



Intergenerational Living Arrangements of Young Married Women in Korea, Japan and China*

Cheong-Seok Kim

Dongguk University-Seoul

This study overviews the intergenerational coresidence of young married women based on nationwide surveys from Korea, China and Japan. The study examines whether these women coreside with natal parents or parents-in-law in each country and compare the patterns across three countries. Most women live with neither parents nor parents-in-law. However, in terms of coresidence, they tend to live with parents-in-law. The presence of a brother plays an important role in the woman's coresidence decision-making process. Women without a brother are more likely to live with their natal parents, whereas those whose husband is without a brother are more likely to live with parents-in-law. Further, the marital status of parents also affects coresidence. Young married women are more likely to coreside with a widowed parent or parent-in-law. Lower fertility rates and increased occurrences of widowhood in old age may force married women to make decisions regarding coresidence with parents or parents-in-law.

Keywords: intergenerational coresidence, socio-demographic correlates of coresidence, patrilocal norm, cross-country study

* This work was supported by the Korea Research Foundation Grant funded by the Korean Government (KRF-327-2008-2-B00375). The data for the secondary analysis of Japan, "NFRJ03(National Family Research of Japan 2003), Japan Society of Family Sociology," were provided by the Social Science Japan Data Archive, the Information Center for Social Science Research on Japan, the Institute of Social Science, the University of Tokyo. The data for the secondary analysis of Korea were drawn from the Korean National Family Survey 2003, which was conducted by Korea Women's Development Institute. The author is grateful for informative discussions among the members of the "Cross Cultural Comparison of Family Patterns and Family Change in East Asia" project, which was funded by the Grant in Aid for Scientific Research of Japan Society for the Promotion of Science awarded to Professor Kunio Ishihara (Grant Number 17330119). Direct all correspondence to Cheong-Seok Kim, Department of Sociology, Dongguk University-Seoul, Seoul, 100-715, Korea, (Email: chkim108@dongguk.edu; Telephone: 822-2260-3258).

INTRODUCTION

The rapidly declining proportion of the elderly living with their children has become a serious and urgent challenge for Asian countries as well as many other parts of the world. The growing concern over this issue reflects the likely ramification of separate residence arising from the lack of readily available support for the elderly in this region. With limited non-family care services, the family continues to be the primary source of financial, physical, and emotional support for the elderly. Such a family support system typically involves multigenerational coresidence (Hashimoto et al. 1992).

It is widely known that separate residence does not preclude family support across the physical boundaries of households (Casterline et al. 1991; Hermalin et al. 1990; Kim and Rhee 1999). Similarly, intergenerational coresidence does not guarantee care for the elderly (Kim and Rhee 1999; Martin 1989). Nonetheless, coresidence takes on special importance for the well-being of the elderly because of their more limited economic productivity and need for assistance with routine, daily activities as their health deteriorates (Domingo and Casterline 1992; Kim and Rhee 1999). With the negative consequences of separate residence for the elderly in Asia, the increase in the proportion of the elderly living apart from their children has drawn much attention of researchers and policy makers (Hermalin 2000). Accordingly, there have been an increasing number of studies investigating the patterns and determinants of living arrangements in old age (Hermalin et al. 2005). Cross-sectional approaches to living arrangements among the elderly in Korea include De Vos and Lee (1993), Eu (1992), Kim and Rhee (1997, 1999, 2000), Martin (1989), and Yoo (1996). Studies in other Asian countries encompass Casterline et al. (1991), Da Vanzo and Chan (1994), Knodel and Chayovan (2001), Kojima (1989), Logan and Bian (1999), Martin (1989), Shah et al. (2002) and Tsuya and Martin (1992).

Multigenerational living arrangements involve at least two parties, that is, elderly parents and their children. For each party, the actual living arrangements are determined through the interplay between their preference for particular types of living arrangements and constraints/resources they face in realizing their preference. The constraints/resources can differ by the preferred type of living arrangements. Although the living arrangements of the elderly typically result from joint decision-making processes involving both generations, most empirical studies have focused only on the elderly parents. This practice has been mainly due to data limitations (i.e., in most surveys, information is gathered only on the elderly) as well as methodological difficulties in addressing dyads (i.e., elderly parents and a number of children at the same time).

