

Housing the Intergenerational Families: Married Couples Coresident with Parents in Taiwan

Journal of Family History
2017, Vol. 42(1) 54-66
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DOI: 10.1177/0363199016681607
journals.sagepub.com/home/jfh



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Abstract

This study uses recent survey data from the *Panel Study of Family Dynamics* to examine factors relating to married couples coresiding with parents in Taiwan. We investigate how both factors from parents and married couples influence the continuity of intergenerational coresidence by using longitudinal data. The familiar support to aged parents certainly is a key factor for coresidence. Also, the needs of the married couples are closely related to coresidence, especially the need on housing. The finding indicates that those coresiding young couples in the early family life stages are more likely to keep living in parents' homes.

Keywords

coresidence, housing, intergenerational families, PSFD, Taiwan

In recent years, whose needs in contributing to the intergenerational coresidence among economically fast growing societies have been an emerging important issue? On the one hand, families taking care of the elderly through coresidence as shown among East Asian societies have been perceived as culturally preferred and practical support for the elderly. Nevertheless, some research has examined how traditional multigenerational coresidence will be transformed through rapid urbanization under the process of modernization¹ and its negative impacts on elderly support.² On the other hand, a recent study has shown that the traditional multigenerational family system among the developing countries may endure and continue to be practiced but not solely based on following the traditional rule to support the needs of the aging parents, since there is a growing concern globally about the dependency of married children in receiving parental support through coresidence.³ Taiwan is a very interesting case in point as it has been one of the fast growing economies of the Far East Asia region, in which long before industrialization and urbanization had made migrants moving from the countryside to the cities, nuclear families had become a major household type

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in this highly urbanized society since the 1980s.⁴ Yet, there has been a recent revival of intergenerational coresidence contributed by young married couples living with parents, especially among the younger generation who have been raised in nuclear family households. Unlike Western societies in which leaving home is a life stage transition to adulthood, married couples living with parents have revealed that the modern Chinese family system has not been so straightforwardly transformed from a traditional multigenerational household into a nuclear one based on the modernization thesis. Thus, the goal of this article is to reveal what factors are related to young couples living with parents.

Despite there being a large body of literature examining the intergenerational living arrangements among Asian societies and Taiwan, few studies have included information on married couples' family life course in their analyses. Moreover, there are few existing studies on intergenerational living arrangements especially among Asian societies in which longitudinal data have been employed to examine how status changes from both parents and married couples have affected coresidence. This study aims to shed light on the following two research questions: (a) Who are those young couples coresiding with parents? (b) What factors are contributing to intergenerational coresidence?

Intergenerational Co-residence

Intergenerational coresidence has caught the attention of many academics, as sharing housing indicates family solidarity as well as parent-child intergenerational support in meeting the needs of parents and adult children. The factors relating to parent and child needs and situations for intergenerational coresidence have been widely addressed.⁵ With the increasing trend of young adults residing with parents, it has been indicated that children need to be supported in response to a child's transition to adulthood. Age, gender, marital status, and economic situation, as well as family structure and history, are the main factors for coresidence.⁶ Although parental situations are also related to coresidence, nevertheless, it is more likely that the needs of children are the primary factor for coresidence.⁷ The same developments in helping out the kids through coresidence also have been found elsewhere in Europe. One recent study indicates that coresidence in the Netherlands is an important measure in getting access to generational support, and the needs of the adult child seem to be more important than those of parents.⁸ Intergenerational residence in Asian societies will be much more complicated as married couples living with parents are a culturally preferred living arrangement, and thus, among Asian societies, when young adults get married, multigenerational households become more common as adult married children continue living with their parents.⁹

The main concern of this research focuses on the changing household type. Previous research focuses on the issue of how the traditional family system changes along with fast economic growth. The modernization thesis has presumed the inevitable change on the traditional multigenerational households into nuclear family based on the principle of structural compatibility with economic development and industrialization among the developing countries. New employment has been created outside the family as a result of industrialization and has been followed by urbanization in which the traditional multigenerational family system controlled by patriarchal authority is subject to being transformed. The extended family system will be replaced with a modern conjugal family system and the nuclear family will be prevalent.¹⁰ In the case of Taiwan, numerous research has provided robust evidence in showing that the nuclear family system has become the dominating family type along with fast economic growth since the latter part of the twentieth century.¹¹

