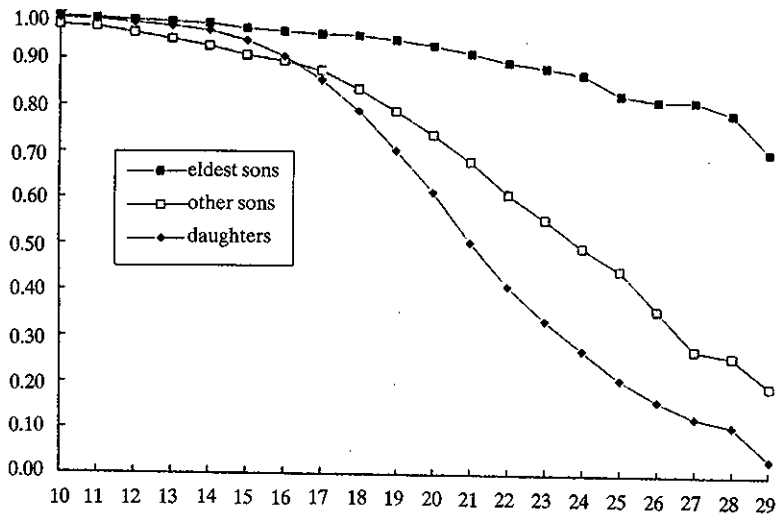
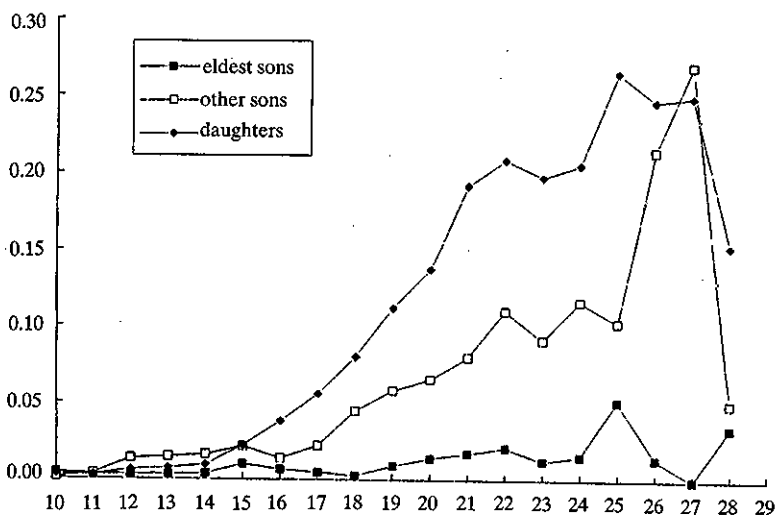


Figure 5. Hazard function plot estimated by family status



C. Position in the family and economic status of the family

In the cross-sectional analysis, we observed differential proportions of sons and daughters among the three economic status. The dynamic process is examined further here by comparing eldest sons, other sons, and daughters in the households of low, middle and high economic status. Only the plots of the survival function are shown. First, there is a clear difference in the processes between the eldest sons in the low status and the others (Figure 6). Among the eldest sons in the low status, a distinct process starts at

around age 16. By age 25, 40% of the eldest sons of low status exit, while less than 20% of those in the middle, and less than 10% in the high status households do. Although the numbers at risk in the later phase of observation is too small to be conclusive, we can comfortably state the difference between the home-leaving patterns of the eldest sons in low and other economic status.

How about the other sons? The contrast is again between the low and the other status (Figure 7). Other sons are all at risk of leaving home and most of them do (about 80% or more) by the end of their 20s, regardless of the economic status. The speed of the process, however, is the fastest among other sons in the low status at any age of observation. Particularly around age 20, more than 40% of sons in low status leave home while only 20% of those in the other status do. Half of the sons of low status are away at age 21, while sons in the other status wait until age 24. How about daughters who are also at risk of leaving home? It appears that there is no notable difference among the economic status. Regardless of economic status they all leave home, with only 10% or less of daughters remaining (Figure 8). The plots do not exhibit an obvious pattern. If at all, daughters in low and high status leave earlier than those in the middle. This confirms the earlier observation that daughters in the low status leave early for service and those in the high status also leave early but for marriage. It should be kept in mind that this cross-sectional data does not allow for the following of a series of events like, for example, leaving for service, coming back home and then marrying. However, the life table analysis does suggest that it was the daughters in low status households whose marriage was delayed due to service experience.

