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INTER- AND INTRA-FAMILY DIFFERENCES IN GENERATIONAL PROXIMITY IN THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN

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The United States and Japan show a significant difference in their patterns of genera - tional proximity. In 1993, half of U.S. non-Hispanic white parents aged 70 or over lived separately but within 10 miles of their nearest children and a majority of them lived far from their non-nearest children. The family geographic network for Japanese elderly parents is more hierarchical. In 1989, 74 percent of Japanese parents aged 70 and over lived with their nearest children but most of them lived far from their non-nearest children.

To explain this distinctive pattern of inter- and intra-family generational proximities in these two societies, I employ a multi-level analysis which compares the net effects of life course conditions of elderly parents and their children, and economic and ecological characteristics of elderly parents' places of residence on generational proximities.

For this multi-level analysis, I use the 1993 Asset and Heath Dynamics among the Oldest Old in the U.S. and the 1989 Second Demographic Survey on Changes in Family Life Course and Household Structures in Japan and the aggregate level data for economic and ecological statistics of U.S. states and Japanese prefectures. This multi-level analysis also accounts for intra-family differences in parent-child proximities employing a within-family variance model.

INTRODUCTION

Generational proximity plays an important role in transmitting generational resources and connecting older and younger generations. The role of geographic proximity in shaping inter-generational relationships, in turn, is influenced by life course conditions of elderly parents and their children. Intra-family differences in generational proximities also elucidate the pattern of hierarchy of children's felt obligation for family contact and support.

At a more macro-level, geographic proximity between elderly parents and their children is significantly determined by social industrialization and the development of tele-communication technology. On the one hand, a highly mobile occupational system in urban environments has required the geographic mobility of some family members. On the other hand, advanced telecommunications in many industrial societies have allowed family members to exchange various types of support and to maintain kin ties across

long distances.

Despite their similar economies, the United States and Japan exhibit a significant difference in their patterns of generational proximity. In 1993, 15 percent of U.S. non-Hispanic white parents aged 70 and over lived with their children and a half lived separately but within 10 miles of their nearest children. Among non-nearest children, a majority of U.S. adult children with a sibling living near their elderly parents tended to live far from their elderly parents. The family geographic network for Japanese elderly parents is more hierarchical. In 1989, 74 percent of Japanese parents aged 70 and over lived with their nearest children and 16 percent of nearest children lived separately but in the same prefecture of their elderly parents' residence. As with the U.S. case, the primary pattern of geographic proximity to non-nearest children is living far from them.

To explain this distinctive pattern of inter- and intra-family generational proximities in the two societies, I employ a multi-level analysis for the impact of resources and attitudes of elderly parents and their children, economic and ecological place utilities, and cultural distinction on generational proximity. I use the 1993 *Asset and Heath Dynamics among the Oldest Old* (AHEAD) in the U.S. and the 1989 *Second Demographic Survey on Changes in Family Life Course and Household Structures* (DSFH) in Japan, and construct data sets of parent-child paired observations. Economic and ecological indices of U.S. states and Japanese prefectures are merged to these family level data sets. To account for family-level clustered observations and to explain intra-family differences in generational proximities, I employ a within-family variance model for the relationship between proximities to nearest and non-nearest children.

MULTI-LEVEL FACTORS FOR GENERATIONAL PROXIMITY

Despite their similar economies, the United States and Japan show a significant difference in their patterns of generational proximity. In the U.S., most of the elderly live separately from their children, although many of them maintain frequent contact with their children and live within short distances of them (Shanas, 1980; Silverstein, 1995). In contrast, more than half of the elderly Japanese lived with their children in 1990 (Institute of Population Problems, 1996: 122).

Attention is given to the origins of this contrast in generational proximity between the two highly urbanized societies. One factor is differences in elderly parents' economic and family statuses. In contrast to the Modernization view of the detrimental effect of social development on

social statuses of the elderly (Cowgill, 1972), many studies on the work and economic status of elderly people in the U.S. assert that expansive welfare programs since the 1930s and efforts to provide equal occupational opportunities allow many elderly people to maintain their economic status (Pampel, 1989; Brents, 1986; Schulz, 1995). For example, the poverty rate among U.S. elderly people has fallen dramatically from an average of 35 percent in the 1950s to less than 12 percent in 1990 (Bureau of the Census, 1991).

Despite the recent rapid increase, Japan's social security expenditures are still lower than those of other developed countries (ILO, Yearbook of Labour Statistics, 1985). The campaign for universal health and pension insurance was completed only in 1961, and because of this late introduction of Social Security programs, many current elderly parents have relatively low levels of pension benefits (Prime Minister's Office, 1991). As a result, while public and private retirement pensions comprise about 80 percent of the income for seniors aged 70 and older in the U.S., the corresponding proportion for Japanese elderly parents in the same period is 50 percent (Prime Minister's Office, 1991). To subsidize limited pension benefits, many Japanese elderly parents remain in the labor force or obtain support from their children (Prime Minister's Office, 1991). As Lee (1987) argues, one important factor behind this lower level of welfare programs for the elderly in Japan is the social belief that family members should provide for both dependent children and elderly parents.

A second factor for contrasting generational proximity is differences in children's characteristics. U.S. and Japanese adult children in their mid 40s and 50s constitute distinctive cohorts with different experiences of social change. U.S. children born in the first half of the baby boom period experienced many challenging social events during their adulthood. During their teens and 20s, the Civil Rights Movement in the late 1960s and the Vietnam War in the 1960s and early 1970s placed many of them at the forefront of attitude changes in the prevailing social structures of race, gender, and family relationships. They also experienced economic hardships for the first time after the long-term, post-war economic prosperity. Consequently, their marriage and family-building behaviors differ considerably from those of their elderly parents. The children's weak attitudes toward family ties promoted pre-marital cohabitation, which implies less responsibility for family unions. The economic downturn they experienced in the 1970s and 1980s also played a role in delaying marriages, increasing the divorce rate, and encouraging further remarriages.

Japanese children of this period were also born in a period of revolutionary social transformation. After World War II, legal changes dictated gender

equality in education and employment (Martin and Tsuya, 1991). Although the gender gap in educational levels has continued to close, the labor participation rate of Japanese women aged 15 and over has levelled off since the 1950s (Ogawa and Hodge, 1994). In contrast to the more than 80 percent employment of American women aged 16 and over in the 1970s, the labor force participation rate of Japanese women remained at 50 percent from the 1950s through the 1970s and was 49 percent in 1988 (Ogawa and Hodge, 1994). It also remained customary for working women to quit their jobs after marriage and not to return to the worhforce until their youngest child entered elementary school (Ogawa and Hodge, 1994). While these adult children continue to have a strong sense of responsibility for their elderly parents and many of them actually live with their parents, their generational relationships (particularly between mothers and daughters-in-law) include much tension and many conflicts. Rather than acting out of a sense of duty or custom, they are significantly motivated by fear of the shame attached to those who abandon their elderly parents (Ogawa and Retherford, 1994).

