

TWO-HOME FAMILY SITUATIONS OF CHILDREN AND ADULTS: OBSERVATION AND CONSEQUENCES FOR DESCRIBING FAMILY PATTERNS IN FRANCE

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Executive summary

With the increasing diversity of family situations, more people – children as well as adults – now ‘usually’ live in more than one dwelling. The aim of this paper is, first, to estimate the proportion of people living in two dwellings, and second, to describe the consequences of these two-home situations on basic estimates of family situations based on ‘routine’ surveys or censuses. Preliminary results are presented here for France.

The ERCV survey, the French part of the SILC 2004 survey, allows identifying precisely the prevalence of multi-residences, thanks to several questions on the occurrence of other ‘usual’ dwellings for each individual listed in the ‘table of inhabitants in the dwelling’. According to this survey, 6.3% of people living in France ‘usually’ live in more than one dwelling. Multi-residence is increasing with age for children, reaches a very high peak at ages 20-24, is at its minimum for adults aged 35-55, and is slightly more frequent between 55 and 80 years of age. Controlling for the higher inclusion probability due to multi-residence is difficult, because many ‘second dwellings’ are not eligible for the survey, which is restricted to dwellings which are ‘the main dwelling for a household’. Information on the second dwelling is not available (and would be very difficult to get from the respondents). Among adults, the actual prevalence of multi-residence must be between 4% and 6%.

The situation is simpler for children because their collective dwellings are identified as such, and their other homes are eligible for the survey, contrary to adults’ second dwellings: they are the ‘main dwelling’ for their other parent or for another relative who hosts the child. 6.4% of children present in the survey have more than one dwelling; controlling for multi-residence - some 3.8% of

children aged under 18 live in two or more dwellings, 2.2% share their time between both parents' homes, 1.3% live partly with their parents and partly away from home or at boarding school, and 0.3% live with both parents and share with them two 'usual' dwellings. When these situations are taken into account, the proportion of children not living with both parents falls from a biased estimate of 19.7% to 17.9%.

Multi-residence is linked to specific family situations. Some of these situations are temporary or ambiguous situations: young adults who have already left the nest but are still in the parental home, couples with a partner partly living elsewhere, retired persons moving from one place to the next. Others are clear, such as children of separated parents sharing their time between both parents' homes, but may be subject to omissions, as some respondents may be reluctant to refer to a former partner. The successive waves of the SILC panel will allow a better description of the dynamics of these situations. Identifying situations of multi-residence is crucial to accurately describing family situations of adults and children.

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Introduction

Family transitions and situations become less and less easy to identify. The processes of union formation and dissolution take time, and during that period people may live ‘more or less’ as a couple, e.g. spending together a few days and nights per week, while keeping one household each. The distinction between categories such as living as a couple (in one or two dwellings), living apart together or having a stable relationship is sometimes difficult to make. Old adults preparing for their retirement may spend an important period of the year in their holiday house; older people may ‘visit’ their children for a long period of the year, while keeping their own home. These ambiguous family situations correspond to multi-residence, i.e., ‘usually’ living in several dwellings. The same is true for children: after a parental disruption, children may spend some time with one parent, and some time with the other, especially when parents have shared custody of their children, which is becoming more common in France.

As these new family situations become more common, the proportion of adults and children sharing their time between two dwellings could thus be increasing in France, and it is likely to be also the case in many other western countries (see e.g. Heuveline, Timberlake and Furstenberg 2003 about family situation of children). In most countries, some rules are applied within the census or routine surveys, in order to take these situations into account while avoiding double-counting of individuals (most often by restricting the observation of individuals in their ‘main’ dwelling, where they live more than half of the time), but they do not allow for an accurate description of the current situation of individuals ‘usually’ living in two dwellings.

The aim of this work is threefold. The first part presents an estimate of the proportion of people living in two or more households. The second part describes how these situations are or could be accounted for in order to avoid double-counting. The third part takes these situations explicitly into account in order to measure the consequences of these two-home situations on basic estimates of family situations and households.

I – Multi-residence of adults and children

The background paper of this conference states that “A *critical point* is ‘to live in the same dwelling’ or ‘persons living together’ as one of the criteria to define a household.” Adults and children can share their time between two or more dwellings, leading to ambiguous answers on their ‘living in a dwelling’ and new questions about how to define households.

