

Kin Network and its Effect on the Psychological Well-being of the Youth: The Case of Taiwan

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INTRODUCTION

William J. Goode (1982) in his classic "The Family" indicated that clan, lineage, kinship and other consanguine groups declined during industrialization. The argument is understandable since quite a number of functionally specialized agencies or organizations have taken over many functions which used to be the responsibilities of consanguine groups. However, he still recognized the existence of kin networks in industrialized societies and did not regard them as only a residue of the past. In fact, kin networks are still active in contemporary societies. People have kept in contact with their kin one way or another, such as exchanging gifts, visiting, or offering services or assistance. However, it is undeniable that the ascribed kin relationship in contemporary societies is usually just "an" rather than "the" interpersonal relationship. People have fewer prescribed normative obligations to their relatives. They may maintain intimate relationships with some of their relatives while escaping from others.

In contrast to Parsons' "isolated nuclear family," there is the concept of modified extended family coined by Litwak (1960). Litwak's concept implies that related nuclear families socialize with each other while retaining considerable autonomy and living in different residences or even in distant geographical areas. Litwak and Szeleny's comparative studies on primary group structures in the United States and Hungary emphasized kin, friends and neighbors as the three main primary-group relationships. Nevertheless, besides a few exceptions, sociologists have long tended to regard kinship as a subject of anthropology and generally as a phenomenon of less developed societies or rural areas (Kuper, 1996).

By the 1960s, a number of intergenerational studies suggested that the theme of the decline of extended family in contemporary societies was premature. Beginning in the 1980s, intergenerational relationships have increasingly attracted the attention of a substantial number of sociologists, who challenge the concept of the isolated nuclear family. Although studies focusing on extended familial relationships are concerned largely with relations of the elderly with their adult children (Adams and Blieszner, 1995; Logan and Spitze, 1996; Rossi and Rossi, 1990; Silverstein and Bengtson, 1997), it is emerging that distant relatives

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are also treated as significant kin. One of the interesting demographic findings in studies of middle and later life is that since half- and step-siblings have had patterns of visiting and contact similar to those that occur among biological siblings, they are considered 'real' kin. Another meaningful finding is that the lives of eldest old persons are "increasingly related with incorporated fictive kin and upgraded kin (e.g., elevating a niece to "like a daughter") (Allen et al., 2000)." Studies of gerontology in Taiwan have consistently shown the importance of kin in caring for the aged (Chen, 1999; Hermalin et al., 1996; Chang and Yi, 2006).

The relationship with kin is somewhat different from that with friends. Kinship is an ascribed relationship which may be maintained even in absence of contact or affective involvement. A comparative study of social support relationships among seven western societies found that kinships are more important in instrumental than in emotional assistance (Hollinger and Haller, 1990). A study of social networks in Taipei in the early 1980s indicated that people tend more to seek assistance from their relatives for health care, financial difficulty, marital and other important issues, but are more likely to seek help from friends or co-workers for solving job problems, providing consolation in emergencies, or mediating interpersonal conflicts (Huang, 1985). The findings imply that relatives may be more important sources of social support, even if are seemingly less intimate than friends.

Studies related to extended kin in sociology usually targeted on adult samples, and there is little parallel development in studies on the youth. A critical review highlighted studying adolescence in multiple contexts, including parents, peers and neighborhood, as one of the characteristics of sociology of adolescence in the 90s (Furstenberg, 2000). One of the main arguments is that although adolescents have become less controlled by adults, parents still keep reasonable tabs on their children. Another focus is on parent-child relationships. Among numerous relevant studies, the role of extended kin in the lives of children or adolescents has been investigated. Lareau (2003), for example, described the help from grandmother and aunt in child-rearing of working-class and poor single mothers. Elder and Conger (2000) emphasized "influential grandparents" in his study of Iowa youth. In addition, he also noticed that more than 40% of his studied families reported recent family reunions. These studies informed us of the visibility of grandparent-grandchildren relationships, and the phenomenon of extended kin in lower class or rural families (perhaps farm families). They also in one way or another remind us that extended kin may be worth exploring in the study of adolescence.

In Taiwan as well as in western societies, kin relationships have been less significant due to the near disappearance of active clan or lineage activities. However, we have observed that uncles, aunts and cousins are considered to be close relatives for junior and senior high students since we started our Taiwan Youth Project in 2000. We accordingly designed some questionnaire items detecting kin relationships in addition to parent-child and grandparent-grandchild interactions. In this paper, we will first delineate kin composition and kin size, second observe the effect of modernization or industrialization on kin size, and finally explore the effect of intimate kin on the psychological well-being of the youth and discuss the significance of kin relationships in one of the contemporary Chinese societies, Taiwan.

RESEARCH ISSUES

Kin Composition and Boundary

In western societies, interactions among relatives are dominated much more by kin on the mother's side. A married couple tends to have more contact with the wife's relatives than with the husband's relatives. In care-giving for the elderly, the main supporters are in order daughters, daughters-in-law and then sons. In brother-only sibling groups their wives provide a more nurturing type of assistance (Allen et al., 2000; Goode, 1982). Usually women play an expressive role in coordinating activities with relatives and family friends. In a society with prevalent nuclear and bilateral family systems, kin networks tend to be maternally-oriented.

On the contrary, we may expect a family's kin network to be dominated by paternal relatives in Chinese societies, where patrilineal and patriarchal rules are normative (Lin, 1989; Chang and Yi, 2006). Nevertheless, a number of family studies detected some significant maternal kin relationships. A master's thesis (Tsai 1988) described a different pattern of paternal and maternal kin relationships in nuclear families in Taiwan. Patrilineal rules are evident in residential arrangements, financial support and daily services for the elderly parents. However, in visiting parents, receiving financial support and other assistance in emergencies, either no paternal and maternal differences are found, or sometimes a slightly more maternally-oriented pattern is detected.