A third possible key to the difference between U.S. and Japanese proximity derives from national differences in the geographic distribution of economic and ecological resources and the consequent effects on the choice of elderly parents and their children to live close to or with each other. Most regions in the United States and Japan are highly urbanized, with high mobility of the population and well-established transportation infrastructures. Moreover, geographic mobility of younger and older populations in the current period is more likely to occur within urban areas than between rural and urban environments. This change in geographic redistribution of the population since the early 20th century in the U.S. and the 1960s in Japan explains why the patterns of geographic proximity between elderly parents and their children have changed little over the most recent decades in either country (Shanas, 1980; Silverstein, 1995; Prime Minister's Office, 1991). Rather than rural-to-urban difference in economic and life-style resources, regional factors relevant to the present period are diverse economic and ecological utilities located within urban environments, which influence regional variance in generational proximity in the contemporary U.S. and Japan. For example, U.S. states and Japanese prefectures significantly differ in providing access to independent housing units. The considerable shortage of housing units in large metropolitan areas of Japan reflects high living costs, and it played a role in the reversal of metro-city geographic mobility and decentralization of urban areas since the late 1970s (Ogawa, 1986). The high rental cost in large metro-cities where much of the young population is con-

centrated also limits the post-retirement residential mobility of Japanese elderly parents either to move near their children's places of residence or to move to amenable retirement communities, in contrast to the case of the U.S. (Otomo, 1992).

Finally, American individualism and Japanese familism distinctively account for national differences in geographic proximities between elderly parents and their children. Individualism is a dominant ideal value in the United States. This values encourage the norms of independence and reciprocal relations. The rule for reciprocity suppresses one-way transactions characterized by the failure of equivalent repayment for benefits received. Asymmetrical relations in which benefits or costs are one-sided embarrass both debtor and donor as well as disrupt their relationship (Dowd. 1975).

In contrast to the importance of reciprocal exchange, asymmetric exchange underlies traditional Japanese family relations. The life course patterns in traditional Japanese families are based on the transfer of authority-dependency relations through generations (Akiyama, Antonucci, and Campbell, 1990: 130). In earlier phases of a family's life course, children completely rely on parent's resources and oblige themselves to parents' authority. Later in the lifecourse, children provide support for the elderly, and elderly parents repay this benefit with emotional affection, help with household services, and childcare for grandchildren. Consequently, generational relationships in the U.S. and Japan are based on very distinct cultural ideas which generate different rules for interaction and tolerance for dependency. Independence and reciprocity enforced by individualism create much tension in late life course adjustment, although, familism may create a buffer for dependency through the normative coercion of children's obligations to support elderly parents.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

As noted in the introduction, these multi-level similarities and differences both in life course experiences of elderly parents and their children and in urban environments are likely to account for the distinctive patterns of generational proximity in the United States and Japan.

I employ a multi-level analysis to explain the distinctive pattern of inter- and intra-family generational proximities in the two societies. This study contributes to previous research on generational proximity in three ways. First, it expands the previous focus on either the younger or the older generation in explaining inter-generational relationships. One important omission of a single-generation perspective is that it often loses the cohort distinctive

characteristics of older and younger generations. Generational proximity is the outcome of joint decisions by elderly parents and their children who have experienced different life course conditions and social changes. Therefore, inquiry into the effects of resources and family attitudes of elderly parents and their children on generational proximities contributes to our understanding of the historical formation of inter-generational relationships.

Second, this study develops a geographic family network approach. The parent-child relation is not a two-person relationship; the presence of other children significantly modifies parenting investments in a particular child. From the perspective of children, the presence of siblings significantly changes a particular child's family responsibility for providing support for their elderly parents. Differences in within-family parent-child proximities reflect this heterogeneity of parent-child relationships. Furthermore, given that proximities to nearest and non-nearest children affect each other, inquiry into the relationship between these proximities allows us to explore how geographic family networks form.

Third, this study contributes to a cross-cultural understanding of generational proximity. US individualism and Japanese familism provide distinctive rules for social ties and prescribe different levels of receiving and giving support among family members. Individualism is an ideal value corresponding to the history of European settlement and the colonization of North America, and it has been enforced by massive large-scale industrialization (Clark and Anderson, 1965). Familism is part of Japan's historically-rooted national ideology and has promoted a distinctive Japanese group mind (Akiyama, Antonucci, and Campbell, 1990). Far from lagging behind social modernization, familism has played an important role in directing Japan's successful and distinctive process of industrialization. Inquiry into differences and similarities in the way that elderly parents and their children react to life course and their place utilities in these two culturally distinctive societies extends our understanding of generational proximity as a cultural phenomenon.

MULTI-LEVEL DATA SOURCES

For this multi-level analysis, I rely on several different data sources. For the information about the U.S. elderly and their children, I will employ the first wave of *Asset and Health Dynamics among the Oldest Old* (AHEAD) in 1993. Through the HRS procedure of area probability sampling of households, AHEAD selected a total of 6,052 households that included at least

one elderly person aged 70 and over. The AHEAD sampling technique chose a lead respondent in each household and then inquired about socio-demographic characteristics of the respondent's biological children and/or step-children. I matched the records of elderly non-Hispanic white (lead) respondents with their biological children and step-children. The final observations of parent-child pairs amount to 11,994 cases.

The survey also includes the sample of non-white race/ethnic groups, such as African Americans, Hispanics, and Asians. Although these various race/ethnic groups have different cultural origins, immigration histories, and assimilation processes, they share similar economic statuses and family relationships, both of which significantly differ from the characteristics of the majority of elderly whites. On the one hand, the non-white elderly groups constitute an economically disadvantaged group (Dowd and Bengtson, 1978). On the other hand, many scholars have pointed out family centrality and frequent incidences of inter-generational coresidence among U.S. minority groups (Cool, 1981; Rosenthal and Marshall, 1986; Markides and Mindel, 1987). Given these economic and cultural differences between the majority of U.S. elderly whites and other race/ethnic groups, I restrict my analysis sample to households with non-Hispanic white respondents.

Japan's second *Demographic Survey on Changes in the Family Life Course and Household Structures* (DSFH) is a national representative household survey data conducted by the Institute of Population Problems, Ministry of Health and Welfare in 1989. The DSFH survey was designed to examine household structures including household members who recently moved in or moved out of households. A total of 6,143 households were collected. To obtain records of the elderly over age 70, I first selected households which include family members over age 70. Then, I constructed matched parent-child records, which comprise 5,176 cases.

