The Emergence of Multigenerational Households: The Role of Early Union[1]

Clarinda Lusterio-Berja[*]

Abstract

R ecent demographic and social trends in the Philippines bring about the formation of various non-nuclear household arrangements. The Young Adult Fertility and Sexuality Survey III (YAFSS3) reveals that 22 percent of young Filipinos (15-27 years old) are in a multigenerational co-residence and 35 percent of them in early union. The data also show that young people in multigenerational households are disadvantaged in terms of education, employment, parents' characteristics and risk behaviors compared to their counterparts in nuclear households. In this study, the emergence of multigenerational co-residence is seen as a family survival strategy in responding to various socio-demographic and economic pressures specifically early unions, teenage pregnancy and solo parenthood. It describes the condition of youth in multigenerational co-residence compared to those in nuclear households. It also examines the relationship between multigenerational co-residence and youth developmental outcomes (i.e., education and employment) as well as risk behaviors (i.e., substance abuse and early sex) and probes whether parents' early union lead to children's early union. Utilizing the individual and household data from the YAFSS3, the study employs a two-stage analysis to determine whether multigenerational co-residence is contributing to the success or failure of the youth's transition. The findings center on the importance of multigenerational co-residence in shaping the educational and social experiences of young people and ensuring that the youth are safe, secure and stable within these household arrangements.

* Core research team member of YAFSS3, and Ph.D. candidate, Department of Sociology, University of the Philippines.

Introduction

Multigenerational households are commonly found in many developing countries, particularly in Asia where families are characterized as closely knit. This household structure allows families to come together to face the many trials of life, such as raising a child, caring for elders, single parenthood, and high cost of living and housing. This kind of living arrangement shows the transformation of a household into extended homes as a result of changes, as well as transitions within the family and consequently, its relationship to the larger kin group. For example, the increasing participation of women in the labor force results in changing gender roles from being a homemaker to a more active economic contributor to the family's coffer. The diminished time spent by mothers in looking after the household leads to reliance to older family members, particularly the grandparents.

Some societies encourage multigenerational living because of the primary role of the family in the child's socialization. The parents and other adult members of the family instill in the child the norms, values, beliefs, and patterns of behavior expected in society. In the Philippines, multigenerational living continues despite the decline in household size and the rise in single-person households observed in the last decades. Estimates from the 2002 Young Adult Fertility and Sexuality Study 3 (YAFSS3) show that one out of five households is multigenerational and unexpectedly, there are more of this in urban (particularly in Metro Manila) than in rural areas (Berja, 2003).

Earlier studies about multigenerational households attribute the decline in this type of co-residence to preferences of the elderly (Shanas; 1968 cited by Ruggles, 1998). This is not reflected however in the case of developing countries where preferences of the younger generation figure as an important factor as well. In some countries, the rise in education and job status of the younger generation have eroded the economic incentives of multigenerational co-residence. For others, this set-up remains a refuge for those in difficult life situations.

In this study, the emergence of multigenerational households are seen as a family survival strategy, particularly as a response to various socio-demographic and economic pressures brought about by early union, teenage pregnancy and solo parenthood.

The study aims to describe, as well as compare, the conditions of the youth population in multigenerational and nonmultigenerational households. It also identifies the factors that predispose young people to different living arrangements. In particular, it probes the role of early union of children and the role of parents in the emergence of this kind of living arrangement.
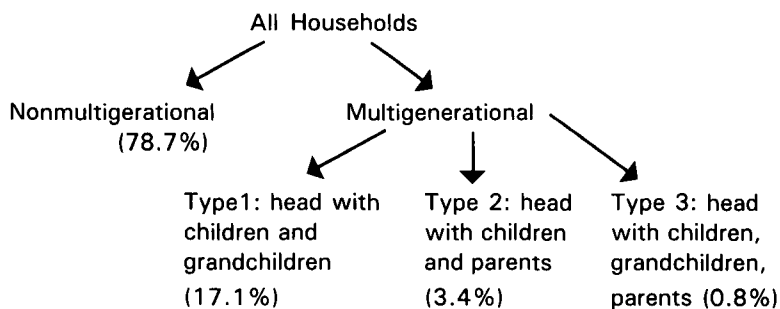
Methodology

Data

This study utilizes data from the YAFSS3, the third of a series of youth surveys covering 16 administrative regions of the Philippines. The YAFSS3 has a total respondents of 19,747 young people, ages 15-27 years old. Aside from the individual survey, household data were also generated from 15,401 sample households and community data from 903 *barangays*.