Another study (Yi and Lu, 1996; 1999), dealing with subjective and objective family composition, indicates that the objective family compositions are clearly patrilineal in various official surveys, censuses, and academic reports. In some specific occasions with normative requirements, such as Chinese New Year's Eve dinners, patrilineal rule is obvious and wives tend to follow patterns prescribed by patrilineal family structure. In contrast, based on the report on subjective family members (*jia-ren*), there are distinctive differences between wives and husbands. Wives, demonstrating a bilateral family concept, will include both her and her husband's close kin as family members, and husbands reveal clearly a patrilineal consideration. One of our recent studies (Chang and Yi, 2006) revealed that people's attitudes toward co-residing with aged parents are clearly patrilineal-oriented, and female respondents tend to pursue financial support for their own parents while acknowledging the dominance of patrilineal norms. Based on the above findings, we may argue that there is a bilateral pattern, albeit not a maternally-dominated one, in some aspects of daily contacts or intimate relations among relatives in Taiwan.

In addition to matrilineal versus patrilineal relationships, another research issue is the boundary to which kin relations are extended. In Chinese societies as well as western societies, relatives can be ranked by the intensity of moral obligation or interpersonal intimacy (Fei, 1948; Goode, 1982; Rossi and Rossi, 1990). The closest is usually a couple's children and parents; next come their siblings and grandparents, followed by their siblings' children, their spouse's parents and siblings, and then their aunts and uncles, etc.. Yi and Lu's study (1999) on subjective family members in Taiwan concluded that "the most intimate family members are always defined from the typical nuclear to stem and to extended families under the basic principles of lineage and marriage." Unmarried close relatives not living

under the same roof are still very likely to be regarded as family members.

Variations of Intimate Kin Network

The isolated nuclear family concept has been challenged ever since it was coined. The persistence of close intergenerational relationships has been documented in various family studies. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that in most contemporary societies, kin relationships in general have become weaker than before (Goode, 1982; Thornton et al., 1994). People can choose intimate persons among their kin just as they choose friends among co-workers and classmates. Whether a person is more involved with his/her relatives is subject to a number of socio-economic factors (Goode, 1982; Tsai, 1988). Nuclear family may not be a prerequisite for the occurrence of industrialization or modernization in some western European societies, but in most developing countries the family structure has changed and kinship relationships have decreased along the way to socio-economic development.

Following modernization theories, in the earlier industrialized and more highly developed countries people rely more on the nuclear family relations than those of extended kin (Hollinger and Haller, 1990). We may argue that kin relationships will become weaker along with a society's industrialization and urbanization. Consequently, residents who are more educated, working in non-farm sectors or living in urban areas rely less on extended kin relations than those who are less educated, working on farms or living in rural areas.

We mentioned earlier that studies of kinship or kin networks have been conducted more in lower socio-economic class settings and rural areas. However, the effect of class and urbanization on kin relationships is not clear yet. While some studies argue for the prevalence of kin interactions in lower-class families, other studies document the strong kinship ties of the rich (Goode, 1982). Quite a number of studies have detected the negative effect of urbanization on kin contact. In Taiwan, however, it is found that residential duration is a more significant factor than urbanization in determining intergenerational co-residence (Freedman et al., 1994). But it is still a convention to explore the effect of socio-economic status and urbanization on kin relationships. Gender is also a frequently examined aspect in dealing with kinship relationships. Since the female role is more acknowledged than the male's in kin supportive networks (Allen et al., 2000), gender differences in contacts with relatives can be assumed.

Finally, family or household structure, e.g., co-residence of three generations, is also a meaningful factor. In their studies on Japanese families, Rinfuss and his colleagues document that the aged living together with one of their sons may receive fewer visits from his adult children than those living with their spouses or alone. They suggest that "given the obligation of the oldest male sibling, other siblings may feel much less obligation to visit with their parents (Rinfuss et al., 2004)." We suspect that a clear single-son inheritance pattern and the consequent co-residence in Japan result in fewer visits to elderly parents by children living apart from them. In Chinese societies, co-residence is not correspondent to inheritance, and the elderly tend to be a focal point for the family, helping to keep it cohesive (Lin, 1989). We may infer a different pattern, that the youth co-residing with grandparents may have more active kin networks. Furthermore, it is very likely that close relations with grandparents may facilitate children's relations with other kin. In this study, we will observe whether the

network of intimate kin varies due to differences of socio-economic status, rural and urban residence, residential duration, gender and household structure.

Kin Relationships and Psychological Well-being of the Youth

After discussing kin composition and kin network variation of the youth in Taiwan, we will proceed to demonstrate the possible effect of intimate kin networks on personal life. We select psychological well-being to exemplify the effect of kin networks on the lives of youths. Nan Lin's strong-tie proposition is that the "stronger the tie, the more likely that the social capital assessed will positively affect the success of the expressive action." He reminds us that in Chinese societies, kin ties are not the only strong ties; co-workers, school alumni and regional ties can result in strong interpersonal relationships as well, and thus in some occasions the kinship tie may be relatively weak (Lin, 2001). Nevertheless, if intimate relations with relatives are expressed, it may be regarded as having strong ties with kin in one's social network. We accordingly anticipate a positive effect of adolescents' kin relationships on their psychological well-being. In our recent work (Yi et al., 2006), we show that family relations are a more significant factor than family structure in explaining adolescent's depression. We will see whether the intimacy with kin has significant effects on adolescents' psychological well-being.

We assume in the paper that youth's intimacy with extended kin is an extension of their relationships with parents and grandparents. Previous studies have reported that parental support is positively associated with better behavioral and psychological outcomes of the youth (Gecas and Seff, 1990; Fitzpatrick et al., 2005). Family support may serve as a protective factor reducing negative symptoms for the youth. In addition, we argued earlier that a close relation with grandparents may facilitate the youth's relations with other kin. Hence, we will first detect whether the number of intimate kin exerts significant effects on the psychological well-being of the youth in addition to the effect of their relationships with parents and grandparents. We then further formulate the following hypotheses in considering the adolescents' relationship with parents. First, kin network is an independent factor if its effect remains significant after the relationships with parents are controlled. Second, kin relationship is considered a reinforcing factor, if it contributes to the psychological well being of adolescents who have positive relationships with their parents or are in an intact family. Third, kin contact will be regarded as a remedial factor, if it is more favorable to the psychological well-being of adolescents who have a negative relationship with parents or are in a broken family.

