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## **Family and household composition in Asia**

**Albert Esteve and Chia Liu**

### **Introduction**

In this chapter, we examine patterns and trends in household size and living arrangements in Asia with the goal of highlighting the prevalent characteristics of Asian families while showing diversity across countries and changes over time. We combine data from censuses and surveys in 13 countries from 1980 to 2010, focusing on two different perspectives. First, we take the household perspective, in which the household is the main unit of analysis. In doing so, we utilise indicators such as household size, distribution of households by number of members, and composition of households by age group. Second, we use the individual as the unit of analysis or take the individual's perspective to identify living arrangements by age for each person within our datasets. For the sake of comparability, we focus on the most common relationships such as parental, spousal, and filial affiliations. Such information is often available when household members are recorded by censuses and surveys (De Vos and Holden 1988). The individual's perspective facilitates the disentanglement of the internal structure of domestic groups by showing vertical and lateral forms of coresidence. It is essential to remember that such demographic information alone often cannot explain the forces of change underlying cultural norms. Further qualitative studies targeting specific

populations are required to fully understand the reasons for shifts in traditional practices.

Asia is divided into the sub-regions of East Asia, South Asia, Southeast Asia, West Asia, and Central Asia. This division is commonly used in demographic and sociological studies on families in Asia (e.g. Quah 2008; Therborn 2004). The countries within in each sub-region show some degree of similarity with respect to household, kinship and marriage systems. Because of the scope and introductory nature of this chapter, we do not investigate regional and social differences within countries. For example, India is geographically larger and more populated than Europe, with a striking level of internal diversity regarding the force of patrilocality, arranged marriages and gender roles (Chaudhuri and Roy 2009; Therborn 2004). Ethnic diversity is evident in countries like Malaysia, which harbours three main ethnic groups—Malays, Chinese, and Indians—each displaying unique preferences for intergenerational coresidence (Chan and DaVanzo 1994). Vietnam is another country that fosters multiple kinship systems: the ethnic Kinh group observes patrilineal customs similar to Confucian China, whereas the Khmer and Chamic groups are characterised by bilaterality similar to other countries in Southeast Asia (Guilmoto 2012).

This chapter provides a panoramic view of residential patterns in Asia, sacrificing the details of the historical, cultural, and social influences that drive their internal heterogeneity. Due to the availability of large, harmonised, recently released micro data exemplified by the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS) International, it is possible to conduct a comparative analysis of cross-national living arrangements in countries ranging from the extensively explored China to the lesser-known Mongolia.

For countries that are not represented in the IPUMS dataset, evidence is gathered from national statistical offices and other sources.

## **Background**

Family is one of the most fundamental institutions in people's lives. It determines the context of one's place in his or her social vortex and provide a capacity for collective emotional and financial resource sharing. In the field of Demography, household is often used as a basic unit of analysis, as it determines the social and economic consequences of its members. Understanding family and household composition is essential to unravelling any given society's social norms and practices. However, family and household are concepts distinctive by two main characteristics. First, a household may consist only of one person, whereas a family must contain at least two members. Second, the members of a multi-person household need not be related to one another, hence not all households contain families, whereas the members of a family must be related (McFalls, 2007; UN, 2016). Moreover, families may have members beyond the household. Due to the constraints of census definitions, we focus mainly on family relationships within households, with an emphasis on spousal, parental and child relationships. Therefore, the term "families and households" will frequently be used conjointly throughout this chapter.

Living arrangement is determined by the interaction of three factors: demographic, economic, and cultural. First, demography shapes the context of opportunities for coresidence. Societies with high fertility have larger households than societies with low

fertility. Increased life expectancy expands opportunities for intergenerational coresidence as the time of overlapping among generations lengthens. Second, economic and cultural factors are the driving forces behind the materialisation of such demographic opportunities for coresidence. In pre-industrial agrarian societies, children relied on parental financial resources, whereas parents counted on filial support as they aged, leading to multigenerational coresidence. Industrialisation and wage labour were posited to simplify household structure and increase nuclear households because they reduce intergenerational dependence (Goode 1963). In modern Asian societies, economic factors such as housing availability and affordability force resource sharing through intergenerational coresidence despite the fact that employment has now been extended beyond family businesses, whereas in the past, individuals lived and worked with family members (Chan and DaVanzo 1994; Martin 1989; Chaudhuri and Roy 2009). Third, cultural norms assert substantial influence on intergenerational coresidence through the expectation to fulfil filial duties. Confucianism, which stresses the importance of caring for and respecting elderly family members, serves as a foundation of social norms in countries such as China, Japan, and Taiwan (Sereny 2011; Zimmer and Korinek 2010; Lin et al. 2003; Goody 1961; Thornton and Fricke 1987). Demographic, economic and cultural factors can interact in many complex ways that often produce outcomes inconsistent with evolutionary presumptions such as those proposed by modernisation theory.

If we were to pinpoint one remarkable attribute of Asian family life that sets Asia apart from the rest of the world, it would be the importance of intergenerational coresidence. The majority of people in Asia, including the elderly, do not live alone. According to *Living Arrangements of Older Persons Around the World*, published by the United

Nations' Population Division in 2005, 74 per cent of individuals in Asia who are aged 60 and over live with children or grandchildren, compared to 26 per cent in Europe. Multigenerational households, either in the form of stem or joint families, are widespread in Asia compared to other parts of the world (Ruggles and Heggeness 2008; Bongaarts and Zimmer 2002). The basis of multigenerational households is the exchange in which the elderly benefit from the emotional and financial support of their children, while the children benefit from the family or economic support of their parents. As a region deeply influenced by Confucianism, many countries, especially those in East Asia, hold filial piety as a crucial element of moral integrity (Goode 1963; Zimmer and Kwong 2003; Chu, Xie and Yu 2011). The ideal of filial piety, which demands lifelong devotion to the well-being of one's elders, extends into South Asia with even greater intensity despite that the subregion's different religious and moral codes, such as those of Hindus in India and Muslims in Pakistan. South and East Asia remain strongholds of patriarchy, which is manifested in the parental control over children's marriages and the determination of post-marriage patrilocal coresidence. Patrilocality remains a strong institution in countries such as China, India, Pakistan, Japan, Taiwan and South Korea, but its intensity and pace of change vary over time (Chung and Shibusawa 2013, Tsuya et al. 2010; Thornton and Fricke 1987; Martin and Tsuya 1991; Lin et al. 2003; Logan, Bian and Bian 1998; Frankenberg, Chan and Ofstedal 2002).

From the adult children's perspective, patrilocality does not mean that all married sons must live with their parents; however, at least one, usually the eldest, should assume that responsibility. When only one married child, usually a son, lives with his spouse and his parents, the family is often named as a stem family. In contrast, in countries like

India many families consist of all married sons and unmarried daughters living together with their parents, and they are regarded as joint-families (Allendorf 2010; Goode 1963). The distinction between joint and stem family is thus marked by the existence of a single couple per generation in a stem family versus multiple couples of the same generation in a joint-family. In the traditional, patrilocal, stem household system, both men and women marry early and live with the husband's parents (Goody 1961), although there are some across and within country variations on this pattern (Fauve-Chamoux and Ochiai, 1998). In the joint-household systems, the percentage of married sons who live with their parents tends to be higher than in stem-household systems because multiple married sons are obliged to live with their elderly parents, with the elderly male as the figurehead (Cain 1986). From the older generation's point of view, a high percentage of parents co-reside with their children in both stem and joint-family systems, compared to the nuclear-family system.

Old age support is not confined to the patriarchal system. In a bilateral system, exemplified by Cambodia and Thailand, both sons and daughters are likely to provide personal care to parents through coresidence (Bongaarts and Zimmer 2002). In Thailand, for example, parents often prefer or are expected to co-reside with a married daughter (Piotrowski 2008; Knodel, Chayovan and Siriboon 1992; Knodel, Saengtienchal and Sittitrai 1995). Under that system, we expect similar proportions of married men and women to live with parents, whereas in a patriarchal system, we expect to observe a much higher proportion of coresidence between parents and their sons because married sons shoulder the major responsibilities of caring for their parents.



A sizeable literature examines the evolution of family systems in Asia. Modernisation theory predicts that as countries advance economically, the pervasiveness of multigenerational living arrangements declines as a result of urbanisation, economic development, and increased value given to privacy (Goode 1963; Quah 2008). Supporting this theory, we observe that overall, economically advanced countries such as Japan, Taiwan, and Korea are experiencing a decline in intergenerational households (Frankenberg, Chan and Ofstedal 2002; Martin and Tsuya 1991), but very little decline has been detected in China, India and Vietnam, despite their substantial economic development in recent decades. In contrast to the prediction of modernisation theory, the constraint imposed by housing prices and the shift from parental needs to mutual needs have encouraged continual intergenerational coresidence. High levels of intergenerational coresidence have been found in urban settings due to housing constraints and the high cost of living (Chaudhuri and Roy 2009; Teo 2006; Logan, Bian and Bian 1998; Chan and DaVanzo 1994; Martin 1989). The traditional paradigm built on filial piety, or attendance to parental needs, has also shifted to include attention to children's needs in their life courses, thus creating a more symbiotic living arrangement for both generations (Logan, Bian and Bian 1998). The older generation often assumes a caretaking role for grandchildren and in some cases, provides housework and financial relief (Frankenberg, Chan and Ofstedal 2002).