As a result, elderly living arrangements have become a major research concern as growing nuclear familiar living arrangements will leave those dependent elderly unsupported. Thus, research on intergenerational coresidence among the Asian societies has been focused on the dependence of the elderly as an ongoing aging process in which the biological, social, and economic needs among

the elderly have been contributive to the elderly's reliance on support from married children. Health, sociodemographic characteristics, household composition, housing, and the economic factors of the elderly have been found to be relevant to their housing arrangements.¹² For example, in China, it has been shown that health along with other factors such as marital status and gender have created the need for the elderly to coreside with their children.¹³ Among Asian societies, children have become the major support. Various findings indicate that elderly living arrangements are closely related to the economic well-being of the elderly.¹⁴

Nevertheless, a growing amount of literature and research findings indicate this system has been undergoing dramatic change. Young people nowadays are very free from traditional values. For instance, in China, the increasing poverty among the elderly has signaled that the traditional role of the younger generation in supporting old people in a rapidly modernizing society is declining,¹⁵ which is also the case in Hong Kong where the traditional family values of caring for parents (filial piety) have been weakening, with the elderly found to be self-supporting as less support from children is available.¹⁶ Among those others who live with their married children, the elderly need to meet their children's needs in exchange for support as in the case of Singapore where seniors provide domicile services in exchange for financial support from the younger generation.¹⁷ In Japan, elderly people living with their children have become a form of intergenerational contract to assure children cohabiting with the elderly.¹⁸ In Taiwan, although coresidence with married children has been the culturally preferred living arrangement among the elderly,¹⁹ it certainly would not be the only choice for the young married couples. A previous study indicates that coresidence with the elderly is negatively related to adult children's income and more importantly, in the case of those with no property and their married children migrating from rural to urban areas, coresiding is less likely.²⁰

However, a new reverse trend toward multigenerational coresidence among these fast growing economies recently has been noticed as a result of children's dependency on housing and familiar household services.²¹ The difficulty of the younger generation living independently has been widely addressed elsewhere during the current global economic austerity²² and also in China. Coresidence has more likely become a practical living arrangement to meet the needs of children.²³ In Taiwan, it has been witnessed that the younger age cohort (born between 1964 and 1976) are more likely to live with their parents compared to their predecessor counterparts (born between 1953 and 1963) when they got married.²⁴

Thus, the main question addressed in this article is whose needs have contributed to multigenerational coresidence in Taiwan? Prior research on coresidence in Taiwan, as mentioned above, has been focused on the parents' need for coresidence, while less attention has been directed toward the needs of young couples.²⁵ Thus, variables on the children have been analyzed, with only a few exceptions.²⁶ In this article, we will go further not only to use variables from both the parents and married couples but also to examine coresidence by using longitudinal research design. It is argued that intergenerational coresidence is not perceived as a static and fixed household type but a fluid housing form,²⁷ with coresidence certainly related to the changing needs of family members, and these needs are highly related to individual family's life course as well as households' resources. In employing the longitudinal research design, we aim to reveal how the changing status of family members and households in the family life course are related to coresidence.

Data and Research Design

The data for the longitudinal analysis are obtained from the Panel Study of Family Dynamics (PSFD), conducted by the Academia Sinica in Taiwan, aiming to develop our understanding of the changing structures and patterns of the family in Chinese societies. This longitudinal survey was first launched in 1999, focusing on the age cohort born between 1953 and 1964, with the samples

randomly drawn based on a three-stage sampling procedure. The data we used were first collected in 2003 with the respondents, who were born between 1964 and 1976, following the same three-stage stratified sampling procedure. Since 2004, follow-up surveys have been carried out each year. The data (spouses' information included) cover the age-group ranging from 24 to 53 in 2003, which is an ideal life span for the analysis of married couples in coresidence with parents.

The data contain details of socioeconomic information not only about respondents but also about their spouses such as age, income, and information about their families such as the duration of marriages and the number of children, which can be recorded as the husband's and wife's social and economic characteristics and the family life-course variables. Information of the respondents' parents and parents-in-law such as age, health status, and living arrangements are also available, which allows us to get access to coresiding parents' (-in-law) information.