MEASUREMENTS AND METHODS

Data

The data are from Taiwan Youth Project, which has surveyed two youth cohorts of a large longitudinal panel sample. A primary principle of the project is to sample the whole class of adolescents. In order to do that, multi-stage stratified cluster sampling which considers urbanization levels (3 strata for each of two metropolitan counties and 2 strata for a rural county), the proportion of the student population in each stratum, and the mean number of students per class in each stratum is used, resulting in 41 classes for each of two cohorts (or

2700 students of 7th graders and 9th graders in 2000) in three adjacent counties of northern Taiwan. Sampled students, one of their parents, their head teacher and the junior high school principal were interviewed beginning in 2000. The project is designed to follow the adolescents into young adulthood and will reach closure for Phase 1 in the year 2007.

The TYP panel study is designed to follow adolescent samples from teenagers into young adulthood. The response rate has been satisfactory. After six waves of surveys, it has retained approximately 65% of the original sample in both youth and parent samples. The quantitative data have been across the junior high to senior high stages and into college. This paper only uses the data of the younger cohort (hereafter, J1) collected in 2001 and 2005, when the respondents are in their second year of junior high and senior year in senior high respectively. Most of the variables are drawn from data of the student questionnaire and a few are from parents' data.

Dependent Variables

1. Kin Network: the Number of Intimate Kin

In the questionnaire, there is a set of items to ask student respondents whether they feel intimate with 10 categories of relatives. The categories include the following relatives or their spouses: (1) father's elder brothers, (2) father's younger brothers, (3) father's sisters, (4) mother's sisters, (5) mother's brothers, (6) father's cousin, (7) sons of father's brothers, (8) daughters of father's brothers, (9) sons of father's sisters or mother's siblings, (10) daughters of father's sisters or mother's siblings, and (11) other relatives.

In Chinese, the kin appellations have patrilineal or matrilineal denotation. For second or third degree relatives, there are more specific appellations for paternal relatives, such as *po-fu* for father's elder brother and *shu-fu* for father's younger brothers, *tang-po* or *tang-shu* for father's elder or younger male cousins, *tang-xiong-di* for sons of father's brothers, and *tang-jie-mei* for daughters of father's brothers. In contrast, *gu-mu* is an appellation for father's sisters, *jiufu* for mother's brother and *yi-mu* for mother's sisters. The sons of father's sisters and mother's siblings are all called *biao-xiong* (senior) or *biao di* (junior) and the daughters called *biao-jie* (senior) or *biao-mei* (junior). The appellations for various relatives in TYP's questionnaire follow these appellations and can be a base for inferring kin composition and boundary.

We combine items (1) and (2) as father's brothers. If our respondents indicate an intimate relationship with each of the categories, a value of 1 is assigned, otherwise it is 0. We construct the variable of kin size by adding the value of all 10 categories of relatives. The highest score will be 10 and the lowest is 0. Our kin network is in fact the number of categories of relatives with intimate relations.

2. Level of General Happiness

In this exploratory study, we draw a simple indicator for the psychological well-being of adolescents, i.e., the general happiness level. Our respondents were asked, "Overall, do you feel happy recently?" A score of 4 is given if the answer is very happy, 3 for happy, 2 for unhappy and 1 for very unhappy.

Independent Variables

1. Gender

Male has a value of 1 and female 0.

2. Socio-Economic Status

Socio-economic status variables include father's education and family income. Father's education is classified into five categories, primary school, junior high, senior high, junior college, and college and above. We construct a set of dummy variables for father's education with college and above as the contrast category. Family income is grouped into six categories by monthly income, less than NT \$30,000 (about US \$900), between NT \$30,000-49,999, between NT \$50,000-69,999, between NT \$70,000-99,999, NT \$100,000 and above, and no records. We take NT \$100,000 and above as the contrast category for the dummy variables of family income.

3. Level of Urbanization and Residential Duration

Townships in Taiwan are classified into seven strata in terms of proportion of employment in commercial sector, employment in manufacturing sector, population aged 15-64, population 65 years old and over, and population with an education of junior college and above, and population density (Hou et al., 2006). The seven strata include core cities, cities, newly developing townships, traditional industrial townships, general townships, aged townships and peripheral townships. We reclassify the seven strata into four categories, core cities, cities, towns (including newly developing towns and traditional industrial towns) and rural townships (including general, aged and peripheral towns). Residential duration is simply how many years a student has resided in the current township.

4. Family Structure and Family Relationship

The indicator of family structure is whether a student co-resides with his/her grandparents (either paternal or maternal). 1 is for co-residing, 0 otherwise. We will test whether coresiding with grandparents leads to a positive or negative effect on one's relationship with other relatives. In addition, we construct several variables related to family relationship. The first is one's intimacy with his/her paternal or maternal grandparents. If there is an intimate relationship with their grandparents, he/she is given a value of 1, otherwise 0. Second, whether one is satisfied with their parents. A score of 4 is given to "Very satisfied," and 3, 2, 1 for "satisfied," "dissatisfied," and "very dissatisfied." In addition, a variable of satisfaction with parents is also constructed: 1 means one is satisfied with both father and mother, and 0 means one is dissatisfied with father or/and mother. It is quite plausible that positive relationships with parents and grandparents have a positive effect on psychological wellbeing. We will estimate further whether kin networks are still significantly associated with psychological well-being after controlling for relationships with parents and grandparents.

Analytical Strategies

As an exploratory study, we treat 2001 and 2005 J1 data separately and observe if there are similar outcomes. We first analyze patrilineal versus matrilineal kin relationships and kin boundary based on the distribution of items of relatives. Afterwards, we observe the determinants of the number of intimate kin and the effect of intimate kin size on general happiness level under the control of socio-economic background variables (hereafter background variables) and family relationship variables. In order to judge whether the kin relationships are a reinforcing or a remedial factor for psychological well-being, we will observe the interaction terms of the number of intimate kin with satisfaction with parents or the family intactness.

FINDINGS

Kin Composition and Boundary

Table 1 is based on the available samples respectively in 2001 and in 2005. In the appendix, there is a similar table based on 1792 samples available in both 2001 and 2005 (Table A-1). The percentage distribution of intimate kin is rather similar in the two tables. Therefore, the differences between the tables are not subject to the attrition of samples and sample bias. We may delineate intimate kin composition and rough kin boundary in terms of total samples available in each survey year, 2683 in 2001 and 1950 in 2005.