The decline of fertility in Asia has raised concerns over old age support in rapidly greying societies. A smaller number of children implies that fewer sons will be available to take on parental care, challenging the traditional patriarchal system of fully relying on sons as old-age insurance. China's One Child Policy, implemented in 1979 following the 'later-longer-fewer' campaign, was the most extreme antecedent of

fertility decline (McNicoll 1996). Despite China's fertility decline, there is no evidence of major shifts in intergenerational coresidence (Zimmer and Kwong 2003). It can be speculated that because only one child needs to co-reside with his or her parents, provided the rate of childlessness remains low, the decline in fertility should not limit the possibility to continue the traditional system of old age care (Knodel, Chayovan and Siriboon 1992; Knodel, Saengtienchal and Sittitrai 1995). However, almost all countries in Asia show a decline in intergenerational coresidence, to varying degrees. It should be noted that the decline of coresidence does not always imply a weakening of filial-parental ties because adult children may live within a short distance and offer financial or emotional support (Freedman, Chang, and Sun, 1982; Hermalin 2002, Knodel and Chayovan 2008a; Knodel and Chayovan 2008b; Zhao, 2001).

Within this context, this chapter examines household size and living arrangements in Asia. We scrutinise whether changes in household size have had an impact on internal household structures with respect to the level of intergenerational coresidence. We explore the prevalence of post-marriage intergenerational coresidence, especially the differences between societies with patriarchal and bilateral household systems. We also examine intergenerational coresidence from both the older and younger generations' perspectives.

## **Data**

The inclusion of countries in this study was conditioned by the availability of data and varies between the first and second parts of the analysis (household and individual perspectives). For the household perspective, we present basic indicators such as

average household size, which do not require micro data. The individual perspective, however, is more data demanding and requires individual records to be organised into households. Therefore, the total number of countries included in the analysis from the perspective of the household is larger than that from the perspective of the individual because micro data were not readily available for all of the countries within the scope of the study.

To analyse residential patterns from the household perspective, we examine the average size of households, distribution of households by size, and household composition by age of its members. Data for these analyses are obtained from the United Nations Development Program (for Myanmar), the United Nations Population Fund (for Iran), the Demographic Health Survey (for Bangladesh), the Luxembourg Income Survey (for China, Japan, South Korea and Taiwan), the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series—IPUMS (for Cambodia, China, India, Indonesia, Iran, Malaysia, Mongolia, Nepal, Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand and Vietnam), and each country's statistical offices. Aggregating the above datasets, we created household-level analyses for 25 countries.

To analyse residential patterns from the perspective of the individual, on the other hand, requires more detailed data. Thus, we have relied heavily on the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series International micro data. The IPUMS is an international collaboration between national statistical offices, which has been led by the Minnesota Population Center. IPUMS provides access to harmonised census micro data for research purposes. For our analysis, we have used data from different years for the following 12 Asian countries with a total of 32 samples: Cambodia (1998, 2008), China (1982, 1990), India (1983, 1987, 1993, 1999, 2004), Indonesia (1980, 1985, 1990, 1995, 2000, 2005, 2010),

Iran (2006), Malaysia (1980, 1991, 2000), Mongolia (1989, 2000), Nepal (2001), Pakistan (1998), the Philippines (1990, 1995, 2000), Thailand (1980, 1990, 2000), and Vietnam (1989, 2009). Unfortunately, micro data for Japan, Taiwan, South Korea, and (for recent years) China are not available via IPUMS or other sources. However, the IPUMS samples provide a wide range of harmonised pointer variables that identify the presence of mother, father, spouse and child for all members within a household. Using these pointer variables, we were able to create three new variables: living with at least one parent, living with spouse, and living with at least one child.

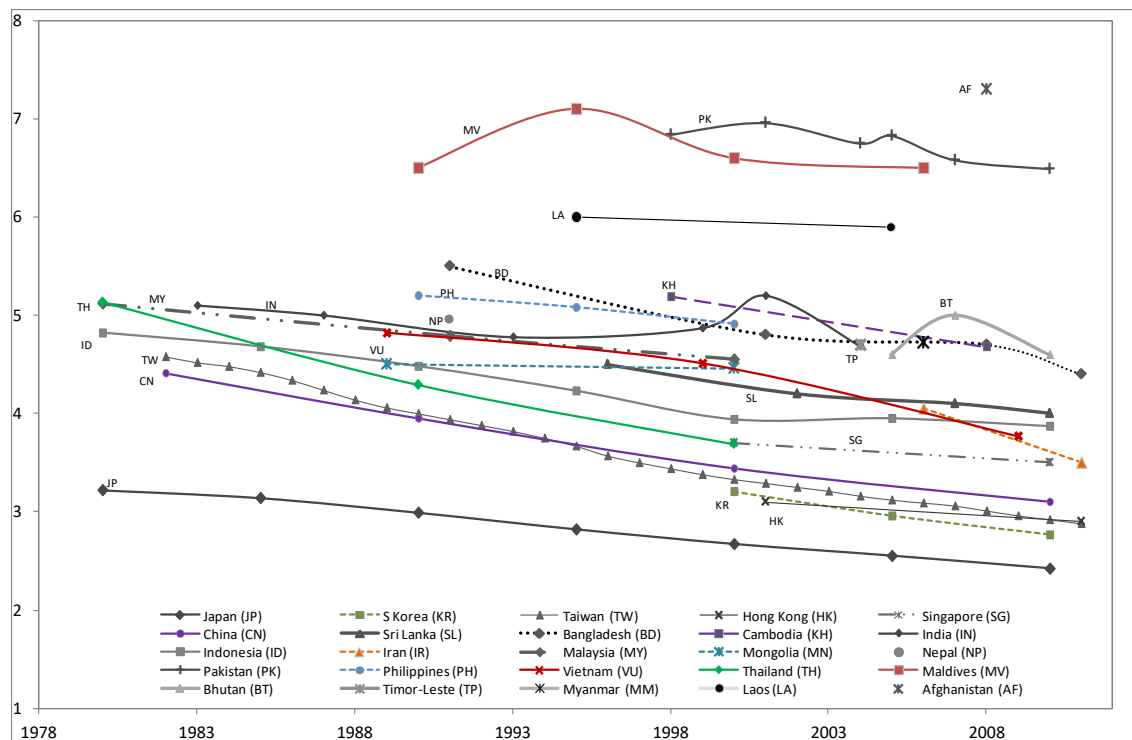
Enumeration techniques often vary from census to census regarding how an individual is recorded. Most censuses have followed the *de jure* approach, such as in India; some were conducted according to the *de facto* procedure, exemplified by Malaysia; whereas others, namely in Cambodia (in 2008), Mongolia, and Pakistan, used the combination of the two. Considering that the *de jure* method counts individuals at their official or usual residences, whereas the *de facto* method records them at their physical locations, the concept of household for countries included in the study is not exactly the same, although the impact on our conclusions is relatively small.

### **Household perspective**

Figure 20.1 shows the average size of households for 25 countries in Asia from 1980 to 2011, and it ranges from 2.4 (Japan, 2010) to 7.3 (Afghanistan, 2008) persons per household. Between those two levels, we observe a cluster of countries where the average size of households was between 3 to 5 persons over the study period. The mean

household size was larger than 5 persons in Laos, Pakistan, the Maldives, and Afghanistan. In contrast, the East Asian countries of Japan, South Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and China all have smaller households in comparison with other countries included. Overall, changes over time show a decline in household size. Japan has declined from 3.2 persons in 1980 to 2.4 in 2010, China from 4.4 in 1982 to 3.1 in 2010, and India from 5.1 in 1983 to 4.7 in 2004. Despite the overall decline, we do not observe a convergence in household size, but rather that its cross-country differences remain stable over time. The size of the household largely depends on the number of children as indicated by the fact that larger households are often found in countries with higher fertility, but it is also influenced by the presence of other relatives in addition to the spouse and children of the household head. In countries like India, these live-in relatives are likely to be parents-in-law or children-in-law, though they mainly consist of parents-in-law in Indonesia and the Philippines (Bongaarts 2001).

*Figure 20.1* Average household size by country, Asia 1980-2010

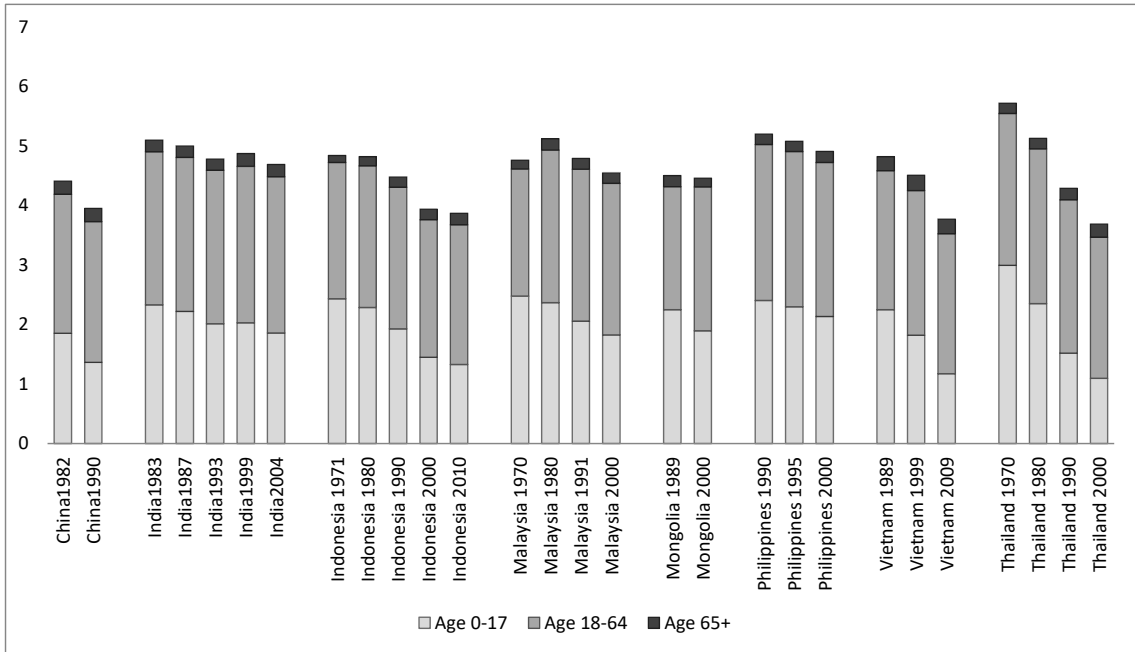


Sources: National statistical offices, IPUMS—International, Demographic Health Surveys and United Nations data.