The present study, although acknowledging the complexity of living arrangements discussed above, shares both data and methodological limitations with many other empirical

studies. Nonetheless, the study approaches the issue from a different angle: from the perspective of young married women. The study also examines the patterns and socio-demographic covariates of intergenerational coresidence in Korea, China, and Japan.

NORMS AND PRACTICES OF INTERGENERATIONAL CORESIDENCE IN EAST ASIA

Historically, the normative and practical residence pattern in old age has been the coresidence of elderly parents with their married children, particularly the eldest son and his family, in East Asia. Along with dramatic and sweeping social changes over the past decades, the actual residence pattern of the elderly in this region appears to have shifted from coresidence with children to separate residence. Despite their variation in the extent and rapidity of social transformation, Korea, Japan, and China have witnessed substantial demographic, economic, and cultural changes influencing the choices of intergenerational coresidence at the individual level (Kim 2004, 2005; Poston et al. 2006; Rebick and Takenaka 2006).

A decline in fertility lowers the number of available children for coresidence. An increase in income allows the elderly to gain more privacy in the form of independent living. Cultural change such as the rise of individualism may alter the preference regarding living arrangement. In addition, the rural to urban migration of youth limits the availability of children with whom elderly parents in rural areas can coreside.

In East Asia, where the family system is typically characterized by its patriarchal, patrilineal, and patrilocal principles, the norm is that the wife's allegiance shifts from her natal parents to her parents-in-law upon or after her marriage. This has traditionally been expressed as coresidence with or living nearby the husband's parents after marriage. Prior research on intergenerational relations in this region has suggested some weakening of the traditional norm. Ample studies on the living arrangements of the elderly have reported that the prevalence of intergenerational coresidence has declined substantially (Bian et al. 1998; Kim et al. 1996; Kim and Rhee 1997, 1999, 2000; Ogawa and Retherford 1997). In addition, the overall postnuptial coresidence of married women has been declining in Korea and Japan (Kim 2004, 2005; Martin and Tsuya 1991).

China appears to have somewhat different context on coresidence between generations. According to Zhang (2004), the practice of coresidence between elderly parents and married children has not changed significantly despite of massive economic changes. The rapid fertility decline in urban China with the implementation of One-Child Policy may imply availability of more parents as potential coresidents to the adult child in China (Tabuchi 2012).

DATA AND SAMPLE

This study utilizes three nationwide survey data sets from Korea, China, and Japan. The data for Korea were drawn from the Korean National Family Survey 2003, which was conducted by Korea Women's Development Institute (KNFS03); the data for China were from the Family Survey of China 2006 (FSC06); the data for Japan were from the National Family Research of Japan (2nd wave), which was conducted by the Japan Society of Family Sociology in 2003 (NFRJ03). These surveys contained comprehensive information on various aspects of family. While the surveys in Korea and Japan have been widely known and used in ample studies, the survey in China is hardly known and requires additional information. The Family Survey of China was conducted by the Institute of Sociology, Chinese Academy of Social Science in 2006 (Feng 2012). There were 5,072 respondents aged 20-86 from four cities of China: Dalian, Shanghai, Chengdu, and Nanning. The method of PPS (Probability Proportional to Size) was used to gain the samples from the list of citizens in each city. It should be noted that the FSC06 is not nationwide survey unlike Korea or Japan.

This study selected the items pertaining to the geographical proximity of young married women to their natal parents and parents-in-law. The difficulties associated with using different survey items and the limitations in the generalizability of the analysis results are presented later along with the results. The study limited its analysis to women below the age of 40. This restriction, although arbitrary, reduced variations in the life stage of both elderly parents and married women. It is widely known that the content and flow of the interaction between generations depends on the life stage of each generation (Kim and Kim 2003). Moreover, this age group is more likely to have both sets of natal parents and parents-in-law alive than older age groups. Given the greater interest in the coresidence of women with natal parents than with parents-in-law, the sample was restricted to married women with at least one surviving natal parent as well as at least one surviving parent-in-law at the time of the survey. This selection process yielded 1,067 respondents for Korea, 428 for China, and 636 for Japan.

The variables and socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents are presented in Table 1. Intergenerational coresidence refers to whether a woman lives with a natal parent or a parent-in-law. In the Korean survey, the respondents were first asked whether they lived with parents-in-law. If they did not, they were asked to identify where their parents-in-law lived. The Chinese survey gathered information on natal parents and parents-in-law sequentially. The survey first asked questions on household members and their relations to the respondent and then asked about the husband's parents and the wife's parents if they did not live in the same household. The Japanese survey asked similar questions but in different way. The respondents were asked to identify whether and where their parents-in-law lived by using a single item. In addition, they were asked to report the whereabouts of the father-in-law and the mother-in-law

separately.