The first step is to define multi-residence. What is multi-residence about? How to measure it? How frequent is it? What is the family situation of people living in several dwellings? What is at stake in terms of collection of family situations? These are the questions we are going to raise now.

a. Definitions of multi-residence

An individual can only one place at a time, but when the observation window is larger than one day (or one night), it is possible to ‘live’ in more than one dwelling. Three rules are used in censuses and surveys in order to take multi-residence into account:

1. Single residence rule: each individual is attached to only one dwelling. It can be the ‘usual’ dwelling, where the individual lives most of the time, or the place where the individual is present at a point in time, e.g., sleeping during the night preceding the ‘census day’;
2. Double-counting rule: in some situations individuals may be allowed to count twice, e.g. students living on their own during the working days and coming back to their (parental) home during the weekend. This is the case for the counts of ‘legal population’ in French municipalities, estimated from census data;
3. Complete information rule: in some surveys, like the French version of EU-SILC, several questions are asked about all the persons living in the dwelling, in order to collect precise information on their situation.

Of course, the third method is the only one to allow for a concrete definition of multi-residence. Several definitions are possible, but we will concentrate on the following definition: during a year, an individual has several residences if he/she ‘usually’ lives in different dwellings. Dwellings which are used only for the weekend and/or for holidays are not supposed to be included, as people are not supposed to ‘live’ in their holiday houses, but only to spend their holidays or weekends there. Let us now describe with more details the French SILC survey, before presenting estimates of the prevalence of multi-residence in France, and linking them to likely family situations.

Data

The *Enquête sur les ressources et les conditions de vie*, ERCV, is the French edition of the EU Survey on Income and Living conditions (EU-SILC, see e.g. Eurostat 2007). The first wave took place in 2004, and results presented here are computed from this first wave.

In addition to the dwelling, the household unit is defined as a group of people sharing daily expenses, so that several households can be present in the same dwelling, and some members of a household may live in another dwelling. In the ‘table of inhabitants in the dwelling’, *Tableau des habitants du logement*, THL, the following questions are asked about all members of the dwelling, identified by their first name, starting with the respondent:

- Question A7. Does <first name> live here...
 - o 0. No (member of the household living elsewhere, in another dwelling)
 - o 1. (Almost) all year
 - o 2. During the week end or holydays => (A8) How many days per year?
 - o 3. During the working days => (A9) How many days per week?
 - o 4. Some months in the year => (A10) How many months since last year?
 - o 5. Less often => (A11) How many days per year?

Several controls are added and supplementary information is gained on these ‘other dwellings’. For people living only in the dwelling, the question is asked again: ‘Question A12. Does <first name> also live elsewhere from time to time?’ For people living in another dwelling (answer ‘1’ to question A7 or answer ‘yes’ to question A12), questions are asked about whether this other dwelling (or one of the other dwellings) is a collective dwelling (and its type), whether one is an ordinary dwelling, and about how many other ordinary dwellings the person ‘usually’ lives in. Finally, a question is asked about the occurrence of people who ‘usually’ live in the dwelling but had not already been listed, and a reminder question is added as a reminder, explicitly naming several cases such as ‘- a child at the custody of the other parent; - a student living elsewhere during the year; - a person with whom a member of the dwelling has an intimate relationship; - a subtenant’.

The ERCV survey also includes very specific questions about couples, parents, and family links. Questions are first asked about living as a couple and relations with parents:

- For each person aged 15+, Question B1. Does <first name> currently live as a couple?
 - o Yes, with another habitant of the dwelling [the partner is then identified by his/her number in the Table of inhabitants]
 - o Yes, with a partner living elsewhere
 - o No

- For all, Question B4. Is the mother of <first name> still alive?
 - o Yes, and she lives here [the mother is then identified by her number in the Table of inhabitants]
 - o Yes, and she lives elsewhere
 - o No, she is deceased
 - o Don't know

The same question is asked about the father of each person living in the dwelling. Finally, if a person has no identified family links with others, a specific question is asked.

