

**Family Experiences and Family Relations:
Taiwanese Youth and Their Intergenerational Relations**
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I. The Research Background

The traditional Chinese family has been characterized by strong patrilineal heritage and the veneration of age (Hsu, 1948; Yang, 1945)¹. For all classes, Confucian ethics which places heavy emphasis on filial piety as well as the proper order by generation and age forms the core in the family socialization process (Blitsten, 1963; Yang, 1967). Filial piety, as the highest value at home, has at least three meanings: respect of parents, respect of family honor and the care for aged parents. The care of elderly parents, usually paternal parents is accompanied by respect with warm attitudes. Consequently, filial piety demands absolute obedience to parents and results in generational subordination of the children (Lang, 1968; Yang, 1967). The veneration of generation and age forms the foundation of status hierarchy in the traditional setting. Normally, people of the older generation are superior to those of the younger; within each generation, people of greater chronological age have preference over the young in most respect. The interlocking operation of these norms produces an overwhelming conformity to traditional values and obedience becomes a prominent character in family socialization (Wen, 1973).

Chinese parents have been major agents who transmit family values to children, but other adults— especially grandparents and kins also have authority in socializing the child (Wong, 1973; Chu, 1973). It is well documented that multi-generational patrilocal household has been a cultural ideal shared by gentry and peasant alike (Lee, 1953; Queen, 1967; Freedman, 1970). Research from Taiwan also shows that in the history as well as in contemporary society, this familistic residence pattern will be actualized whenever the family situation permits (Wolf, 1982; Lai and Chen, 1980; Yi, 1985; Chen, et al., 1989). Hence, average Taiwanese children should have higher likelihood to be exposed to intergenerational family experiences. The possible impact from having early interaction and from having higher contact with grandparents on the subsequent generational relations is an interesting subject of investigation. This is what we intend to explore in this paper.

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II. Intergenerational Relations in Taiwan

The official statistics and island-wide surveys agree that since 1970s, 1/3 of Taiwanese households fall into the stem or extended family type and the proportion has been stabilizing (Yi and Chang, 1996). The complex family structure with mostly paternal three-generations provides an unusual environment for children's socialization. Specifically, grandparents have more opportunities to be involved in the process. Previous report indicates that not only intergenerational relations are affected in the three-generational households, marital relations are constrained in that familial context as well (Li, 1998).

A Brief Summary of Relevant Studies

Most relevant studies of intergenerational relations in Taiwan concern the exchanges among adult children and elderly parents. Parental support has been explored from various family structure (Chang, 1994), from support attitudes and actual support patterns (Yi and Chen, 1998), and from the perspective of adult children (Hsieh, 2000). These reports show that parents more than their adult children favor independent living. Adult children, instead, express views in accordance with the traditional norm of parental care, regarding the preferred co-residence and financial support patterns. Intergenerational support among Taiwanese families has also been examined by focusing on the gender differences (Lee, et al., 1994; Lin, et al., 2003). Results are consistent in that son rather than daughter is more likely to assume major care responsibility for elderly parents, while daughter may perform the substitute role. The latest effort in this topic attempts to develop a differential association model (labeled the convoy model) and found intergenerational exchanges at home expands according to the patrilineal kin networks (Chen, 2003). Other related researches include utilizing the solidarity model developed by Bengtson and found general support (Lin, 1996), or analyzing the exchange meaning toward elderly women (Hu and Chou, 1996) or toward handicapped elderly (Wu and Lin, 1999). In sum, both large-scale quantitative data and qualitative method (i.e., in-depth interviews or focus group studies) generate similar results in that parental support in Taiwan is kept intact as a typical normative obligation for adult children with clear patrilineal advantage (Yi, 1999).

Another line of study has recently emerged and has largely focused on the intergenerational exchanges between parents and their teenage children. The family value transmission between two generations has been ascertained and

unlike the West, the transmission is shown to be affected more by the contextual factors rather than the structural effects (Yi, et al., 2004). Parenting practice, especially harsh parenting within different family structures is shown to account for the adolescent behavior problems as well as poor mental health (Wu and Kao, 1997; Wu, 2000; Wu and Lei, 2003; Lei and Wu, 2004). These efforts with an attempt to target the possible intergenerational transmission should be differentiated from the dominant social psychological oriented comparison between parent-child interaction or exchanges and its possible effect on adolescent behaviors (Jou and Wu, 2001; Wu, 1998). Nevertheless, it is evident that delinquent behavior appears to be the crucial concern in most sociological studies of teenagers and their family relations (Chen, 1999; Hou, 2001; Chang, 2001). For social psychologist, parenting has also been a presumed factor resulting in the consequent development of parent-child relations (Yeh, 1995; Chu, 1989; Lo, 2000; Kao and Lu, 2001). It should be pointed out that most studies analyzing parent-teenager relations in Taiwan seem to follow the Western theoretical framework and thus, do not take into account the complex family context.

There have been serious inadequate studies in Taiwan on young adults leaving the parental home. The only paper deals with elderly who lives apart from children (Chen, 1996), not addressing the common issue of young adults leaving the parental home. Property inheritance has also caught some attention. Paternal lineage advantages are usually assumed and variations from the expected patterns become a pertinent research question.

Beyond the two generation of adult children and elderly parents, typical intergenerational research topic such as the grandparenthood has received broad attention. However, most reports are from the social problem perspective, especially in conjunction with parenting the grandchildren issue (or a direct translation: the missing middle parent generation in the socialization process) (Chu, 1983; Hsiao, 1999; Chen, et al., 2000; Wu and Chang, 2003). Although it is often accepted as a compromise in the family strategy when facing the conflict between the economic need of the family and the work demand on parents, missing-generational parenting is still considered an undesirable practice in Taiwan. Here, we need to turn to the related subject of child care arrangement.

Grandparent's Role in Child Care

Since mid-80s, child care by non-parents, especially young children being

cared by grandparents/other kin or by babysitters for 24 hours, became a salient social issue and has drawn great attention in Taiwan afterwards (Yi, 1994, Feng, 1995). Report from 1986 points out that for married working mothers in Taipei, as high as 27% had others to care for their children who are under 3 years old during working days (Yi, 1987). For preschoolers island-wide, regardless of parents' working status, 13.8% has grandparents as major child carer in 1992 (Report on Children's Life Conditions, ROC, 1993). The percentage rises to 34% if children are living in the complex family structure; and among them, if both parents are working, grandparents become the most important child carer (54.4%) (Ibid.). It is clear that grandparents assume significant supplementary role in the child care arrangement in Taiwan.