At the aggregate level, economic and ecological information of prefectures and states are extracted from *the Statistical Abstract of the United States* (Bureau of the Census, 1995), the U.S. *County and City Data Book* (Bureau of the Census, 1996), Japan's *Statistical Yearbook* (Agency of Management and Coordination, 1991), and *Social Indicators of Prefectures* (Agency of Management and Coordination, 1996). Unfortunately, the only available area codes in the AHEAD are geographic divisions with 9 categories, which are clusters of states, and a dichotomous distinction between MSA and non-MSA. States within a division substantially differ from each other in economic and ecological characteristics. This limits the ability to explore the effects of environmental effects on generational proximity. Given this limitation, I measured weighted average characteristics of states within a division

to examine division-level effects.

MEASUREMENT OF VARIABLES

The dependent variable is elderly parents' geographic proximity to each of their children. Obviously, AHEAD and DSFH use different scales of geographic proximity. AHEAD asks elderly respondents about their proximity to children living apart with the following wording: "Does (he/she) live more than 10 miles from you?" In contrast, DSFH measures proximity between parents and children living apart in five categories: living in the same premise (separate house or annex), being near neighbors, living in the same city/county, living in the same prefecture, and others (including living abroad). Both scales measure spatial distance by an objective scale; however, perceived distance varies by persons and available communication technologies. Further, it is difficult to define a geographic distance in Japan which is comparable to "10 miles" in the U.S. Although commuting within a prefecture likely exceeds a 10-mile distance, prefectures in general are much smaller and much more densely populated than U.S. states. I regard "living in the same or different prefecture" as a truncation point of living near and living far.

I briefly describe the measurements of independent variables. Regarding elderly parents' characteristics, I measure health status, housing/land ownership, and income/expenditure as main resources for elderly parents' independent living. AHEAD provides detailed information on health status, and DSFH includes detailed items on the health functions of every household member. However, the response rate on each health function is incomplete in DSFH. Furthermore, the measures of functioning used in AHEAD and DSFH are not exactly comparable. Hence, I select the subjective rate of health status as the best comparable variable between these two data sets. Health status is measured dichotomously as good and bad.

Economic resources greatly mediate opportunities for independent living among elderly parents. AHEAD provides information on the total household income of elderly parents, defined as the sum of social security, pensions, welfare, interest, gifts, wages, or other types of income sources. I measure per-person family income by dividing this total household income by the total number of household members. DSFH, on the other hand, inquires about family expenditures rather than income given the high level of consumption prices in Japan. To normalize these two measures, I use their quartile distributions.

Home ownership among U.S. elderly parents is measured dichotomously,

distinguishing whether or not elderly respondents (or spouses) live in their own houses. DSFH includes information on housing and land ownership. Given the high land prices in Japan, land ownership is more likely than housing ownership to capture economic status. Therefore, I employ land ownership among elderly Japanese parents as a comparable variable to home ownership among elderly U.S. parents.

I measure educational levels of elderly parents as an important index of their family attitudes. Years of education among U.S. elderly parents are categorized dichotomously, distinguishing below and above 8 years of schooling. For Japan, DSFH includes the information on completed schooling: primary school (about less than six years of schooling), secondary school (six to eight years of schooling), and high school or college levels. I re-categorized this information into primary or middle school and high school or over.

Regarding children's characteristics, I measure number of children (kin availability), marital statuses (need), birth years and birth orders (cohort differences in family attitude), educational levels (cost of family proximity), and genders and biological relations (generational ties) of children. Unfortunately, information about educational levels and biological relations of Japanese children are not available from DSFH.

Number of children significantly shapes the opportunity of an elderly parent to live with or live close to at least one child. The number of children is measured continuously.

Marital status of children is a major proxy indicator of children's economic status, family roles, and generational relation. Whether children are married or not is measured.

Regarding birth year, compared to the limited variation of elderly parents' ages, children's ages have a wider distribution. This suggests that the age distribution of children is more likely than that of parents to capture cohort differences in family attitudes and historical experiences. Birth years of children are grouped as follows: born before 1940, born in the 1940s, and born after 1950. The majority of U.S. adult children were born in the 1940s or after 1950 (mostly before 1960), which coincides with the first half of the baby-boom period from the late 1940s to the early 1960s. As some studies emphasize (e.g. Maccunovich et al., 1995), U.S. children born between the late 1940s and early 1960s have distinctive family and economic experiences throughout their adult life courses when compared to either their younger or older cohorts. Japanese children are much older than U.S. children. This is likely because Japanese elderly parents married and bore children at earlier ages than did U.S. elderly parents. In addition to birth year, I measure whether or not a child is the eldest because eldest children in Japan are like-

ly to have stronger felt obligation to provide family assistance for their elderly parents than other children (Kojima, 1989).

Educational levels of children indicate the opportunity cost for children in maintaining geographic closeness to their elderly parents (Litwak, 1985). Educational levels of children are measured dichotomously, distinguishing whether or not children have at least 12 years of schooling for AHEAD. Unfortunately, this information is not available in DSFH.

Although no data exists from DSFH, I employ the biological relationship between elderly parents and their children from AHEAD because many U.S. families include step-family relationships which are likely to deter generational proximity.

Several indices of regional economy and ecology are measured. The indices of regional economy include the ratio of elderly to labor force population, per-capita income adjusted by unemployment rate, and annual ratio of in-migrants to out-migrants of states and prefectures. Indicators of regional ecological environments include housing ownership rate and the quantity of formal care facilities (number of doctors per 100,000 elderly people aged 65 and over) of states and prefectures. Unfortunately, the only available area identifiers in AHEAD are geographic divisions with 9 categories, which are clusters of states, and a dichotomous distinction between MSAs and non-MSAs. States within a division substantially differ from each other in economic and ecological characteristics. This limits the ability to explore environmental effects on generational proximity. Given this limitation, I measured weighted average characteristics of states within a division to examine division-level effects.

RESULTS: GEOGRAPHIC PROXIMITY BETWEEN ELDERLY PARENTS AND THEIR NEAREST CHILDREN

Table 1 summarizes the influences of multi-level characteristics on elderly parents' proximities to their nearest children in the U.S. and Japan. The estimates include the odds ratios and their normalized values for both elderly parents living with or near their nearest children.