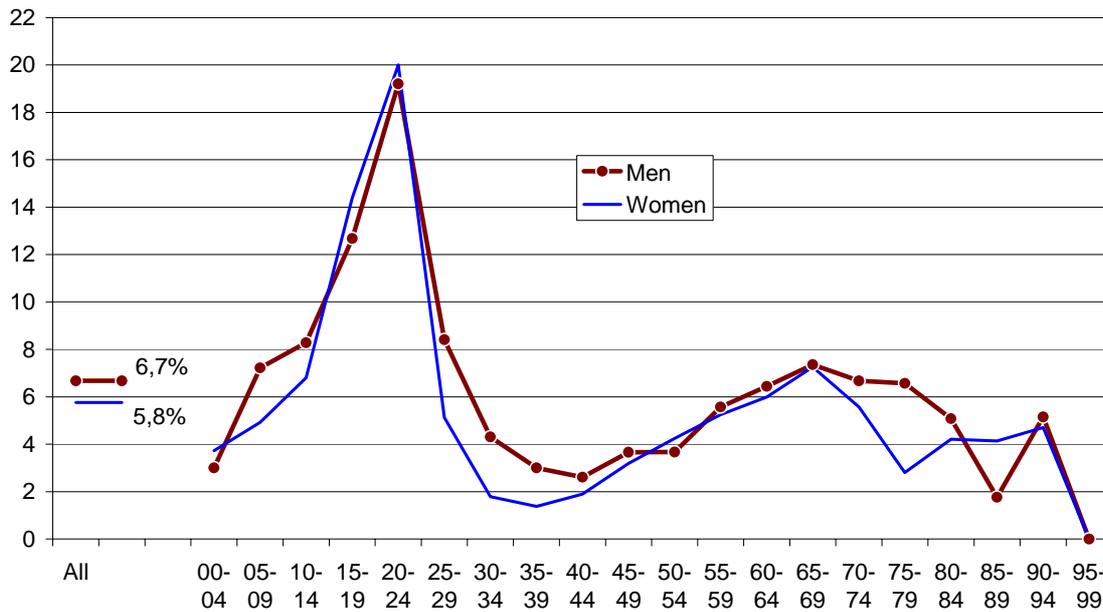
Another part of the questionnaire is devoted to the other dwellings: where they are, who lives there (a question about the presence of the 'other parent' of children aged less than 15 has been added in the following waves), whether the dwelling is a main house or a holiday house for the household (if all the household uses this dwelling), whether somebody who could be included in the sample can be reached in this household before the end of the fieldwork.

Among the 25,299 individuals in the ERCV sample, 6,147 are aged 0-17 and 18,331 are aged 18-79. After the age of 80, the proportion of people living in a nursing home is too high for the sample to be representative. Results for adults aged 80+ must then be used with caution.

b. Prevalence by sex and age

According to the ERCV survey, multi-residence is far from being a marginal phenomenon. Around 6% of women and 7% of men in the sample 'usually live' in more than one dwelling. The proportion is 4% at ages below 5, and reaches 20% at ages 20-24. Multi-residence prevalence is lower for adults: it is very low at ages 30-55, and slightly increases at higher ages (Figure 1). According to these data, no less than 3.7 million people would be concerned by multi-residence in France.

Figure 1. Proportion of men and women living in two dwellings, by age (in %)