The strong relationship between average household size and the level of fertility is clearly revealed by Figure 20.2, which shows the mean size of households and the share of household members aged 0-17, 18-64, and 65 and above for selected Asian countries with more than one data point. Fertility decline has been taking place throughout Asian countries in recent decades. For Asia as a whole, total fertility fell from 5.8 children per woman in 1950-1955 to 2.2 in 2005-2010 (UN 2013). Over the study period, household size has also declined in all countries. The decline in the share of those aged 0-17, used as proxy for children in this chapter, is the main driver of the reduction in household size. For example, in China, the average number of adults and seniors was constant between 1982 and 1990, but the average number of children decreased, leading to a decrease in household size. Government-led family planning programs (e.g., in China),

along with the rise of women’s reluctance to get married due to the inability to find suitable partners or concerns of having to care for two sets of elderly parents, fear of divorce, etc. have served to effectively decrease the number of children per couple in many countries in Pacific Asia in recent years (Jones 2007).

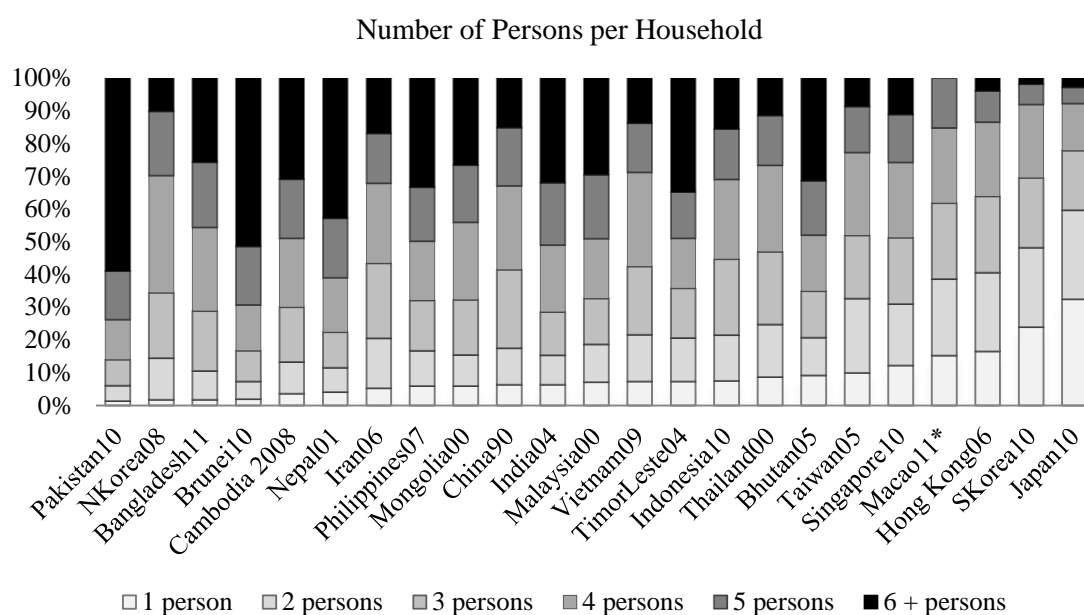
Figure 20.2 Household composition by age groups, selected Asian countries



Source: IPUMS—International.

Figure 3 shows the percentage distribution of households by the number of household members. The 23 countries are ordered according to the proportion of one-person households, from the smallest to the largest.

Figure 20.3 Distribution of households by number of members, selected Asian countries



Source: United Nations Statistics and various statistical agencies.

\*Macao did not tabulate 6+ person households

More economically developed Asian countries—such as Japan, South Korea, Hong Kong, Macao, Singapore, and Taiwan—cluster around the right side of the chart, whereas developing countries—such as Pakistan, North Korea, and Bangladesh—are on the left side of the chart, indicating that more affluent countries have a higher proportion of one-person households. This is consistent with the idea that economic development is highly associated with independent living and communal living is often the result of practical financial necessities (Chaudhuri and Roy 2009; De Vos and Holden 1988). Countries with low proportions of one-person households tend to have high proportions of large households, such as Pakistan and Brunei where more than 50 per cent of households have six or more members. Large households are uncommon, at 2.8, 1.8 and 3.9 per cent for Japan, South Korea and Hong Kong, respectively. However, the correlation between the share of one-person households and the share of very large



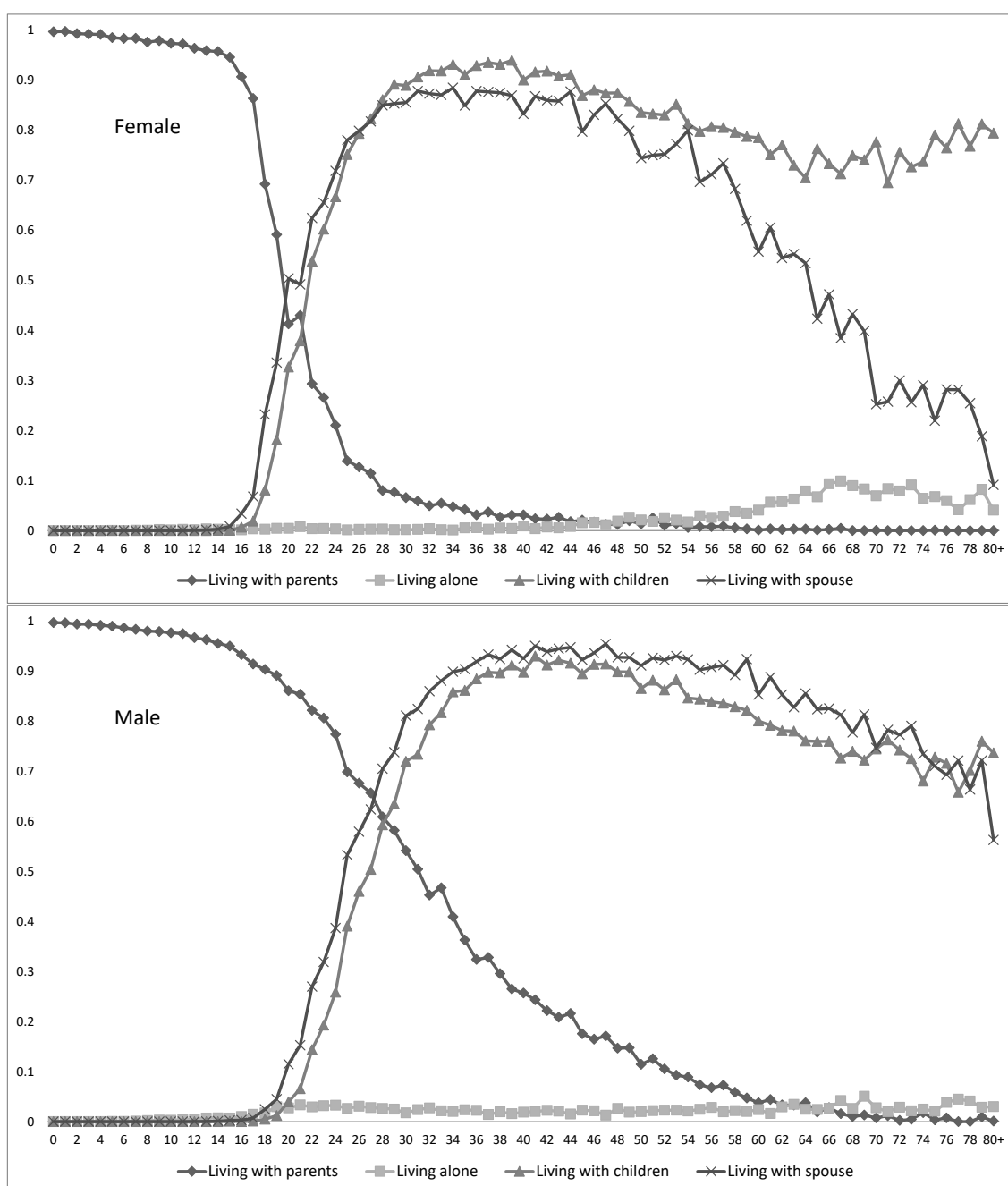
(with 6+ persons) households is not straightforward. Except for countries with a high proportion of one-person households, the shares of large households vary across the board due to differences in fertility and to the prevalence of inter-generational coresidence.

## **The individual perspective**

### ***Looking into individuals' lives***

Past studies of living arrangements have been dominated by household-level analyses. Households are multi-dimensional entities often comprised of more than one member, each with unique demographic characteristics. Moreover, members are related in diverse ways that are not always easy to analyse (Bongaarts 2001). IPUMS International census micro data offer considerable details about relationships among household members. One of the strengths of using personal records is that the micro data allow a higher level of flexibility for building a standardised framework of analysis for multiple countries in different years. Because it is difficult to obtain longitudinal data on such a scale, we examine living arrangements by age using cross-sectional data. We focus on parental, spousal, and filial relationships within households. As an example, Figure 20.4 shows parental, spousal, and filial coresidence and individual living for India in 2004 by age and sex.

Figure 20.4 Parental, spousal and filial coresidence by age and sex, India 2004



Source: IPUMS—International.

In India in 2004, more than 50 per cent of males co-resided with their parents as late as the age of 30, whereas a mere 6.7 per cent of 30-year-old females remained in their parental homes. For the females, living with parents drops drastically between the ages of 15 and 20, which coincides with a sharp rise in the proportion of those who have

entered into union. Indian men remain in their parental home even after marriage, and the new bride moves into her husband's home.

