

Filial norms and intergenerational support to aging parents in China and Taiwan

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This study compared intergenerational relations in China and Taiwan. It has been assumed that cultural homogeneity results in filial norms being the shared dominant family value. However, due to different socio-economic experiences, other situational factors could produce different effects in China and Taiwan. Specifically, geographical distance, parental demands, and children's resources were incorporated in the analysis. We suspected that different situational factors might interact with filial norms in producing varying effects on intergenerational support. Data were taken from the 2006 East Asian Social Survey. Results confirmed that the patriarchal family model of intergenerational support remains strong in both China and Taiwan. The traditional Chinese filial norms significantly accounted for all aspects of intergenerational support examined.

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Introduction

Recent significant demographic trends occurring in various Chinese societies include rapidly aging populations and low fertility. These trends have significant impact on the family system. Furthermore, strong patriarchal cultural heritage affects intergenerational obligations and practice. The traditional norm of filial piety has been the principle guiding intergenerational relations, and adult children are required to support aging parents by coresidence and by providing financial resources (Hsu, 1948; Yeh, 1997; Yi & Chang, 2008). This article contends that even

when facing changing social conditions, Chinese families may continue to conform to the culturally expected pattern of sons taking the major responsibility for parental support. Among various factors accounting for the intergenerational support, we argue that the value laid on filial norms maintains its pronounced effect despite other relevant situational or structural factors. Filial norms may also produce salient effects through the interaction with varying situational factors. In order to validate the above argument, China and Taiwan, two Chinese societies that share similar family cultures, were compared with regard to patterns of intergenerational

relations. In addition, a special effort was made to ascertain the relative importance of filial norms in contrast to, and in relation to, parental demands and children's resources in explaining the intergenerational support existing in Chinese families.

While parental support has historically been a priority of filial piety, socio-economic changes over the last few decades have resulted in an increasing difference of social conditions between China and Taiwan. On the one hand, the proportion of coresidence with aging parents, although still higher than among their Western counterparts, has decreased in both societies (Tseng, Chang, & Chen, 2006; Xie, 2010; Yi et al., 2006). Three-generational households are being replaced by the nuclear family, which undoubtedly has raised more structural barriers to parental support. But the differences in population policies and economic development between China and Taiwan can have produced varying effects on intergenerational support.

In China, after the one-child policy launched in 1979, families with only one child have become the majority in cities (Li, 2007). With the "four-two-one" family structure (four grandparents, two parents, and one child), adult children are left with the heavy burden of supporting aging parents of both sides (Sheng & Settles, 2006). In Taiwan, previous studies documented that children are less willing to coreside with parents and would rather provide financial support for their parents' living expenses while having their own nuclear family (Chang, 1994; Sun, 1991). It appears that despite the observation that varying structural and economic conditions have led to different patterns of development, in both societies, there is still a strong endorsement of filial acts toward aging parents. We thus explored patterns of intergenerational support in China and Taiwan with the intention of ascertaining whether filial norms remain salient in relation to the physical conditions facing contemporary Chinese families.

In brief, the present study had three objectives. The first was to examine and compare the patterns of adult children's intergenerational support to aging parents between China and Taiwan. The second objective was to investigate whether filial norms in the two Chinese societies are still an important aspect of intergenerational support, in contrast to the effect of the demands of the aging parents, the resources of the adult children, and gender differences. The third objective was to analyze filial norms in terms of the interaction effects of various situational factors in order to explore the potential interplay between norms and physical situations. It was expected that the findings would give us a glimpse of the overall effects of cultural homogeneity and socio-economic heterogeneity on family interaction in China and in Taiwan.

Filial norms and intergenerational support

Numerous reports have pointed out that patterns of intergenerational support differ between the West and the East. While in the West, adult children are likely to receive support from parents (Lowenstein & Daatland, 2006), in Chinese families, intergenerational exchange is usually in the opposite direction (Lin & Yi, 2010). Among various reasons proposed to explain the upward support flow from adult children to aging parents, filial norms are considered crucial in intergenerational support in Chinese societies (Burgess, Locke, & Thomas, 1963; Yang, Yeh, & Huang, 1989; Yeh & Yang, 1997).