Less than 30% of adolescents reside together with their grandparents. Among them, there is a clear patrilineal pattern in which the proportion residing with paternal grandparents is five or six times that residing with maternal grandparents. The difference disappears when intimacy is the criterion. The percentage indicating intimacy with parental grandparents is almost the same as that with maternal grandparents. Both are around 73% in 2001 and around 68 % in 2005, much higher than the percentage for other relatives.

Among relatives of the parental generation (third degree, items 1-4), the percentages indicating intimate relationships range from 42 to 48 in 2001 and from 30 to 40 in 2005. The percentages in 2005 are systematically lower than those in 2001. The clearest pattern is that maternal aunts have the highest percentage. The percentages indicating intimacy with paternal uncles and that with maternal uncles are quite similar, and both are lower than that with maternal aunts. Paternal aunts have the lowest percentage of intimacy.

Among relatives of the adolescent's generation (fourth degree relatives, items 6-9), again, the percentages in 2005 are also substantially lower than those in 2001. Sons and daughters of paternal and maternal aunts, and maternal uncles have higher percentages of intimacy than sons or daughters of paternal uncles. The former includes three categories of relatives, and the latter includes only one category. Therefore, their percentages are not comparable. If we regrouped the sons or daughters of the paternal aunts with the sons or daughters of paternal uncles, we might have acquired similar percentages for paternal and maternal cousins.

Finally, the strength of relationship drops dramatically for the fourth degree relatives of the

parental generation, i.e., father's male cousins (item 5). Other relatives receive only a negligible percentage.

Based on the above findings, we may conclude that there probably is a bilateral pattern in terms of intimate kin networks in Taiwan, but with a slightly stronger matrilineal orientation. This finding is compatible with the findings on females' perceptions of their subjective family members. The most interesting finding is that for adolescents, maternal aunts are the most likely to be intimate, and paternal aunts the least likely. Why the difference? Our speculation is as follows. Our student respondents are mostly (more than 70%) living in a nuclear family setting. In most nuclear families the mother is the one playing the expressive role in the family, and tends to have much more contact with her female siblings. Accordingly, adolescents are more likely to have intimate relationships with their yi-mu (maternal aunts) than with their paternal and maternal uncles (po-fu, shu-fu and jio-jio) and paternal aunts (gumu). In addition, as females, paternal aunts tend perhaps not to interfere with their brother's family business if it is their sister-in-law in charge of the family activities. If the above hunch is plausible, we will see a different pattern for those adolescents co-residing with paternal grandparents will be different. A simple tabulation (not shown) by family structure of our 2001 data partially supports the hunch. The adolescents co-residing with paternal grandparents indicated a much higher percentage of intimacy with paternal aunts than did those not co-residing with paternal grandparents (52.9 vs. 37.1). Nevertheless, as to maternal aunts the percentages are just the opposite (44.2 vs. 48.7).

Although we do not have full network information for delineating kin boundaries, we may offer some plausible inferences based on the much lower percentage of intimacy with fathers' first cousins of our student respondents and the negligible relationships with other relatives. Adolescents in Taiwan have a strong relationship with both their paternal and maternal grandparents (second degree relatives). The strong relationship is extended to siblings of their parents (the third degree relatives and the children of their parents' siblings (the fourth degree relatives). The relationship decreases dramatically for their fourth degree relatives of the parental generation and very possibly also for the fifth degree relatives of their own generation. In other words, it is plausible for us to infer that adolescents in Taiwan may have their intimate kin limited mostly within the third degree relatives of the parental generation and their children. The kin network is somewhat limited and the contact with more distant relatives is rare in general.

Determinants of Kin Size (the Number of Kin)

In this section, we will observe the effect on the number of intimate kin of background variables, variables of family structure, and variables of family relationships (those with closest kin, i.e., parents and grandparents). Background variables are included in the regression model first; subsequently are added family structure variables, and lastly variables of family relationships. Since the pattern of statistical significance of background variables in the models of Table 2 is quite similar, we analyze the results based only on the full model.

There appears to be no gender difference. Among socio-economic status variables, only two variables, the least educated father and the lowest income family, are statistically

Table 1**Intimacy with Relatives and Co-residence with Grandparents, %**

		2005	2001
1.	Paternal Uncles	36.06	44.65
2.	Paternal Aunts	30.82	42.75
3.	Maternal Uncles	35.44	43.68
4.	Maternal Aunts	40.72	47.48
5.	Father's Male Cousins	4.82	11.48
6.	Sons of Paternal Uncles	28.26	43.65
7.	Daughters of Paternal Uncles	25.79	40.63
8.	Sons of Aunts and Maternal Uncles	40.97	57.88
9.	Daughters of Aunts and Maternal Uncles	40.97	53.89
10.	Other Relatives	0.51	2.01
11.	Paternal Grandparents	68.33	73.43
12.	Maternal Grandparents	68.48	72.36
13.	Co-residing, Paternal Grandparents	17.23	23.26
14.	Co-residing, Maternal Grandparents	3.23	4.03
	Number of Cases	1950	2683

APPENDIX**Table A-1****Intimacy with Relatives and Co-residence with Grandparents, %
(based on available samples both in 2001 and 2005)**

		2005	2001
1.	Paternal Uncles	36.05	45.87
2.	Paternal Aunts	32.98	43.64
3.	Maternal Uncles	38.11	45.31
4.	Maternal Aunts	43.64	47.38
5.	Father's male cousins	5.19	12.22
6.	Sons of Paternal Uncles	30.25	45.76
7.	Daughters of Paternal Uncles	27.62	42.19
8.	Sons of Maternal Aunts	43.69	57.87
9.	Daughters of Maternal Aunts	43.92	55.19
10.	Other Relatives	0.56	1.90
11.	Paternal Grandparents	68.12	74.68
12.	Maternal Grandparents	68.68	73.56
13.	Co-residing, Paternal Grandparents	18.53	24.50
14.	Co-residing, Maternal Grandparents	3.52	3.79
	Number of Cases	1792	1792

significant. This implies that only adolescents of the most disadvantageous backgrounds tend to have a smaller number of intimate kin. Among levels of urbanization and residential duration, only the latter shows a statistically significant effect. The findings suggest that the mobile tend to have a smaller number of intimate kin no matter whether they reside in cities or rural areas. Co-residing with grandparents shows little effect on the number of intimate kin. However, the significant coefficients on variables of family relationships indicate that adolescents having intimate relationships with their paternal or maternal grandparents and those who are more satisfied with their parents tend to have larger numbers of intimate kin.