Variables and measures

The study identifies multigenerational households using the relationship to household head, type of family (whether the household member belongs to the first up to the sixth family nucleus or whether he or she does not have family nucleus), age and marital status variables in the household record. The characteristics of young people as well as their household heads are described in each of the co-residence types.

Multigenerational household is defined as a household consisting of "three or more generations of parents and their families." The typical multigenerational household in the Philippines would fall into one of two types of family structures as shown in Figure 1 below. The first type includes families with the household head, his or her children, and grandchildren. The second type includes a household head, his/her own children and his/her own parents. Very few households would fall into the third type, which consists of the household head, his/her own children and grandchildren and his/her own parents.

FIGURE 1.Co-residential arrangements

All Households

Nonmultigerational
(78.7%)

Multigenerational

Type1: head with children and grandchildren (17.1%)

Type 2: head with children and parents (3.4%)

Type 3: head with children, grandchildren, parents (0.8%)

In the first type of multigenerational household, the children marry young and thus the household head carries the burden of providing financial and other support to both his/her children and grandchildren. In cases where the children are employed, the grandparent or

other older relative usually provides the day care for the young children. In such cases, these older relatives may feel some strains on their health and emotional state because of their age and physical state. In some households, the siblings of the young parent also have their share in day care for the young children.

In the second type, the household head provides caring for their parent/older relative. The household head is the one strained by the responsibility of providing for the food, shelter and medical needs of their parent/older relative in addition to the daily demands of raising their own children.

In the third type, dependency burden of the household head is coming from both the young and the old members of the household.

Method of analysis

A multinomial logistic regression (MLR) model was estimated to test the effects of early union on multigenerational co-residence. The outcome categories in the dependent variable are: (1) household extended by grandchildren of household head; (2) household extended by parents of household head; and (3) nonmultigenerational household. The nonmultigenerational household serves as reference category. The independent variables include: early union, work, education, age, sex, parents's early union, stability of parent's union, parent's work, urbanity and poverty status. Thus, logit 1 refers to the logistic regression that compares households extended by grandchildren vs. nonmultigenerational households while logit 2 compares households extended by parents of household head vs. nonmultigenerational households.

Logit 1 = log (probability (extended by grandchildren| X))/ probability

(nonmultigenerational| X)

$$= b_{10} + b_{11} X_{1i} + b_{12} X_{2i} + ... + b_{1k} X_{ki}$$

Logit 2 = log (probability (extended by parents| X))/ probability

(nonmultigenerational| X)

$$= b_{20} + b_{21} X_{2i} + b_{22} X_{2i} + ... + b_{2k} X_{ki}$$

Results

Data from the YAFSS3 reveal that multigenerational households represent about 20 percent of households with young people ages 15-24 years old in the Philippines. There are more households extended by grandchildren and/or son- and daughter-in-law than those extended by parents of the household head (17.1 percent and 4.2 percent respectively).

This suggests that the young people remain dependent on their parents even as they form a family of their own. Those who marry at a young age continue to seek parent's support and remain in their parent's house. The rest of multigenerational households provide support for the elderly. Providing care for the family elders at home is still a common practice among Filipino families.

Household size and composition

To further describe multigenerational households, the average household size and the composition of households in terms of their relationship with the household head were estimated. The results are presented in Table 1 below.

TABLE 1. Household Composition

Relationship to household head	Percent
Head	17.1
Spouse	14.2
Son/Daughter	52.7
Son-/daughter-in-law	2.4
Grandson/Granddaughter-in-law	6.3
Parent/Parent-in-law	1.0
Other relatives	4.8
Not related	1.5
TOTAL	100.0
N of cases	90,830

As expected, the non-multigenerational households have fewer household members than multigenerational household (5.57 vs. 7.75).