The dominant value of filial piety in Chinese society prescribes that adult children assume the responsibility of taking care of their elderly parents. The overwhelming intergenerational exchanges by Chinese adult children who provide support to parents are an unequivocal proof of this fundamental cultural position (Yi & Lin, 2009). However, it is also within the normative domain that intergenerational support varies by the adult

children's gender and by the specific form of support. In general, sons, especially married sons, are obliged to support aging parents. There is an old saying which goes, "Married daughters are like spilled water," meaning that because daughters leave natal families when getting married, it is their husband's parents whom they will take care of as daughters-in-law.

Studies conducted in Taiwan showed that married sons provide more assistance to their parents than do unmarried sons, and unmarried daughters assist their parents more than do married daughters (Lin et al., 2003). However, it has also been documented that highly educated career women living in the city may continue to provide financial support to their parents even after marriage (Tsui, 1987). This suggests that, although Chinese patriarchal norms persist, women's identification has changed from the traditional role because of their higher educational level and employment opportunities. With modern ideology and improved resources, women's support behavior toward parents may be changing, and it may become increasingly acceptable to perform filial acts, just as their male counterparts do.

It should be noted that most previous studies on intergenerational support have focused either on a single aspect only, usually adult children's financial support (e.g., Lee, Parish, & Willis, 1994), or on the sum of adult children's various forms of support (e.g., Silverstein, Gans, & Yang, 2006). In this study, three major aspects of intergenerational support, namely financial support, household assistance, and emotional support between generations, were investigated. In addition, we restricted ourselves to studying the support flow from adult children to aging parents because it represents the mainstream cultural norm as well as actual practice in China and Taiwan. By doing so, a more comprehensive picture of intergenerational support in these Chinese societies can be gained.

Situational factors accounting for intergenerational support: distance, resources, and demands

For a typical patriarchal society such as China or Taiwan, patterns of intergenerational support may be the product of two social forces: cultural prescriptions on adult children concerning the proper care of elderly parents, as discussed above; and situational factors facilitating or constraining the targeted family's function. Among the various situational factors, those most often examined have been parental demands, children's available resources, and the geographic distance between generations (e.g., Bengtson & Harootyan, 1994; Greenwell & Bengtson, 1997; Hank, 2007; Hogan, Eggebeen, & Clogg, 1993; Lawton, Silverstein, & Bengtson, 1994; Shuey & Hardy, 2003). Our point of departure in the study was that these situational factors not only affect the adult children's provision of support, they also interact with the cultural norms in determining various patterns of intergenerational support.

With regard to the extent of intergenerational support, actual parental need has been shown to be a salient mechanism. Studies in the West have documented that the varying demands of aging parents significantly affect the amount and types of assistance that adult children provide. Specifically, the health condition of aging parents is clearly an important consideration in children's provision of support (Silverstein et al., 2006). The marital status of parents also produces pronounced effects on intergenerational support in that divorced and solitary parents tend to receive more help from their adult children (Glaser, Tomassini, & Stuchbury, 2008; Hogan et al., 1993; Homan, 1992; Rossi & Rossi, 1990; Silverstein et al., 2006).

In a Chinese context, Lee et al. (1994) once suggested that, through having control of land and of family businesses, the older generation uses "prospective exchange" as a strong bargaining element in family

assistance. The anticipation of financial inheritance is indeed an important incentive for children providing support to elderly parents. Motivated by self-interest, adult children are likely to provide more assistance to those parents who have greater financial resources with the hope of receiving rewards in the future. A study on the farming elderly in Taiwanese villages confirmed the above contention in that the better the financial situation of the aging parents, the more assistance they received from their adult children (Lin, 2000).