The majority of the respondents from all three countries lived with neither their natal parents nor their parent-in-law. The respondents from China accounted for the largest share of those living with either their natal parents or parents-in-law, followed by Japan and Korea, in that order. This discrepancy might have been due to differences in the number of siblings (i.e., the number of children available for coresidence) the respondents had. As shown at the bottom of Table 1, the average number of brothers and sisters of the respondents in Korea was much higher than that of those in China or Japan. This is also the case for the siblings of their husbands. If and when an elderly parent decides to live with only one married child, a larger number of siblings reduces the likelihood of coresidence for a given child. Given this demographic condition, it is premature to conclude that Korean women are less likely to live with their elderly natal parents or parents-in-law than Japanese or Chinese women.

In terms of choosing between natal parents and parents-in-law for coresidence, those living with parents-in-law vastly outnumbered those living with natal parents. This was particularly the case in Korea; the number of the respondents living with their natal parents was negligible (1.6%), whereas that of those living with their parents-in-law was substantial (9.9%). In China, the number of those living with parents-in-law was approximately twice that of those living with natal parents, and in Japan, it was approximately three times as much. This indicates that when intergenerational coresidence occurs, it mainly involves parents-in-law, not natal parents.

Most of the respondents from all three countries lived in urban areas. The number was the lowest for China, reflecting the status of urbanization in the three countries. There was no notable difference in the average age of the respondents across the three countries. However, noteworthy is the youngest was 28 years old for Japan, whereas it was 20 or 21 years old for the other countries. The respondents' level of education showed some differences, with those from Korea exhibiting the highest level. The number of respondents who were employed was the highest in China, followed by Japan and Korea, in that order.

As enunciated in the number of siblings of women, the proportions of Korean respondents with no brother or no sister were much lower than those of Chinese or Japanese respondents. Noteworthy is that in Korea, the proportion of the respondents with no brother was much lower than that of those with no sister; only 5.3% of the respondents reported having no brother, whereas 22.0% reported having no sister. This might have been due to the strong preference for sons in the past when the fertility rate was higher.

In terms of the respondents' husband, the average age of the husbands was approximately 36 for China and Japan, which was slightly higher than the average age of the respondents (no age was reported in the Korean survey). As with the respondents' level of education, the husbands in Korea and Japan showed a higher level of education. In addition, most of the husbands in the two countries were employed, and their employment rates were higher than that of the husbands in China.

Table 1. Sample Distribution of Married Woman Aged 40 and less with Parent and Parent in law both alive

	Korea(n=1,067)	China(n=428)	Japan(n=636)
% living w PIL	9.9%	18.7%	16.8%
% living w P	1.6%	9.8%	5.8%
% in urban	87.2%	63.1%	83.0%
<Woman>			
Woman's age (years)	33.8	34.3	34.5
min/max	21-40	20-40	28-40
Woman's education			
% high school	58.2%	25.7%	56.8%
% junior college	15.7%	14.7%	26.4%
% university or above	23.0%	6.3%	15.1%
% Woman currently working	39.6%	79.7%	43.9%
% Woman having no brother	5.3%	36.9%	39.8%
% Woman having no sister	22.0%	39.5%	43.4%
<Spouse>			
Spouse's age (years)	----	36.8	36.5
min/max	----	22-54	23-55
Spouse education			
% high school	40.1%	25.0%	45.3%
% junior college	15.2%	12.4%	9.9%
% university or above	41.5%	11.4%	41.7%
% Spouse currently working	98.1%	87.4%	98.3%
% Spouse having no brother	18.1%	36.4%	----
% Spouse having no sister	13.9%	33.9%	----
<Couple>			
Marriage duration (years)	7.9	10.9	8.4
min/max	0-21	0-22	0-22
% havnig one child only	25.1%	84.8%	26.6%
% having two or more child	60.6%	7.9%	64.6%
<Parent>			
% Woman w Both F and M alive	----	73.1%	83.5%
% Woman w M among P only alive	----	18.0%	14.0%
% Woman w F among P only alive	----	8.9%	3.5%
<Parent in law>			
% Woman w Both FIL and MIL alive	----	67.7%	76.3%
% Woman w MIL among PIL only alive	----	21.3%	21.2%
% Woman w FIL among PIL only alive	----	11.0%	3.5%
<extra information: siblings>			
Number of woman's brother	1.78	0.96	0.74
Number of woman's sister	1.49	0.99	0.73
Number of spouse's brother	1.39	0.97	----
Number of spouse's sister	1.72	1.00	----