In the Philippines, the size and composition of household changes at different stages of the family life cycle. For instance, a newly married couple that decides to stay temporarily with parents of either spouse will belong to an extended family household during their early-married life. They later on move out to establish their own household and this continues during the childbearing and child rearing stage. The household becomes extended again when a married child and his/her spouse or other relatives join the couple. When all the married children have gone, the couple is left with unmarried children and becomes nuclear again.

Data also imply that majority of Filipino households are nuclear – composed primarily of husband, wife and children. The others are either bilaterally extended which includes the families of the husband and wife or vertically extended with the children's family including the son-/daughter- in-law and grandchildren. Vertical extension is more prevalent compared to the horizontal extension.

The regional distribution presented in Table 2 shows the highest proportion (29.2 percent) of multigenerational household in the National Capital Region (which is 100 percent urban).

TABLE 2. Type of Multigenerational Residence by Region

Region	Nonmulti- Generational	With children and grandchildren of household head (Type 1)	With children and parents of household head (Type 2)	Total Percent	Number of cases
Ilocos	76.7	19.2	4.1	100.0	917
Cagayan Valley	82.8	13.2	4.0	100.0	325
Central Luzon	83.2	14.1	2.7	100.0	1,459
Southern Tagalog	83.2	13.7	3.1	100.0	2,783
Bicol	73.7	22.2	4.1	100.0	1,022
Western Visayas	82.9	13.1	4.0	100.0	1,210
Central Visayas	75.9	19.7	4.4	100.0	1,490
Eastern Visayas	75.3	19.9	4.9	100.0	700
Western Mindanao	85.9	11.3	2.8	100.0	433
Northern Mindanao	80.6	16.8	2.6	100.0	844
Southern Mindanao	79.9	17.1	3.1	100.0	1,236
Central Mindanao	80.9	12.5	6.6	100.0	512
ARMM	82.5	12.1	5.4	100.0	314
CAR	77.0	19.0	3.9	100.0	305
CARAGA	75.8	17.8	6.4	100.0	534
NCR	71.8	21.7	6.5	100.0	2,880
TOTAL	**78.7**	**17.1**	**4.3**	**100.0**	**16,964**

While it is expected that urban areas tend to be more nuclear, the gravitation of rural people to urban centers being the center of economic activity leads to its congestion. The economic cost of building and/or owning a house is also difficult for younger couples.

Western Mindanao has the lowest proportion of multigenerational household. Similar distribution is reflected in the other regions in Mindanao where multigenerational co-residence is low but extension by aged parents is above the national average. This implies that although households in Mindanao are predominantly nonmultigenerational, they still tend to provide care and emotional support to their elders rather than keep their young married children and grandchildren. One possible explanation would be the ease of building houses especially for young couples in these predominantly rural areas compared to the cities.

The nuclearity of households in rural areas does not necessarily imply waning kinship structure. Castillo (1979) described the Filipino family as "residentially nuclear but functionally extended." In a sense, this points she described the modal household in the Philippines as nuclear but the family relationship continues to be extended. Kinsmen, particularly in the rural areas identify with each other, assist one another, and participate in joint activities even if they do not share a common residence.

Characteristics of household heads

Table 3 summarizes the characteristics of household heads by type of household. It shows that males predominantly head nonmultigenerational households. More females than males head Type 1 households (28 percent vs.15 percent). Type 2 multigenerational households showed no difference in the gender of household heads.

As expected, the older household heads are found in multigenerational households. The younger ones are usually in nonmultigenerational households while about half of those who are already in their retirement age (65 and over) head a multigenerational household. Interestingly, there are relatively larger proportions of the younger heads in the Type 2 households.

A large majority of the households are headed by married people regardless of household type, although relatively larger proportions of those in dissolved unions (separated/divorced and widows) are found in both types of multigenerational households. A possible explanation to this observation is the Filipino tradition that bequeaths household headship to the oldest family member regardless of his or her economic contribution to the family.

In terms of education, it appears that heads of nonmultigenerational households and Type 2 households tend to be better off than those in Type 1 set-up since there is higher proportion of those who reached high school and college in those households compared to their counterparts.