However, no consistent patterns regarding the relationship between parental demand and the amount of provision by adult children in Chinese families was found when resource variables were controlled for. For example, the study by Lee and Xiao (1998) in China found that low-income aging parents received more financial support from their children than did high-income aging parents. However, when parents' education was taken into account, poorly educated parents living in the countryside received less financial support from their children than did their counterparts with a higher level of education. In other words, the real needs of parents and prospective rewards may both be valid factors accounting for intergenerational support, but their effects may vary depending on the specific situation.

As for adult children's own resources for providing intergenerational support, most studies concurred that the more financial resources adult children have, the more assistance they are able to give their parents. China and Taiwan are no exceptions (e.g., Lin, *in press*; Xie & Zhu, 2009). Nevertheless, what has not been investigated is whether adult children's resources can result in different effects when different aspects of intergenerational support are examined. For instance, while unable to provide financial support to elderly parents, poor children may very well offer physical assistance or emotional support. Hence, analyzing the influence of the interaction between demand and

resources on intergenerational support will contribute to the existing body of literature.

Lastly, this study incorporated a structural dimension in explaining patterns of intergenerational support in Chinese societies. In the intergenerational solidarity model proposed by Bengtson and Schrader (1982), structural opportunities (or barriers) for intergenerational support are represented by the geographic proximity of family members (Bengtson & Harootyan, 1994; Mangel & McChesney, 1988). Previous research has shown that residential distance is a significant barrier to the exchange of intergenerational aid (Hank, 2007; Hogan et al., 1993; Shuey & Hardy, 2003). Similar studies in Taiwan also found that geographical proximity affects intergenerational support, in particular, instrumental support (Lin, 2000; Lin, *in press*). Because of the fundamental difference in geographic resources between China and Taiwan, it is interesting to compare the possible structural influences indicated by the geographical distance between generations.

In brief, the present study explored the influence of filial norms on intergenerational support in China and Taiwan. The target of the analysis was financial aid, household assistance, and emotional support from children to aging parents. In addition to the comparison of support patterns between China and Taiwan, the influence of filial norms was investigated together with other situational mechanisms, such as parental demand, adult children's resources, and geographic distance between parents and children. Since the patriarchal concept of filial norms requires sons to assume the major responsibility for parental support, gender differences were considered as well. Furthermore, we suspected that filial norms may operate in interaction with other situational factors in determining intergenerational support. An attempt was thus made to specify which conditions are at play when the interaction between norms and resources increases or decreases the support flow from adult children. With the background of cultural homogeneity and socio-economic

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heterogeneity, the comparison between China and Taiwan allowed us to delineate the varying effects of the proposed salience of filial norms on intergenerational support.

Method

Sample

Data were derived from the 2006 East Asian Social Survey (EASS) (East Asian Social Survey Data Archive, 2009). The EASS is a biennial social survey project composed of the Chinese General Social Survey, the Japanese General Social Survey, the Korean General Social Survey of South Korea, and the Taiwan Social Change Survey. The 2006 module was designated as “Families in East Asia.” Of the four components, the China and Taiwan sections consisted of 3,208 and 2,102 respondents, respectively, who were adults 18 years old and above. The respondents were randomly selected and interviewed using the multistage stratified sampling method. Since the topic of the study was intergenerational support provided to aging parents, only subjects with at least one living aging parent (aged 65 and above, G1) were included. After deleting subjects with no living aging parent, the final sample (adult children, G2) for China was 1,078 respondents and that for Taiwan

794 respondents. Table 1 presents the comparative distribution of the background variables. The average ages of the respondents for China and Taiwan were 43.62 and 45.08, respectively. The proportion of sons was 46.4 percent for China and 48.9 percent for Taiwan. Regarding marital status, 91.0 percent of the Chinese respondents and 77.0 percent of the Taiwanese respondents were married.