P: Parent /PIL: Parent in law /M:Mother /F: Father/ MIL:Mother in law /FIL: Father in law

The number of the husband's siblings was not available for Japan. Given the traditional norm and practices weighing on sons, particularly the eldest son, for intergenerational coresidence, the lack of information on the husband's siblings limited a further analysis of the determinants of coresidence. The number of husbands having no brother and that of those having no sister in Korea were much lower than those in China. Again, this might have been due to the higher fertility rate experienced by Korea's older generations.

The respondents from China had been married the longest (10.9 years), followed by those from Japan and Korea, in that order. Overall, the Chinese respondents married earlier and had fewer children than those from Japan and Korea. The proportion of the Chinese respondents having only one child was 84.8%, whereas that of those having two or more was 7.9%. Most likely, this result might have been due to the one-child policy implemented by the Chinese government over the last few decades. On the other hand, most of the respondents from Korea and Japan had two or more children.

There were serious data limitations in terms of natal parents and parents-in-law. The only information that the Korean survey provided was the presence of natal parents or parents-in-law. There was no distinction made between fathers and mothers and between fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law. The data from China and Japan contained a series of survey items on each natal parent and parent-in-law (i.e., age, education, and employment). However, the Japanese data showed a substantial number of missing answers to the question on the age of parents-in-law. Therefore, this study limited the use of information on natal parents and parents-in-law to their presence by sex.

The proportion of the respondents with both natal parents alive was higher in Japan than in China. Similarly, the proportion of those having both parents-in-law alive was also higher in Japan than in China. This might have been due to Japan's greater longevity. In both countries, the proportion of those with only their mother was greater than that of those with only their father. This might have been due to sex differentials in longevity.

ANALYSIS

This study's multivariate analysis of the likelihood of living with natal parents and that of living with parents-in-law (vs. living separately) necessitated the identification of common variables from the three data sets. This analysis examined whether and how the intergenerational coresidence of the respondents from the three countries differed. The study then conducted further analyses by using the variables specific to each country (Table 1). These analyses focused on identifying the important variables for each country, rather than on revealing their differences across the countries.

Table 2 shows the results of the multinomial logit analysis based only on the common

Table 2. Multinomial Logit Coefficients of Living Arrangements using Common Variables

	Korea (n=1,067)		China (n=428)		Japan (n=637)	
	P Cor vs. No Cor	PIL Cor vs. No Cor	P Cor vs. No Cor	PIL Cor vs. No Cor	P Cor vs. No Cor	PIL Cor vs. No Cor
Constant	-55.148	2.430	3.088	0.485	-22.746	-2.720
Living in urban	-2.378 ***	-0.882 ***	-0.431	-1.322 ***	-0.294	-0.364
W Age	-0.032	-0.106 **	-0.209 **	-0.044	0.089	0.078 *
W High School (vs. It high school)	16.695	-0.218	0.453	0.169	-0.655	-0.690
W Junior College (vs. It high school)	17.658	-0.389	-1.352 *	0.346	-0.920	-0.964
W University (vs. It high school)	18.268	-0.504	-0.985	0.003	-0.909	-1.216
W working (vs. not working)	0.573	-0.009	0.390	0.655 *	0.576	0.900 ***
W no brother (vs. having brother)	1.919 ***	-2.038 **	0.817 **	-0.422	1.502 ***	-0.654 **
W no sister (vs. having sister)	0.330	0.240	0.574	-0.069	0.809 **	0.012
S High School (vs. It high school)	18.104	-0.591	0.171	-0.067	0.306	0.318
S Junior College (vs. It high school)	17.831	-0.068	0.781	-0.463	-0.388	-0.037
S University (vs. It high school)	18.082	-0.376	1.691 **	-0.921	-0.314	-0.139
S Working (vs. not working)	16.417	-0.825	-0.600	-0.675	-2.073 **	-1.393 *
Having one child (vs. none)	1.410	0.269	0.578	1.723 **	18.775 ***	0.378
Having two or more child (vs. none)	0.992	0.482	-0.069	2.438 **	18.983 ***	0.691
Marriage Duration	0.074	0.095 **	0.094	-0.099 *	-0.023	0.001
LR Chi	70.99 ***		85.53 ***		89.20 ***	
d.f.	34		44		40	

* p<0.10; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

P: Parent /PIL: Parent in law /W: Woman /S: Spouse/ It: less than

variables. Note that the results regarding coresidence in Korea may not be meaningful. This is because, as previously discussed and shown in Table 1, few Korean women live with their parents. Although clear patterns were not readily identifiable across the countries, similar effects were found for urban residency and the presence of a brother and children.