Unlike prior research, which mainly has used cross-sectional data for coresidence analysis and which mainly provides one-time spot analysis, a panel research design has been applied in which intergenerational coresiding households are considered as changeable living arrangements rather than a fixed housing form. The coresidence is subject to be maintained or terminated based on the changing circumstances in which the characteristics of family members as well as the family life course are closely related. In particular, time-varying personal and household circumstances, such as the income of the husband and the number of children within the family, served as the proxy for the changes in their family courses, which information can be retrieved from the longitudinal data. Thus, in recognizing the changing circumstances of the married couples' family life course in relation to coresidence, the research design is to follow those married couples' households who coreside with parents (patrilocal family only) from 2003 to 2009 and to compare them with those coresiding in 2003 but who become non-coresiding after that, by using logistic analysis.

For the survey of the 2003 data, there were 304 married households living with parents. Between this six-year interval, 191 cases had been followed up annually. Comparing those missing cases with the sample available in 2009, it reveals that there is no statistically significant difference between these traceable and those missing samples in terms of household characteristics such as age of husband and wife, income of husband and wife, number of children, housing tenure, and parents' condition such as age. A slight difference between the two groups is in married couples' education as those married couples with higher education have higher attrition rate. Among these traceable samples, some cases are unfit for analysis due to young couples' marriage breakdown such as separation, divorce, or the death of a partner. During the six-year interval, there were 106 cases of young married couples who remained living with parents and 67 cases of young couples who were not living with parents at the follow-up in 2009.

Research Variables

We measure the following groups of variables that should affect coresidence: parent-level variables, married couples' family, and housing variables (Table 1). Parent age and health status are two key factors for coresidence since previous research has revealed the health of the elderly is considered as the parents' need for coresidence in order to receive care from their adult child.²⁸ For practical purposes, in data recording, the health of the elderly is categorized as the worse of the two spouses, if both are surviving. Those elderly who were coresident in 2003 but deceased by 2009 (twelve cases) were considered as coresident, with their health status in 2003 categorized as the "worst."

Married couples' variables such as age, income and education of husband and wife are recorded, as previous research has indicated that these factors are closely related to coresidence.²⁹ Besides, duration of marriage and number of children are considered as measures for family life courses (Table 1). Unlike those one-time snapshot research designs based on cross-sectional data, information regarding young couples' family life-course dynamic changes can be revealed during the

Table 1. Description of Research Variables.

Variables	Definition and Categories
Parents' variables	
Age of husband's parent	Using the age of the older parent, 2003, in the cases of married couples, 1 = under 55, 2 = 56–60, 3 = 61–65, 4 = 66–70, 5 = 71 and over
Parent's health	Using the health of the less healthy parent in 2009, 1 = very good, 2 = good, 3 = fairly, 4 = not good, 5 = poor
Young couples' variables	
Husband's age	Age in 2003: 1 = 30 and under, 2 = 31–35, 3 = 36–40, 4 = 41 and over
Husband's education	Husband's Education, 2003, in years: 1 = 9 and under, 2 = 10–12, 3 = 13–15, 4 = 16 and over
Husband's income	Husband's income in 2003: 1 = 20,000 and below, 2 = 20,001–40,000, 3 = 40,001–60,000, 4 = over 60,001
Husband's income 2003–2009	Husband's income change between 2003 and 2009: 0 = decrease: Husband's income in 2009 is lower than that in 2003; 1 = increase: income in 2009 is higher than that in 2003; 2 = unchanged: means no difference between these 2 time spots on income
Wife's age	Age in 2003: 1 = 25 and below, 2 = 26–30, 3 = 31–35, 4 = 36 and over
Wife's income	0 = no income, 1 = 20,000 and below, 2 = 20,001–40,000, 3 = 40,001–60,000, 4 = over 60,001
Marriage	Marriage length: 1 = 10 years and below, 2 = 11–15, 3 = 16–20, 4 = 21 years and over
Number of children	Change of number of children in the family between 2003–2009: 0 = unchanged, 1 = increase: number of children has increased in 2009
Housing variables	
Housing cost	Housing price/income ratio, 2009: 1 = highly urbanized area: Taipei Metropolitan Area, 2 = medium urbanized area: other major cities, 3 = low urbanized area: other areas
Housing tenure	Housing tenure in 2009: 1 = owned by young couples, 2 = owned by parents, 3 = owned by others

research period. For instance, the changes in the number of children and income of husband are recorded as the index of the changes in family life course during the research period, while the same questions were asked in waves of surveys.