In general, the unconventional child care arrangement pattern is attributed to the massive rural-urban migration as well as to the drastic increase of female's employment out of home (Yi, 1994; Feng, 1995). Various work related demands or conditions are found to significantly affect the length of child care time among working mothers with young children in Taipei (Yi, 1987). The lack of adequate public child care facilities, the concern of economic costs, compound with the number of preschool children lead to a dependence on grandparents as the preferred substitute for child care. Nevertheless, potential conflict from the generational gap in child care practice is often reported (Hsiao, 1999; Chia and Chen, 1999) and the highest satisfaction in child care outcome remains from the parent's own involvement. Having a substantial proportion of children being raised in the multi-generational familial context, along with a strong endorsement of age reverence as the socialization norm, it is expected that Taiwanese adolescents will reveal different attitudes and emotional attachment toward parents and grandparents in the intergenerational interaction.

In other words, it is assumed that early exposure to co-residence experiences with grandparents as well as to grandparents' care, may produce significant effects on the later development among the grandparent-grandchild relations, which in turn is hypothesized to affect the existing parent-child relations.

III. The Generational Focus of Studies in the West

For the past few decades, the study of intergenerational relations in the West started with an overwhelming interest in the interaction between adult children and their elderly parents. This actually corresponds with the population aging

process. Parental support as well as leaving the parental home among young adults appear to dominate the literature (Aldous, 1987; Spitze and Logan, 1990; Rossi and Rossi, 1990; Walker, et al., 1991; Umberson, 1992; Hogan, et al, 1993; Goldscheider and Goldscheider, 1993; White, 1994; Ward and Spitze, 1996; Lye, 1996). The research gradually expand to variations in gender differences, in the divorce impact, in race, urbanism, value differentials, and also in relation to elder's health and resources in the specification of exchange patterns between generations (Ibid.). It is well documented that women have served as kinkeepers in the family and between generations, parents offer more financial help to their children, especially during key life course transitions or when special needs such as higher education emerge (Rosenthal, 1985; Cooney and Uhlenberg, 1992; Hogan and Eggebean, 1995; Silverstein et al., 1995; Goldscheider et al., 2001).

An important recent development of intergenerational studies brings family *values* into the research framework. Study reports that exchange expectations rooted in family values will result in actual behaviors in parental support. In addition, earlier familism or family obligation history is associated with subsequent support exchanges (Parrot and Bengtson, 1999). Values toward marriage and college education also influence both the expectation and the parental support received (Goldscheider, et al., 2001)). Overall, children expect more support than parents, and sons more than daughters (Ibid.). However, the final support provision is highly contingent upon various situations in relation to the family values held by different generations.

The above studies are confined to the interaction between the first generation (i.e., elderly parents or G1) and the second generation (i.e., adult children or G2). When the grandparenthood is introduced and thus creates the third generation category (i.e., grandchildren or G3), it is pointed out that the research direction becomes diversified. On the one hand, besides treating the intergenerational relation between G1 and G3 as an independent subject of its own, the relation and exchanges between G1 and G2 are investigated in terms of its potential effect on the relation between G1 and G3. In addition, earlier relations between G1 and G2 are analyzed in relation to the present relation between G1 and G2 as well as between G1 and G3. In other words, the interaction and exchanges among three generations open up a vast research possibility for generational studies.

The Relation Between Grandparents and Grandchildren (G1-G3)

With the increase of longevity, grandparent has assumed a more important role in the family (Aldous, 1995; Lauterbach, 2003). The presence of grandparents in family interactions has been more available and is expected in the childhood to adulthood of the family life course. The prevalent multigenerational bonds and related ambivalence observed within the family system have also been addressed (Bengtson, 2000; Luscher, 2002).

Most studies focusing on the intergenerational relations between grandparents (G1) and grandchildren (G3) notice its possible *impact* on children's development and grandmother's participation is usually compared with grandfather's. For example, the greater grandfather nurturance in rearing very young child is found to have direct positive effect on child's growth and is more salient than grandmother's (Oyserman, et al., 1993). *Child care* by grandparents has also been examined. Researches identify various care patterns among grandparents (from extended full-time to sporadic care) and show that grandparent care is contingent upon different family circumstances (Morrow-Kondos, et al., 1997; Vandell, et al., 2003; Goodman and Silverstein, 2001). Effects on grandparents who parent their grandchildren are also examined by changes in lifestyle as well as in relations with friends and with family members (Jendrek, 1993).

Another significant aspect of the relationship between G1 and G3 is the *affection* or closeness expressed. The quality of generational relations is often measured either by the contact frequency or/and the emotional attitudes reported (Whitbeck, et al., 1993; Goodman and Silverstein, 2001; Crosnoe and Elder, 2002). It is assumed that the expressed or perceived emotional closeness and affection between generations will lead to subsequent help and support exchanges (Parrot and Bengtson, 1999). The intergenerational affection between G1 and G3 also consider the adult grandchild. Research reveals that Euro-American grandparents have greater affection for their granddaughters than vice versa, but the gap does not exist for grandsons (Giarrusso, et al., 2001). On the contrary, Mexican American grandsons report greater affection for grandfathers than their grandfathers have for them (Ibid.). In the same study, similar values between generations are shown to result in smaller gap between level of affection expressed.

In addition, study has pointed out significant *rural/urban* differences in G1-G3 relations. Comparing urban, rural nonfarm and rural farm youth, urban sample reports less help from grandparents, less contact with paternal grandparents, but more

conflict with maternal grandmothers (King, et al., 2003). Rural farm adolescents indicate more frequent contact as well as more help received from paternal grandparents (Ibid.). The rural-urban ecological differences in grandparenting is documented.

The Effect of Older Generation on Younger Generation (G1-G2→G1-G3)

The possible effect from relations between grandparent and parent (G1-G2) on relations between grandparent and grandchildren (G1-G3) is clearly an interesting subject in multigenerational family context. Positive correlation is usually assumed in that grandparents who maintain close ties with his/her own children (i.e., parents) are more likely to enjoy close relations with grandchildren. A relevant question often raised is whether G1-G3 relations depend on or are moderated by G1-G2 relations. In other words, exchanges between grandparent-grandchild occur within the multigenerational context and parent's generation (G2) is regarded as the link in between. Therefore, although the concern is surrounded on G1-G3 relations, direct relationship between G1-G2 is presumed to operate as the basis of other generational relations.