Living in urban areas had a negative effect on coresidence with parents-in-law in Korea and China, whereas it had no significant effect in Japan. In urban areas, the high cost of multigenerational housing has discouraged intergenerational coresidence. In addition, many young adults from rural area have moved to urban areas, leaving behind their natal parents or parents-in-law. This is particularly the case in China, where its rural-to-urban migration has been a relatively recent phenomenon.

Having no brother increased the likelihood of coresidence with a natal parent, whereas it decreased the likelihood of coresidence with a parent-in-law. In China and Japan, the

respondents without a brother were more likely to live with their natal parents. In Korea and Japan, the respondents without a brother were less likely to live with a parent-in-law. This result suggests that women without a brother in this region may be less pressured to live with a parent-in-law and are more or less exempted from coresidence with a natal parent when needed.

Having children affected the likelihood of coresidence. In China, the presence of children was positively related to coresidence with a parent-in-law. However, in Japan, it was related to coresidence with a natal parent, although the size of coefficient appears suspicious. Note that the presence of children may have a close relationship with the age of the woman and the length of her marriage. In Korea, where the presence of children had no effect, the age and the length of marriage were significantly related to coresidence. In addition, in China, the likelihood of coresidence with a natal parent and that with a parent-in-law were affected by the age of the respondents; the effect of children was nonsignificant. These three variables – the presence of children, age, and the length of marriage – reflect life stages. Although it is beyond the scope of the present study to address each variable separately, it is clear that these variables have substantial effects on the likelihood of intergenerational coresidence.

Table 3 presents the results of the multinomial logit analysis using the country-specific variables in addition to the common variables. As mentioned earlier, the likelihood of coresidence with a natal parent among Korean women is not considered in this paper because such cases are so rare. The likelihood of coresidence with a parent-in-law among the Korean respondents was the same as the result shown in Table 1. The presence of the husband's brother, which was added to this expanded model, showed a significant effect. The results indicate that a woman whose husband does not have a brother is more likely to live with her natal parent.

The model for China incorporated the following additional variables: the presence of the husband's brother and sister, a widowed natal parent, and a widowed parent-in-law. In this expanded model, having no sister increased the likelihood of coresidence with a natal parent. As with Korea, the presence of the husband's brother affected the likelihood of coresidence; the woman whose husband had no brother was less likely to live with a natal parent but more likely to live with a parent-in-law.

Having a widowed natal parent or parent-in-law also affected the likelihood of coresidence among the respondents from China. Having only the mother increased the likelihood of coresidence with the natal parent. That is, compared with the woman whose parents are both alive, the woman with only the mother is more likely to live with her mother. In addition, having only one parent-in-law alive increased the likelihood of coresidence with the parent-in-law. That is, the woman with a widowed parent-in-law, compared with the woman whose parents-in-law are both alive, is more likely to live the widowed parent-in-law.

The effect of a widowed natal parent or parent-in-law was also found among the

Table 3. Multinomial Logit Coefficients of Living Arrangements using Country Specific Variables