Only one of the background variables, father's education level as primary school, shows a significant coefficient in all the models in the multivariate analysis of 2005 data (see Table 2). In other words, the adolescents whose father is the least educated tend to have a smaller number of intimate kin. Although all dummies of family income have no statistically significant coefficient, the lowest income group of adolescents does have the largest negative coefficient. It parallels somewhat the findings on 2001 data, implying a smaller number of intimate kin for the most disadvantaged adolescents. Residential duration is significant in the model including relationship variables, while it is not significant in the statistical model of background variables. These suggest that the more mobile adolescents tend to have smaller numbers of intimate kin if we hold constant their relationships with grandparents and parents.

As to variables of family structure and relationships in 2005, we notice first that family structure has an insignificant negative coefficient. Second, the coefficients of satisfaction with either father or mother are not significant. Third, the coefficients on intimacy with paternal and maternal grandparents are significant, implying that adolescents' intimacy with grandparents is more likely to lead to intimate relationships with other close kin. In the model of the last column, kin size of 2001 is added to background variables and family relationship variables, and it is positively associated with 2005 kin size. R square of the model increases substantially. This result implies a positive effect of the previous kin relationships on the later ones, and accordingly some stability of kin network of adolescents. Among all the results in the regression analysis of 2005 data, it is most puzzling that level of satisfaction with parents has no effect on kin size, a finding different from that in 2001. Our speculation is that one's relationships with other kin are more a personal choice, not necessarily mediated by parents when one is growing up. As long as one maintains their relationship with his/her grandparents, he/she tends to sustain relationships with his/her other close kin.

Kin Network and Level of General Happiness

In Table 3, for the data of 2001 and 2005 each, there are two statistical models. The first includes background variables and family relationship variables. The variable of family structure is not included because it is not statistically significant in the regression models including family relationship variables. In the second is added the variable of kin size.

Overall, results in all the statistical modes for background variables are quite similar. Only gender and urbanization level are statistically significant and meaningful. Male adolescents

Table 2 Determinants of Intimate Kin Size, 2001 & 2005

Indep Var	2001				2005					
	Coef	Std	Coef	Std	Coef	Std	Coef	Std		
Male	0.060	(.091)	0.060	(.091)	0.153	(.097)	0.074	(.096)	0.061	(.091)
Father's education										
Primary	-0.475	(.172)**	-0.468	(.172)**	-0.505	(.197)*	-0.460	(.194)*	-0.406	(.183)*
Junior high	0.154	(.155)	0.150	(.155)	-0.092	(.177)	-0.122	(.174)	-0.152	(.164)
Senior high	-0.097	(.146)	-0.108	(.146)	-0.193	(.164)	-0.231	(.160)	-0.236	(.151)
Junior college	0.351	(.220)	0.338	(.220)	-0.067	(.195)	-0.103	(.190)	-0.193	(.179)
College										
Family income										
Less than 30,000	-0.578	(.176)**	-0.575	(.176)**	-0.273	(.196)	-0.213	(.196)	-0.127	(.186)
30 - 49,999	-0.390	(.166)*	-0.390	(.166)*	-0.111	(.176)	0.000	(.172)	0.090	(.162)
50 - 69,999	-0.232	(.162)	-0.234	(.162)	-0.052	(.170)	0.037	(.165)	0.172	(.156)
70 - 79,999	-0.227	(.174)	-0.223	(.174)	0.020	(.183)	0.029	(.177)	0.054	(.167)
No record	-0.630	(.229)**	-0.627	(.229)**	-0.135	(.241)	0.032	(.235)	0.107	(.222)
More than 100,000										
Core city										
City	0.083	(.107)	0.081	(.107)	0.025	(.116)	0.020	(.114)	0.002	(.108)
Town	0.210	(.136)	0.192	(.137)	0.066	(.144)	0.031	(.143)	-0.036	(.135)
Rural c4	0.215	(.165)	0.181	(.166)	0.145	(.174)	0.021	(.174)	-0.008	(.165)
Residential duration	0.034	(.009)***	0.032	(.009)***	0.016	(.009)#	0.015	(.009)#	0.012	(.009)
Stem family	0.177	(.105)#	0.177	(.105)#	-0.014	(.105)	0.034	(.119)	-0.207	(.113)
Intimacy with	0.280	(.045)***	0.280	(.045)***	0.350	(.053)***	0.315	(.050)***		
Paternal grandparents										
Intimacy with	0.129	(.045)**	0.129	(.045)**	0.297	(.055)***	0.241	(.052)***		
Maternal grandparents										

Table 2
Determinants of Intimate Kin Size, 2001 & 2005

Indep Var	2001		2005	
	Coef	Std	Coef	Std
Satis with father	0.164	(.078)*	0.124	(.091)
Satis with mother	0.207	(.084)*	0.141	(.104)
kin size 2001			0.269	(.020)***
constant	3.806	(.191)***	2.965	(.213)**
N	2476		1612	
R-Squared	0.024		0.013	
Adj R*R	-0.018		0.004	
			0.789	(.340)*
			1540	
			0.099	
			0.088	
			0.145	(.325)*
			1540	
			0.196	
			0.189	

***p-value < 0.001 **p-value < 0.01 *p-value < 0.05 #p-value<0.10

tend to have a higher level of happiness than females. Those who reside in the least urbanized areas are more likely to be happy.

Among family relationship variables, statistical results for the data of the two survey years are somewhat different. They are similar in that those who are more satisfied with their father or mother are happier. However, the significant effect of intimacy with paternal or maternal grandparents on level of happiness is found in models for the 2001 data and not in those for the 2005 data.