Studies of similar research concern seem to generate different answers. During grandchildren's transition to higher education, grandparents with college education provide more mentoring and report better intergenerational ties (in contrast with grandchildren not entering the college) (Crosnoe and Elder, 2002). But the link between G1-G3 relationships during this life course transition is not moderated by G1-G2 relationship (Ibid.). On the other hand, parent as mediator of the grandparent-grandchild relationship is documented among rural families. Taken into account the lineage factor, the relationship quality between G1 and G2 is shown to affect the frequency of contact as well as the relationship between all types of G1 and G3 dyads (Whitbeck, et al., 1993). Similarly, grandparent-grandchild relations are delineated with special emphasis on lineage differentials and relationship between G1 and G2 is again asserted being responsible for G1-G3 relations (Chan and Elder, 2000). To be specific, both father's and mother's close ties with his/her own parents (G1) contribute to better relations between grandchild and paternal/maternal grandparent respectively (Ibid.). But overall, the matrilineal advantage is evident.

The Effect of Earlier Experience (earlier G1-G2→present G1-G2 and G1-G3)

The earlier generational relation between grandparent and parent is presumed to have lasting effect in that not only present relations between G1 and G2 arises from its quality, the present grandparent-grandchild relations may become its consequence too.

Empirical evidence supports this argument. Childhood negative relations between parents and grandparents (G2-G1) are associated with both the contemporary adult parent and grandparent relationship as well as the subsequent contact and relations between grandchildren and grandparents (Whitebeck, et al., 1993). Even for a shorter time span, earlier intergenerational affection and stronger sense of family obligation are also associated with later exchange of support and help among parents and adult children (Parrot and Bengtson, 1999).

It should be pointed out that while positive emotions (e.g., affection) between generations may result in reciprocal and equitable exchanges, support and help out of familism belief are often less equitable to adult children's disadvantages (Ibid.). In other words, in the analysis of intergenerational interactions in the West, it is shown that family values and attitudes will contribute to subsequent generational behavior. Nevertheless, emotional closeness in contrast with values/expectations appear to produce a more important effect in the actual exchange taken place.

IV. The Research Model

This paper will examine intergenerational relations in Taiwan from perspectives of the adolescent. Based on previous research focus in the West as well as in Taiwan, various aspects of family experiences will be considered in the analysis of three generational interactions. Specifically, interactions between grandparent and parent (G1-G2) as well as between grandparent and grandchild (G1-G3) are assumed to be related. Furthermore, unlike most studies, the analysis will extend to the possible consequence on current parent-grandchild (G2-G3) relations. In other words, the multigenerational relations studied will include dyadic pairs among three generations. This is especially pertinent because of the significant role grandparents have performed in Taiwanese families.

From the research model shown below, it is clear that family experiences investigated are composed of behavioral (G1-G2 contact; G1-G3 early child care), structural (G1-G3 co-residence in childhood and at present), as well as values (filial values) and attitudes (G1-G3 emotional closeness). The outcome relations are the perceived relational quality toward mother and father (G2-G3). In addition, due to the importance of lineage differentials in the family system in Taiwan, the analyses will be separated into paternal grandparents in comparison to maternal grandparents.

(Figure 1 about here)

As discussed above, co-residence with grandparents (especially paternal

grandparents) is in accord with the cultural norm among Chinese societies. The child care arrangement by grandparents is well accepted and has been a prevalent form adopted by substantial dual-earner families. Hence, these earlier family experiences along with present family interactions are expected to affect the quality of intergenerational relationship perceived. Being socialized in the patrilineal familial context, Taiwanese adolescents are presumed to have more contact with paternal grandparents. Whether normative factors such as filial values toward parental support as well as the existing structural opportunity in the family system result in relationship across generations are indeed interesting research questions worth examination.

Another important point regarding the affection variable should be briefly mentioned. It has long been argued that Chinese do not encourage the expression of emotional feeling in order to avoid potential interpersonal conflict (or to maintain the interpersonal harmony) (Hsu, 1948; Yi, 1975). However, this is only a partial description. The ideal pattern of human behavior, as delineated in the Confucian doctrine of the Wu-Lun (or codes of five social dyads*), actually requires affection between father-son relationship (Ruey, 1967). But affection expressed or practiced must follow the higher order of obedience and other appropriate family rules.

In short, this paper is characterized by the following aspects:

1. To focus on the intergenerational relations across three generations
Specifically, the family process occurred among G1-G2 and G1-G3 will be related to the present G2-G3 relations.
2. To examine possible impact from earlier family experiences to subsequent family relations. In particular, early child care by grandparents (and the co-residence experience) are expected to influence both the present closeness expressed as well as the relationship with own parents.
3. To consider effects of values, attitudes and behaviors in the familial context. Factors encompass adolescents' filial values regarding parental support, affectionate attitudes revealed and actual interaction experienced at home.
4. To take into account the gender difference in the intergenerational relations
Patrilineal versus matrilineal lineage across generations is compared. Relations between adolescents and mothers is also differentiated from relation with fathers.
5. To combine information from different corresponding datasets.

V. Data and Variables

The Sample

We used the data conducted by the Taiwan Youth Project (the Institute of Sociology, Academic Sinica, Taiwan) to examine whether family structure and early family process affect the current parent-child relations. This project is an eight-year longitudinal research with eight-wave surveys scheduled from 2000 to 2007. It consists of two-cohort students: 2696 7th grade students (first grade of the junior high) and 2890 9th grade students (last year of the junior high) in 2000. In addition, one of their parents, usually the mothers, and their head master of the class were interviewed at the same year. In order to explore the growth trajectory of the youth, the research design of this project focuses on three main social mechanisms of adolescent development: family, school and community, and their interplay. Each wave questionnaire includes two parts: current questions and retrospective questions. Current questions are asked in every year in order to explore adolescent developmental pattern. For example, in order to understand adolescent life experiences, we ask adolescents to report their life events in every year. On the other hand, retrospective questions are asked once. For example, in the wave 3 parent interview, parents reported their children's early child care experiences.

The Taiwan Youth Project used a school-based, stratified sampling design. A sample of junior high schools in Taipei city, Taipei county and Yi-Lan county, stratified by the level of urbanization was selected. These three areas located in the northern part of Taiwan have different levels of urbanization and different economic structure. Specifically, Taipei city is the largest metropolitan city in Taiwan; Yi-Lan is a mostly agriculture-based county; and Taipei county is in-between these two regions. Thus, in the first stage of sampling, based on the level of urbanization, we divided Taipei city into three strata, Taipei county into three strata, and Yi-Lan county into two strata. In the second stage, based on the number of students registered in each stratum, we determine the numbers of schools in each stratum. Finally, 40 schools were selected from the pool: 16 schools from Taipei city, 15 schools from Taipei county, and 9 schools from Yi-Lan county. In each school, we randomly chose two classes in each grade and interviewed all students. One parent of students, usually the mothers (about 70%), and the head master of the class were also asked to fill out the parent questionnaire and the teacher questionnaire.