TABLE 3. Characteristics of Household Heads by Type of Household

	Nonmulti-Generational	With children and grandchildren of household head (Type 1)	With children and parents of household head (Type 2)	Total Percent	Number of cases
SEX					
Male	80.3	15.4	4.3	100.0	14,607
Female	68.0	28.0	4.1	100.0	2,359
AGE GROUP					
15-24	95.0	0.0	5.0	100.0	926
25-34	92.6	0.9	6.5	100.0	1,265
35-44	88.8	6.1	5.1	100.0	4,297
45-54	77.2	18.5	4.3	100.0	6,604
55-64	65.4	32.0	2.6	100.0	2,625
65 & over	52.5	45.5	2.0	100.0	1,246
MARITAL STATUS					
Never married	95.9	1.0	3.0	100.0	492
Currently married	80.6	15.5	3.9	100.0	13,674
Living-in	85.3	11.0	3.6	100.0	797
Separated/Divorced	65.0	25.9	9.1	100.0	351
Widow	56.3	36.8	6.9	100.0	1,567
EDUCATION					
No schooling	74.6	22.9	2.5	100.0	568
Elementary	75.2	22.2	2.6	100.0	6,175
High School/ Vocational	81.1	14.9	4.0	100.0	6,458
College	80.6	11.8	7.6	100.0	3,763

Characteristics of youth population

Table 4 describes the youth in multigenerational households and compares them with those in non-multigenerational households.

Results show that there are more females than males in Type 1 households (28 percent vs.15 percent). The males are more likely to be in nonmultigenerational and Type 2 households (80 percent vs. 68 percent and 4.3 percent vs. 4.1 percent, respectively).

As expected, the younger ones are found in nonmultigenerational households (82 percent vs. 74 percent) while Type 1 multigenerational households tend to have the older cohort of youth population (14 percent vs. 22 percent). Again, no age-difference was found among those in Type 2 residence.

Education showed very little difference among young people across all three types of co-residence. Those in multigenerational co-residence seem to be better off than those in nonmultigenerational household in terms of education. There is slightly higher proportion of those in multigenerational set-up who had at least high school education than those without it (17.3 percent vs. 16.9 percent).

Table 4. Characteristics of Respondents by Types of Household

	Nonmulti-Generational	With children and grandchildren of household head (Type 1)	With children and parents of household head (Type 2)	Total Percent	Number of cases
SEX					
Male	79.9	15.6	4.4	100.0	8,042
Female	77.4	18.5	4.1	100.0	8,923
AGE GROUP					
15-19	81.8	14.0	4.3	100.0	10,236
20-24	73.8	21.9	4.3	100.0	6,728
EDUCATION					
W/ high school	78.1	17.3	4.6	100.0	10,076
W/o high school	79.4	16.9	3.7	100.0	6,824
EMPLOYMENT					
Working	77.2	17.5	5.3	100.0	4,673
Not working	79.2	17.0	3.8	100.0	12,290
EARLY UNION (GOT MARRIED BEFORE AGE 20)					
Yes	66.4	30.0	3.7	100.0	1,412
No	79.7	16.0	4.3	100.0	15,552
FATHER GOT MARRIED EARLY					
Yes	76.4	19.7	3.9	100.0	2,322
No	79.2	16.8	4.0	100.0	10,173

MOTHER GOT MARRIED EARLY					
Yes	77.2	19.5	3.3	100.0	5,766
No	79.6	15.7	4.7	100.0	6,984
FATHER IS WORKING OVERSEAS					
Yes	82.6	11.1	6.3	100.0	253
No	78.5	17.2	4.2	100.0	16,713
MOTHER IS WORKING OVERSEAS					
Yes	80.6	10.2	9.2	100.0	196
No	78.6	17.2	4.2	100.0	16,768
PARENTS LIVING TOGETHER					
Yes	80.8	15.6	3.6	100.0	12,933
No	73.4	20.7	5.9	100.0	2,523
URBANITY					
Urban	76.8	18.4	4.8	100.0	8,810
Rural	80.5	15.7	3.7	100.0	8,155
POVERTY					
Poor	83.4	13.0	3.6	100.0	6,180
Non-poor	75.8	19.5	4.7	100.0	10,553
TOTAL	78.7	17.1	4.3	100.0	16,964

Conversely, there is slightly higher proportion of those without high school education than those with high school education among the youth in nonmultigenerational households (79.4 percent vs. 78.1 percent).