Measures

Dependent variables. We examined three different types of support that children give their aging parents: (i) financial support, (ii) assistance with household chores, and (iii) emotional support. In the 2006 EASS, support provided to aging parents was measured by the responses of adult children to the questions: “How frequently did you provide financial support to your parent(s) during the past 12 months?”; “How frequently did you take care of household chores (e.g., cleaning, meal preparation, shopping, running errands, etc.) or provide caregiving to your parent(s) during the past 12 months?”; and “How frequently did you listen to your parents’ personal problems or show concern for your parent(s) during the past 12 months?” Respondents rated each item on a 5-point Likert-type scale corresponding to the

Table 1. Characteristics of adult children and aging parents.

Variables	Scheme and range	China (<i>N</i> = 1,078)		Taiwan (<i>N</i> = 794)		
		<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	M(SD)
Gender of child	Female	578	53.6	406	51.1	
	Male	500	46.4	388	48.9	
Marital status of child	Unmarried	97	9.0	183	23.0	
	Married	980	91.0	611	77.0	
Age of child	17–69 (China) 19–77 (Taiwan)					43.62 (8.16) 45.08 (9.13)
Income of child	Lower than average	663	67.0	501	63.8	
	Higher than average	326	33.0	284	36.2	
Geographic distance	1–7					3.82 (1.91) 3.73 (2.12)
Parental marital status	Has spouse	653	60.7	413	52.0	
	No spouse	423	39.3	381	48.0	
Parental health-care demands	1–4					1.68 (1.05) 1.84 (1.07)

following categories: *not at all*, *seldom*, *sometimes*, *often*, and *very frequently*.

Independent variables.

- (1) Filial norms. Norms of filial responsibility (and degrees thereof) toward aging parents were measured by a 3-item scale. The items were: “Married men should provide their parents with financial support,” “The authority of the father should be respected,” and “One should put familial well-being before one’s own.” Respondents rated each item on a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree*, so that high scores represented strong normative perceptions.
- (2) Geographic distance. Seven categories were provided ranging from: 1 = *living with G1*; 2 = *next door, same building, or same street*; 3 = *within 15 minutes’ walk*; 4 = *within 30 minutes’ drive*; 5 = *30 minutes to an hour by car*; 6 = *1 to 3 hours by car*; and 7 = *more than 3 hours by car*.
- (3) Aging parents’ demands. (i) Parent’s health status: Respondents were asked to evaluate each parent’s health status. The responses were scored 1 = *both healthy or one parent healthy and one deceased*, 2 = *one in poor health, one healthy*, 3 = *one in poor health, one deceased*, and 4 = *both parents in poor health*, with higher scores denoting a higher degree of poor health; (ii) Parents’ marital status: Two categories were generated; married and cohabiting were combined into 0 = *has spouse*, while widowed and divorced were labeled 1 = *no spouse*.
- (4) Resources of adult children (monthly income of adult children). Adult children’s monetary resources were measured according to individual monthly income. The scores were divided into two groups according to average score (0 = *lower than average*; 1 = *higher than average*).

To examine how parental demands and adult children’s resources, gender, and expressed filial norms affected the provision of support, we constructed four types of multiplicative terms to test for interactions: (i) to examine moderating effects of health-care demand, we interacted children’s filial norms with health status of parents; (ii) to examine moderating effects of parental marital status, we interacted children’s filial norms with marital status of parents; (iii) to examine moderating effects of children’s resources, we interacted children’s filial norms and children’s income; (iv) to examine moderating effects of gender, we interacted children’s filial norms and children’s gender.

In addition to the above variables, the following characteristics of children were controlled for: age and marital status (1 = *married*, 0 = *unmarried*).

Data analytic sequence

We used the ordinary least squares method to estimate multiple regression models to predict the provision of support by adult children. First, we estimated the main effects models and then included four interactions that test how filial norms are triggered into supportive behavior as child’s gender, resources, and parental demands.

Results

Descriptive analyses

Table 2 presents the mean scores of filial norms and intergenerational support in China and Taiwan. Adult children in Taiwan reported higher filial norms than did their Chinese counterparts ($t = -6.869, p < 0.001$). In terms of three types of support given to aging parents, in both China and Taiwan, emotional support was valued the most ($F = 6.914, p < 0.01$; $F = 52.505, p < 0.001$), and financial support came next for Taiwan, a result that was significantly higher than for China ($t = -4.604, p < 0.001$). Nevertheless,

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there was no difference between China and Taiwan with respect to assistance with household chores. Overall, adult children in Taiwan tended to give more assistance to aging parents than did their counterparts in China.