	Korea (n=1,067)		China (n=428)		Japan (n=637)	
	P Cor vs. No Cor	PIL Cor vs. No Cor	P Cor vs. No Cor	PIL Cor vs. No Cor	P Cor vs. No Cor	PIL Cor vs. No Cor
Constant	-55.134	2.139	3.223	0.129	-22.509	-3.013 *
Living in urban	-2.416 ***	-0.894 ***	-0.674	-1.638 ***	-0.295	-0.324
W Age	-0.038	-0.102 **	-0.242 **	-0.114	0.168 *	0.058
W High School (vs. It high school)	16.796	-0.174	0.686	0.286	0.352	-0.746
W Junior College (vs. It high school)	17.871	-0.365	-0.807	0.637	0.043	-1.054
W University (vs. It high school)	18.487	-0.524	-0.469	0.259	0.048	-1.277
W working (vs. not working)	0.523	0.010	0.600	0.761 *	0.553	0.921 ***
W no brother (vs. having brother)	1.810 ***	-2.053 **	1.086 ***	-0.636 *	1.548 ***	-0.736 ***
W no sister (vs. having sister)	0.460	0.188	0.862 **	-0.063	0.862 **	-0.073
S Age	----	----	0.031	0.073	-0.113 **	0.012
S High School (vs. It high school)	18.323	-0.635	0.314	-0.285	0.125	0.730
S Junior College (vs. It high school)	18.029	-0.121	0.725	-0.600	-0.665	0.381
S University (vs. It high school)	18.303	-0.431	1.382 *	-1.214	-0.284	0.288
S Working (vs. not working)	16.607	-0.791	-0.735	-0.584	-2.235 **	-1.412 *
S no brother (vs. having brother)	-1.305	0.551 **	-0.754 *	0.679 **	----	----
S no sister (vs. having sister)	-0.506	0.246	-0.454	-0.522	----	----
Having one child (vs. none)	1.313	0.263	0.454	1.667 **	18.722 ***	0.362
Having two or more child (vs. none)	0.819	0.497	-0.097	2.544 ***	18.905 ***	0.631
Marriage Duration	0.076	0.097 **	0.077	-0.138 **	0.013	-0.007
Mother only alive (vs. both F & M alive)	----	----	0.772 *	-0.059	-0.169	0.006
Father only alive (vs. both F & M alive)	----	----	0.194	0.484	1.513 **	0.455
MIL only alive (vs. both FIL & MIL alive)	----	----	-0.107	1.298 ***	0.375	1.182 ***
FIL only alive (vs. both FIL & MIL alive)	----	----	0.653	1.001 **	-0.525	0.734
LR Chi	78.13 ***		124.03 ***		119.95 ***	
d.f.	34		44		40	

* p<0.10; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

P: Parent /PIL: Parent in law /M:Mother /F: Father/ MIL:Mother in law /FIL: Father in law/ /W: Woman /S: Spouse/ It: less than

respondents from Japan. Having only one of the natal parents alive increased the likelihood of coresidence with him or her. Noteworthy is that while the widowhood of a natal parent or a parent-in-law affected the coresidence of young married women in Japan, the sex of the widowed parent or the parent-in-law affected coresidence behavior differently. With respect to

natal parents, the respondents were more likely to live with a widowed father than to live with a widowed mother. However, with respect to parents-in-law, they were more likely to live with a widowed mother-in-law than to live with a widowed father-in-law.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

This study addressed the issue of intergenerational coresidence in Korea, China, and Japan by using a recent nationwide survey from each of the three countries. Focusing on young married women, the study examined the patterns of their living arrangement in relation to their parents and parents-in-law. Although there were limitations in terms of consistency in items across the three surveys, the analysis presents interesting features of intergenerational coresidence.

The majority of the respondents from all three countries did not live with their parents or parents-in-law, choosing to live on their own. However, compared with the Korean respondents, those from China and Japan accounted for larger shares of those living with either their natal parents or parents-in-law. This result might have been due to the higher fertility rate of Korea's older generations (i.e., a higher number of siblings of the Korean respondents). That is, all things being equal, fewer siblings imply a greater likelihood of coresidence with a natal parent or a parent-in-law. The respondents from China and Japan had fewer siblings than those from Korea. Thus, the result suggests that this demographic condition at the individual level may increase the level of coresidence with a natal parent or a parent-in-law among young married women in China and Japan.

The respondents were much more likely to live with their parent-in-law than with their natal parent. This was particularly apparent in Korea, where the proportion living with a natal parent was negligible. Although hardly conclusive, this suggests that the resilience of the partilocal principle remains more firmly rooted in Korea than in the other countries. However, even in China, where a substantial number of women live with their natal parent, the level of coresidence with a parent-in-law was approximately twice as high as that with a natal parent. Thus, it seems that the traditional norm of the patrilocal family system is still valid when adult children contemplate coresidence with their parents.