Because in this study we needed some retrospective questions, such as the early family process, the sample was based on the surveys of 7th grade students and their parents from wave 1 to wave 3 (from year of 2000 to 2002). In wave 1, 2696

student in 7th grade and their parents received the questionnaires. About 99.79 percent (N = 2690) of students completed the student questionnaire in the class and about 98.89 percent (N = 2666) of parents filled out the parent questionnaire. In wave 2, most students (99.62%, N = 2683) were re-interviewed. In the wave 3, about 98.77 percent of the original sample (N=2663) completed the student questionnaire in the class, and 75.03 percent of parents (N=2023) received interviews at home. Because of missing sample in these three wave surveys and excluding the sample whose grandparents passed away, and because of listwise deletions of missing data on statistical procedures, our final sample includes 1013 pairs of the students and their parents.

Variables

Independent Variables

Previous research suggested the importance of variations in the effects of paternal grandparents and maternal grandparents. Thus, we tested research models on paternal grandparents and maternal grandparents separately. For example, in the paternal grandparent model, we focused on the contact and relations with paternal grandparents, and whether adolescents lived with paternal grandparents now as well as in early childhood. Thus, all independent variables referred to grandparents consider the paternal and maternal lines. In addition, since family structure is a main baseline for most argument in this paper, the co-residence arrangement will be differentiated and compared for all variables.

(Table 1 about here)

Grandparent-parent contact. Grandparent-parent contact was drawn from the wave 3 parent questionnaire. With respect to paternal grandparent-parent contact, if mothers responded the questionnaire, it was measured by the question: “how often do you contact with your parents-in-law?” If fathers responded, it measured by the questions: “how often do you contact with your parents?” On the other hand, with respect to maternal grandparent-parent contact, if mothers responded the questionnaire, it measured by the question: “how often do you contact with your parents?” If fathers responded, it measured by the questions: “how often do you contact with your parents-in-law?” The range of contact is from 1 (once or twice per year) to 7 (almost everyday). The result shows that consistent with the paternal society, in average, parents have more frequent contact with paternal grandparents (6.62 vs. 5.76 for co-resident pairs) than maternal grandparents (5.13 vs. 5.06 for non-coresident pairs).

Grandparent-teenager early child care. Our measure of grandparent-teenager early child care is a dummy variable. According to parent's reports of early child care arrangement, two items referred to who was the major child caregiver in daytime and nighttime. If paternal grandparents provided care in daytime or nighttime for grandchildren between age 0-3, they were categorized as major caregivers (1 = cared, 0 = none). The maternal grandparent child care was conducted with the same process. For respondents who answered all questions considered in the model, grandparents who parent their grandchildren are much less common, whether co-residing or not. Nevertheless, among those who provide child care, paternal grandparents are more likely to participate (43% vs. 13%) with co-residence structure, but less so (57% vs. 87%) if not co-residing at that time.

Grandparent-teenager co-residence in childhood. Parents indicated whether teenagers lived with paternal/maternal grandparents before three years old. It was also constructed as a dummy variable. If they co-resided with their paternal grandparents at that time, it was coded into 1, those who did not live together were coded into 0. Same treatment applied to the variable of maternal grandparents. The frequency shows that patrilineal co-residence during early childhood is a more common practice among our samples (46%), much higher than the matrilineal co-residence pattern (6%).

Grandparent-teenager co-residence at present. Besides early childhood experiences, grandparent-teenager co-residence at present was asked. Based on the teenager's self-reported household roster, if there were paternal grandparents in the same household, this family was regarded as a complex paternal household with co-residence living arrangement (1 = yes, 0 = no). In addition, if maternal grandparents lived in the same household, this family falls into the maternal complex household with co-residence living arrangement (1 = yes, 0 = no). As expected, there is still more respondents who currently live with paternal grandparents (29%) than with maternal grandparents (7%), but the proportion is lower compared with the childhood experience.

Filial Value. Filial value was conducted by 2-item questions pertaining to providing care for elderly parents. Adolescents were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the following statements: "When parents get older, children have the obligation to take care of them"; and "when elderly parents encounter financial shortage, children have an obligation to provide financial support for them." The

sum of both items is the scale score. The higher the scores, the stronger is the level of filial value. Almost no difference was found among co-residing grandparents of either lineage line (3.72 vs. 3.73), and slightly higher preference was expressed toward non-resident paternal grandparents (3.73 vs. 3.68).

Grandparent-teenager emotional closeness. A strong argument in the research model is the importance of emotional attachment between grandparents and teenagers in mediating the generational relations. Grandparent-teenager emotional closeness was assessed by a question about their feeling toward their grandparents. Teenagers indicated how close they feel to their paternal and maternal grandparents respectively. The range of closeness is from 1 (not close at all) to 5 (extremely close). Results point out that greater closeness is expressed toward co-resident grandparents and maternal grandparents enjoy more emotional closeness than paternal grandparents (4.23 vs. 4.03) when co-residing together, but only slightly higher than their counterparts if not living together (3.57 vs. 3.53).

Dependent Variables

Relations with mothers and fathers were measured by two sets of 12-item questions. Adolescents were presented with a list of situations at home and reported whether it occurred during the past six months when they were with their mother and father. Questions include: “you asked her/his opinion on important things; you cared about your mother/father; you were proud of your mother/father; you were angry with your mother/father; you were negligent toward your mother/father; and you felt your mother/father did not care about you.” The original response ranges from 1 (always) to 7 (never). In order to have consistent direction in the calculation, the values of some items were revised. The sum of 12 items is the scale score, and the range is from 12 to 84. The higher the scores, the better the relations with mother and father. The standardized alpha level of relations with mother is .92, and of relations with father is .93. Results clearly show that relations with mother are better evaluated in all pairs (59.4 vs. 58.1, 57.6 vs. 56.3, 58.5 vs. 56.3, 58.1 vs. 56.9). Co-residence with grandparents contributes to parent-child relations, especially on the paternal side (59.4 vs. 57.6; 58.1 vs. 56.3). For the maternal line, co-residence is less evident in its relations with the parent-child quality evaluated (58.5 vs. 58.1; 56.3 vs. 56.9).