Multivariate analyses

Table 3 presents standardized estimates predicting support provided to aging parents. The first equation, Model 1, shows that intergenerational support varied by gender for both China and Taiwan. Specifically, sons remained the major providers of intergenerational financial support for their aging parents in both China and Taiwan ($\beta = 0.145$, $p < 0.001$; $\beta = 0.186$, $p < 0.001$). Chinese daughters provided mostly household assistance ($\beta = -0.083$, $p < 0.05$), while Taiwanese daughters offered emotional support ($\beta = -0.178$, $p < 0.001$). As expected, high-income adult children in both societies gave financial support to their aging parents more often than did their lower-income counterparts ($\beta = 0.078$, $p < 0.05$; $\beta = 0.146$, $p < 0.001$). However, while young adult children in Taiwan were found to be major providers of financial support ($\beta = -0.086$, $p < 0.05$), older adult children were the ones who gave monetary assistance in China ($\beta = 0.095$, $p < 0.01$). Household assistance varied by residential proximity. In both societies, children who lived farther away were less likely to provide help with household chores

($\beta = -0.399$, $p < 0.001$; $\beta = -0.373$, $p < 0.001$). As for parental demand, it was significant only for the Chinese samples in providing emotional support to aging parents ($\beta = -0.098$, $p < 0.01$). Overall, factors that significantly accounted for intergenerational support patterns were similar in China and Taiwan, although different specific effects could be observed.

How did filial norms affect the provision of support from adult children to parents? In Table 3, Model 1 shows that filial norms were significant across all aspects of intergenerational support in both China and Taiwan, except for help with household chores in China. Adult children who endorse filial responsibilities tend to provide greater financial, emotional, and household assistance to their parents. Model 2 added the interaction terms between filial norms and children's gender, income, and parental demands (health status and marital status). In Model 2, all interaction terms were not significant for the Chinese sample.

As for the Taiwanese sample, different interaction terms between the variables adult children's filial norms and gender, income, or parental demands produced different effects on intergenerational support. To be specific, the interaction of filial norms with gender indicated that sons were more likely to provide financial support to parents when holding greater filial obligations ($\beta = 0.084$, $p < 0.1$; we slacked our significance level to 0.1

Table 2. Filial norms and intergenerational support.

	Range	China (<i>N</i> = 1,078)		Taiwan (<i>N</i> = 794)		t value
		M	SD	M	SD	
Filial norms (expressed by adult child)	1–7	5.35		5.60		–6.869***
Type of support						
Financial	1–5	2.75	1.03	3.00	1.26	–4.604***
Household chores	1–5	2.77	1.08	2.72	1.29	0.870
Emotional	1–5	2.87	0.94	3.27	1.04	–8.363***
Fa		6.914**		52.505***		

^a Taiwan: emotional > financial > household chores; China: emotional > financial, and household chores.

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$.

Table 3. Standardized regression coefficients predicting adult child's provision of support to aging parents.