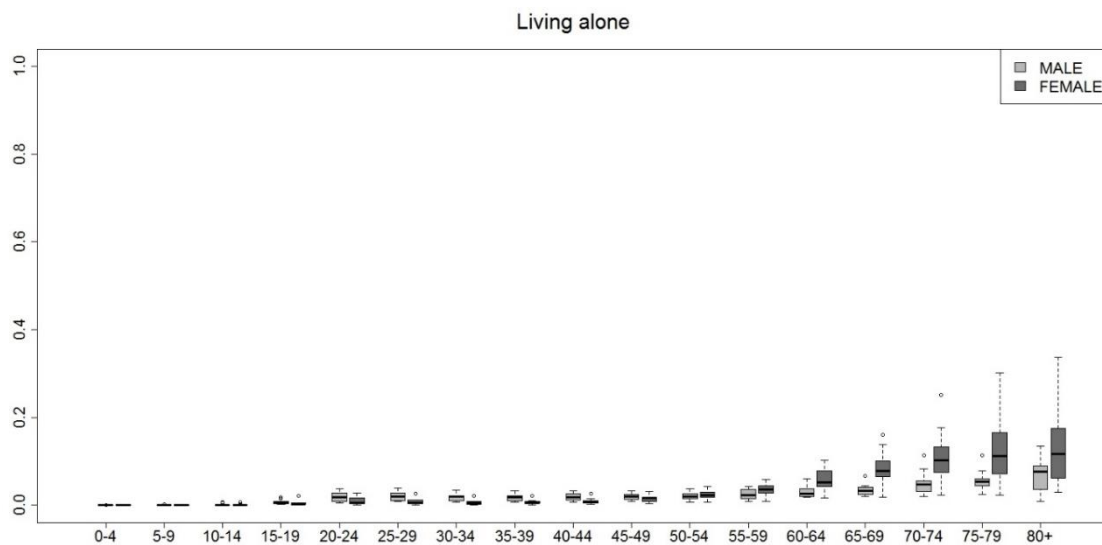
With respect to spousal coresidence, Figure 20.4 confirms the universality of marriage in the population. By the age of 35, approximately 85 per cent of women and 90 per cent of men live with a spouse. We observe a drop in spousal coresidence for women starting around age 40, most likely due to widowhood. Men experience a more gradual decline in spousal coresidence at a later age, because they tend to marry younger wives who are more likely to survive them. Living alone is uncommon for both men and women in India, but there is a higher proportion of older women living alone than men, primarily because women tend to outlive their husbands. Women in rural areas are more likely to live alone in comparison with their urban counterparts as their children migrate to urban areas (Chaudhuri and Roy 2009). Living with children lags behind the timing of union formation. Coresidence with children is very common for both men and women in India. By the age of 25 for women and 31 for men, roughly three out of four individuals live with at least one child.

To make cross-national comparisons, we created box plots to visualise the phenomena of living alone, living with a spouse, living with parents and living with children in 12 selected Asian populations. The graphs below allow us to visualise differences across countries and between genders by age, as represented by 5-year age groups. Detailed data for the box plots are attached in Appendix 2. For most of the populations the data were collected between 2000 and 2010.

## *Living alone*

Living alone is uncommon in Asia, as shown in Figure 20.5. Young children certainly do not live alone and it is also rare for adolescents or adults to form a solitary household. Compared to the Western world, independent living before marriage is uncommon in Asian countries. Leaving the parental home is conditioned by and closely tied to the timing of partnership formation. Proportions living alone tend to increase with age after people reach 50, and the highest share is observed among those aged 80 and over, particularly among widowed women. Children's migration from rural to urban areas may increase the chance of seniors being left behind in their hometowns to live alone. There are great variations in the proportion of old people living alone. Among individuals aged 80 and over, almost 34 per cent of Iranian women live alone, whereas the share is only 11 per cent among the male population. In Vietnam, only 8.5 per cent of men and 16.9 per cent of women lives alone.

*Figure 20.5* Age-specific, between-country variability in living alone by sex, selected Asian countries

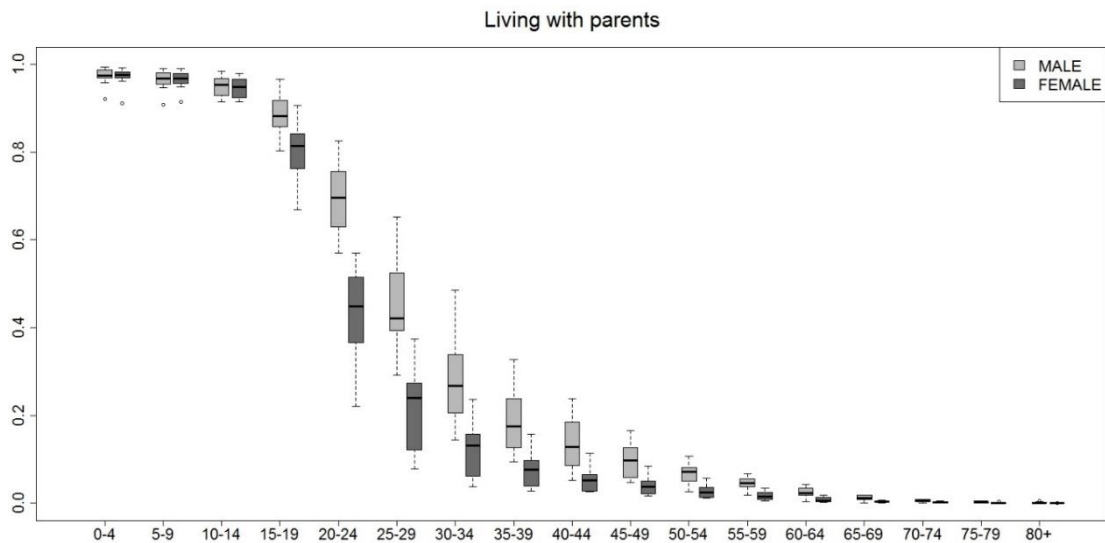


Source: IPUMS—International (see Appendix 2 for country-specific details).

### *Living with parents*

Coresidence with parents decreases with age, either because parents die or children leave their parents' home. Prior to age 15, nearly all children live with their parents (Lloyd and Desai 1992). Cross-country differences begin to emerge between the ages of 15 and 49. Women leave the parental home earlier than men because they tend to marry at younger ages (Jones 2005; Jones 2007). This pattern remains despite recent increases in marriage age. Moreover, in patrilineal societies, women are less likely to continue to live with their own parents after marriage.

*Figure 20.6* Age-specific between country variability in living with at least one parent by sex, selected Asian countries



Source: IPUMS—International (see Appendix 2 for country-specific details).

The proportion of women living with parents experiences a sharp decline between the ages of 15 and 25. Women in India, Pakistan, and Nepal leave the parental home at a younger age compared to women in Thailand and China. The proportion of men living with parents dwindles at a more moderate rate between the ages of 20 to 30. Mongolian and Cambodian men are less likely to co-reside with parents compared to their Pakistani, Indian, and Chinese counterparts. More detailed country-specific results can be found in Appendix 2.

To explore the differences among countries and the pervasiveness of post-marriage intergenerational coresidence, we turn to Table 20.1, which shows the percentage of those aged 25-29 who live with at least one parent in 12 selected Asian countries and the percentage of parental coresidence for those who are married.

*Table 20.1* Percentage of children aged 25-29 living with at least one parent, by sex and marital status (selected countries)

	<i>All Individuals (%)</i>				<i>Married (%)</i>			
	<i>1980</i>	<i>1990</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2010</i>	<i>1980</i>	<i>1990</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2010</i>
<b>Male</b>								
Cambodia			20.4	31.6			8.8	12.1
China	48.6	39.7			36.9	30.6		
India	53.6	57.4	61.1	65.3	51.8	53.8	56.4	59.5
Indonesia	26.7	29.8	32.9	41.3	15.9	14.3		17.2
Iran				42.9				12.4
Malaysia	36.8	37.7	38.9		24.0	19.8	17.8	
Mongolia		18.8	29.1			4.7	7.8	
Nepal			53.2				19.9	
Pakistan			53.0				42.6	
Philippines		36.7	41.1			9.4	10.3	
Vietnam		41.1	48.2	52.0		26.3	31.6	35.0
Thailand	30.0	36.4	45.5		14.7	15.9	17.6	
South Korea	69.8	65.1	65.5	64.9	76.2	69.3	61.3	50.3
<b>Female</b>								
Cambodia			23.3	30.3			9.4	11.1
China	11.5	8.9			1.3	1.4		
India	7.7	7.9	9.9	11.2	1.3	0.9	1.2	1.0
Indonesia	14.6	16.1	17.5	24.0	4.9	4.8		10.5
Iran				26.3				0.7
Malaysia	21.3	23.4	24.1		4.6	6.2	6.0	
Mongolia		15.8	24.7			2.8	5.9	
Nepal			7.8				0.9	
Pakistan			13.1				0.7	
Philippines		25.9	28.6			5.1	5.9	
Vietnam		23.7	21.1	19.7		3.6	3.4	3.3

Thailand	28.0	32.8	37.4		12.7	14.9	16.6	
South Korea	10.6	13.9	27.9	47.3	0.2	0.1	0.3	2.0

Sources: IPUMS—International; Statistics Korea (KOSTAT).

The actual years of the data sets used are: Cambodia 1998, Cambodia 2008, China 1982, China 1990, India 1983, India 1993, India 1999, India 2004, Indonesia 1980, Indonesia 1990, Indonesia 2000, Indonesia 2010, Iran 2006, Malaysia 1980, Malaysia 1991, Malaysia 2000, Mongolia 1989, Mongolia 2000, Nepal 2001, Pakistan 1998, Philippines 1990, Philippines 2000, Vietnam 1989, Vietnam 1999, Vietnam 2009, Thailand 1980, Thailand 1990, Thailand 2000; South Korea 1980, South Korea 1990, South Korea 2000, and South Korea 2010.