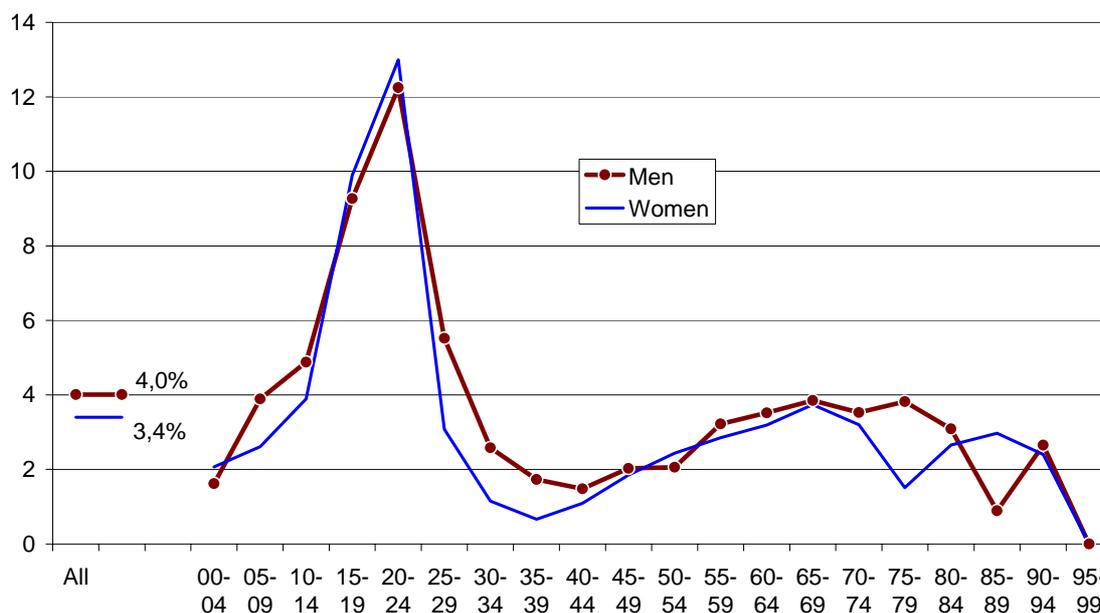


Source: INSEE, SILC 2004.

These estimates are based on the ERCV standard weights. They could be divided by around two under the hypothesis that people living in several dwellings (most often two in practice) had an inclusion probability double than the other individuals, and that their weight must thus be divided by two.

A more refined weight was thus computed, taking into account the information on the other dwelling. The ‘corrected’ weight is computed as the ratio of the original weight by the number of ordinary dwellings each person is ‘usually’ living in. For a matter of simplicity, I did not take into account the information on the time spent in each dwelling, nor the information on the possibility to reach somebody in this household. According to this new weight, the prevalence is much lower, but still not negligible: 1.1 million women and 1.2 million men live in more than one ordinary dwelling (Figure 2). This is a minimum estimate because I supposed that people could be reached in all their family households. Before going into more details into the ways to take multi-residence into account, it must be noted that multi-residence corresponds to very different family situations.

Figure 2. Proportion of men and women living in two dwellings, by age. Corrected data, using modified weights taking into account sampling probability (in %)



Source: INSEE, SILC 2004.

c. Family situations and multi-residence

The family links of an individual with the other persons living in the dwelling is a very efficient way to understand the concrete situations of multi-residence. Six cases may be thought of:

1. Children whose parents are separated. Children do not choose where they live, and do not answer directly to surveys. They may be counted twice, by each of their separated parents, as living in their dwelling.
2. Young adults living with their parents (on weekends) and also in another dwelling (weekdays), typically students. This is a well known (and sometimes accepted) case of double counting in the censuses: young adults want to be registered on their own, while their parents want them to be registered as a child in their household. Note that their 'own home' may be a student room, or the main dwelling of another household, e.g. grandparents.
3. Adults living-apart-together (LAT), or entering a relationship, or ending a relationship. Spending some days and nights together, but having two dwellings. These situations are not rare, as the process of couple formation and couple dissolution typically lasts one year.

4. Adults living as a couple but living in two households for any reason. Working in another town and thus separated from their family during the week is the most common case, but many other situations can be thought of: partner in a retirement house or a long-term care hospital, partner in jail, etc. This situation is similar to that of situation 2, the difference being that the person who lives in another dwelling is not a child but an adult in the first dwelling. The distinction between ‘voluntary LAT’ (situation 3) and ‘involuntary non-resident or partially non-resident couples’ is not straightforward.
5. A more or less dependant person, e.g. an elderly or a disabled member of the family, moving from one child’s dwelling to another during the year.
6. A complete family often moving, several times during the year, from one dwelling to the next.

These cases are very different one from the other. In each case, it is easy to see that some situations may be declared as multi-residence, while others may not, irrespective of the ‘objective’ situation. For instance, a separated parent may or may not declare that his/her child also ‘usually’ lives with the other parent. Let us now examine what sorts of bias are created by inaccurate answers or inaccurate questions in surveys or censuses.

d. Errors due to multi-residence

Living in more than one dwelling may be related to many different family situations. These different situations also lead to very different bias. Let us list again the six cases described above, and the reason why multi-residence can be omitted, and thus may not be taken into account in the weighting process.

1. Children whose parents are separated. If the same child is counted twice, the estimated number of children whose parents are separated (single-parent families and stepfamilies) are over-estimated. Some parents can be reluctant to declare that their child is also ‘usually living’ with their former partner, as shown by inconsistent results in INED family surveys.
2. Young adults living with their parents (weekends) and also in another dwelling (week days), typically students. The number of young adults is over-estimated; young adults may be reluctant to say that they still ‘usually live’ with their parents if they feel they have already left the nest, while their parents still count them as living in their dwelling (Villeneuve-Gokalp 2005).