Predictor	China (N = 1,078)						Taiwan (N = 794)					
	Financial		Household chores		Emotional		Financial		Household chores		Emotional	
	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
Age of adult child	.095**	.096**	.045	.044	.081*	.081*	-.086*	-.082*	-.094**	-.092*	-.010	-.006
Married child (ref. unmarried ^a)	.078*	.070*	.007	.008	.031	.030	-.040	-.035	-.036	-.036	.054	.057
Gender of child (ref. female)	.145***	.141***	-.083*	-.083*	-.052	-.055	.186***	.186***	.002	.006	-.178***	-.175***
Filial norms	.133***	.316*	.049	.073	.100**	.232†	.161***	.142*	.066*	.010	.062†	.070
Geographic distance	-.014	-.015	-.399***	-.398***	-.234***	-.235***	.024	.026	-.373***	-.371***	-.061	-.064
Income of child (ref. lower than average)	.078*	.083*	.017	.015	.047	.048	.146***	.145***	.037	.035	.128**	.124**
Demands of parents												
Health status	-.009	-.011	-.028	-.027	-.017	-.020	-.037	-.038	.017	.021	-.031	-.026
Marital status (ref. has spouse)	-.030	-.026	-.027	-.025	-.098**	-.094**	.052	.051	.039	.040	-.003	-.006
G2 Gender × Filial norms		-.145		-.018		-.075		.084†		.048		.066
G2 Income × Filial norms		-.046		.017		-.045		.006		.002		-.080†
G1 Health status × Filial norms		.044		-.030		.004		-.033		.056†		.031
G1 unmarried ^a × Filial norms		-.024		-.029		-.055		-.067		.031		-.011
R ²	.065		.070		.144		.146		.170		.036	
F	8.27***		5.91***		19.72***		13.27***		8.68***		3.65***	
											2.84**	

Note: ^aSingle, widowed, separated, or divorced.
 †p < .1, *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001.

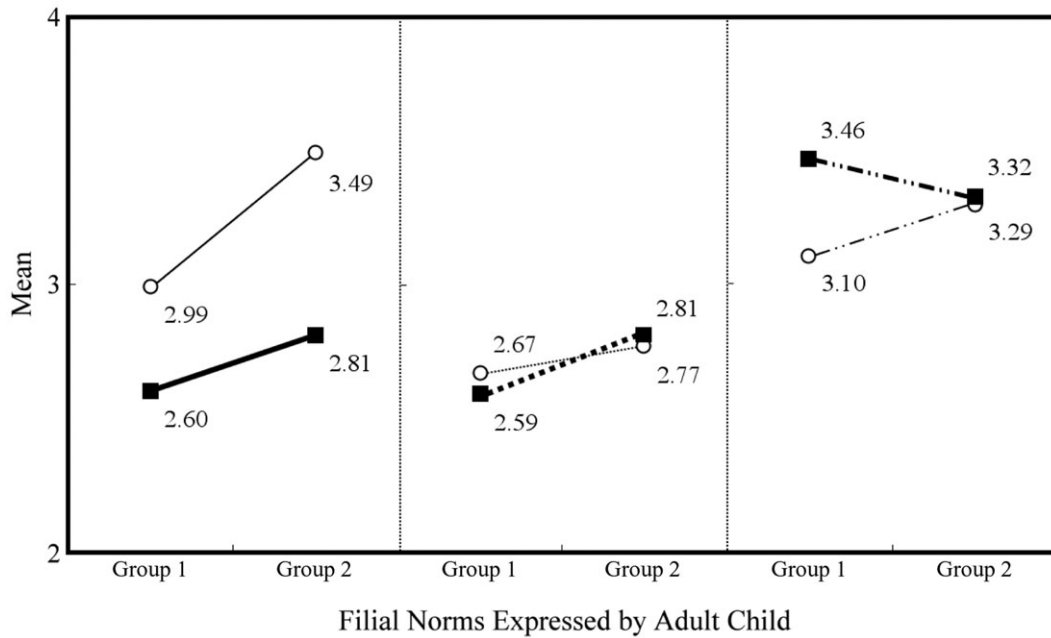


Figure 1. Predicted relationship between filial norms of adult children and support to parents by gender of the children, parental demands, and children’s resources (Taiwan).

Note: The mean scores of filial norms from group 1 (lower filial norms, 4.82) and group 2 (higher filial norms, 6.17) are significantly different ($t = -37.164, p < 0.001$)

- Financial support to parents (sons).
- Financial support to parents (daughters)
-○..... Household chores assistance to parents (parents with lower care demands)
-■..... Household chores assistance to parents (parents with higher care demands)
- - ○ - - Emotional support to parents (children with lower income)
- - ■ - - Emotional support to parents (children with higher income)

for interactive items because the main effects were controlled for). Figure 1 portrays this interaction pattern, demonstrating the strong correlation for sons versus the less important correlation for daughters.