Regarding elderly parents' characteristics, age has a significant effect on the likelihood that elderly U.S. parents will live with or close to their nearest children, although the effect is not likely to be linear with age. Elderly U.S. parents aged 75 to 79 are half as likely as those aged 85 or older to live with their nearest child. A tendency of younger elderly parents to live near their nearest child is also significant; elderly U.S. parents aged 70 to 74 are 61 percent more likely than those aged 85 or older to live close to their nearest

TABLE 1. MULTI-LEVEL LOGIT ESTIMATES OF CORESIDENCE/NEARNESS VERSUS FAR DISTANCE BETWEEN ELDERLY PARENTS AND THEIR NEAREST CHILDREN

	US				Japan			
\proximity to nearest children variables\	Living Together vs living far		Living Near vs living far		Living Togethe vs living far		Living Near vs living far	
	Odds Ratio	z	Odds Ratio	z	Odds Ratio	z	Odds Ratio	z
Elderly Parents' Characteristics								
Age								
70-74	0.74	-1.08	1.61	2.45	1.09	0.06	1.06	0.04
75-79	0.50	-2.60	1.27	1.29	1.47	0.25	1.47	0.26
80-84 (ref: 85 and over)	0.86	-0.62	1.09	0.46	0.91	-0.06	1.49	0.26
Marital status								
married (ref: unmarried)	0.43	-5.31	1.05	0.49	0.83	-0.40	2.61	1.90
Health								
poor (ref: good health)	1.56	3.10	1.17	1.53	2.21	1.68	0.86	-0.30
Home/Land ownership								
own (ref: other's house)	0.96	-0.27	1.25	2.31	0.42	-2.27	0.67	-1.03
Income/Expenditure								
Q1 (lowest quartile)	1.91	3.21	1.08	0.60	15.20	4.29	1.87	0.97
Q2 (median)	1.44	1.84	1.12	0.90	4.74	3.34	1.52	0.88
Q3 (highest quartile, ref: over top quartile)	1.23	1.02	0.92	-0.72	3.74	3.18	1.37	0.76
Gender								
male (ref: female)	1.08	0.52	0.90	-1.02	1.55	1.15	0.95	-0.13
Education								
8 years or more (ref: < 8 years)	0.53	-3.91	0.52	-5.50	0.39	-2.67	0.44	-2.39
Children's Characteristics								
Number of siblings plus child self								
one sibling more	1.83	9.40	1.68	11.66	1.57	2.75	1.47	2.39
Birth year								
born before 1940	1.45	1.44	1.94	3.56	31.50	2.96	12.47	2.13
born in the 1940s (ref: born after 1950)	1.09	0.47	1.43	3.26	4.57	3.90	2.49	2.40
Marital status								
unmarried (ref: married)	11.97	17.04	0.87	-1.36	13.08	5.25	1.03	0.06
Gender								
male (ref: female)	1.12	0.84	0.87	-1.57	5.80	4.96	1.08	0.24
Birth order								
eldest (ref: non eldest)	19.21	12.44	10.29	11.62	31.37	3.17	9.56	2.06
Education								
12 years or more (ref: <= 11 years)	0.64	-2.99	0.66	-4.09	—	—	—	—
Biological relation								
step child (ref: biological child)	0.34	-2.91	0.44	-3.87	—	—	—	—

TABLE 1. CONTINUED

	US				Japan			
\proximity to nearest children	Living Together vs living far		Living Near vs living far		Living Togethe vs living far		Living Near vs living far	
variables\	Odds Ratio	z	Odds Ratio	z	Odds Ratio	z	Odds Ratio	z
Area Characteristics			— see next page					
Within-Family Variance (v_f, Null model)			— see next page					
Mill's ratio	—	—	—	—	0.50	-3.74	0.93	-0.39
-2(log likelihood)			4995.4			741		
Pseudo R^2			0.22			0.38		
Urban residence								
urban (ref: rural)	1.09	0.55	1.17	1.51	1.57	1.19	2.18	1.98
Ratio of elderly to labor force population								
one unit upper quartile	0.97	-0.41	0.87	-3.31	0.50	-2.38	0.87	-0.45
Ratio of in-migrants to out-migrants								
one unit upper quartile	0.89	-1.69	0.73	-6.82	0.72	-1.62	1.15	0.71
Income level								
one unit upper quartile	—	—	—	—	1.19	0.72	0.90	-0.44
Housing ownership rate								
one unit upper quartile	1.49	4.47	1.09	1.46	1.95	2.34	1.05	0.17
Doctors per 100,000 elderly people								
one unit upper quartile	0.89	-1.84	0.87	-2.98	1.06	0.23	1.23	0.77
Within-Family Variance (v_f, Null model)*								
Second nearest child								
Marital status								
unmarried (ref: married)	1.16	1.04	0.83	-1.81	1.72	0.97	2.05	1.21
Birth year								
born before 1940	0.65	-1.73	0.98	-0.14	1.08	0.10	1.01	0.01
born in the 1940s (ref: born after 1950)	0.76	-1.61	1.07	0.57	0.45	-1.95	0.50	-1.75
Gender								
male (ref: female)	1.52	3.17	1.05	0.56	0.73	-0.92	0.58	-1.62
Education								
12 years or more (ref: <= 11 years)	0.84	-1.19	1.02	0.23	—	—	—	—
Biological relation								
step child (ref: biological child)	0.38	-2.72	0.69	-1.92	—	—	—	—

$p(|z| > 3.09)=0.001, p(|z|>2.57)=0.01, p(|z|>1.96)=0.05$

*I develop a family effect model which examines how nearest and non-nearest children's proximities and their individual characteristics influence each other. This model assumes that the proximity of an elderly parents to a particular child is influenced by other children's proximities. To briefly explain my analysis strategy, I first employed ANCOVA analysis to compare the measures of goodness at fitns among models with different assumptions of covariance structure for within-family proximities. I found that proximities to nearest and non-nearest children not only differ but also are associated with each other. As a second step, I compared the goodness of fit between models which differ in terms of the number of children whose proximities and characteristics are considered to be important explanatory factors for proximity to a particular child. Finally, I control the intra-family variance effect (vf) in examining the effects of multi-level factors for generational proximities.

child. In Japan, no significant age differences are noted in the likelihood of elderly parents living with or close to their nearest children.

Marital statuses of elderly parents strongly influence generational coresidence in the U.S. Married elderly U.S. parents are only 43 percent as likely as unmarried elderly parents to live with their nearest children. In Japan, however, no significant difference between married and unmarried elderly parents is noted in their likelihood of living with nearest children. This suggests that married elderly Japanese parents live with their nearest children as much as do unmarried elderly parents.

Health statuses of elderly parents have a significant effect on the coresidence of elderly U.S. parents with their nearest children. Elderly U.S. parents with a health problem are 56 percent more likely than healthy parents to live with their nearest children. No significant effect of health status is noted in the likelihood of elderly Japanese parents' co-residing with their nearest child.