Control Variables

In order to control the effects of demographic factors, there are two control variables in this study: adolescent’s gender and family income. With respect to gender, previous research suggested that daughters are more likely to have better

relations with family members and more willing to take care of elderly parents than sons. Thus, it is necessary to control gender. Gender was based on adolescents' self-reports about their biological sex, 1 for female (48.6%) and 0 for male. Family income is an important indicator of socioeconomic status. It was assessed by the question on total family monthly income. The range is from category 1 (below NT\$ 30,000) to 13 (above NT\$ 150,000). Results indicate that among our samples, family income falls between 3.68 to 4.12, varying by the co-residence as well as by the lineage differences.

VI. Results

This paper intends to unfold whether the generational relations among Taiwanese youth may be affected by the structural arrangement within the family context, especially the childhood experiences. Co-residence with grandparents and pre-school child care arrangement by grandparents are used as indicators for this important family experience. Since possible lineage differential is a focus of study, the following analyses will be separated into the paternal versus the maternal sides.

We will begin with an examination of the lineage differences in the early family process. Table 2 presents the co-residence and the child care arrangement before school age of our adolescent samples, with a special attention to its relationship with lineage lines. Please note that sample sizes are different between table 1 and 2 which may have resulted in percentage differences here. For the purpose of illustration, Table 2 will be used for our argument. As can be seen, co-residence with paternal grandparents is a more common experience than with maternal grandparents since childhood—an expected outcome of the patrilineal culture. (45% of adolescents in Taiwan live with paternal grandparents between age 0-3 in contrast with 7% who reside with maternal grandparents. The corresponding figures for age 3-6 are similar: 40% vs. 5%). In other words, living in a complex paternal household is a more likely early family experience for Taiwanese youth.

(Table 2 about here)

The child care arrangement experience also supports the paternal dominance, but with less differences between lineage lines. Between age 0-3, 15% of adolescents were cared by paternal grandparents as compared with 8% cared by maternal grandparents. With age increase, the percentage declines to 9% and 5% for paternal and maternal grandparents' care at age 3-6. A further examination of the actual involvement of co-residing grandparents in the child care role reveals interesting

results. Let us look at the **paternal** line first. Although grandparents who live together constitute major carer among grandparents who parent the grandchildren (76% and 83% at two stages), grandparents in general do not assume major role for child care arrangement in Taiwan (15% and 9% respectively). Specifically, among co-resident paternal grandparents, only 1/4 participates in actual child care since the childbirth. The proportion is even lower as children's age progresses (i.e., 18% for age 3-6). In other words, the majority of co-resident paternal grandparents do not provide care for their grandchildren; but if paternal grandparents do perform the child care role, they are more likely to be co-residing with their sons.

The result on the role of **maternal** grandparents in child care points out a different pattern. On the one hand, Taiwanese maternal grandparents have lower involvement in grandchildren's care arrangement (8% and 5% at two stages). But with co-residence structure, the percentage of grandparents who parent their grandchildren increases to 54% and 42%. The proportion is much higher than their paternal counterpart (25% and 18%). In other words, grandparents who live with daughters are proportionally more likely to care their grandchildren than those who live with sons. Now, if we turn our focus to all maternal grandparents who provide care to their grandchildren, then the co-residence component is less prominent-- 45% in two stages for maternal grandparents versus their paternal counterpart of 76% and 83% respectively. This means that near half maternal grandparents who take care of their grandchildren before pre-school years have co-resident arrangement, but slightly more important are those who care the grandchildren, but do not co-reside with the daughter's family. In other words, child care demand may be a higher consideration for the decision of co-residence with maternal grandparents.

In short, with regard to the lineage differential in child care arrangement, two clear patterns can be derived from Table 2. Firstly, although paternal grandparents in Taiwan are more likely to co-reside, both grandparents of paternal and maternal lines have low participation in the child care responsibility (between 5%-15%). Secondly, the co-residence experience produces different outcomes for caring the grandchildren in that co-resident paternal grandparents have much lower participation than their maternal counterpart. It is apparent that most co-resident paternal grandparents do not assume the child care role. But among the minority grandparents who do care their grandchildren, co-resident paternal grandparents constitutes major component and also assume more responsibility than the maternal counterpart.

The above statements point out that childhood family experience, namely

co-residence with and child care by grandparents, does have important lineage differentials. Since the focus of this paper is to investigate the possible effect of earlier family experience on present family relations as well as its interplay with the lineage, we will now turn to the analysis of the research model. In order to delineate possible lineage differences, path analyses are performed for paternal grandparent and maternal grandparent separately. We use LISREL to generate simultaneous effects and only significant paths (using standard coefficients) are presented in the following. In general, the result shows that both research models fit our data well.

For Taiwanese youth who reports their relations with paternal grandparents, all preceding variables considered in the model refer to the report with paternal grandparents as well. Using structural equation modeling which allows control on all simultaneous effects, it can be seen that the expected direct effect of childhood family experience, especially in relation to the G1-G3 interaction, has significant effect on the present G1-G3 emotional closeness, but loses its importance in the reported G2-G3 relationship evaluation (see Figure 2). Filial value that teenagers hold also produce significant association with both their subjective emotional closeness with grandparents as well as with relations with mothers.

(Figure 2 about here)

We should point out that among factors accounted for generational interaction considered, the **paternal** side seems to receive better support. All variables are confirmed with significant coefficients relating to the subsequent factor within the model. Specifically, more frequent contact between parents and paternal grandparents (G1-G2 contact) has an effect on teenager's emotional closeness with paternal grandparents (.07). Being cared by paternal grandparents at age 0-3 (.13) also contributes significantly to the perceived closeness between them during adolescence. Furthermore, having co-residence experience, more so for current living arrangement (.13 and .08), clearly leads to affections with grandparents. In other words, earlier as well as present family interactions between generations are positively associated with the emotional closeness between G1-G3.

As a consequence, the positive emotion between paternal grandparents and youth will affect the perceived relations with mothers and fathers, with mothers receiving more significant influence from youth's attitudes toward elder generation (.12 vs. .09). Filial value also has direct effect on relations between G2-G3 (.10). Endorsement with the traditional filial piety is significantly related to the positive evaluation on parent-child relations. It is not surprising that having emotional closeness with paternal grandparents helps the relations between youth and their fathers. Because

more frequent contact between upper generations and more exposure either in childhood or at present with paternal grandparents all produce a stronger bond between teenagers and paternal grandparents. But what is unexpected is that the perception of the relation between G1-G3 of the paternal side still favors the subsequent relations between youth with mothers more than with fathers.