The effect of intimate kin size is significant in the statistical models for both years, under the control of background variables and family relationship variables. This finding supports our hypothesis that one's kin network has its effect independent of an adolescent's relationships with their immediate family. It is worth mentioning that the R-square in 2005 models has been reduced substantially compared to that in 2001 models. This weaker effect is more subject to the weakening effect of family relationship variables than to background variables and kin size.

In Table 4, we attempt to detect whether intimate kin is a reinforcing or remedial factor. If the interaction effect of satisfaction with parents and intimate kin size, or that of family intactness and intimate kin size, is positively significant in statistical models, we may argue a reinforcing effect, since adolescents with better family relationships benefit more from intimate kin. If the effect is negatively significant, we then argue a remedial effect, since those in disadvantaged families tend to benefit more from intimate kin.

In Table 4a's models for 2001 data, intimate kin size, intimacy with paternal or maternal grandparents, and satisfaction with parents are all significantly associated with general level of happiness. While the interaction effect of intimate kin size and satisfaction with parents is statistically insignificant, the coefficient of intimate kin size is significant only at the .10 level. In models of 2005 it is shown that the effect of intimate kin size and satisfaction with parents are both statistically significant while their interaction effect is insignificant. Based on the above findings, we may conclude that no matter whether adolescents are satisfied with their parents or not, the larger their intimate kin size, the higher their level of general happiness is. We cannot label the effect of intimate kin as either a reinforcing or a remedial factor; its effect is independent of an adolescent's relationship with parents.

In Table 4b, the variable of family intactness is added to the statistical models of Table 4a. The effect of intact family is positively associated with level of happiness in the 2001 data, and its interaction effect together with intimate kin size is negatively significant. This implies that junior high students in broken families benefit more from intimate kin than those in intact families, and accordingly there is a remedial effect. However, in the 2005 data, family intactness has no significant coefficient and its interaction effect together with intimate kin is also not significant. It seems that the intimacy with kin is a remedial factor for the early teenagers in the disadvantaged families, while there is little preferential effect in their later years.

Table 3
Socio-economic Background, Family Relationship, Kin size and Level of Happiness

Indep Var	2001		2005	
	Coef Std	Coef Std	Coef Std	Coef Std
Male	.072 (.030)*	.071 (.030)*	.087 (.029)**	.088 (.029)**
Father's education				
Primary	-.002 (.057)	-.010 (.057)	.091 (.059)	.083 (.059)
Junior high	-.004 (.052)	-.003 (.052)	.135 (.053)*	.133 (.053)*
Senior high	-.020 (.048)	-.022 (.048)	.066 (.049)	.062 (.049)
Junior college	-.002 (.073)	.005 (.073)	.059 (.058)	.057 (.058)
Family income				
Less than 30,000	.055 (.059)	.046 (.059)	-.057 (.060)	-.061 (.060)
30 - 49,999	.090 (.055)	.085 (.055)	-.060 (.052)	-.060 (.052)
50 - 69,999	.067 (.054)	.064 (.054)	-.045 (.050)	-.044 (.050)
70 - 99,999	.078 (.058)	.075 (.058)	.050 (.054)	.050 (.054)
No records	.064 (.077)	.053 (.077)	-.100 (.072)	-.100 (.072)
More than 100,000				
Core city				
City	.061 (.035)	.062 (.036)	.006 (.035)	.006 (.035)
Town	.109 (.045)*	.112 (.045)*	-.003 (.043)	-.003 (.043)
Rural	.124 (.055)*	.125 (.055)*	.128 (.053)*	.128 (.053)*
Residential duration	.003 (.003)	.003 (.003)	-.001 (.003)	-.001 (.003)
Intimacy with parental Grandparents	.028 (.015)	.033 (.015)*	-.011 (.016)	-.005 (.016)
Intimacy with maternal Grandparents	.033 (.015)*	.035 (.015)*	.015 (.017)	.020 (.017)
Satis with father	.154 (.026)***	.156 (.026)***	.126 (.028)***	.128 (.028)***
Satis with mother	.199 (.028)***	.203 (.028)***	.120 (.032)***	.122 (.032)***
kin size	.018 (.007)**	.018 (.008)*		
constants	1.439 (.095)***	1.470 (.095)***	2.089 (.103)***	2.104 (.103)***
N	2437	2437	1540	1540
R-Squared	0.133	0.131	0.084	0.081
Adj R-Squared	0.127	0.125	0.073	0.070

***p < 0.001 **p < 0.01 *p < 0.05

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In the paper, we have discussed kin network based on composition, boundary and number of intimate kin. Our major finding is that while co-residence of Taiwanese youth with their grandparents still reflects a strong patrilineal rule, the intimacy with grandparents shows a clear bilateral pattern. The proportion of the adolescents co-residing with their parental grandparents is under 25% and that with their maternal grandparents is under 5%. However, the proportions having intimate relationships with parental and maternal grandparents are both around 70%. Since Intergenerational co-residence of the aged with their married children in Taiwan has been decreasing steadily, the intimacy between grandparents and

Table 4

**Kin Size and Level of Happiness:
The effect of satisfaction with closest kin and family intactness**

a.	2001		2005	
Indep Var	Coef	Std	Coef	Std
Male	0.042	(.030)	0.043	(.030)
Kin size	0.024	(.007)***	0.028	(.015)#
Intimacy with Paternal grandparents	0.041	(.015)**	0.041	(.015)**
Intimacy with maternal grandparents	0.035	(.015)*	0.034	(.015)*
Satis with parents	0.498	(.036)***	0.518	(.068)***
Satis*kin size	-0.006	(.017)	-0.007	(.017)
constant	2.233	(.050)***	2.217	(.068)***
N	2664		2664	
R-Squared	0.098		0.052	
Adj R*R	0.097		0.049	
b.				
Male	0.061	(.031)*	0.044	(.030)
Kin size	0.031	(.007)***	0.063	(.018)***
Intimacy with Paternal grandparents	0.059	(.015)***	0.040	(.015)**
Intimacy with maternal grandparents	0.046	(.015)**	0.035	(.015)*
Intact family	0.139	(.043)**	0.151	(.078)
Satis with parents	0.500	(.037)***	0.256	(.033)***
Intact*kin size	-0.046	(.019)*	0.008	(.021)
constant	2.387	(.059)***	2.103	(.080)***
N	2664		2664	
R-Squared	0.036		0.100	
Adj R*R	0.034		0.018	

*** p-value < 0.001 ** p-value < 0.01 *p-value < 0.05 #p-value < .10

grandchildren is perhaps a more pertinent indicator of intergenerational relationship than co-residence.