Moreover, housing plays an important role in coresidence, as housing assets owned by parents are valuable resources while housing being closely related to young people's family life course has been addressed elsewhere.³⁰ In Taiwan, less attention in previous research has addressed how important housing is for coresidence. As there is a growing difficulty in getting into the homeowner market for the younger generation, especially in the urban areas, housing is going to be an important resource provided by the parents. Thus, it should be recognized the differences between who is living with whom through the survey information given on who owns the current place, as living with parents in parents' homes certainly is rather different from coresiding with parents in a house owned by married couples. The data provide clear information about whether parents, married couples, or a third party owns the current place, and it is certainly related to who is living with whom in whose house.

In addition, urban factors are included into analysis, on the one hand, in the modernization thesis, a highly urbanized area is more likely to be noncoresident than a traditionally rural area. On the other hand, in highly urbanized areas, it is more difficult for young married couples to own their own homes. Thus, it is worth knowing how coresidence is related to the degree of urbanization. The index for urbanization used here is the housing cost in which housing price/income ratio is measured and categorized into three different categories. The highest of which is the Taipei metropolitan area, the

medium housing cost urbanization areas are those other major cities in Taiwan (Taoyuan, Hsinchu, Taichung, Tainan, and Kaohsiung are included), and the low housing cost urbanization area refers to the rest of Taiwan area.

Results

Descriptive Results

Table 2 presents descriptive statistics for those who keep living with parents and those who do not in 2009. There have been major statistically significant differences in many respects. First, the parents' health situation is related to remaining coresident as those parents in poor health are more likely to remain in coresidence with married couples. Husbands with higher education are also more likely to be not living with their parents. There were less differences in the husbands' ages between these two groups, but there were statically significant differences in the wives' ages, which indicated that among those not living with parents, the wife tended to be older. The wives' income, however, is not related to the housing transition. Moreover, young couples' family life course is important for the living arrangements. Family life-cycle variables such as changes in the number of children reveal that those married couples with an increasing number of children are more likely to remain coresident, which indicates that those in the early stage of the family life cycle are more likely to live with their parents compared to those with no increasing childbirth. In terms of housing and urban factors, it shows there is no clear statistical difference in both housing tenure and urbanization between those making housing transition and those are not.

Considered as a whole, Table 2 indicates that coresidence is due to parental needs as well as needs from young couples. If the parents are in relatively poor health condition, then young couples are less likely to become noncoresident. On the other hand, married couples' need for coresidence also has been revealed. Those young married couples in the early stage of the family life cycle with an increasing number of children and also when the wife is younger are more likely to stay with parents. This initial evidence seems to indicate living arrangement is related to the needs of elder generation as well as the needs of young couples, factors do correlate to the breakup of the intergenerational households during the research period between 2003 and 2009. Logistic analysis will be applied to know the factors relating to coresidence.

Multinomial Analysis

To understand the factors related to married couples' coresidence, logit models are applied, with the variables for the models being chosen based on the variables that refer to the social and economic characteristics of both generations, family life course of young married couples, and housing/urban variables. The results of the models are presented in Table 3.

First, while the variables of the social and economic characteristics of married couples, including the family life stage information and their parents' variables such as age and health condition, are included, model 1 shows that characteristics from both parents and married couples are related to the stability of the multigenerational household. First, the age and health situation of parents are critical factors for coresidence, as those who with parents aged over 66 and over 71 years are more likely to remain coresident in contrast with the reference group whose parents' age is below 55. Those parents with the worst health situation are also more likely to remain coresident. This clearly indicates that the health and the needs of the parents are positively related to coresidence.

In terms of the social and economic characteristics of married couples, age, education, and income of the husband are not related to the housing transition in model 1. Nevertheless, husbands whose income is decreasing during this period compared to those whose income is increasing are more likely to stay in coresidence. This shows that those married children with a greater need for

Table 2. Unweighted Descriptive Statistics ($n = 173$) for Coresidence ($n = 119$) and Noncoresidence ($n = 54$) Between 2003 and 2009.