Unlike health statuses, home ownership statuses of elderly parents play an important role in accounting for Japanese inter-generational coresidence. Home ownership among elderly Japanese parents significantly reduces their likelihood of living with the nearest children.

This suggests that, although inter-generational coresidence in contemporary Japan involves a modified inheritance norm, such co-residence often occurs in children's houses. This interpretation, however, is open to criticism since current home ownership status could have been achieved through prior inheritance.

Impoverished U.S. elderly parents whose income levels are below the median are significantly more likely than those with levels in the top quartile to live with their nearest children. Expenditure levels of elderly Japanese parents have a significantly negative effect on the incidence of coresidence with their nearest children and this odds difference according to expenditure levels in Japan is greater than the difference according to income levels in the U.S. This suggests that generational co-residence in Japan is more likely than in the U.S. to occur due to the economic need of elderly parents.

Elderly parents' educational levels have a significant effect on both co-residence with and closeness to nearest children in the two societies. Elderly U.S. parents with eight years or more of schooling are nearly half as likely as less educated parents to live with or close to their nearest children. The same pattern holds for elderly Japanese parents, but the odds difference of co-residence and nearness according to educational levels of elderly parents are much greater in Japan than it is in the U.S. This finding suggests that elderly Japanese parents with advanced education levels but whose peers

mainly are less educated hold distinctively stronger negative attitudes toward dependency.

Turning to the effects of nearest children's characteristics, higher numbers of children in a family significantly support the likelihood that elderly parents will live with or close to their nearest children in both the U.S. and Japan. However, the odds difference of co-residence with or closeness to elderly parents according to the number of children in a family is much greater in the U.S. than it is in Japan. This difference suggests that kin-availability is a more important factor in American families than in Japanese families since co-residence with or nearness to elderly parents is less likely to be shared among children in the U.S. than in Japan.

Age group differences of children create a much higher difference in likelihood of living with or close to elderly parents in Japan than in the U.S. In the U.S., nearest children born before 1940 or in the 1940s are more likely than those born after 1950 to live close to their elderly parents; however, no significant age difference of nearest U.S. children is noted in their likelihood of living with parents. In Japan, the odds that nearest children born before 1940 will live with or close to their elderly parents are 32 and 12 times greater, respectively, than the odds of those born after 1950. Nearest Japanese children born in the 1940s also are significantly more likely than those born after 1950 to live with or close to their elderly parents. These clear and significant age differences in the proximities of nearest children to their elderly parents highlight considerable cohort differences in Japanese children's family attitudes due to their different experiences of social changes.

Nearest children's marital statuses have a significant effect on the likelihood that they will live with their elderly parents in both the U.S. and Japan. Unmarried U.S. and Japanese children are about 12 and 13 times, respectively, more likely than married children to live with their elderly parents. In contrast, no significant children's marital status exists in the likelihood of nearest children living close to their parents in either the U.S. or Japan.

Children's genders create a contrast between the two societies. In the US, genders of nearest children have no significant effect on their likelihood of living with or close to elderly parents. By contrast, generational coresidence in Japan is clearly son-preferred; the odds that the nearest son lives with his parents is 5.8 times greater than those for the nearest daughter.

In both societies, nearest children who are also eldest are more likely than non-eldest, nearest children to live with or close to their elderly parents. This significant effect of birth order is due partly to an association with birth

year since eldest children are more likely to be an older cohort. In Japan, however, the effect of birth order also reflects stronger family responsibilities for eldest sons and their greater tendency to live with elderly parents when compared to other siblings.

Although a country comparison is not possible due to insufficient data for Japan, highly educated U.S. children are significantly less likely to live with or close to their elderly parents. Children with 12 years or more of schooling are only 64 and 66 percent as likely as less educated children to live with or close to their elderly parents, respectively. This implies that more highly educated children are less likely to need to share the parental home because of their advantaged socio-economic positions. Highly educated children are also more likely than other children to incur costs for living with or near their elderly parents due to their need for occupation-related geographic mobility and their preference for privacy (Litwak, 1985).

In the U.S., nearest step-children are significantly less likely than biological children to live with or close to their elderly parents. This indicates that family ties and the extent of generational support are significantly weaker among families that experience marital breakdown and/or remarriage.

Finally, I briefly examine the effects of area-level characteristics. In Japan, rural and urban elderly residents experience a different degree of kin-availability. In neither the U.S. nor Japan do urban and rural elderly residents differ significantly from each other in their likelihood of living with their nearest children. However, urban elderly Japanese parents are significantly more likely than rural elderly parents to live close to their nearest children.

Although speculative, it is likely that the age structures of the U.S. divisions are likely to explain much of why elderly residents do or do not live close to their nearest children. Elderly U.S. parents living in divisions with older age structures are significantly less likely to live close to their nearest children. This suggests that a division with younger age structure includes both elderly residents and their children; this pattern is the result of a certain degree of concentration of the elderly population in retirement areas, such as Arizona and Florida. In Japan, age structures of prefectures reflect the kin availability for elderly residents. Elderly Japanese parents residing in prefectures with a relatively high proportion of elderly people are significantly less likely to live with their nearest children. This effect implies that age-selective migration younger in the life course has a more important role than does an aging-in-place pattern in shaping the age structures of Japanese prefectures.

Interestingly, the effect of access to housing on the likelihood of coresidence with nearest children shows an unexpected pattern in both the U.S.

and Japan. For instance, the results show that elderly Japanese parents living in prefectures with a relatively high housing ownership rate are more likely than those living in other prefectures to live with their nearest children. This effect is not likely to be a result of rural/urban differences in either home ownership or co-residence patterns because the analysis controls for rural/urban residence. It is possible that an important area factor is not specified in this model, which would influence both the proximity outcome and the prefectural differences in housing ownership rates. Another plausible explanation is based on the ownership differences between extended and nuclear family living arrangements in urban areas. Although speculative, it is reasonable to suggest that urban families' strategies to economize on living and housing costs through inter-generational extended living arrangements contribute to a higher home ownership rate in urban areas.

In the U.S., a division's health care facilities are likely to account for elderly residents' likelihood of living close to their children. The odds that elderly U.S. parents will live with or close to their nearest children are lower when the parents reside in divisions with a large number of doctors per 100,000 elderly persons. In Japan, however, the presence of health care facilities in a prefecture has no significant effect on proximities of elderly parents to their nearest children; this result suggests a limited supply or under-utilization of formal or institutional care facilities in the Japanese context of the persistence of family care.