With the exception of Cambodia, Mongolia, and Thailand, men are more likely than women to live with their parents. The lower percentage of coresiding with parents for women is due to early entrance into marriage and also to the deeply seated tradition of patrilocality. We subsequently examine only the percentage of 25-29 year old married individuals living with parents. Fewer married children than all children live with parents, but the proportion coresiding with parents remains significant among those married. India shows the highest proportion of men and Thailand shows the highest proportion of women residing with parents after marriage. Sex differentials in post-marriage residential patterns are also striking in some countries. Nearly 60 per cent of all married Indian men live with their parents but only 1 per cent of married Indian women live with their parents. Similarly, approximately 43 per cent of Pakistani married men and less than 1 per cent of Pakistani married women live with their parents.

Gender differences of this kind are less pronounced in Cambodia, Mongolia, and Thailand. The data clearly show the influence of different family systems in Asia. In the South Asian countries (e.g., India and Pakistan), where the joint-family system and the

patrilocal residential norm prevail, the percentage of married sons living with their parents is high, compared to the extremely low percentage of married daughters. In parts of Southeast Asia (e.g., Thailand and Cambodia), the level of intergenerational coresidence is more balanced between men and women because those countries have a bilateral family system (Goody 1961; Knodel, Chayovan and Siriboon 1992; Knodel, Saengtienchal and Sittitrai 1995).

In terms of change over time, intergenerational coresidence shows very little signs of decline in the countries listed below, consistent with the results of previous studies on intergenerational coresidence in developing countries (Ruggles and Heggeness 2008). The coresidence pattern in India shows no sign of decline and displays an upward trend from 51.8 per cent in 1980 to 59.5 per cent in 2010 for married sons. South Korea shows a dramatic increase in young women living with parents, whereas the same trend is stable for men. At the same time, post-marital coresidence with parents has been decreasing for young men and increasing for young women. These results show that the increase in coresidence with parents among South Korean young women is largely due to the delay of marriage.

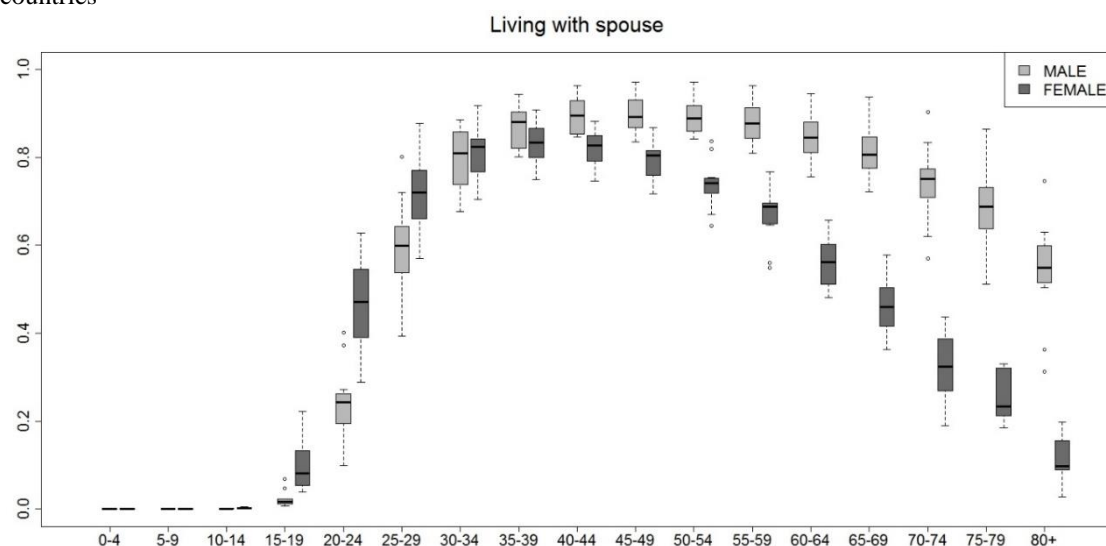
### ***Living with a spouse***

Spousal coresidence is shaped by the formation and dissolution of the union. In Asian countries, age at marriage differs considerably. Females tend to enter unions at younger ages than men, as indicated by a higher proportion of women than men living with spouses in the age groups of 15-19, 20-24, and 25-29. The share of spousal coresidence peaks for females aged 35-39, and for males at ages 45-49 (see Figure 20.7). The



subsequent decline in the level of spousal coresidence, which also takes place at a younger age for women than men, is primarily due to widowhood, separation, or divorce.

*Figure 20.7* Age-specific, between-country variability in living with spouse by sex, selected Asian countries



Source: IPUMS—International (see Appendix 2 for country-specific details).

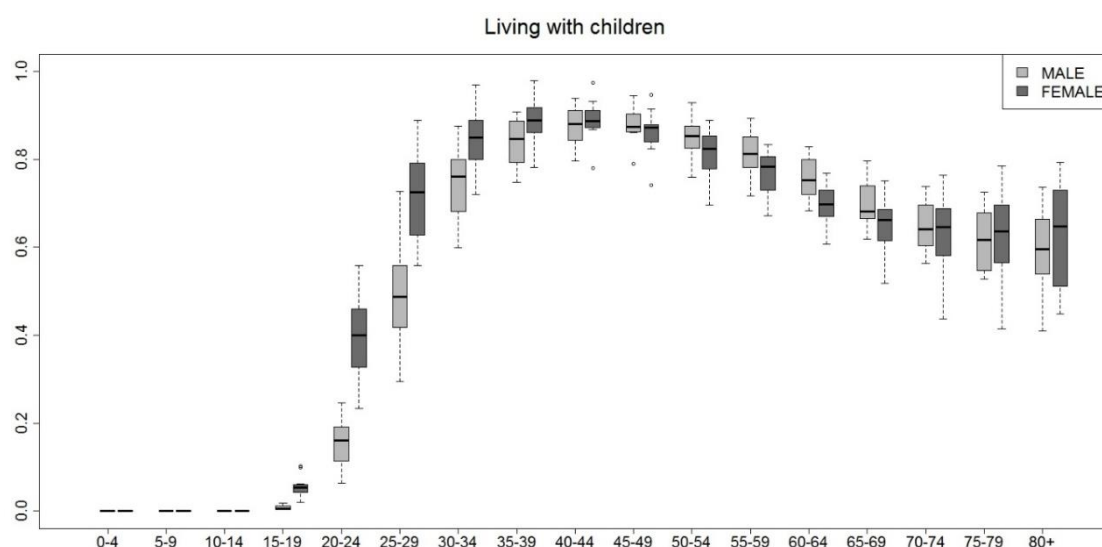
Delay of marriage for both men and women has occurred throughout Asia (Jones 2005; Jones 2007). Nevertheless, union formation remains prevalent. Cross-national differences are largest at younger ages because the timing of marriage is greatly affected by cultural tradition and its changes. In China, India, and Nepal, more women are married by the age of 29 than in Thailand, Cambodia, and Mongolia. Marriage among teenage girls is rare in China, Cambodia, Malaysia, and Mongolia, whereas it is fairly common in Nepal, Pakistan, and India. Nepalese, Chinese, and Cambodian men tend to marry younger than their Malaysian and Thai counterparts. Marriage is nearly universal for both genders in all countries, with the exception of Mongolian, Thai and Cambodian

women, for whom the proportion of spousal coresidence does not exceed 76 per cent and 80 per cent, respectively, at any age. See Appendix 2 for country-specific figures.

### *Living with children*

As one might expect from a region where individuals are unlikely to live alone, the practice of intergenerational coresidence is widespread in Asia. From the parent's perspective, as illustrated in Figure 20.8, the highest level of parent-child coresidence in most countries peaks by the time the parent reaches age 40. It then experiences a moderate decline as the children grow up and leave the parental home. One of the notable features of Asian households is that coresidence with children remains high even as children become adults. Women start having children at a younger age than men, and they also spend a longer period of their lives residing with their children.

Figure 20.8. Age-specific, between-country variability in living with children by sex, selected Asian countries



Source: IPUMS—International (see Appendix 2 for country specific details).

Coresidence with young children is practically universal, providing few surprises (see Figure 20.8). When parents and children grow older, cross-country variations in such residential patterns become more pronounced. In recent decades, Japan and South Korea have witnessed a sharp decline in intergenerational coresidence among their old populations (see Table 20.2). But such intergenerational coresidence has remained stable in India and shown a modest decrease in China in recent decades. India has the highest level of intergenerational coresidence: more than three-quarters of seniors co-reside with children. Overall, despite the differences in the way that households are formed, a high prevalence of intergenerational coresidence remains a dominant feature in Asia.

*Table 20.2* Percentage of persons aged 65+ by sex, living with children, selected Asian countries

	<i>Male</i>				<i>Female</i>			
	<i>1980</i>	<i>1990</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2010</i>	<i>1980</i>	<i>1990</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2010</i>
Cambodia			68.8	67.7			55.1	62.3
China*	67.9	67.6	59.9	51.7	73.6	74.0	68.7	58.6
India	74.5	75.7	76.2	74.1	76.1	77.8	78.6	76.6
Indonesia	62.1	60.9	53.7	57.7	59.2	58.2	47.8	58.6
Iran				59.8				46.1
Malaysia	65.2	66.4	65.6		63.9	66.6	68.1	
Mongolia		52.8	60.7			51.8	58.0	
Nepal			71.6				70.0	
Pakistan			73.2				64.4	
Philippines		62.2	60.9			52.7	55.0	
Vietnam		77.0	74.9	62.0		72.8	72.4	64.9
Thailand	76.3	75.3	66.7		72.5	74.2	70.4	
Japan**	60.6	51.3	41.0	36.9	60.6	51.3	41.0	36.9
South Korea	71.9	59.2	40.4	28.3	74.3	65.9	48.6	34.5
Taiwan		56.4	55.2	49.7		68.3	61.2	54.2
Singapore			69.2	63.0			77.4	69.7

Notes: \*2010 data for China is for seniors 60+, as presented by the Centre for Population and Development Studies and Institute of Gerontology; 1980, 1990, and 2000 data are for seniors 65+ (Sun 2013)

\*\*Data by sex not available

Sources: IPUMS—International; Statistics Korea; Statistics Singapore; National Statistics ROC Taiwan; Center for Population and Development Studies and Institute of Gerontology, Renmin University of China.