There is also slightly higher proportion of unemployed youth in nonmultigenerational households (79 percent vs. 77 percent). On the other hand, higher proportion of economically active youth is in Type 2 multigenerational households (5.3 percent vs. 3.8 percent). The Type 1 household did not show any difference in employment of youth.

Those who got married before age 20 have greater predisposition to be in Type 1 multigenerational household compared to those who did not marry early (30 percent vs. 16 percent). Conversely, in nonmultigenerational households (66 percent vs. 80 percent), there is lower proportion of those who married early. There is no difference among those in Type 2 households.

As expected, there are more adolescents whose fathers and mothers married early that are found in Type 1 multigenerational households (19.7 vs. 16.8 percent and 19.5 percent vs. 15.7 percent). Since the parents married early, they have greater probability of having married children and grandchildren living with them. Those who did not marry early tend to be in the nonmultigenerational or Type 2 households .

Those whose fathers work overseas are more likely to be in nonmultigenerational households. In Type 1 households, the fathers are less likely to be working overseas. On the contrary, Type 2 households exhibited slightly higher proportion of fathers working abroad (6.3 percent vs. 4.2 percent). The difference in proportion is even larger for mothers working overseas (9.2 percent vs. 4.2 percent). Again, this shows that in the absence of a mother, the grandmother takes on the responsibility of child rearing so the family becomes extended at least while the mother (or the father) is away.

Those whose parents are not together tend to be in multigenerational co-residence (20.7 percent vs. 15.6 percent in Type 1 and 5.7 percent vs. 3.6 percent in Type 2). A possible explanation is the tendency, particularly among female parents, to seek support from her family of origin when her marriage is dissolved (Zablan, et al, 1996).

In urban areas, there is growing tendency to form multigenerational co-residence. About 18.4 percent of urban young population and only 15.7 percent rural youth live in Type 1 households. Similarly, there is 4.8 percent youth population in urban and only 3.7 percent in rural in Type 2 households. The nonmultigenerational households have lower proportion of urban than rural dwellers (76.8 percent vs. 80.5 percent).

There is higher proportion of poor than nonpoor in nonmultigenerational households (83 percent vs. 76 percent). The opposite was observed in both types of multigenerational households where more nonpoor than poor youth were found (19.5 percent vs. 13 percent for Type 1 and 4.7 percent vs. 3.6 percent for Type 2).

Factors that influence multigenerational co-residence

The grandchildren of the household head extend the bigger proportion of multigenerational co-residence in the Philippines. Results of the MLR model summarized in Table 5 identify who are more likely to be in this living arrangement. The MLR coefficients reveals that those who got married before the age of 20, with a mother who married early, older, unemployed, nonpoor, urban residents, with parents still living together are more likely to be in Type 1 multigenerational co-residence.

The odds of forming a co-residence of household head with his/her children and grandchildren are highest for those who got married early (i.e., before age 20). They are two times more likely to be in this living arrangement than in nonmultigenerational set-up. As expected, increasing age of the youth shows a positive association with Type 1 households.

Interestingly, those who live in urban areas are more likely to be in this living arrangement. One explanation for the higher likelihood of Type 1 living arrangement is that those in the city find it more difficult and costly to put up a separate dwelling unit while in rural area there is enough space and a simple dwelling unit made up of light materials will do for a newly married couple.

In terms of socioeconomic status, those without high school education are more likely to be in Type 1 households. These young people are in a disadvantaged situation since education provides them skills and the opportunity of getting good jobs in order to perform their family role and become productive members of the society.

Although they have low education, they belong to nonpoor households. It seems that low education is balanced off by being in nonpoor households although it could not be safely assumed that they are not in a disadvantaged situation.

The negative association of Type 1 households with parents living together demonstrates the influence of parents on children's predisposition to be in such living arrangement. This implies failure in early marriages which could be associated with earlier findings that those whose mothers married early tend to be in multigenerational set-up.