Based on adolescent's intimacy with other close relatives, we detect a bilateral pattern with a slightly matrilineal inclination in which mother's sisters are most likely to be the intimate relative. We speculate that the inclination is a reflection of the mother's expressive role in the nuclear family. Our data indeed reveal that in a patrilineal stem family, paternal aunts more likely to be intimate kin than maternal aunts. However, the proportion of adolescents residing in the nuclear family is more than twice that in the stem family, and accordingly, maternal aunts in general are more likely to be the intimate kin of adolescents than are paternal aunts. We anticipate even a stronger pattern of matrilineal-oriented kin relationships in the future if intergenerational co-residence keeps decreasing.

Even though kin relationships remain in contemporary societies, we may expect a continuous decrease of kin size. According to our analysis, an adolescent's intimate relationships with kin are limited primarily within the third degree relatives of the parental generation and the fourth degree relatives of the adolescent's generation. The intimacy with kin has systematically declined from 2001 to 2005 for all categories of relatives listed in the questionnaire. This may imply that the intimate relationships with kin are also decreasing in the process from early to late adolescence and perhaps continuously to early adulthood, in which a person is more and more involved in non-familial modes of social organization as suggested by Thornton and his colleagues (1994). Therefore we may detect in the future that the same respondents of our survey will be less intimate with their close kin than in their senior high school years.

We use number of intimate kin as an indicator of kin networks. In our analysis on the determinants of intimate kin size, the results do not follow what a modernization perspective predicts. Kin size does not vary by gender. Although it is assumed that a wife or a mother plays an expressive role in a nuclear family, the expected family role of wife and mother is not observed among female adolescents. Another finding is that adolescents with the least educated father or the least family income have a smaller number of intimate kin, compared to adolescents of other socio-economic groups. It is perhaps reasonable for us to infer that the most disadvantaged adolescents are less able to develop intimate relationships with their uncles, aunts and cousins. The reason is that parents of the most disadvantaged adolescents are not in frequent contact with their siblings because they are busy earning a living and do not have much spare time, or they are not willing to expose their disadvantaged situations in contact with relatives.

There is a significant effect of residential duration on kin size, but no effect of urbanization level. In Taiwan, the climax of rural urban migration was in the period of the 1970s and 1980s. Most of our urban adolescent respondents are born in the city. We may find a substantial number of non-migrant adolescents in urban areas as well as in rural areas. It is not rural or urban settings resulting in the variation of number of intimate kin. Those adolescents staying in their birthplace tend to have more relatives living around them and are thus likely to have larger number of intimate kin.

We observe the effect of kin size on adolescents' level of general happiness. We find little effect of socio-economic status on general happiness level. Nevertheless, male adolescents are happier than female adolescents, and those residing in rural areas are happier than those residing in cities. As to family relationship and closest kin variables, satisfaction with parents has the strongest effect. In addition, number of intimate kin has a stronger effect than the intimacy with grandparents. Perhaps adolescents' relationships with grandparents are closely associated with the adolescents' relationships with parents. Or, we should include grandparents as part of the kin network.

Our analyses also indicate that the effect of kin may decline in the course from adolescence to adulthood. This is comparable to the pattern we derive in the analysis of kin composition. In our further analyses is detected a remedial effect only in our 2001 data for adolescents in broken families. In general, kin interaction does not benefit adolescents in broken families more than those in intact families.

We may conclude tentatively as follows. The co-residence of the youth with grandparents dominated by patrilineal rules is correspondent to the concept of the objective family in Taiwan. However, the decreasing rate of grandparent-grandchild co-residence does not imply a concomitant decrease of intergenerational relationships. As the concept of subjective family suggests, intimate relationships between the youth and their grandparents imply a bilateral pattern, and those between the youth and their third degree or fourth degree relatives also reflect a bilateral pattern but with a little more matrilineal inclination. Although kin relations or kin networks remain prevalent in contemporary Taiwan, the relationships are more significant for younger adolescents, may decline along the course from adolescence to adulthood, and have only a weak effect on psychological well-being as an independent factor.

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JOURNAL OF COMPARATIVE FAMILY STUDIES

ABSTRACTS (English)

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Housework and Gender in Nuclear Versus Extended Family Households: Experiences of Taiwanese Immigrants in Canada

This paper examines intergenerational and gender relations in the Chinese family system by comparing the division of household labor in nuclear and extended family households. In-depth interview data with thirty-seven new Taiwanese immigrants in Canada show that, in their household practices in Taiwan, the presence of the older generation intensifies the gendered division of labor between spouses, even in matrilineal residences. Husbands do not participate in housework in either patrilocal or matrilineal households. However, shared housework between couples is observed among less well-to-do nuclear families. In general, the dominance of traditional gender norms prevails, especially under extended family living arrangements. In contrast, nuclear family arrangements provide conditions for gender equality.

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Kin Network and its Effect on the Psychological Well-being of the Youth: the Case of Taiwan

In the course of fast economic development, a significant concomitant impact on the family

system in Taiwan is the weakening of kinship relationships. Nevertheless, denser interactions among kin compared to western societies are still documented. Kin remains one of the major sources of social support in Taiwan. In the paper, we explore the effect of kin networks on the psychological well-being of adolescents based on survey data from the Taiwan Youth Project in 2001 and 2005. We first delineate the composition and boundary of kin networks and then analyze factors accounting for variation in intimate kin networks of adolescents, using the number of intimate kin as the indicator. The major findings are as follows. Intimate relationships between the youth and their grandparents imply a bilateral pattern. The kin network of the youths is limited mostly within the third degree relatives of their parental generation or the fourth degree relatives of their own generation, and reflect also a bilateral pattern but with a little more matrilineal inclination. Adolescents in the most disadvantaged families tend to have a smaller number of intimate kin. As expected, intimate relationships with parents and grandparents lead to larger numbers of intimate kin. In addition, the number of intimate kin significantly affect the psychological wellbeing of the youth, somewhat weak but independent of parental relationships (although it is a weak association, but has achieved independent statistical significance after control for the effect of parental relationships). Although kin relations or kin networks remain prevalent in contemporary Taiwan, the relationships are more significant in early adolescence, and may decline along the course from adolescence to adulthood.