Variables	Total	Remain Coresident	Not Coresident	χ^2
Age of husbands' parent				
≤55	9.64	9.7	9.4	$\chi^2 = 3.940, df = 4, p = .414$
56–60	24.10	20.4	32.1	
61–65	24.70	24.8	24.5	
66–70	16.87	16.8	17.0	
71+	24.70	28.3	17.0	
Parent's health condition**				
Very good	6.36	5.00	9.3	$\chi^2 = 17.844, df = 4, p = .001^{**}$
Good	23.70	31.1	7.4	
Fairly	39.88	33.6	53.7	
Not good	20.23	16.7	25.9	
Poor	9.83	12.6	3.7	
Husband's age				
≤30	16.76	19.3	11.1	$\chi^2 = 5.118, df = 3, p = .163$
31–35	35.84	33.6	40.7	
36–40	41.04	42.9	37.0	
41+	6.36	4.2	11.1	
Husband's education				
≤9	23.1	24.4	20.4	$\chi^2 = 7.670, df = 3, p = .053$
10–12	45.7	46.2	44.4	
13–15	19.1	14.3	29.6	
16+	12.1	15.1	5.6	
Husband's income				
≤20,000	14.1	15.7	10.4	$\chi^2 = 3.952, df = 3, p = .267$
20,001–40,000	50.9	51.3	50.0	
40,001–60,000	24.5	20.9	33.3	
60,001+	10.4	12.2	6.2	
Husband's income (2003–2009)				
Decrease	35.8	38.8	28.3	$\chi^2 = 1.590, df = 2, p = .452$
Increase	50.6	48.3	56.5	
Unchanged	13.6	12.9	15.2	
Wife's age*				
≤25	11.0	15.1	1.9	$\chi^2 = 8.377, df = 3, p = .039^*$
26–30	34.7	35.3	33.3	
31–35	29.5	28.6	31.5	
36+	24.9	21.0	33.3	
Wife's income				
No income	41.8	43.2	38.5	$\chi^2 = 3.028, df = 4, p = .553$
20,000 and below	24.7	26.3	21.2	
20,001–40,000	28.8	25.4	36.5	
40,001–60,000	3.5	3.4	3.8	
60,001+	1.2	1.7	0.0	
Marriage, years				
≤10	37.6	41.0	30.2	$\chi^2 = 3.879, df = 3, p = .275$
11–15	31.2	31.6	30.2	
16–20	22.9	21.4	26.4	
21+	8.2	6.0	13.2	
Number of children				
Unchanged	69.9	66.4	77.8	$\chi^2 = 2.293, df = 1, p = .090^*$
Increase	30.1	33.6	22.2	

(continued)

Table 2. (continued)

Variables	Total	Remain Coresident	Not Coresident	χ^2
Housing tenure				
Owned by young couple	28.3	27.7	29.6	$\chi^2 = .264, df = 2, p = .876$
Owned by parents	61.8	63.0	59.3	
Others	9.8	9.2	11.1	
Housing cost/income ratio				
High	17.9	14.3	25.9	$\chi^2 = 3.55, df = 2, p = .17$
Medium	20.8	21.0	20.4	
Low	61.3	64.7	53.7	
Total <i>n</i>	173	119	54	

Source: 2003–2009 Panel Study of Family Dynamics.

* $p < .1$. ** $p < .05$.

economic support are more likely to remain coresident. Also, the wife's age is a more important indicator to predict coresidence as the older the wife is, the more likely the couple is to become noncoresident. In other words, those couples where the wife is younger are more likely to remain coresident, but the length of marriage is not related to breaking up multigenerational household. Nevertheless, the family life course is clearly related to coresidence, as model 1 indicates that if there is an increasing number of children in the household, the married couple is over four times less likely to become noncoresident compared to those married couples where the number of children remains unchanged during the same time period. As previous research indicates, the support from grandparents regarding childbearing for the young married couple at the early stage of family life course is an important factor for coresidence.³¹

As we expected, people in urban areas are more likely to be nuclear families, as previous studies indicate that those migrant urban families are more likely to be nuclear and those urban families in coresidence are more likely to be in transitory arrangement. Thus, the urban variable is included in model 2 to know whether those in highly urban married couple households are more likely to become noncoresident in the model. The results of model 2 show that, similar to model 1, age and the health of parents are positively related to coresidence due to the needs from parents. Wife's age is negatively related to coresidence, and the number of children is positively related to coresidence. In terms of urban variable in which housing cost/income ratio is used as proxy, our expectation was confirmed that those intergenerational households in highly urbanized areas are nearly four times more likely to become noncoresident compared to coresident households living in the low urbanized areas. The intergenerational households in the highly urbanized area are less stable and more likely to decompose into nuclear families.