The statistical analysis using the common variables showed that, although limited in its explanatory variables, urban residency and the presence of a brother or children affected the likelihood of coresidence with parents-in-law. As indicated by the results for China and Korea, the high cost of housing sufficient for intergenerational coresidence and the increasing migration of youth from rural to urban areas may hinder coresidence in urban areas. In all three countries, the absence of a brother was positively related to coresidence with a natal parent but was negatively related that with a parent-in-law. This indicates that even if the partilocal principle remains in this region, the absence of a son may lead to the coresidence of elderly

parents with their married daughter.

The presence of children has many implications for coresidence. On the one hand, it is quite possible that married women seek coresidence with a natal parent (as in Japan) or a parent-in-law (as in China) to share the burden of childrearing with the elderly parent. On the other hand, the presence of children confounded with the age of women and the length of their marriage may reflect the life stage of adult children and their elderly parents.

The results from the statistical analysis using the country specific model strongly supported the view that the presence of a son is critical to intergenerational coresidence. In addition to the absence of the woman's brother, the absence of the husband's brother had a substantial impact on coresidence patterns. In Korea and China, a woman whose husband is without a brother is more likely to live with her parents-in-law. In addition, the widowhood of natal parents and parents-in-law affected the likelihood of coresidence. Compared with those whose natal parents were both alive, the women with only one natal parent were more likely to live with their widowed parent. Similarly, compared with those whose parents-in-law were both alive, the women with only one parent-in-law were more likely to coreside with the widowed parent-in-law. This pattern was found for both China and Japan.

The importance of having a brother and having both parents alive to coresidence suggests that young married women may encounter difficulties. As the fertility rate declines (even breaching the replacement level), the probability of having a brother becomes lower. Although the sex gap in life expectancy is narrowing, it remains substantial. Thus, the increasing widowhood trend is expected to continue. These two demographic trends may place increasing pressure on women in the region to choose between coresidence with their natal parent or with their parent-in-law.

REFERENCES

- Bian, Fuqin, John R. Rogan, and Yanjie Bian. 1998. "Intergenerational Relations in Urban China: Proximity, Context, and Help to Parents." *Demography* 35(1): 115-124.
- Casterline, John B., Lindy Williams, Albert I. Hermalin, Ming-cheng Chang, Napaporn Chayovan, Paul Cheung, John Knodel, and Mary Ofstedal. 1991. "Differences in the Living Arrangements of the Elderly in Four Asian Countries: The Interplay of Constraints and Preferences." Research Report Series No. 91-10. MI: Population Studies Center, Ann Arbor.
- Da Vanzo Julie, and Angelique Chan. 1994. "Living Arrangements of Older Malaysians: Who Coresides with Their Adult Children?" *Demography* 31(1): 95-113.
- De Vos, Susan, and Yean-Ju Lee. 1993. "Change in Extended Family Living among Elderly People in South Korea, 1970-1980." *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 41(2):377-393.
- Domingo, Lita J, and John B. Casterline. 1992. "Living Arrangements of the Filipino Elderly." Research Report Series No. 92-16. MI: Population Studies Center, Ann Arbor.
- Eu, Hongsook. 1992. "Health Status and Social and Demographic Determinants of Living Arrangements among the Korean Elderly." *Korea Journal of Population and Development* 21(2): 197-223.
- Feng Zhao. 2012. "Pattern of Adult Child-Parent Contact: A Comparison between China and Japan." Pp.73-88 in *Changing Families in Northeast Asia*, edited by Ishihara, Kunio and Rokuro Tabiuchi. Japan, Tokyo: Sophia University Press.
- Hashimoto, Akiko, Hal Kendig, and Larry C. Coppard. 1992. "The Family Support to the Elderly in International Perspective." in *Family Support for the Elderly: The International Experience*, edited by Hal Kendig, Akiko Hashimoto, and Larry C. Coppard. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hermalin, Albert I. 2000. "Ageing in Asia: Facing the Crossroads." Comparative Study of the Elderly in Asia Report Series No. 00-55. University of Michigan Population Studies Center, Ann Arbor.
- Hermalin, Albert I., Mary B. Ofstedal, Kristine R. Baker, and Yi-Li Chuang. 2005. "Moving from Household Structure Living Arrangement Transition: What do We Learn?" Comparative Study of the Elderly in Asia Report Series No. 05-61. University of Michigan Population Studies Center, Ann Arbor.
- Hermalin, Albert I., Ming-Cheng Chang, Hui-Sheng Lin, Mei-Lin Lee, and Mary B. Ofstedal. 1990. "Patterns of Support among the Elderly in Taiwan and their Policy Implications." Research Report Series No. 90-94. MI: Population Studies Center, Ann Arbor.
- Kim, Cheong-Seok. 2004. "Household and Family." Pp.161-192 in *The Population of Korea*, edited by Kim, Doo-Sub and Cheong-Seok Kim. Korea National Statistics Office.
- Kim, Cheong-Seok. 2005. Intergenerational Coresidence as a Family Strategy in Economic Crisis. *Paper presented at the International Conference on Low Fertility and Rapid Aging in East and South East Asian Societies*. Pusan, Korea. October 21-22, 2005.
- Kim, Cheong-Seok, and Ka-Oak Rhee. 1997. "Variations in Preferred Living Arrangements among Korean Elderly Parents." *Journal of Cross-Cultural Gerontology* 12(2):189-202.
- Kim, Cheong-Seok, and Ka-Oak Rhee. 1999. "Living Arrangements in Old Age: Views of Elderly and Middle Aged Adults in Korea." *Hallym International Journal of Aging* 1(2): 94-111.
- Kim, Cheong-Seok, and Ka-Oak Rhee. 2000. "Correspondence between Actual Coresidence and Desire