A comparison of Tables 20.1 and 20.2 shows that the proportion of coresidence with parents among people aged 25-29 has increased slightly in recent years for many countries (as shown in Table 20.1), whereas the proportion of the elderly living with children has not increased but has remained more or less stable (as shown in Table 20.2). This is due to ‘ongoing demographic changes that increase the opportunities to reside with parents’ such as the rise in age at marriage, ‘mortality decline [which] increases the chances that an adult will have a surviving parent,’ and fertility decline, which entails that ‘a smaller group of adult children for each elderly parent increases the chances that any particular child will co-reside with a parent’ (Ruggles and Heggeness 2008). Although the decline in fertility is often lauded as a positive attribute in a developing country, it provokes the concern that an increasing share of elder-care responsibilities will fall upon a shrinking younger generation (Knodel, Chayovan and Siriboon 1992).

A further examination of the marital status of old people who live with their children finds that women without spouses tend to live with their children, while a higher proportion of men live with both children and a spouse. The latter is related to the fact that many men have a younger wife, and they live with children. In Singapore, for example, 50.9 per cent of men aged 65 or older live with both their spouse and their children, compared to 23.7 per cent of women. Of women aged 65 and over, 46 per cent live with children but without a spouse, in comparison with 12.1 per cent in the male population of the same age group (Wong and Teo 2011: Table 7).

*Table 20.3* Percentage of persons aged 65+, living with married sons or married daughters, selected Asian countries

	<u><i>Living with married son</i></u>	<u><i>living with married daughter</i></u>
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	1980	1990	2000	2010	1980	1990	2000	2010
Cambodia			14.9	20.1			8.7	9.2
China	41.8	45.4			1.6	2		
India	56.9	59.7	58.7	60.1	1.2	1	1.01	0.97
Indonesia	29.5	27.6	17.4	26.8	4.1	4.1	2.2	5.3
Iran				16.2				1.8
Malaysia	33.3	31.4	29.5		3.3	4.8	5.3	
Mongolia		10.4	12.3			6.1	9	
Pakistan			47.5				0.6	
Philippines		15	13.5			4.8	5.1	
Vietnam		35.9	38.1			5.5	3.1	
Thailand	30.6	25.4	19.2		13.8	15.4	13	

Source: IPUMS—International

In all selected populations, old people have been more likely to live with their married sons than married daughters (see Table 20.3). This pattern has been rather consistent overtime. However, in India, Pakistan, China, Vietnam, Iran, Malaysia, and Indonesia, the proportion of old people living with married sons is far higher than that living with married daughters. This difference is markedly greater than that found in Mongolia, Cambodia, The Philippines, and Thailand, where the proportion of old people living with married sons is fairly close to that living with married daughters.

## Conclusion

Family as a crucial part of the social system serves multiple functions that are inclusive of, but not exclusive to, providing a nurturing environment for the young and care and support for the ill and the elderly. Family binds individual life courses through ‘unifying the production, distribution, consumption, reproduction, socialisation, and transmission of property within and across kinship groups’ (Thornton and Fricke 1987: 748). The norms underlying family systems are often supported (influenced or shaped?) by cultures, demographic realities and economic opportunities. Bearing in mind that these

three dimensions of underlying forces drive family changes, we must consider the fact that ideals do not dictate practice, and opportunities do not entirely command change. William Goode has noted that ‘even though all systems are more or less under the impact of industrialising and urbanising forces,’ we cannot assume ‘that the theoretical relations between a developing industrial system and the conjugal family system is entirely clear’ because the impact of traditional values and cultural norms should be acknowledged (Goode 1963:369).

In this chapter, we have illustrated that households in Asia have been changing while some of their old elements remain. Large quantitative household surveys and census micro data have allowed us to portray general aggregate measures at the household level while enabling us to contextualise individuals’ living arrangements in their family contexts. Although we did not have data for all Asian countries, we have accessed a harmonised set of micro data through IPUMS International, which has facilitated a broad study of 12 countries in Asia. The Luxembourg Income Study Database, United Nations statistics, and national statistical offices also provided aggregate data or supplementary information for some countries and filled in the gap for those for which we have no micro data.

Our analysis shows that household size has declined over recent decades, but family structures have remained stable and they continue to reflect the characteristics of different family systems, which have different impacts on men and women. For women, earlier union formation results in departing from the parental home at a younger age than men. Intergenerational coresidence of young adults usually consists of a married couple and the husband’s parents under a patrilocal family system as in China, Japan,

South Korea, India, Nepal, and Pakistan. However, in countries such as Thailand, the Philippines and some parts of Indonesia, the newlyweds may live with either the husband's or the wife's parents under a bilateral family system (Chung and Shibusawa 2013). Women are more likely to live alone at older ages because of their earlier widowhood compared to men. However, most widows and widowers live with their children, presumably sons, rather than alone, which is an uncommon arrangement in most Asian countries for both genders in nearly all age groups as indicated by Figure 20.5.

Asia's family and household systems have a number of distinctive features that set them apart from those in Europe and the Americas, for example, the importance of intergenerational coresidence of the elderly living with their married children. Previous studies have shown a decline in intergenerational coresidence in some of the economically advanced Asian countries such as Japan and South Korea (Frankenberg, Chan and Ofstedal 2002; Martin and Tsuya 1991; Martin 1989). The decline in household size is primarily due to families having fewer children in general rather than a simplification of household structures. But it is interesting to note that the proportion of elderly living with children has remained stable in countries like India while the proportion of married sons living with parents has been increasing because, presumably, having fewer siblings entails that each child has a higher probability of residing with at least one parent. Differences in household systems are clear from the examination of the propensity of married women and men to live with their parents. Bilateral household systems show a similar proportion of married sons and daughters living with their parents, but the patrilocal household system shows a higher proportion of married sons co-residing with parents than married daughters.

Fertility decline may put constraints on living arrangements against one's ideal due to a lack of choices in the absence of a son or daughter, but adaptability to such constraints has been observed because Asian parents would rather choose a less-preferred coresidential pattern than live alone (Knodel, Chayovan and Siriboon 1992; Lin et al. 2003). Migration from rural to urban areas may also change household dynamics. However, urban life may not promise household simplification. Instead, housing unaffordability and unavailability encourage coresidence of parents and their married children. The new dynamic that has emerged as social changes have swept Asia is that living arrangements can be shaped by the desires and needs of both the older and the younger generations, as opposed to being the result of solely filial obligations deeply rooted in many Asian societies. For those parents who have not migrated with children into urban areas, living alone is more likely because housing is more affordable in the rural areas (Chaudhuri and Roy 2009; Martin 1989).

We have provided a panoramic view of family life in Asia. Due to the unavailability of micro data for many countries and the lack of aggregate data from a few countries such as Afghanistan, North Korea, and Laos, a comprehensive detailed analysis of the entire region is not feasible. This chapter has mainly focused on the coresidence of kin, although family life often extends beyond the roof of a household. For example, some older individuals may elect to live near their children but not in the same household, allowing privacy and daily communication at the same time. This kind of living arrangement is encouraged and supported in Singapore through its housing policies (Teo 2006). In rural Bangladesh, when sons move out of their parental unit upon marriage, they often remain in the same family-owned compound, maintaining close



contact with other members of the clan throughout their lives (Amin 1998). Similar arrangements are also found in both Taiwan and China (Freedman, Chang, and Sun, 1982; Zhao, 2001).

In the future, researchers are expected to further examine the unravelling of a revolution of family patterns and living arrangements in the process of demographic transition in other Asian countries which follows the footsteps of their more affluent neighbours: Japan, South Korea, Hong Kong, Macao, Singapore, and Taiwan. Because many pre-transition countries were often characterised by different cultural environments, the pace and magnitude of their social and demographic changes tend to vary considerably. The research challenges that we face today will diminish as more coherent, comparable and reliable data become more accessible. Moreover, it may also need time to observe whether the resilience of intergenerational coresidence will endure in the future with further economic advancements and the spread of a media-induced popular culture taking place throughout Asia (Lesthaeghe 2010). New analysis by social class and status will elucidate whether intergenerational coresidence is a practice of necessity or primarily a cultural expression, through examining whether more affluent individuals opt out of intergenerational coresidence (Takagi, Silverstein and Crimmins 2007), or adopt a form of parental care outside of coresidence by choosing ‘intimacy at a distance’ (Martin and Tsuya 1991). Exploration of internal differences in living arrangements across regions, religious practices, urban and rural settings will also be essential in the quest to decompose current patterns. This chapter has not paid sufficient attention to such details due to data unavailability. With the expansion of data availability, the subject of family life in Asia should be further explored under a wider range of parameters.