If the relations between youth and paternal grandparents significantly account for relations between youth and both parents, how about the relations between youth and maternal grandparents? This is the question we will investigate next.

The result for the **matrilineal** side indicates a similar pattern among factors examined in the model (see Figure 3). No direct effect among G1-G2 and G1-G3 (Figure 3 about here)

interaction is found on the G2-G3 relationship evaluation. Instead, these effects have direct effect on the G1-G3 emotional closeness which serves as an important mediator between the expected association between earlier childhood family experiences and present parent-youth relations. Filial value toward elderly parental support also contributes to positive relations with maternal grandparents and with both parents.

A closer scrutiny between two models points out two major differences. Firstly, earlier co-residence between youth and maternal grandparents does not explain the present emotional closeness between them. Instead, contacts between parents and maternal grandparents are more significant for affection between G1-G3 than their paternal counterpart. To be cared by maternal grandparents at age 0-3 continues its importance in affecting the present closeness between them. Secondly, affection with maternal grandparents results in positive relationship evaluations with mothers only, not with fathers. It is understandable that maternal generational relations are formed within the context of frequent contact opportunities as well as with subjective feelings toward generational relations. This emotional closeness is obviously restricted to the perceived relations with mothers and does not transmit to the relationship evaluation with fathers. Since more teenagers in Taiwan are exposed to paternal interaction both during childhood as well as at present, the lineage differences found may be attributed to the opportunity structure existent in the family system. Therefore, matrilineal generational relations, discouraged from the paternal cultural norm, may exhibit relatively less effect in the model.

VII. Conclusion

The result generally supports our basic research model. The intergenerational relationship of Taiwanese adolescents are shown to be accounted for by relations of older generations as well as by earlier childhood family experiences. Gender differences, especially indicated by lineage differentials, are specified and findings are able to document the paternal advantage of generational bonds in relation to paternal co-residence. Besides the behavioral aspect, filial values produce significant effects on positive relations toward upper generations among youth. In addition, affection is as expected to be significantly related to prior family experiences as well as to the quality of generational relations perceived. However, it should be noted that earlier family experience and exposure to contact among generations do not have direct effect on the present parent-youth relations, which is instead mediated through the affection reported between grandparent and youth.

The other research question addressed in this paper concerns the child care arrangement and its possible consequence on the intergenerational relations. Our findings reveal interesting results in that earlier socialization experience does produce significant effect on the subsequent affection between carer(i.e., grandparents) and the youth. But it does not directly affect the present parent-youth relations. Among Taiwanese grandparents, only a minority (15%-) provided child care to grandchildren during age 0-3. Among these grandparents, paternal side constitutes larger numbers. However, when examined with the co-residence structure, it is clear that co-resident paternal grandparents actually have much lower proportion than maternal grandparents who participate in the child care of grandchildren (25% vs. 54%). But among grandparents who parent their grandchildren, patrilineal advantage is evident because 3/4 of the paternal component can be attributed to co-residence in contrast with 45% of the maternal counterpart. In other words, despite the fact that co-residence with grandparents in early childhood as well as at present constitute a substantial proportion of youth's family experiences, grandparents do not act as major child carer in Taiwan. But co-residence in general contributes to the possibility of taking a part in it. And this is more apparent for maternal grandparents than among those who co-reside with daughters (a much less proportion than the paternal line), slightly more than half provide care for grandchildren.

In term of specific findings, several points need to be discussed.

(1) All generational pairs should be considered.

The basic argument that intergenerational relations of the youth are resulted from the interplay between each pair of generations concerned is supported.

Interactions of upper generations (G1-G2) as well as present co-residence structure imply greater exposure to the contact opportunity and thus, contribute to the affection formed. From unreported analyses, it is shown that current co-residence with paternal grandparents does facilitate close contacts, which in turn leads to the affection between youth and grandparents. Furthermore, by including all dyadic generational pairs in the model, this paper suggests that future study should focus on possible interplay between generational pairs in the study of adolescent's generational relations.

(2) The early family process matters.

Early family socialization, namely the child care and the co-residence experience from birth to age 3, significantly affect generational relations at adolescence. Looking from the life course perspective, this finding has special important theoretical meaning. Family processes in earlier stage are shown to produce significant consequence in later generational development. The early family experience not only affects present relations between youth and grandparents, it also affects parent-youth relations through the mediation effect.

(3) The patrilineal advantage of grandparenthood deserves more attention.

Grandparent-grandchild affection plays a significant role for the positive relation reported among parent-youth relations. Although all preceding factors do not produce direct effect on this variable, the emotional closeness between G1-G3 clearly mediates in the family process. Most notably, while having closer bond with maternal grandparents is conducive to better relations with mothers only, affection with paternal grandparents relates to the positive evaluation between youth and both parents. In other words, the emotional closeness among patrilineal generations seems to reproduce from grandparents to parents and to adolescents. This indeed exemplifies a patrilineal advantage in the intergenerational relations in Taiwan.

(4) The interplay between values and affection for youth require more studies.

For Taiwanese youth, it is clear that with regard to relations with parents, filial values and affection toward grandparents produce different effects for different lineages. On the paternal side, only closeness with grandparents contributes to the positive relation with fathers. For the maternal concern, an endorsement of filial value explains better relations with fathers. In other words, to focus on the relation between youth and father, it is shown that varying generational factors account for the quality reported.

In sum, this study is able to document that current parent-adolescent relationship quality is significantly resulted from grandparent-adolescent affection. Also, early

care provision from grandparents to youth is indeed an important factor leading to the present affection toward them. In general, result implies that the exposure to contact opportunities during childhood and at present result in emotional bond between generations. Giving the important role of grandparents in contemporary Taiwanese families and in world families in general, relations with grandparents and its possible impact on relations with parents deserve further studies. The analyses in this paper support the importance of including all possible dyadic pairs in generational relations due to the significant effects observed in the interplay. Since there will be growing opportunities of having three generations at home, future studies need to investigate all dyadic relations taken place in the family context. Lastly, lineage distinction is an important aspect in most paternal societies. Comparison between paternal versus maternal generational relations will allow us to delineate lineage effects within the family and will broaden our general understanding beyond the gender differences.