GEOGRAPHIC PROXIMITY BETWEEN ELDERLY PARENTS AND THEIR NON-NEAREST CHILDREN

This section focuses on the extents to which non-nearest children live far from their parents when a sibling lives near the parents (either living together or nearby). Typically, elderly parents live at different proximities from each of their children. The choices of nearest children and proximities to them are of primary importance for inter-generational relationships with high levels of family contact and support. Nevertheless, non-nearest children also maintain relationships with parents and siblings. As with proximities to nearest children, distances from non-nearest children are conditioned by factors related to economic resources, geographic constraints, and family ties between elderly parents and their children.

Table 2 summarizes the net effects of multi-level characteristics on geographic proximities between elderly parents and their non-nearest children. I briefly examine the effects of within-family variance, i.e., the characteris-

TABLE 2. MULTI-LEVEL LOGIT ESTIMATES OF FAR DISTANCE VERSUS CLOSENESS BETWEEN ELDERLY PARENTS AND THEIR NON-NEAREST CHILDREN

	US				Japan			
\proximity to non-nearest children	Living Far vs living close		Living Far vs living close		Living Far vs living close		Living Far vs living close	
	Odds Ratio	z	Odds Ratio	z	Odds Ratio	z	Odds Ratio	z
Proximity to the Nearest Child	living together		living near		living together		living near	
Elderly Parents' Characteristics								
Age								
70-74	0.95	-0.23	0.87	-0.88	0.71	-1.45	1.14	0.11
75-79	0.70	-1.50	0.91	-0.63	0.90	-0.47	1.70	0.49
80-84 (ref: 85 and over)	0.69	-1.72	0.90	-0.71	0.75	-1.38	1.28	0.23
Marital status								
married (ref: unmarried)	1.43	2.17	0.96	-0.50	1.02	0.15	4.07	2.41
Health								
poor (ref: good health)	0.98	-0.12	0.87	-1.73	1.08	0.59	1.43	0.68
Home/Land ownerships								
own (ref: other's house)	0.85	-1.14	0.79	-2.93	0.99	-0.06	0.59	-1.54
Income/Expenditure								
Q1 (lowest quartile)	0.75	-1.60	1.06	0.47	0.84	-1.11	0.95	-0.09
Q2 (median)	0.67	-2.10	1.10	0.87	1.08	0.45	1.16	0.34
Q3 (highest quartile, ref: over top quartile)	1.09	0.43	1.08	0.71	1.12	0.74	0.49	-1.90
Gender								
male (ref: female)	0.75	-1.94	1.00	-0.04	0.88	-0.93	0.78	-0.73
Education								
8 years or more (ref: < 8 years)	1.17	1.09	1.33	3.40	0.92	-0.70	1.69	1.56
Children's Characteristics								
Number of siblings plus child self								
one more sibling	1.14	2.24	0.93	-1.91	1.16	2.03	1.27	1.31
Birth year								
born before 1940	1.39	1.42	0.58	-3.95	0.52	-3.15	0.65	-0.69
born in the 1940s (ref: after 1950)	1.00	-0.03	0.77	-2.79	0.94	-0.36	0.39	-2.05
Marital status								
cunmarried (ref: married)	0.77	-1.98	0.96	-0.43	0.60	-3.21	0.54	-0.97
Gender								
male (ref: female)	1.04	0.36	1.10	1.25	0.86	-1.42	1.87	2.18
Birth order								
eldest (ref: non eldest)	1.10	0.63	0.48	-8.40	0.79	-1.59	0.39	-2.63
Education								
12 years or more (ref: <= 11 years)	2.15	5.36	1.67	6.15	—	—	—	—
Biological relation								
step child (ref: biological child)	2.23	2.13	1.57	2.95	—	—	—	—

TABLE 2. CONTINUED

	US				Japan			
\proximity to non-nearest children	Living Far vs living close Odds Ratio	z	Living Far vs living close Odds Ratio	z	Living Far vs living close Odds Ratio	z	Living Far vs living close Odds Ratio	z
Proximity to the Nearest Child	living together		living near		living together		living near	
Area Characteristics	— see next page							
Within-Family Variance (v_f)	— see next page							
Mill's Ratio	—	—	—	—	1.00	0.02	0.70	-1.30
-2(log likelihood)	1617.2		4546.2		2046		350.4	
Pseudo R^2	0.06		0.07		0.08		0.18	
Urban residence								
urban (ref: rural)	0.84	-1.16	0.91	-1.11	0.47	-6.11	0.79	-0.59
Ratio of elderly to labor force population								
one unit upper quartile	1.05	0.74	1.03	0.80	1.11	1.19	0.91	-0.39
Ratio of in-migrants to out-migrants								
one unit upper quartile	1.08	1.24	1.07	1.55	0.96	-0.59	0.72	-1.87
Income level								
one unit-upper quartile	—	—	—	—	1.23	2.63	1.43	1.44
Housing ownership rate								
one unit upper quartile	1.05	0.36	0.93	-1.03	0.88	-1.34	0.74	-1.01
Doctors per 100,000 elderly people								
one unit upper quartile	1.04	0.31	0.99	-1.12	0.74	-3.58	0.54	-2.57
Within-Family Variance (v_f, Null model)								
the nearest child								
Marital status								
unmarried (ref: married)	0.57	-3.38	0.95	-0.54	0.93	-0.45	3.86	2.13
Birth year								
born before 1940	—	—	—	—	1.78	2.72	11.95	3.38
born in the 1940s (ref: born after 1950)	—	—	—	—	1.32	1.60	1.14	0.40
born after 1950 (ref: born before 1950)	0.78	-1.68	0.49	-7.79	—	—	—	—
Gender								
male (ref: female)	1.00	0.03	0.89	-1.56	1.67	2.82	1.31	0.91
Education								
12 years or more (ref: <= 11 years)	1.01	0.09	1.23	2.46	—	—	—	—
Biological relation								
step child (ref: biological child)	0.71	-0.97	1.64	2.61	—	—	—	—

p (| z | > 3.09)=0.001,p (| z | >2.57)=0.01,p(| z | >1.96)=0.05

tics of nearest children. In the U.S., non-nearest children are less likely to live far from their elderly parents when elderly parents live with unmarried children. This suggests that non-nearest children are more likely to feel the obligation of family contact when their elderly parents and unmarried siblings are living together. When nearest siblings who live close to elderly parents are born after 1950, the likelihood that non-nearest children will live far from their elderly parents is significantly reduced. The educational levels and biological relationships of nearest children who live close to their parents also significantly influence the distances between elderly parents and their non-nearest children. The odds that non-nearest children will live far from their elderly parents is 23 percent greater when the nearest children have education levels beyond the high school years. The odds that non-nearest children will live far from their elderly parents is 64 percent greater when the nearest child is a step-child.