Figure 6. Survival function plot estimated for eldest sons by household economic status

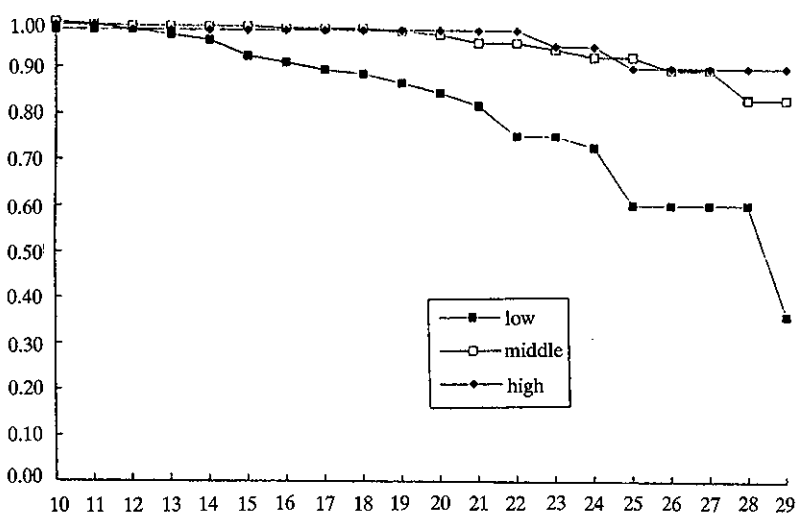


Figure 7. Survival function plot estimated for other sons by household economic status

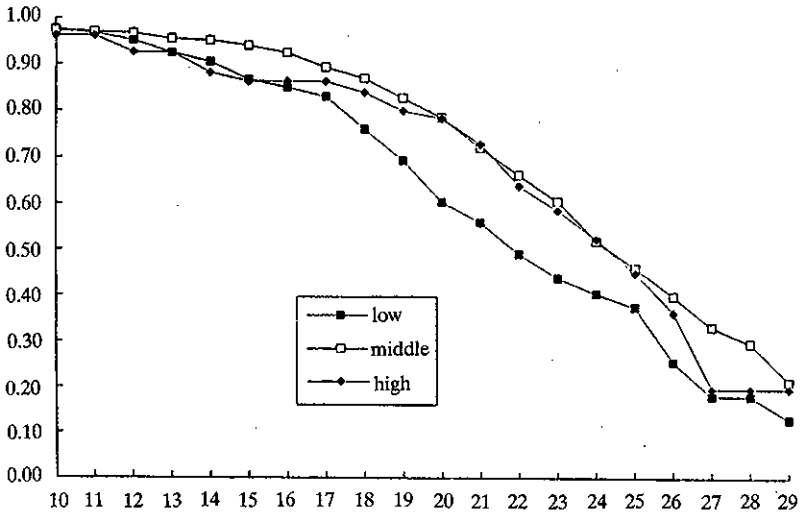
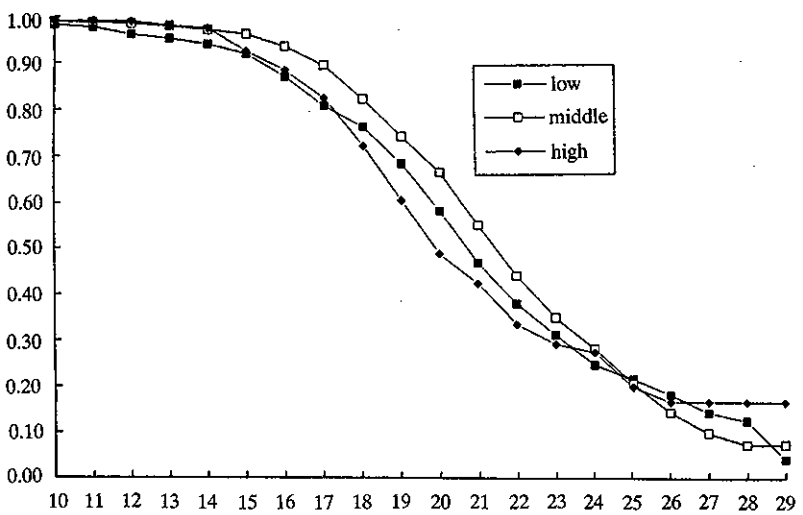


Figure 8. Survival function plot estimated for daughters by household economic status



D. Exceptions to the rule?: Eldest sons who left, other sons who stayed

Here we consider some minority cases which deviate from the standard scenario of 'holding the eldest and releasing the other.' What would become of those households whose eldest sons left home? Altogether 54 eldest sons were observed to have left home. Among them, more than half (60%) left for service, suggesting that they eventually came back to succeed the households. Among the other cases (beside work migration of the family), the majority left for adoption, and a few left for being priests or to be taken care of in another household. In all of these households, surviving daughter(s) and/or other son(s) were observed. The reason for releasing the eldest and holding others is not clear from the data. It may be a matter of timing of the change of heirship or other unknown household strategies. Such deviant cases should be investigated with longitudinal data.