With regard to assistance with household chores, the interaction between filial responsibility and parental health-care demand was statistically significant ($\beta = 0.056, p < 0.1$). To depict this interaction graphically, predicted values were calculated for parents with lower health-care demands (i.e., both healthy or one deceased, one healthy) versus parents with higher health-care demands (i.e., at least one parent in poor health). The slope in Figure 1 shows that when all other covariates were held constant at their respective means,

children’s filial norms significantly raised household chores assistance levels to parents with health-care needs.

The effect of income on intergenerational support revealed interesting findings among the Taiwanese adult children. In Model 1 (Table 3), children with higher income provided more emotional support to their parents ($\beta = 0.128, p < 0.01$). However, when the interaction terms were added, lower income turned out to strengthen the effect of filial norms on the levels of emotional support ($\beta = -0.080, p < 0.1$). From Figure 1, it can be seen that children who had lower income but endorsed higher filial norms were the most likely to provide emotional support to their parents. In contrast, children with higher

income but lower filial norms tended to reduce their emotional support significantly. It appears that inadequate financial resources of adult children in Taiwan do not represent a real barrier to their practicing their filial duty. Greater emotional support to aging parents is provided to overcome the financial limitation.

Discussion

In this study, we compared intergenerational support from adult children to aging parents in two Chinese societies: China and Taiwan. Our findings revealed that in present-day China and Taiwan, adult children still have a high regard for filial norms. Filial norms were associated with significant intergenerational support behavior in both societies, but to varying extents for different aspects examined. Notably, greater endorsement of filial duties resulted in more financial support from children to parents in both China and Taiwan. The interaction between filial norms and gender also showed a salient effect on sons in Taiwan who provide financial support. This result is similar to previous findings from the West (e.g., Silverstein & Litwak, 1993; Silverstein, Parrott, & Bengtson, 1995) which showed that a stronger perception of filial obligation increases the likelihood that sons will provide instrumental support, but not emotional support, to parents.

With regard to the additional effects of children's resources and parental demands on patterns of intergenerational support, our data pointed out interesting but divergent patterns between China and Taiwan. While adult children with higher income tend to provide financial support to parents in both societies, these adult children in Taiwan are more likely to offer emotional support to parents, as well. Furthermore, in terms of the interactive effects between filial norms and income, our analysis showed that adult children with less financial resources provide emotional support in order to practice filial piety, but that this pattern is valid only in Taiwan. With

regard to parental demands, again, it is those Taiwanese adult children who highly value filial norms who provided more labor assistance to parents who had greater health-care demands. In other words, while filial norms are a salient factor accounting for intergenerational support between adult children and aging parents in Chinese societies, its specific effect on financial, physical, or emotional support varies between China and Taiwan. The patterns are echoed in part in earlier findings by Silverstein et al. (2006), because the latent solidarity of intergenerational norms did facilitate manifested solidarity in intergenerational support. It appears that filial norms held by adult children may be considered a "push factor," whereas parents' demands may be a "pull factor" in the intergenerational engagement.

In brief, the intergenerational support patterns of China and Taiwan were found to be not very different from each other due to the cultural traits and traditions which the two Chinese societies have inherited and share. Patriarchal filial norms dominated in various specific forms of intergenerational support. Sons tended to provide financial support, but Taiwanese daughters were likely to give emotional support in contrast to Chinese daughters who offered physical help in the house. This implies that filial norms not only apply to both Chinese societies but are also gender-specific in actual realization.

Overall, our findings indicate that individual financial resources as well as parental health-care needs have produced a more pronounced effect in the Taiwanese context than in the Chinese. Further studies are required to investigate the universalities and particularities between and among different Chinese societies with regard to various aspects of intergenerational exchanges. Our study proposed and confirmed the significance of filial norms in upward generational support. Future research should investigate the potential effects of structural mechanisms that produce different practices in different Chinese societies.

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