In Japan, non-nearest children are more likely to live far when elderly parents live near unmarried siblings, and they are also more likely to live far from their elderly parents when the nearest child living with or close to the elderly parents was born before 1940. The likelihood of increasing distances between non-nearest children and their elderly parents becomes greater when the nearest children are sons. The odds that non-nearest children will live far from their elderly parents is 67 percent greater when elderly parents live with a son. This pattern likely reflects the traditional Japanese patrilocal geographic network in which daughters and non-eldest sons usually live far from their parent's place of residence, whereas the eldest son typically remains in his elderly parents' home. These effects reflect a hierarchical location of nearest and non-nearest children in geographic family networks among traditional Japanese families.

Let us then examine the effects of elderly parents' characteristics on their distances from non-nearest children. In the U.S., marital statuses of elderly parents who live with nearest children have a significant effect on their distances from non-nearest children. Married U.S. elderly parents are 43 percent more likely than unmarried parents to live far from their non-nearest children when they live with the nearest child. Since unmarried elderly parents are significantly more likely to live with their nearest children, the greater tendency of unmarried elderly parents to live close to non-nearest children suggests their relatively cohesive geographic family networks.

In contrast to its effect on coresidence with the nearest child, elderly parents' health statuses have no significant effect on their distances from non-nearest children when elderly parents live with nearest children. Hence, the potential geographic distribution of children for elderly parents with health

problems is likely to be semi-hierachical, i.e. living with their nearest children but living far from their non-nearest children. The health statuses of elderly parents living near their closest children are likely to influence their distances from non-nearest children in the U.S.

Home ownership by elderly U.S. parents reduces by 21 percent the odds that non-nearest children will live far from their parents when elderly parents live close to nearest children. The previous analysis of proximities to nearest children show that home ownership significantly increases parents' likelihood of living close to their nearest children (see Table 1). This suggests that U.S. children are likely to gather near elderly parents' neighborhoods when their parents live in their own house. Although the area-level housing index has no significant effect and rarely captures the effects of small-scale neighborhood environments, this finding suggests that access to ownership of a house is likely to promote close geographic networks among U.S. families.

In the U.S., elderly parents' income levels have a significant effect on their distances from non-nearest children when elderly parents live with their nearest children. The odds that elderly U.S. parents who are living with nearest children and who are situated between the 25^{th} and 50^{th} percentiles of the income distribution will live far from their non-nearest children is only 67 percent that of those parents whose income levels are above the top quartile. This finding points to a supplementary role of non-nearest children in providing financial support for their parents and siblings in the U.S. Elderly U.S. parents with lower income levels are more likely both to live with their nearest children and to live close to their non-nearest children. Consequently, U.S. elderly parents with a relatively low income levels are likely to form close-knit networks, including nearest and non-nearest children.

Educational level contributes significantly to the dispersion of non-nearest children, similar to the impact on distances from nearest children. The odds that non-nearest U.S. children will live far from their elderly parents when nearest children live close to them is 33 percent greater for highly educated elderly parents. This finding suggests that proximities to nearest and non-nearest children among highly educated elderly parents form dispersed geographic family networks. Although educated U.S. elderly parents are likely to be able to provide safety nets for needy children, they are likely to live far from most of their children.

In Japan, we see that elderly parents' health, economic status and educational levels have no significant effects on their distances from non-nearest children when they live with their nearest children; this provides more sup-

port for the view that Japanese elderly parents and their children form very hierarchical patterns of family role divisions and interactions. Given such a pattern, the interactions between elderly Japanese parents and non-nearest children are much less active and less likely to be influenced by elderly parents' conditions than are the interactions between elderly parents and their co-residing children. Marital status is the only significant factor from the set of parents' characteristics. The odds that married Japanese elderly parents who live close to nearest children will live far from their non-nearest children is more than four times those of unmarried elderly parents.

Non-nearest children's characteristics add substantially to the explanations of their distances from elderly parents in both the U.S. and Japan. This pattern is similar to the influences of nearest children's traits on their closeness to elderly parents. In the U.S., older non-nearest children are less likely to live far from elderly parents who live close to their nearest children. The odds that non-nearest children born before 1940 will live far from their elderly parents is 58 percent that for children born after 1950. Because this birth year effect is consistent with its effect on proximities to nearest children, the geographic networks built by children who were born before 1940 are likely to be cohesive.

In the U.S., the marital statuses of non-nearest children have a significant effect on their proximities to elderly parents who live with nearest children. Unmarried non-nearest children are 23 percent less likely than their married counterparts to live far from their elderly parents when the elderly parents live with their nearest children. This suggests that nearest children living with elderly parents in the U.S. play an important role in the lives of their unmarried siblings as well as their elderly parents.

The educational levels of U.S. non-nearest children significantly increase the likelihood of their living far from their elderly parents. This effect is independent of the proximity patterns of their nearest children. Given that highly educated nearest children are also less likely to live with or near their elderly parents and that sibling's educational levels are significantly associated with each other, highly educated children overall are more likely to form dispersed geographic family networks.

Step-parent child relations in the U.S. are likely to significantly increase the distances between elderly parents and their non-nearest children. The odds that U.S. non-nearest step-children will live far from their elderly step-parents is more than twice greater than it is for biological children, given that elderly parents live with the nearest child. Since nearest step-children are less likely than nearest biological children to live with or close to their parents, the U.S. geographic family networks of elderly parents with step-

children are likely to be dispersed.

As observed in the U.S., unmarried non-nearest children in Japan are less likely to live far from elderly parents who live with nearest children. Perhaps this is because nearest children living with elderly parents also provide family support for their unmarried siblings living at close distances. In addition, this finding is related to the fact that many Japanese elderly parents live with more than one of their children. Hence, it may be that unmarried non-nearest children are likely to live with their elderly parents and unmarried siblings.

In Japan, the genders and birth orders of non-nearest children significantly influence their distances from elderly parents. Interestingly, non-nearest sons are more likely to live far from elderly parents who live close to nearest children, suggesting that sons' close proximities to elderly parents in Japan are mainly coresidence situations.

As observed in the U.S., Japanese eldest non-nearest children are less likely than other non-nearest children to live far from elderly parents in Japan when elderly parents live close to nearest children. The odds of eldest children living far from their parents who live close to their nearest children is only 39 percent that for non-eldest children. This suggests that despite many changes in living patterns and declines in coresidence with their parents, Japanese eldest children-especially sons-still play important roles in providing family support by either living with or close to their elderly parents.

Turning to area-level characteristics, the U.S. division-level analysis fails to elaborate the substantive relationship between geographic environments and family proximities. None of the economic or ecological factors of the regions where elderly parents live have significant effects on proximities to non-nearest children. The insignificance of the effects, however, does not mean that location-specific place utilities have no impact on geographic proximities between elderly parents and their children in the U.S. Rather, any meaningful influences of places of residence are likely to occur at more local levels.