What about the non-eldest sons who stayed? Towards the end of the observation period (ages 28 and 29), 22 sons and brothers were still at their parental home. In a few cases, they might have become household heads. But it is very likely that most of them left home after this observation period. Yet 11 of these sons in the parental households were already married, thus forming joint-family households, where more than two couples (extended horizontally) are observed. However, in some cases (over 30 years old) other sons or siblings were married and left home with their wives later. This suggests that there was a time lag between a non-heir's marriage and his departure from home, and thus does not undermine the general rule of the stem family. This position is also shared by Saito (1996: 20).

(3) Geographic and social mobility of sons and daughters

The question in this last section concerns the sons and daughters who left home. Were there any underlying rules as to where they moved? Did parents prefer to keep them in the same village or in the same social strata? We discussed the "hold-and-release policy" within a household which sought to maintain an optimal household size. Would this also apply to a community? Contemporary family studies suggest the preference of a living arrangement in which aged parents and young couples live within a short distance, so that they can mutually benefit from one another by helping to keep the household or child-rearing (e.g. Morgan and Hirosima, 1988; Diewald, 1992). This principle may well extend to the pre-industrial context in which the mutual support was established beyond a household boundary at the time of busy agricultural seasons. In such cases parents would prefer to keep children as close as possible or at least within a comfortable distance. However, if the rule of the Japanese stem family were at work it may not have been necessary to keep the children close. The required labor could be acquired within the household, either by holding enough family members, including older generations and youth, or by recruiting and replacing the leaving children by, adopted sons, brides, and servants. In this case it was not necessary to keep surplus children close at hand. While the sample is too small to discern these scenarios, the patterns are nevertheless suggestive.

Table 3. Distance of migration by reasons and position in the family

<Eldest sons>	adoption	service	other	Total
within village	4	5	1	10
%	33.3	15.6	11.1	18.9
within Tama	7	22	6	35
%	58.3	68.8	6.7	66.0
outside Tama	1	5	2	8
%	8.3	15.6	22.2	15.1
Total	12	32	9	53

<Other sons>	adoption	service	other	Total
within village	38	20	2	60
%	36.5	16.7	16.7	25.4
within Tama	56	88	6	150
%	53.8	73.3	50.0	63.6
outside Tama	10	12	4	26
%	9.6	10.0	33.3	11.0
Total	104	120	12	236

<Daughters>	adoption	marriage	service	other	Total
within village	3	92	14	1	110
%	17.6	20.1	11.9	8.3	18.2
within Tama	12	330	94	8	444
%	70.6	72.2	79.7	66.7	73.5
outside Tama	2	35	10	3	50
%	11.8	7.7	8.5	25.0	8.3
Total	17	457	118	12	604

When the destination of migration are contrasted in three categories—within village, within Tama-gun, and outside Tama-gun (Table 3), the proportion of migration out of the village but within Tama-gun is the largest of all reasons for migration, whether it be eldest sons, other sons, or daughters. More daughters than sons were sent away outside of the home-village. This also holds for the eldest sons: it turns out that the largest proportion to migrate outside of Tama was observed among eldest sons. This is because their proportion is over-represented by service migration.

A closer look at the differentiation by reasons shows that the largest migration within the village consisted of adoption of sons. This confirms the finding in a previous paper (Kurosu and Ochiai, 1995: 279) that the recruitment of adopted sons was more restricted, or bound to locality, than that of brides. We maintained that, at the recruiting household, there was the concern about the recruitment of a stranger as a candidate for household head who was also a formal member of the village. This did not hold for adoption of daughters, and they migrated as far as marriage migration. It should be noted that, in any of the reasons for migration (adoption, marriage or service), more daughters than sons were sent out beyond the village boundary.

Migration for service does not concern heirship or permanent migration, and therefore carries sons and daughters still farther. The launching of children for

servants was not only less bound by the village boundary, it was also practiced on a larger scale of geographical and political boundary than that of adoption and marriage. This was also the case for work migration (*dekasegi*) which overrepresented the migration outside Tama in the 'other' category. But since it involved family migration, service migration was the channel which launched children to the farthest household. Their destination included distant urban areas like Yokohama and Tokyo. And this occurred for both sons and daughters. It was suggested in a study of a Tohoku village that, in general, service to neighboring villages coincided with the area of the marriage market (Narimatsu 1992: 93). In the case of South-Tama, the market for brides and service might have also coincided but that of service was larger.