Figure 1: The Research Framework

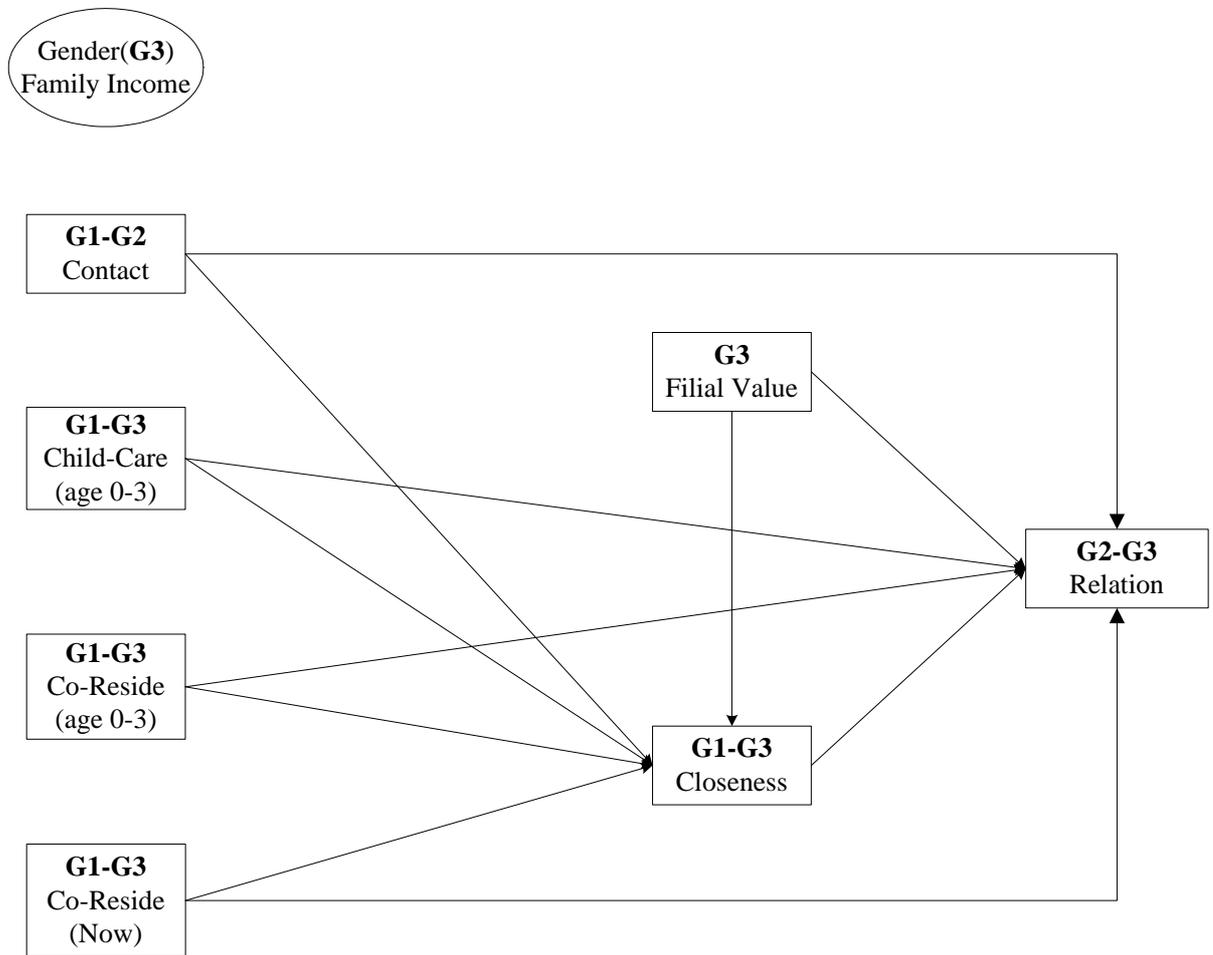


Table 1: Variable Description

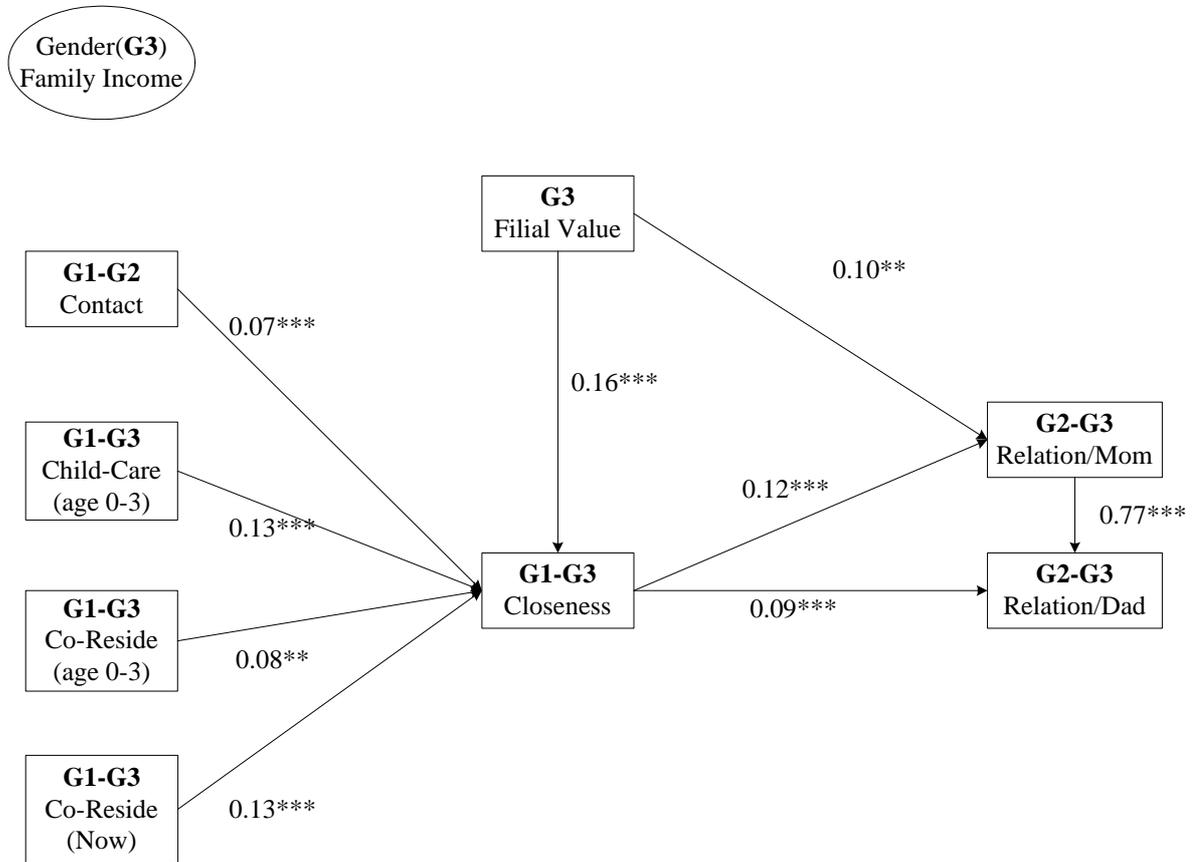
	Paternal					Maternal				
	Co-residence		Non-coresidence		Total	Co-residence		Non-coresidence		Total
	n	%	n	%	n	n	%	n	%	n
N	297	29%	716	71%	1013	74	7%	939	93%	1013
Gender										
Female	147	30%	345	70%	492	39	8%	453	92%	492
Male	150	29%	371	71%	521	35	17%	486	93%	521
	mean	SD	mean	SD		mean	SD	mean	SD	
Family Income	3.68	2.64	4.1	3.1		4.12	3.22	3.97	2.96	
G1-G2 Contact	6.62	0.97	5.13	1.49		5.76	1.47	5.06	1.37	
Child Care (0-3)										
Cared	67	43%	87	57%	154	10	13%	67	87%	77
None	230	27%	629	73%	859	64	7%	872	93%	936
Co-reside (0-3)										
Yes	239	51%	230	49%	469	12	20%	49	80%	61
No	60	11%	488	89%	548	62	6%	894	94%	956
Filial Value	3.72	0.47	3.73	0.46		3.73	0.47	3.68	0.46	
G1-G3 Closeness	4.03	0.99	3.53	1.16		4.23	1.01	3.57	1.11	
Relations with Mom	59.4	11.5	57.6	11.9		58.5	13.1	58.1	11.7	
Relations with Dad	58.1	12.2	56.3	12.5		56.3	13.2	56.9	12.3	