In Japan, rural elderly residents are more likely than urban elderly parents to be segregated from their children. Urban residences of elderly parents who live with their nearest children significantly reduces the odds that they live far from their non-nearest children by 53 percent. This suggests that, although Japanese heir children are more likely to feel obligations to live with their elderly parents in rural areas, non-heir children have high levels of residential dissatisfaction with rural areas and prefer to move to large cities.

Interestingly, elderly parents living in prefectures with higher income lev-

els are more likely than other elderly parents to live far from their non-nearest children when the parents live with their nearest children. This pattern needs further inquiry into the contextual characteristics of generational coresidence in urban areas. Generational coresidence in urban areas is likely to occur because elderly parents from rural areas move into children's urban residences. In this case, non-nearest children are likely to live far from the homes of coresiding siblings, at least partly because non-nearest children are less likely to feel obliged to invite their elderly parents to live with them. Generational coresidence in urban areas also occurs in elderly parents' homes, usually reflecting an altered inheritance practice (see Kojima, 1989). Since the coresiding child is likely to inherit the housing, non-heir children are less likely to feel obliged to maintain close proximities to their parents. Instead, they are more likely to prefer to live far from elderly parents' places of residence.

The effect of health care services does not conform to the expected hypothesis. Elderly parents living in prefectures with higher levels of medical facilities are less likely to live far from their non-nearest children, regardless of the locations of nearest children.

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

The main objective of this study is to examine multi-level factors for generational proximity in the U.S. and Japan. The results illuminate socio-cultural distinctiveness of generational proximity. In the U.S., generational coresidence is often likely to occur in elderly parents' needy circumstances, while the majority of elderly whites maintain independent living; elderly parents poor in economic and health status are more likely than their counterparts to live with their children.

Generational coresidence between Japanese elderly parents and their children is also instrumental at least in the economic perspective; elderly parents in a poor economic status are more likely than their counterparts to maintain generational coresidence. The results show that economic handicap is the single most important factor that creates a need for elderly Japanese parents to live with their children. The primacy of financial need reflects both the relatively short history of social security and pension programs for the aged in Japan and the centrality of family as the main resource for elderly parents with financial needs.

In general, however, generational coresidence in Japan is a value-driven phenomenon rather than need-driven. More than half of Japanese elderly parents aged 70 and over live with their children regardless of their eco-

nomic and health status.

The results also highlight the importance of children's characteristics which pertain to kin availability and attitude toward famly support roles. In both societies, eldest and older children are more likely to live with or near their elderly parents. However, these effects are more prominent in the Japanese context. The stronger tendency of Japanese eldest children to live with or near their elderly parents reveals the persistence of the normative family obligations of the eldest sons. However, the rapid social changes in Japan continue to increase an attitudinal gap regarding generational relations among children of differing cohorts.

Gender differences in family roles bring in a strong contrast between the U.S. and Japan. In the U.S., there are no significant gender differences in the likelihood of children living with or near their elderly parents. In contrast, Japanese sons are significantly more likely than daughters to live with or close to their elderly parents.

In the U.S., the educational level has strong and consistent effects on incidences of coresidence and nearness (unfortunately, DSFH lacks comparable data for Japan). The negative effect of children's educational levels on their generational proximity confirms Litwak's (1985) argument that close family proximities come at a cost for educated children due to their occupations and life styles. The study also provides critical evidence that increasing marital and familial instabilities in the early and middle stages of the life course have a detrimental impact on familial support in later life.

At regional levels, there is a significant difference in kin-availability between urban and rural residents for generational proximities in Japan. Japanese elderly parents have more difficulty maintaining geographic closeness with their nearest and non-nearest children when they live in rural areas. In the U.S., there exists no significant rural-urban difference in the kin availability.

There exist two competing approaches regarding generational proximity and relationship. Litwak (1985), Morgan and Hirosima (1983) and other "modified extended family" scholars emphasize the economic or instrumental circumstances in which generational transfer and proximity serve as a private safety net or economy scale. Advocates for the cultural approach argue that generational ties and cultural norms play important roles in promoting close proximities (Markides and Mindel, 1987). At issue, instrumental and normative factors are often mutually regulating. On the one hand, economic and instrumental need is likely to utilize the norm of familism and to enhance generational transfer. On the other hand, it is also the case that culture influences the way that individuals utilize resources for specific

values and references.

This study demonstrates this complex interplay of instrumental and normative forces of generational proximity and relationship. Economic and educational differences in proximity patterns of elderly parents and their children suggest the central role of "resources" for independent living in shaping generational proximity. At the same time, "weakened generational ties" resulting from marital dissolutions and remarriage experiences among elderly parents significantly deter close generational proximities. In Japan, many sons and older children still accept "their traditional responsibility" for family support, while attitudes of younger generations regarding traditional family relations continue to be weakened.

The contrast in the two societies is also found in kinds and extent of generational transfer according to geographic proximity. In the U.S., the result of parent-level analysis highlights the important role of nearness in providing family support for needy elderly parents, suggesting that family support provided by children is not likely to be confined to family members living together. Rather, children living nearby offer substantial help to elderly parents in their adjustments to weakening health and economic statuses. Regarding children's characteristics, kin availabilities, birth years, sibling orders, educational levels, and biological relations all have similar and significant effects on both coresidence and nearness in the U.S. This suggests that nearness and coresidence supplement each other and are influenced similarly by various life course conditions of children. By contrast, in Japan, only birth order of children affects the incidences of nearness and coresidence in the same way, implying a more limited role for geographic nearness in generational relations when compared to coresidence.

It is also noteworthy that the size and cohesiveness of geographic family networks significantly differ between the two societies. In the U.S., nearest and non-nearest children are likely to share many roles in providing support for their elderly parents. However, the normative Japanese geographic family network remains hierarchical.

Although speculative, the recent family changes in the two societies provide a negative view of future generational proximity. Given the relatively common experiences of marital dissolution in U.S. families, generational proximity and transfers in the recent future is likely to maintain a weakening trait.

Contemporary centralizing tendency or centralization of generational transfers between Japanese parents and nearest children but with the lack of support roles among the other children also draws a negative view regarding the future of family support. The hierarchical division of family respon-

sibilities including caring for the elderly is increasing tensions and constraints accompanying inter-generational coresidence. Increasing economic activity of Japanese women can consequently limit the abilities of elderly parents to obtain support from their sons' families. Further research is required regarding the way in which Japanese men and women are negotiating their family support roles and the factors that may influence such negotiations.

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