The other type of household, which is extended by parents of the household head (Type 2) comprise only a fifth of all multigenerational co-residences. In this type of living arrangement, young married son or daughter heads the household and the parent(s) of the head extends the household. Who are more likely to be in this multigenerational co-residence? Five factors figured as significantly determining Type 2 co-residence as also shown in Table 5. The model indicates that those with a mother who married early, with parents in dissolved union, with mother working abroad, those without high school education, and nonpoor are more likely to be in Type 2 (household head with children and parents of household head) multigenerational co-residence.

In the logit 2 model, the odds of forming a co-residence extended by grandparents are highest for those whose mothers work overseas. The parents of the household head, usually the grandmother joins the household to give support in terms of childcare so that their children will be able to work abroad and make economic provisions for their grandchildren.

Unlike in the first model, education did not show significant effect in forming Type 2 living arrangement. However, employment appeared to have positive association with Type 2 household. This partly explains the finding that these households are mostly headed by young married couples.

The young people in Type 2 households seem better off than other youth since they are employed and they belong to households considered as nonpoor. But again, this does not mean that they are not in disadvantaged position. In fact, these young people bear the

responsibility of providing for the economic needs of both their children and parents.

Similar to those in Type 1 households, if the parents are living together, it is less likely that they are in Type 2 living arrangement. Here, the stability of parents' union seemingly appears as a protective factor to early marriage and congruently being in a Type 2 household.

Table 5. Parameter Estimates of the Multinomial Logistic Regression Model

	Household extended by Grandchildren of Household Head vs. Nonmultigenerational household				Household extended by Parents of Household Head vs. Nonmultigenerational household			
	B	Std. Error	Sig.	Exp (B)	B	Std. Error	Sig.	Exp (B)
Intercept	-3.818	.242	.000		-1.907	.466	.000	
Age	.119	.010	.000	1.126	-.015	.020	.460	.985
Urban	.113	.054	.035	1.120	.083	.103	.418	1.087
Male	.009	.055	.871	1.009	-.015	.103	.885	.985
Not Working	.095	.060	.115	1.100	-.457	.110	.000	.633
Without high school education	.232	.060	.000	1.261	-.134	.117	.252	.875
Early union	.740	.088	.000	2.096	.183	.213	.390	1.201
Father married early	.106	.069	.124	1.111	.140	.138	.313	1.150
Mother married early	.220	.056	.000	1.246	-.264	.110	.017	.768
Father works overseas	.014	.217	.948	1.014	.378	.329	.251	1.459
Mother works overseas	-.350	.283	.216	.705	.711	.329	.031	2.035
Poor household	-.605	.062	.000	.546	-.264	.114	.021	.768
Parents are together	-.289	.069	.000	.749	-.446	.131	.001	.640

[a] The reference category is: nonmultigenerational.

Discussion

Completing education, entering the labor force, starting a family, having children and setting up one's own home – these formed the track that many young Filipinos followed in the past. But many social, economic and structural disruptions have made this transition difficult to achieve.

The study found that early union predisposes young people to be in Type 1 multigenerational set-up. This event is coupled with early pregnancy, dropping out of school and unemployment. In this set-up, the economic burden is mostly assumed by the household head. If the household head is unable to provide them with financial support, they need to be employed to support themselves and their children. In this case, they would also need somebody to take care of their children while they are at work.

Childcare support is provided mostly by the grandmother and sometimes shared by members of the households. The same is true in the case of Type 2 households, although the difference is that the young married children take the double burden of the young and the old in the family.

Households are reconfigured to accommodate family members who need support for childcare and other demands of urban life particularly among young people. Ironically, the changing economic realities and migration have to some degree dislocated and strained the bedrock of intergenerational relationships. The increased amount of time spent by both men and women in the workplace has challenged the traditional capacity of the family to provide the totality of care for all its members in the home.

It is evident in this study that when the mother works overseas, grandparents assume most of the childcare and childrearing responsibilities. Consequently, the large intergenerational gap between young people and the elderly and the missing middle generation is likely to strain family relationships.

Mother's early marriage was found to be a predisposing factor in both types of multigenerational living arrangement. Unlike the mother's, father's early union showed insignificant effect in forming multigenerational households.