Table 2: The Co-residence and Child-care Arrangement among Taiwanese Adolescent Before Pre-School Ages

	Paternal Grandparents		Maternal Grandparents	
	age 0-3	age 3-6	age 0-3	age 3-6
Co-reside	857 (45%)	774 (40%)	125 (7%)	98 (5%)
Child-Care	287 (15%)	171 (9%)	152 (8%)	92 (5%)
Co-reside	219	142	68	41
/ all co-reside	26%	18%	54%	42%
/ all child-care	76%	83%	45%	45%

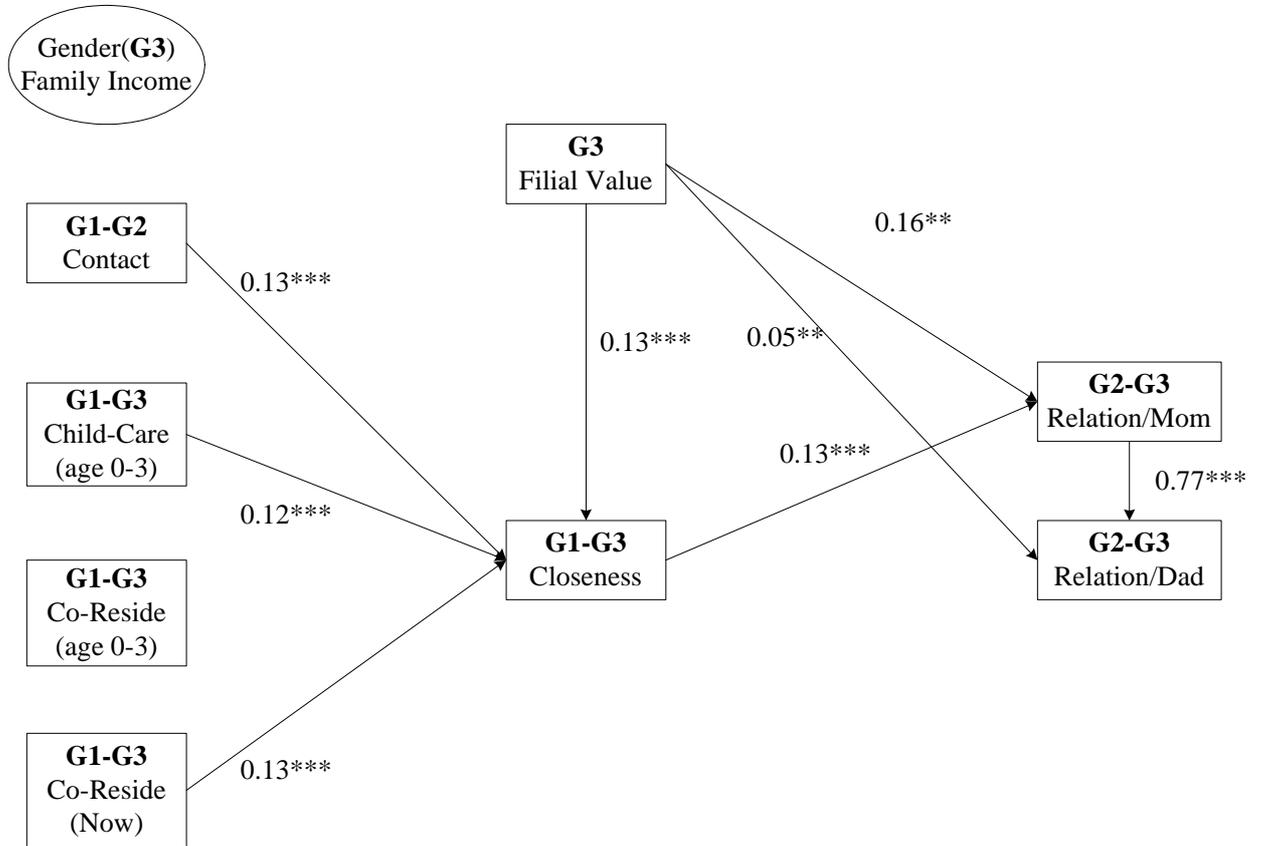
*N= 1917

Figure 2: The Paternal Grandparent Model



N=1066 DF = 5 $\chi^2 = 6.57$ (P = 0.25) NFI = 1.00 CFI = 1.00 GFI = 1.00
 RMSEA = 0.017 Root Mean Square Residual (RMR) = 0.011 Critical N (CN) = 2445.23

Figure 3: The Maternal Grandparent Model



N=1119 DF = 5 $\chi^2 = 11.70$ (P = 0.039) NFI = 0.99 CFI = 0.99 GFI = 1.00
 RMSEA = 0.035 Root Mean Square Residual (RMR) = 0.015 Critical N (CN) = 1443.14

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