- for Coresidence among the Elderly in Korea.” *Hallym International Journal of Aging* 2(1): 364-48.
- Kim, Ik Ki, and Cheong-Seok Kim. 2003. “Patterns of Family Support and the Quality of Life of the Elderly.” *Social Indicators Research* 63: 437-454.
- Kim, Ik Ki, Jersey Liang, Ka-Oak Rhee, and Cheong-Seok Kim. 1996. “Population Aging in Korea: Changes Since the 1960s’.” *Journal of Cross-Cultural Gerontology* 11(4): 369-388.
- Knodel, John, and Napaporn Chayovan. 2001. “Family Support and Living Arrangements of Thai Elderly.” *International Journal of Welfare for the Aged* 4: 121-137.
- Kojima, H. 1989. “Intergenerational Household Extension in Japan.” in *Ethnicity and the New Family Economy: Living Arrangements and Intergenerational Financial Flows*, edited by Goldscheider, Frances K. and Calvin Goldscheider. Westview press, Boulder.
- Logan, John R., and Fuqin Bian. 1999. “Family Values and Coresidence with Married Children in Urban China.” *Social Forces* 77(4): 1253-1282.
- Martin, Linda G. 1989. “Living Arrangements of the Elderly in Fiji, Korea, Malaysia, and the Philippines.” *Demography* 26(4): 627-643.
- Martin, Linda G., and Noriko O. Tsuya. 1991. “Interactions of Middle-aged Japanese with Their Parents.” *Population Studies* 45(2): 299-311.
- Ogawa, Naohiro, and Robert D. Retherford. 1997. “Shifting Costs of Caring for the Elderly Back to Families in Japan: Will it Work?” *Population and Development Review* 23(1): 59-94.
- Poston, Dudley L., Che-Fu Lee, Chiung-Fang Chang, Sherry L. Mckibben, and Carol S. Walther. 2006. *Fertility, Family Planning, and Population Policy in China*. New York: Routledge.
- Rebick, Marcus, and Ayumi Takenaka. 2006. *The Changing Japanese Family*. New York: Routledge.
- Shah, Nasra M., Kathryn M. Yount, Makhdoom A. Shah, and Indu Menon. 2002. “Living Arrangements of Older Women and Men in Kuwait.” *Journal of Cross-Cultural Gerontology* 17(4): 337-355.
- Tabuchi, Rokuro. 2012. “Parent-Child Proximity and its Determinants in Japan, Korea, and China” Pp. 17-33 in *Changing Families in Northeast Asia*, edited by Ishihara, Kunio and Rokuro Tabiuchi. Japan, Tokyo: Sophia University Press.
- Tsuya, Noriko O., and Linda G. Martin. 1992. “Living Arrangements of Elderly Japanese and Attitudes Toward Inheritance.” *Journal of Gerontology* 47(2): S45 - S54.
- Yoo, Seong-Hoo. 1996. “Determinants of Independent Living among the Korean Elderly.” *Journal of Korea Gerontological Society* 16(1): 51-68.
- Zhang, Qian Forrest. 2004. “Economic Transition and New Patterns of Parent-Adult Child Coresidence in Urban China” *Journal of Marriage and Family* 66(5): 1231-1245.

Submitted Dec. 23, 2011; Accepted March 15, 2012