The housing factor concerning how parents' homeownership is related to children's coresidence is included in model 3 and shows similar results to the previous models, as parents' age and parental health have a positive effect on coresidence. In terms of young married couples' variables, the effect of the wife's age still is positively related to decomposing multigenerational households, if the wives are older they more likely tend to become noncoresident in contrast with the wives who are aged 25 and below. More importantly, housing tenure is more positively related to coresidence than the urbanization variable as it is shown that, if the house is owned by the parents, it is nearly seven times less likely that the married couples would become noncoresident compared to those are not owned by parents. The degree of urbanization becomes a less related variable to housing transition in the model when the housing factor are included. This clearly shows that those married couples living in the parents' house are more likely to remain coresident compared to those in homes owned by married couples or a third party.

Table 3. Binary Logistic Regression of the Factors Influencing Young Couples' Living Transition in 2009.

Predictor	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	B	OR	B	OR	B	OR
Age of husbands' parent ≤ 55 (ref.)						
56–60	–0.674	0.510	–1.069	0.343	–0.892	0.410
61–65	–1.334	0.264	–1.811	0.163 [†]	–1.555	0.211
66–70	–2.524	0.080*	–2.601	0.074*	–2.447	0.087*
71+	–2.045	0.129 [†]	–2.549	0.078*	–2.294	0.101*
Parent's health (very good, ref.)						
Good	–2.103	0.122*	–2.336	0.097*	–1.928	0.145
Fairly	–0.328	0.720	–0.482	0.618	–0.219	0.803
Not good	–0.652	0.521	–0.440	0.644	–0.299	0.742
Poor	–2.699	0.067*	–2.939	0.053*	–2.614	0.073 [†]
Husband's age (ref.: ≤ 30)						
31–35	0.449	1.567	0.083	1.086	0.085	1.089
36–40	0.209	1.233	–0.520	0.595	–1.069	0.343
41+	1.083	2.953	0.359	1.432	0.157	1.170
Husband's education (≤ 9 , ref.)						
10–12	0.139	1.149	–0.218	0.804	–0.103	0.902
13–15	0.179	1.197	0.022	1.022	0.272	1.313
16+	–0.437	0.646	–1.204	0.300	–1.327	0.265
Husband's income ($\leq 20,000$, ref.)						
20,001–40,000	0.809	2.245	0.231	1.259	0.080	1.083
40,001–60,000	0.943	2.569	0.412	1.509	0.069	1.072
60,001+	–0.472	0.624	–1.632	0.196	–1.831	0.160
Husband's income (2003–2009; decrease, ref.)						
Increase	0.973	2.645*	0.756	2.130	0.376	1.456
Unchanged	0.439	1.552	0.147	1.159	0.203	1.225
Wife's age (ref.: ≤ 25)						
26–30	2.176	8.813 [†]	2.234	9.339 [†]	1.889	6.611
31–35	2.516	12.384 [†]	2.829	16.925*	2.636	13.960 [†]
36+	3.501	33.141*	3.624	37.497*	3.565	35.326*
Marriage (ref.: ≤ 10 years)						
11–15	–0.862	0.422	–0.855	0.425	–0.489	0.613
16–20	–0.319	0.727	–0.252	0.777	0.224	1.251
21+	0.376	0.686	0.010	0.990	0.042	1.043
Number of children (unchanged, ref.)						
Increase	–1.532	0.216*	–1.668	0.189*	–1.318	0.268 [†]
Housing cost (ref.: High)						
Medium			0.317	1.374	0.414	1.512
Low			–1.367	0.255*	–1.166	0.312
Housing tenure (others, ^a ref.)						
Owned by parents					–1.882	0.152***
Constant	–1.869		0.526			1.125
–Two log likelihood	138.721		129.182			115.388
Nagelkerke R ²	.360		.423			.510

Note. OR = odds ratio; ref. = reference group. *Not living with parent* = 1, *Living with parent* = 0.

^aRegrouped as housing owned by young couples and others.