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# APPENDIX 20.1 Average Household Size by Country: Asia 1980-2010

<i>Country</i>	<i>1980-84</i>	<i>1985-89</i>	<i>1990-94</i>	<i>1995-99</i>	<i>2000-04</i>	<i>2005-09</i>	<i>2010-13</i>
Japan	3.2	3.1	3.0	2.8	2.7	2.6	2.4
South Korea					3.2	3.0	2.8
Taiwan	4.6	4.4	4.0	3.7	3.3	3.1	2.9
Hong Kong					3.1		2.9
Singapore					3.7		3.5
China	4.4		4.0		3.4		3.1
Sri Lanka				4.5	4.2	4.1	4.0
Bangladesh			5.5		4.8	4.7	4.4
Cambodia					5.2		4.7
India	5.1	5.0	4.8	4.9	4.7		
Indonesia	4.8	4.7	4.5	4.2	3.9	4.0	3.87
Iran						4.1	3.5
Malaysia	5.1		4.8		4.6		
Mongolia		4.5			4.5		
Nepal			5.0				
Pakistan				6.8	6.8	6.6	6.49
Philippines			5.2	5.1	4.9		
Vietnam		4.8		4.5		3.8	
Thailand	5.1		4.3		3.7		
Maldives			6.5	7.1	6.6	6.5	
Bhutan						5.0	4.6
Timor-Leste					4.7		
Burma						4.7	
Laos				6.0		5.9	
Afghanistan						7.3	

Sources: Various Statistical Offices, IPUMS-international, Demographic Health Surveys and United Nations data.



APPENDIX 20.2 Percentage of population residing alone, with at least one Parent, with Spouse and with at least one Child by sex and 5 year age group

IPUMS Sample	Age	Male				Female			
		Alone	Parent	Spouse	Child	Alone	Parent	Spouse	Child
Cambodia 2008	0-4	0.0	95.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	96.1	0.0	0.0
	5-9	0.0	94.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	94.9	0.0	0.0
	10-14	0.1	92.4	0.1	0.0	0.1	92.5	0.0	0.0
	15-19	0.4	88.3	1.1	0.5	0.4	84.2	6.6	4.0
	20-24	0.6	61.3	27.2	18.8	0.4	54.0	43.2	37.3
	25-29	0.9	31.6	66.6	56.9	0.6	30.3	67.2	68.1
	30-34	0.9	17.9	85.3	80.2	0.5	17.8	75.2	81.4
	35-39	0.7	11.7	90.9	88.7	0.8	12.3	77.4	86.7
	40-44	0.9	8.5	93.7	92.3	1.0	8.4	76.1	88.5
	45-49	0.8	5.5	94.5	92.4	1.9	5.9	72.9	87.4
	50-54	0.8	5.4	91.3	90.9	2.4	4.2	67.0	82.6
	55-59	0.8	4.7	91.5	88.7	3.4	3.1	56.1	79.1
	60-64	1.9	1.9	87.9	80.0	4.2	1.8	48.1	70.4
	65-69	2.0	1.8	84.3	72.9	6.2	0.4	36.3	64.1
	70-74	2.0	0.9	76.7	68.8	5.7	0.3	27.4	61.5
	75-79	3.9	0.2	72.5	63.2	5.9	0.1	22.2	60.5
	80+	0.9	0.6	53.7	57.6	5.2	0.0	9.5	61.9
China 1990	0-4	0.0	99.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	98.5	0.0	0.0
	5-9	0.1	98.6	0.0	0.0	0.1	98.2	0.0	0.0
	10-14	0.1	97.8	0.0	0.0	0.1	97.8	0.0	0.0
	15-19	0.5	95.0	1.7	0.6	0.2	90.7	4.3	2.0
	20-24	1.8	75.7	37.3	24.6	0.6	40.5	55.4	42.3
	25-29	1.9	39.7	80.2	72.7	0.4	8.9	87.8	88.8
	30-34	2.2	26.9	88.5	87.6	0.3	3.8	91.8	96.9
	35-39	2.3	22.1	89.9	90.8	0.3	2.8	90.9	97.9
	40-44	2.7	19.2	89.2	91.5	0.4	2.6	88.1	97.4
	45-49	3.3	15.5	88.0	90.7	0.8	2.2	86.7	94.7
	50-54	3.8	10.8	86.3	87.2	1.3	1.4	83.7	88.8
	55-59	4.3	6.2	84.0	80.9	2.5	0.9	76.7	82.2
	60-64	4.9	2.9	79.4	74.3	4.3	0.3	65.7	74.9
	65-69	6.7	1.1	72.2	66.4	8.1	0.1	50.1	68.4
	70-74	8.3	0.2	62.1	62.6	11.6	0.0	32.7	68.0
	75-79	11.3	0.0	51.2	60.2	13.0	0.0	20.2	69.6
	80+	13.4	0.0	36.3	61.5	15.5	0.0	8.2	69.1
India 2004	0-4	0.0	99.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	99.3	0.0	0.0
	5-9	0.1	98.3	0.0	0.0	0.1	98.1	0.0	0.0
	10-14	0.5	96.7	0.0	0.0	0.2	96.4	0.1	0.0
	15-19	1.5	91.9	1.5	0.3	0.3	80.7	12.8	5.2
	20-24	3.0	82.6	23.6	13.0	0.5	32.7	59.3	48.8
	25-29	2.7	65.3	61.9	49.6	0.2	11.2	81.4	81.2
	30-34	2.2	48.6	84.5	77.1	0.2	5.7	86.8	90.7
	35-39	2.1	32.8	91.7	88.1	0.5	3.5	86.6	92.4
	40-44	2.0	23.8	93.4	90.7	0.8	2.7	84.9	90.7
	45-49	2.2	16.5	92.9	90.0	1.7	1.7	81.3	87.1
	50-54	2.1	10.8	91.8	86.5	2.2	1.3	75.4	83.2
	55-59	2.4	6.7	90.3	83.7	3.1	0.7	69.4	79.8
	60-64	2.6	3.7	85.4	78.9	5.0	0.2	55.5	76.9
	65-69	2.8	1.8	81.4	75.1	7.8	0.1	42.7	75.2

	70-74	2.7	0.8	75.5	73.9	7.3	0.0	26.2	76.5
	75-79	2.8	0.4	70.2	72.0	6.5	0.1	23.5	78.5
	80+	3.0	0.1	56.2	73.6	4.1	0.0	9.1	79.4
Indonesia 2010	0-4	0.0	97.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	97.6	0.0	0.0
	5-9	0.1	96.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	96.0	0.0	0.0
	10-14	0.7	92.9	0.0	0.0	0.7	92.4	0.1	0.0
	15-19	1.9	84.9	1.2	0.5	2.2	75.9	10.4	5.8
	20-24	3.8	64.8	18.8	11.8	2.7	44.0	49.8	40.5
	25-29	2.8	41.2	54.1	43.6	1.2	24.0	75.8	71.9
	30-34	2.2	23.8	77.9	71.6	0.8	12.8	85.0	84.8
	35-39	1.8	16.6	86.4	83.2	0.8	7.8	86.6	88.7
	40-44	1.7	12.4	89.8	87.5	1.2	4.9	85.0	86.7
	45-49	1.7	9.4	91.5	87.3	1.9	3.1	81.9	82.4
	50-54	1.8	7.2	91.8	82.8	3.6	2.3	74.3	74.4
	55-59	1.9	5.2	91.1	76.8	6.0	1.1	65.3	67.2
	60-64	2.8	3.3	88.4	68.4	10.2	0.6	51.8	60.7
	65-69	3.6	1.9	85.1	61.9	13.8	0.3	40.6	58.0
	70-74	5.5	0.8	78.1	56.3	17.7	0.1	26.3	57.3
	75-79	5.3	0.4	73.8	54.1	18.0	0.0	18.9	59.5
	80+	7.6	0.1	63.0	52.1	18.1	0.0	9.8	61.1
Iran 2006	0-4	0.0	99.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	99.3	0.0	0.0
	5-9	0.0	99.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	99.0	0.0	0.0
	10-14	0.0	98.4	0.1	0.0	0.0	97.9	0.6	0.1
	15-19	0.3	96.6	1.2	0.4	0.1	84.2	13.9	5.3
	20-24	0.9	80.6	20.1	8.4	0.3	50.4	47.4	31.4
	25-29	1.0	42.9	61.8	41.0	0.3	26.3	71.1	61.9
	30-34	0.9	18.5	86.5	75.2	0.3	14.0	82.7	80.9
	35-39	0.7	10.1	94.4	90.1	0.5	7.5	87.2	89.1
	40-44	0.7	7.4	96.4	93.9	0.6	4.5	88.2	91.5
	45-49	0.9	5.6	97.1	94.6	0.9	2.6	86.6	91.4
	50-54	0.9	4.5	97.2	92.9	2.0	1.7	81.9	87.7
	55-59	1.3	3.1	96.3	89.4	4.1	1.2	75.6	81.3
	60-64	1.8	1.8	94.6	82.9	9.8	0.5	65.0	67.0
	65-69	2.3	0.7	93.8	74.5	16.0	0.3	57.8	51.8
	70-74	4.0	0.2	90.4	61.5	25.1	0.1	43.7	43.8
	75-79	5.5	0.0	86.5	52.8	30.1	0.1	32.6	41.4
	80+	11.1	0.1	74.7	41.0	33.7	0.0	17.1	44.9
Malaysia 2000	0-4	0.0	98.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	98.0	0.0	0.0
	5-9	0.0	97.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	97.8	0.0	0.0
	10-14	0.0	96.9	0.1	0.1	0.0	96.9	0.2	0.1
	15-19	0.8	87.3	0.7	0.4	0.3	86.3	3.9	2.9
	20-24	3.1	60.5	10.0	6.4	1.4	50.7	28.8	23.4
	25-29	4.0	38.9	39.4	29.5	1.2	24.1	63.6	56.0
	30-34	3.1	26.7	67.7	59.9	0.9	13.4	79.1	77.9
	35-39	2.8	17.1	81.3	76.9	1.0	9.0	83.1	84.3
	40-44	2.5	13.4	85.4	83.1	0.9	6.2	83.3	87.4
	45-49	2.5	10.1	88.8	86.2	1.5	5.0	80.9	85.0
	50-54	2.6	7.9	89.0	85.5	2.4	3.7	74.1	79.1
	55-59	3.4	5.2	88.4	79.6	3.7	1.7	69.9	73.9
	60-64	3.1	3.5	85.6	72.4	5.5	0.9	57.6	69.1
	65-69	4.0	1.2	82.4	68.1	9.5	0.3	45.2	66.9
	70-74	5.0	0.8	75.8	65.5	10.8	0.3	29.8	68.5
	75-79	5.0	0.3	72.6	65.4	12.0	0.0	23.0	67.4