Parental role is also shown by the significant effect of parents' own living arrangement, (if the parents are still living together) on household formation of young people. If family members seek the support from a multigenerational set-up, then the household has to be stable enough to be able to provide not only economic but also psychological and social support.

Multigenerational households are more likely to be nonpoor. Here, the poverty measure used should provide context to this finding. It is important to note that the indicator of poverty used in this study is based on household and housing characteristics and characteristics of household head, and excludes the poverty status of the respondent per se. However, in

this study, education and employment status serve as proxy measures of poverty status of the young. As mentioned earlier, being in a nonpoor household does not necessarily connote that they are not in a disadvantaged position.

Conclusion

By and large, the multigenerational co-residence as it is found in the Philippines appears as a coping strategy to face family trials and poverty situation brought about by early unions. For Type 1 co-residence, those who married early seek economic and child care support from the household head. For Type 2 co-residence, the household head gains child care support from their parents so he/she can be economically productive. In turn, they give support to their parents as well.

While multi-generational living is encouraged by many societies that emphasize intergenerational solidarity[1], several issues have yet to be addressed particularly in the case of the Philippines where multigenerational co-residence appears as a symptom of problems that confront the Filipino family.

1) Multigenerational co-residence is more common in highly urbanized areas than in rural areas. In urban areas, limited space and housing facilities pull family members and extended kin together to share limited resources in order to survive urban life.

2) Multigenerational co-residence contains dissolved nuclear family. This could possibly impact on the shaping of young minds growing up without the conventional family set-up. Family roles must be well-defined to prevent strains in intergenerational relationships.

3) The efforts of family members of multiple generations living in one household show family responsibility. But, while family members are willing to step in as care givers, not all of them are equipped to provide the care and services that children and older relatives require. Sometimes, child care is already too physically demanding for the older relative but circumstances force him/her to do such task.

4) For some young people, multigenerational co-residence can be considered as an option especially among those who intend to get married early and have children. This has pressing demographic impact since daughters already start reproducing while their mothers are still in their reproductive years. Young people who start family life early are pulled out from school and faced with unemployment problem. In turn, they put pressure on multigenerational co-residence.

Given all these, it is important to examine conditions of multigenerational households to ensure that the youth, as well as the other members of the family, are safe, secure and stable within these household arrangements. Multigenerational should be a preference, not only of the household head and the elderly but more importantly, the youth.

Note

1 Paper prepared for the 7th International Conference on Philippine Studies organized by the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS), June 16-19, 2004, Leiden, The Netherlands.

References

Berthoud, Richard and Karen Robson. (2001). "The Outcomes of Teenage Motherhood in Europe". *Innocenti Working Paper No. 86*. Florence: UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre.

Bruce, Judith et al. (1995). Families in Focus: New Perspectives on Mothers, Father and Children. Population Council, New Year: 1995.

Castillo, Gelia T. (1979). Beyond Manila: Philippine Rural Problems in Perspective. Ottawa, Canada: International Development Research Centre.

Chant, Sylvia. (1997). "Marginal (m)others: lone parents and female household headship in the Philippines." European Journal of Development Research 9:1-34.

ESCAP. (1997). Review of the Youth Situation, Policies and Programmes in Asia and the Pacific, p. 32, Bangkok.

Illo, Jeanne Frances I. (1992). Who Heads the Household?: Women in Households in the Philippines. *Finding the Household: conceptual and methodological issues,* vol. 5, Women and household in Asia, edited by K. Saradamoni. New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Lusterio-Berja, Clarinda. (1998). "The Filipino Household". Unpublished Paper.

Lusterio-Berja, Clarinda. (2003). "Filipino Youth in Multigenerational Households". Paper presented at the 5th National Social Science Conference, May 2003, Philippines Social Science Council Bldg., Quezon City, Philippines.

Medina, Belen T.G. (2001). The Filipino Family, 2nd Ed. Diliman,Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press.

National Statistics Office. (1997). 1995 Census of Population and Housing. Manila.

Zablan, Zelda, Clarinda Lusterio and Gilda Diaz. (1995). Conditions of Households with Heads in Dissolved Unions. NSO Monograph No. 3.