[†] $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Discussion and Conclusion

Previous research on parent–child coresidence among the Asian societies has been mainly focused on elderly support in which living with married children has been widely presumed as supporting the needs of the elderly. Little attention has been paid to the needs of the young married couple in contributing to coresidence. Since it has been witnessed that there are growing difficulties for young people to access affordable housing elsewhere, there is also growing younger population living with parents (-in-law) when they get married in Taiwan. This article examines the effects of parental factors, married couples' social and economic characteristics, and young couples' family life course in relating to parent and married couple coresidence. Moreover, housing and urban factor are included into analysis to know how these factors are related to the stability of intergenerational households. Deriving from the longitudinal analysis, this research has several major findings. First, we found that both age and the health of the elderly are closely related to parent/married couple coresidence. There is clear evidence that living with the elderly in Taiwan is partly in response to the needs of the frail parents, and those families with vulnerable parents are more likely to remain coresident. Second, the social and demographic characteristics of married couples indicate that the wife's age in married couples is negatively related to coresidence, as the older the wife is, the more likely they are to become noncoresident within a six-year interval. More importantly, the number of children is used as an indicator of young couples' family life course, and our finding shows that, among those coresident intergenerational households, those married couples with an increasing number of children in the household are less likely to become noncoresident compared to those without an increasing number of offspring in the households. These two factors suggest that the need of married couples by means of coresidence with parents at the early stage of family life course is the key factor for ongoing coresidence with parents. In other words, when the wife grows old and the childbirth within the household is terminated, the need for parental support becomes less, and thus coresidence is less likely to be maintained. This suggests that intergenerational living arrangements can be practiced as a strategic measure in meeting young couples' needs. Parents' needs or the culturally preferred intergenerational living arrangement may not necessarily be practiced and endured among the younger generation if the reason for coresidence for young couples has disappeared.

If the intergenerational coresidence is contingent based on a kind of "fluidity of shared housing," the changing circumstances in relation to family members' needs become critical. Here, housing support is a clear example. The study provides very strong evidence that housing has a very positive effect on coresidence. As young married couples' difficulties in getting access to homeowner housing have grown in Taiwan, living in parents' homes has become a practical alternative to retaining parental support, especially for those younger generation in the urban context. Certainly, keep staying with parents is also welcome to their parents, as the preference to live with children among the elderly remains strong. The housing and familiar services provided by the older generation certainly are attractive enough for married couples to live with parents, especially when the younger generation finds it too much costly to be independent. This finding provides robust evidence to justify the argument that the younger generations in some developing countries are meeting their own housing needs through house sharing with their parents.³²

The dependency of younger generation also is in line with previous findings elsewhere, such as that parents give support to their married children through coresidence in China and Taiwan.³³ Thus, when the support from parents is no more required, the intergenerational household is subject to be resolved. Thus, these two major findings indicate that the intergenerational living arrangements in Taiwan lie in supporting either the parents' or children's needs and certainly are mutually beneficial.

Moreover, research on the living arrangements in Asian societies can easily end up as a tradition/modern debate on the formation of households under rapid process of industrialization and urbanization. Whether the modern conjugal family type will be practiced along with the pace of

industrialization or whether traditional values remain influential has become the focal point for analysis. It certainly is true that those rural to urban migrants are more likely to break the traditional multigenerational household type, because of the less need to live with their parents in rural villages. These newly migrant nuclear families in the cities, however, do not necessarily remain being nuclear households as their adult children continue to stay at homes after they get married. Thus, rather than considering the living arrangement as a fixed type of social organization in transition from the perspective of the traditional/modern divide, this flexible and changeable household type suggests the necessity to go beyond the traditional extended/nuclear living arrangement analysis. What will be needed is to explore family members' family relations, especially intergenerational relations within these families in the highly urbanized society. It was not so long ago that how submissive daughters-in-law were in traditional rural Taiwanese households, who took on all the domestic work under the supervision of their mothers-in-law.³⁴ Therefore, further work is needed to explore how the division of domestic labor within the coresiding household is negotiated, how the resources within the family is shared, and how the decision in these modern Chinese intergenerational families with a highly urbanized context is made.

This research has not been able to address all the issues about coresidence, as not all of the characteristics of both parents and married couple have been included. Information about the parents is limited to two important factors: age and health, while the information on young married couples is more complete. Nevertheless, the longitudinal research design has allowed us to reveal how needs from both the parents and young married couples are critical to multigenerational coresidence. Overall, this study highlights how intergenerational living arrangements act as a resource pooling strategy for family members, and future research is required to understand how this intergenerational house sharing works in relation to family relationships and the division of labor inside in the household.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The author(s) disclosed receipt of the following financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article: This work is supported by the Ministry of Science and Technology, ROC, under Grant (No. 102-2410-H-259-052-).

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