	80+	9.3	0.4	60.7	58.6	13.9	0.0	8.9	70.3
Mongolia 2000	0-4	0.0	97.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	97.6	0.0	0.0
	5-9	0.0	95.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	95.2	0.0	0.0
	10-14	0.0	92.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	91.6	0.0	0.0
	15-19	0.9	80.3	1.0	0.4	0.3	76.7	4.3	6.2
	20-24	2.6	57.0	25.3	19.4	0.4	45.6	40.4	46.7
	25-29	2.4	29.1	58.4	55.0	0.6	24.7	66.7	77.1
	30-34	2.3	14.4	78.2	77.8	0.8	15.3	74.2	87.8
	35-39	1.9	9.5	82.8	83.1	0.6	9.6	76.9	92.8
	40-44	2.9	5.3	84.8	86.4	0.7	6.0	74.7	93.3
	45-49	2.3	4.7	83.6	86.2	1.4	5.0	71.7	87.8
	50-54	2.8	2.6	84.2	82.4	2.4	2.6	64.5	86.8
	55-59	4.2	1.9	80.9	81.5	3.2	2.2	54.9	83.3
	60-64	6.1	0.3	75.6	73.9	4.9	0.3	49.4	72.9
	65-69	4.3	0.0	74.0	66.2	7.8	0.6	36.3	62.3
	70-74	11.4	0.0	57.0	56.4	13.9	0.5	19.0	59.0
	75-79	7.8	0.0	53.4	55.3	18.5	0.0	18.5	53.4
	80+	7.8	0.0	31.2	55.8	21.0	0.0	2.8	50.3
Nepal 2001	0-4	0.0	97.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	97.3	0.0	0.0
	5-9	0.0	96.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	97.0	0.0	0.0
	10-14	0.0	95.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	93.7	0.3	0.0
	15-19	0.8	88.1	6.9	1.8	0.3	66.8	22.3	10.2
	20-24	1.9	72.7	40.1	23.7	0.5	22.1	62.9	55.8
	25-29	1.9	53.2	72.1	58.5	0.4	7.8	78.2	83.5
	30-34	1.7	37.2	86.3	79.6	0.3	4.8	83.4	89.7
	35-39	2.1	25.7	89.6	86.3	0.5	3.4	83.0	91.2
	40-44	2.0	17.9	90.8	88.7	0.9	2.6	82.5	90.2
	45-49	2.4	13.0	89.5	88.7	1.7	2.2	78.8	88.0
	50-54	1.7	8.3	88.8	88.1	2.5	1.4	73.5	83.7
	55-59	1.9	4.6	86.6	85.0	3.7	0.7	67.2	77.7
	60-64	2.5	2.6	82.9	79.8	7.0	0.2	50.6	73.0
	65-69	3.1	0.7	78.1	73.6	7.7	0.2	43.1	68.9
	70-74	4.3	0.7	72.0	70.3	9.6	0.0	32.0	69.1
	75-79	4.9	0.0	63.0	70.4	10.6	0.0	23.1	69.6
	80+	4.3	0.0	50.4	69.6	8.4	0.0	9.8	75.6
Pakistan 1998	0-4	0.0	97.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	97.1	0.0	0.0
	5-9	0.0	97.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	97.1	0.0	0.0
	10-14	0.0	95.8	0.2	0.1	0.0	96.0	0.5	0.1
	15-19	0.6	81.9	4.7	1.6	0.1	68.7	18.4	10.0
	20-24	1.0	67.8	25.0	15.4	0.1	32.6	53.9	45.3
	25-29	1.0	53.0	53.4	42.7	0.1	13.1	75.0	74.6
	30-34	0.8	39.5	73.6	66.7	0.1	6.8	82.2	85.2
	35-39	0.8	28.8	82.1	78.2	0.1	4.4	84.0	88.7
	40-44	1.0	19.7	85.1	83.4	0.2	2.9	83.0	88.8
	45-49	1.1	12.5	86.6	86.3	0.4	1.7	81.2	87.6
	50-54	1.3	7.1	84.5	85.3	0.7	1.2	73.5	81.2
	55-59	1.3	4.4	84.0	85.2	0.8	0.6	69.5	79.2
	60-64	1.9	2.0	79.6	80.8	1.7	0.5	53.5	70.4
	65-69	2.0	1.1	77.1	79.6	1.8	0.2	48.9	70.8
	70-74	2.4	0.7	70.1	73.3	2.4	0.3	33.3	65.8
	75-79	2.6	0.3	65.5	72.5	2.3	0.3	33.0	64.9
	80+	3.0	0.1	53.3	63.2	2.9	0.1	16.0	52.0
Philippines	0-4	0.0	97.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	97.6	0.0	0.0

2000	5-9	0.0	96.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	96.2	0.0	0.0
	10-14	0.0	94.3	0.2	0.1	0.0	93.1	0.4	0.2
	15-19	0.2	88.8	2.3	1.3	0.1	80.1	7.8	5.6
	20-24	0.7	69.3	22.0	16.7	0.3	52.3	37.6	34.2
	25-29	1.1	41.1	54.2	47.8	0.4	28.6	65.5	63.8
	30-34	1.2	22.7	74.1	69.6	0.5	16.1	78.2	79.0
	35-39	1.5	13.7	82.0	80.5	0.6	9.9	82.7	85.7
	40-44	1.6	8.9	85.9	85.2	0.6	6.9	82.4	87.2
	45-49	1.8	6.3	86.4	86.4	0.8	4.9	79.9	85.8
	50-54	2.1	4.9	85.7	84.6	1.6	3.5	75.2	82.3
	55-59	2.8	3.3	84.6	81.2	2.6	2.5	69.0	76.4
	60-64	3.4	1.9	82.5	76.2	4.1	1.2	61.6	68.9
	65-69	3.8	1.2	79.5	68.1	5.6	0.7	52.8	60.7
	70-74	5.6	0.5	74.9	60.2	8.7	0.3	42.4	54.0
	75-79	5.8	0.3	67.4	53.2	8.9	0.3	31.9	51.4
	80+	7.6	0.3	56.1	51.8	9.6	0.1	19.8	48.1
Vietnam 2009	0-4	0.1	96.7	0.0	0.0	0.1	96.8	0.0	0.0
	5-9	0.0	96.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	96.7	0.0	0.0
	10-14	0.1	96.7	0.0	0.0	0.1	96.5	0.0	0.0
	15-19	0.5	91.8	2.4	1.2	0.6	83.1	8.4	4.6
	20-24	1.6	75.6	25.2	17.8	1.8	41.1	46.9	39.5
	25-29	1.7	52.0	61.4	52.9	1.2	19.7	72.9	73.2
	30-34	1.3	30.7	83.6	80.2	0.8	10.4	82.6	88.0
	35-39	1.2	20.9	89.9	88.7	0.9	7.2	83.7	90.9
	40-44	1.4	14.7	92.3	90.7	1.5	5.5	82.5	88.7
	45-49	1.5	10.9	93.4	87.6	3.0	4.4	79.0	83.0
	50-54	1.9	8.1	92.9	81.3	4.2	3.6	75.0	76.5
	55-59	2.1	5.8	92.4	76.8	5.5	2.6	68.6	72.2
	60-64	2.3	4.2	90.5	71.7	8.5	1.4	58.9	67.0
	65-69	3.0	1.9	87.8	67.1	10.8	0.6	50.7	65.5
	70-74	3.5	0.8	83.4	60.6	12.8	0.2	41.8	63.5
	75-79	5.6	0.3	76.4	58.1	15.1	0.1	32.3	62.3
	80+	8.5	0.0	59.2	60.6	16.9	0.0	15.2	67.5
Thailand 2000	0-4	0.0	92.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	91.2	0.0	0.0
	5-9	0.0	90.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	91.4	0.0	0.0
	10-14	0.1	91.5	0.2	0.1	0.1	91.4	0.2	0.0
	15-19	0.7	86.6	2.3	0.9	0.6	82.2	7.5	5.6
	20-24	2.3	69.9	17.5	10.8	2.2	57.0	32.4	29.5
	25-29	3.9	45.5	45.6	36.9	2.6	37.4	57.0	55.8
	30-34	3.5	27.1	69.6	61.3	2.2	23.6	70.4	72.0
	35-39	3.2	17.8	80.2	74.8	2.2	15.8	75.0	78.2
	40-44	3.3	11.9	84.7	79.7	2.6	11.4	75.5	78.0
	45-49	3.0	8.2	87.1	79.0	3.2	8.4	73.1	74.2
	50-54	3.4	5.7	87.6	75.9	3.8	5.7	70.4	69.7
	55-59	3.9	4.3	87.1	71.7	4.6	3.4	64.6	68.1
	60-64	4.2	2.2	83.6	68.4	6.2	1.6	57.0	67.2
	65-69	4.4	1.4	79.9	66.7	7.0	0.6	46.7	67.1
	70-74	5.4	0.4	71.8	65.7	7.6	0.3	35.5	69.7
	75-79	6.1	0.3	64.7	65.4	7.8	0.1	25.8	73.4
	80+	6.8	0.1	52.6	70.3	7.1	0.0	13.4	77.0

Source: IPUMS-international.