Table 4. Social mobility by reason of migration and position in the family

<Adoption: eldest sons>						Social Mobility %	
	Destination						
Origin	low	middle	high	total	up	horizontal	down
low	3	4	1	8	50%	50%	0%
middle	0	2	1	3			
high	0	0	1	1			
<Adoption: other sons>						Social Mobility %	
	Destination						
Origin	low	middle	high	total	up	horizontal	down
low	65	28	9	102	17%	55%	28%
middle	39	61	6	106			
high	13	17	11	41			
<Marriage: daughters>						Social Mobility %	
	Destination						
Origin	low	middle	high	total	up	horizontal	down
low	212	121	29	362	24%	52%	24%
middle	120	156	33	309			
high	21	47	35	103			
<Service: eldest sons>						Social Mobility %	
	Destination						
Origin	low	middle	high	total	up	horizontal	down
low	6	13	11	30	69%	24%	7%
middle	3	3	5	11			
high	0	0	1	1			
<Service: other sons>						Social Mobility %	
	Destination						
Origin	low	middle	high	total	up	horizontal	down
low	5	3	21	29	71%	23%	6%
middle	3	6	13	22			
high	0	0	1	1			
<Service: daughters>						Social Mobility %	
	Destination						
Origin	low	middle	high	total	up	horizontal	down
low	6	15	24	45	74%	17%	9%
middle	5	4	9	18			
high	1	0	1	2			

Not only geographic mobility, but also social mobility was a natural consequence of leaving home. Table 4 shows social mobility of all the matched cases of migration within 35 villages by reasons of migration, and by the children's position at the parental home.[8] Note that in order to obtain larger numbers in each cell, the sample here is enlarged to include all the matched cases whose relationship to the household heads fall into the categories investigated in this study (i.e. including those who are 30 and above). First, the majority of sons and daughters who left home for service went to households of higher economic status than their parents. If at all, daughters had a slightly higher chance of moving into households of higher economic status than sons. The service migration was mainly a phenomena within the low status and its social mobility therefore was concentrated upwards.

The majority of moves for adoption and marriage (50% or more) were horizontal.[9] The tendency of the rest of the remaining moves for marriage were about equal in both directions. That for adoption shows some interesting patterns. Although further examination is needed, it is clear from Table 4 that the tendency of social mobility among eldest sons was upward while that of other sons was downward. This implies that the hold policy was kept clearly for the eldest sons. Only when they (or their parents) found a better alternative than keeping the original position, and when they had other siblings (as observed in the studies of minority cases above) they had the choice of leaving home via adoption.

It appears that, since there was at least one child (mostly the eldest son) held by the parents, the other children were launched in a variety of directions. This confirms a Japanese practice that once children marry, or are adopted, they belong to the household of destination; they are encouraged to identify themselves with their new household detaching themselves from their parental home. Thus, in the Japanese stem family system, once children leave their parental home, they have to go through a transition, not just into adulthood but also into the role expected in the new household. Yet, the practice in the past might have been different. For example, numerous cases are observed in which sons were sent away for service to the household where their sisters were sent for marriage. The examination of such cases, including the social network established by 'the circulation of children,' will further benefit our understanding of the stem family.

Conclusion

This paper investigated the pattern of leaving home in a stem family society in the late-nineteenth century Japan, using the South-Tama household register. It became clear that between sons and daughters, it was the daughters who left early and permanently. According to the life table analyses, the process of leaving home starts after age 15 and reaches 50% at age 22 for daughters, when still 80% of the sons are at home. A notable difference in the process is also found depending on the children's position in the family. The eldest sons are clearly 'stayers' and the other sons and daughters are 'leavers.' Although the exist of other sons from home is slower than those of daughters, their risk of leaving home rises quickly, peaking at age 24. The age of leaving home was found to be earlier for children in households of low economic status. The main reason for this early

departure from the parental home was service migration. But daughters in high economic status also left early for marriage.

Further, the social and geographic mobility among sons and daughters who left home were substantial. It was found that more daughters were often sent outside the village via marriage and adoption, while sons were more likely to be kept closer. Migration for service launched children, both sons and daughters, farthest. Service brought children of households in low economic status to higher economic status and no clear difference by position in the family was found. Social mobility of children was mostly horizontal via adoption and marriage, followed by downward for adopted sons and both directions for brides. No downward mobility was observed among adoption of eldest sons.