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JOURNAL OF COMPARATIVE FAMILY STUDIES

ABSTRACTS (French)

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Tâches ménagères et sexe dans la famille nucléaire par rapport à la famille étendue: expériences des immigrants Taïwanais au Canada

Ce document étudie les relations entre les générations et entre les hommes et les femmes dans le système familial chinois en comparant la répartition des tâches ménagères au sein des familles nucléaires et des familles étendues. Des entretiens approfondis avec trente-sept nouveaux immigrants taïwanais au Canada indiquent que dans leur fonctionnement familial à Taïwan, la présence de l'ancienne génération intensifie la division sexuée du travail entre les conjoints, même dans les foyers matrilocaux. Les maris ne participent pas aux tâches ménagères, que ce soit dans les foyers patrilocaux ou matrilocaux. Toutefois, le partage des tâches ménagères au sein du couple se remarque parmi des familles nucléaires moins nanties. En général, la domination des normes sexuées traditionnelles prévaut, en particulier dans les familles étendues. Au contraire, les familles nucléaires créent les conditions de l'égalité des sexes.

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Les effets du réseau de parenté sur le bien-être psychologique des jeunes : le cas de Taïwan

Un impact important sur le système familial du développement économique rapide de Taïwan a été un affaiblissement des relations de parenté. Néanmoins, par rapport aux sociétés occidentales, les interactions entre les membres d'une même famille restent plus intenses. La famille demeure ainsi l'une des sources principales de soutien social à Taïwan.

Dans cet article, nous explorons l'effet des réseaux de parenté sur le bien-être psychologique des adolescents sur la base des données fournies par les enquêtes du "Taiwan Youth Project" de 2001 et 2005. Nous présentons d'abord la composition et les limites des réseaux familiaux, puis analysons les facteurs de variations des réseaux de parents proches des adolescents, utilisant le nombre de parents proches comme indicateur.

Les principaux résultats sont les suivants. Les relations rapprochées entre les jeunes et leurs grands-parents observent un modèle bilatéral. Le réseau de parenté des jeunes est en général limité aux parents de 3ème degré de la génération de leur père et mère, ou parents de 4ème degré de leur propre génération. Il suit également un modèle bilatéral mais avec une légère inclination matrilinéaire. Les adolescents des familles les plus socio-économiquement désavantagées tendent à avoir un nombre inférieur de parents proches. Comme escompté, des relations rapprochées avec les parents et les grands-parents génèrent un nombre plus élevé de parents proches. Aussi, le nombre de parents proches affecte de façon importante le bien-être psychologique des jeunes, cela de façon indépendante des relations strictement parents-enfants. Bien que les relations et réseaux familiaux restent répandus dans le Taïwan contemporain, ces relations ont plus d'importance au début de l'adolescence, et peuvent décliner avec le passage de l'adolescence à l'âge adulte.

JOURNAL OF COMPARATIVE FAMILY STUDIES

ABSTRACTS (Spanish)

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Trabajos domesticos y género en los hogares de las familias nucleares frente a las familias numerosas: experiencias de los inmigrantes taiwaneses en Canadá

Este documento examina las relaciones intergeneracionales y de género en el sistema familiar chino comparando la división del trabajo doméstico en los hogares de las familias nucleares frente a las familias numerosas. Los datos extraídos de entrevistas exhaustivas con treinta y siete nuevos inmigrantes taiwaneses en Canadá demuestran que en sus actividades familiares en Taiwan, la generación más veterana intensifica la división por género de los trabajos entre las esposas, incluso en residencias matriarcales. Los maridos no participan en las labores domésticas ni en hogares patriarcales ni matriarcales. Sin embargo, se observa un reparto de las labores entre parejas en las familias nucleares con menos recursos. En general, prevalece el dominio de las normas de género tradicionales, especialmente en cuanto a la organización de la vida de las grandes familias. Por el contrario, la organización de las familias nucleares facilita las condiciones para la igualdad de género.

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Efectos de la red de parentesco en el bienestar psicológico de lo jóvenes: el caso de Taiwan

A lo largo del desarrollo económico de Taiwan, puede observarse que el sistema familiar taiwanés ha recibido de modo concomitante un impacto en la debilitación de las relaciones de parentesco. Aún así, éstas pueden documentarse de modo más denso que en las sociedades occidentales, pudiendo decirse que la parentela se mantiene como una de las principales fuentes de apoyo social en Taiwan. En el presente trabajo exploramos el efecto positivo de las redes de parentela en la estabilidad psicológica de los jóvenes, basándonos en un proyecto de investigación que condujimos entre los años 2001 a 2005. En primer lugar fijaremos la composición y límites de la red de parentesco, y luego analizaremos los factores que actúan como variantes en las relaciones interpersonales de parentela, utilizando el número de "parientes íntimos" como indicador. Los principales resultados ha sido los siguientes. Las relaciones íntimas entre los jóvenes y sus abuelos actúan de modo bilateral. La relación de parentela de los jóvenes queda limitada por lo general al tercer grado de parentesco dentro de la generación de los padres, o dentro al cuarto grado de parientes dentro de la propia generación. Estas relaciones también son bilaterales y se inclinan más del lado matrilíneal. Los adolescentes de las familias con más desventajas, tienden a tener un número menor de parientes íntimos. Y, como era de esperar, las relaciones próximas entre padres y abuelos generan un mayor número de "parientes íntimos"; lo cual, adicionalmente, afecta el bienestar psicológico de los jóvenes. Dicha asociación es débil pero significativa estadísticamente, pues es independiente de las relaciones paternas. Aunque la relaciones de parentesco o redes parentales continúan prevaleciendo en Taiwan, dichas relaciones son más significativas en la temprana adolescencia, y pueden declinar a lo largo de la adolescencia y de la madurez.