Thus the hold-and-release policy of the stem family was well at work. It was the eldest sons who were kept home and the remaining children who were launched towards various social and geographic destinations. Taking advantage of the large sample and migration information, this study revealed the dynamic pattern of leaving home. It agrees with Saito's remark that "the non-inheriting children, both male and female, as well as the heir, in the life-cycle age between the age of maturity and the marriage, were tightly bound to the household under the Japanese system of stem family." (1996) Further investigation should relate the timing and reason of a child's leaving home to his/her siblings' exit, marriage or child-bearing. For example, Smith found that the departures of non-heir sons and daughters cluster around the heir's marriage (1977: 140-5). His findings based on a village in the Tokugawa period should be tested in other villages with the use of longitudinal data. Only then the intricate mechanism, which underlies the dynamic patterns found here, will be uncovered. Also, such longitudinal data should allow for the investigation of the patterns of leaving home across the Tokugawa period—whether or not the timing of exit from home has shortened or lengthened. The period under investigation here was the end of Tokugawa and in particular, the area experiencing an increasing rate of fertility and proto-industrialization. The growth in proto-industrial employment is suggested to increase the mean age at which women leave home (Cornel, 1989: 223-31), whereas it lowers that of men if the growth was sufficiently strong to create new job opportunities in commerce and transport within the area in question (Saito, 1996: 21). Whether or not the standard schedule found in this study is influenced by the development of local silk industries can be answered only by comparing the trend of leaving home across various periods. The question of how demographic and economic conditions affect the emancipation of children from home should be extended to compare pre-industrial and post-industrial periods. This in turn will enable us to investigate how the hold-and-release policy is modified upon various economic and demographic pressures in order to maintain the stem-family ideal.

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Notes

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1 Henceforth denoted as South Tama household register. An example of household registers is explained elsewhere (Kurosu and Ochiai, 1995: Footnote 9).

2 The 64 households of the Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines amongst this data is excluded from the analysis. The idea of the household as a significant "entity with important social meaning" (Cornell 1987: 150) does not seem to hold in these cases.

3 All of these were difficult to obtain in prior studies of leaving home in preindustrial Europe (as described in Wall 1978: 184-5)

4 If a person was born or died in 1870, it is also mentioned. In some cases, reasons which are not concerned with entry/exit are listed: e.g. when the person is sick, and when he/she (household head under age 15) is taken care of by the head of another household.

5 Those who entered into the household by birth, and not by adoption, marriage, or other social institution (e.g. to be taken care of, to coreside).

6 It should be noted that in rather complex households of this period, grandchild, and sibling's child also appear in our construction of natural children. In fact, some of them are already household heads themselves or wives of household heads. These cases are not included in the analysis in order to clarify whether or not position in the family predetermines migration behavior.

7 In a strict sense they are not in the birth-order as we are only dealing with survival population. For example, if the second son dies, the third son will be listed as the second.

8 Excluding the analysis of the 'other' category, and the adoption of daughters.

9 Previous studies suggested that the social mobility of adopted sons are horizontal or downward (Kurosu and Ochiai 1995: Table 3) and that of brides are horizontal or slightly upward (Kurosu 1994: Table 5). The slight difference of the result here is due to the sampling.

直系家族制度における離家 (leaving home)
—19世紀後期 南多摩地域の子女移動パターン—

黒須里美

要旨：本論は、南多摩地域に残された明治３年戸籍を用いて、19世紀後期日本社会の直系家族における離家（leaving home）パターンについて考察するものである。本稿では、特にライフ・テーブル分析法を用いることによって、その動的パターンを明らかにした。離家プロセスは一般に子女の場合、15歳から始まり22歳には50%に達するが、他方、男子の場合には、22歳でも80%が家にとどまっていた。この離家パターンの著しい差は、家における子女の出生順位によっても生じている。男子の離家は、次三男の場合でも女子に比べて遅いが、それでも男子の離家率も年齢とともに上昇し24歳で最も高くなっている。また離家年齢は、経済階層の低い家ほど早くなることが明らかになった。これらの親の家からの早期離家を生んでいるものは、奉公のための離家である。ただし、高い階層にある女子の離家も結婚のために早くなっている。さらに子女たちの社会的・地理的移動を分析することによって、男子よりも女子の方が、結婚や養子を通じて自分の生まれた村の外に出される率が高くなっていることがわかる。そして男女ともにそれ以上に遠くへの移動を促しているものが奉公のための移動であった。このように、子女の階層移動は、養子や結婚の場合はたいてい水平移動であり、男子養子の場合は下降移動、また女子の結婚では両方への移動があった。

しかし、長男の養子においては下への移動は見られなかった。このように直系家族の開放と閉鎖のメカニズムがうまくはたらいていた。家を守ったのは長男であり、残りの子女がさまざまな社会的地理的方向に出されたのである。