3. Adults living-apart-together, or entering a relationship, or ending a relationship. Spending some days and nights together, but having two dwellings. These situations may be declared in many different ways: each partner may be counted once as a couple, once not in a couple, or twice. If the partners have children, some single-parent families may emerge as an artefact. Chardon (2007) notes that the census overestimates the number of single-parent families to a very large extent, while double counting of children has a more limited impact. In the census, some couples are not recognized as such, because each partner fills a form in his/her own dwelling.
4. Adults living as a couple but working in another town and thus separated from their family during the week. Same bias as 3.
5. A more or less dependant person, e.g. an elderly or a disabled member of the family, moving from child to child's dwellings during the year. The number of complex households may be overestimated or under-estimated. For instance, an elderly mother spending 4 months with each of her three adult children may be counted 0, 1, 2 or 3 times, leading to as many complex households.
6. A whole family often moving from one dwelling to the next. This is the classical situation of holiday houses becoming 'usual' dwellings, which may become more common with the increase in flexible working schedules, pre-retirement period, etc.

II – How to control for multi-residence

The first concern with multi-residence is that the link from one dwelling to one individual is no more straightforward, so that the probability of inclusion of individuals is not known. Multi-residence of individuals may introduce double-counting and, thus, bias. Is it possible to correct for this bias?

a. Double-counting of people living in two dwellings

For an individual who declares another dwelling, the critical information is about his/her probability of being included in the sample as living in the other dwelling. Several criteria can be used in practice, but the practical rules used during the fieldwork are difficult to know and not always consistent.

In the ERCV survey, a dwelling is included if ‘it is the main dwelling for a household group’. Thus, a young adult living with his/her parents and in a collective dwelling will be counted once, but if the second dwelling is the grand-parents’ household, he/she will be counted twice; if he/she is living on his/her own in the second dwelling, he/she may or may not be counted twice, depending on whether this second dwelling is to be considered as a ‘main dwelling’ or not. So a correct procedure must include relevant information on the inclusion probability of the other dwelling. But a question such as: ‘If I (as an interviewer) was to come to this other dwelling, would the survey take place and would the person be considered as living in the household’ is not straightforward... The question, included in ERCV, on whether ‘somebody who could be included in the sample can be reached in this household before the end of the fieldwork’ does not seem convenient for that purpose: if somebody is to be reached, it is not necessary in a dwelling which may be the ‘main’ dwelling for any household. Furthermore, some respondents may be reluctant to accurately respond, especially if there are family conflicts related to this situation of multi-residence.

In the ERCV survey, children are very likely to be counted twice if they ‘usually’ live in the two dwellings of their separated parents, each of them being the main dwelling of one parent. On the contrary, the probability of counting adults twice is probably much lower, as one of their dwelling may be a collective dwelling or a dwelling not to be considered as a ‘main dwelling’ according to the fieldwork ERCV rules. But first attempts to use the precise information from the ERCV survey to estimate the probability of inclusion in the other dwelling were not successful: too many cases were inconsistently coded, and errors and omissions are likely to be numerous.

b. Family situations of adults and children: what is at stake?

Among adults aged 18-79, 6.3% live in two households or more. When their weight is divided by their number of dwellings, under the hypothesis that they are eligible for interview in all their family dwellings (excluding collective dwellings such as boarding schools and old people’s home), the proportion becomes 3.7%. Table 1 presents the distribution of adults aged 18-79 according to their couple status. Adults living in more than one household live (in the dwelling where the survey takes place) less often as a couple than adults living in one dwelling only (39% vs. 69%), but they do not live much more often alone (15.4% vs. 14.3%). In their other dwelling, some 50% of people

are living alone, probably because the secondary dwellings where the two-home adults are also living are not always included in the survey¹.

Thus, changing the weight of individuals according to their number of ‘eligible dwellings’ does not change much the distribution of adults by couple status (Table 1, last line, ‘new weighting’). The main change occurs for the proportion living apart together: 1.2% instead of 1.4% when double counting is not taken into account.

Table 1. Distribution of adult respondents (18-79) by couple status, whether they also live elsewhere or not

	Alone in the household ¹	Living as a couple	living apart together	Other situations	All	Sample size
All	14.36	67.09	1.36	17.19	100	18,331
Does the person also live in another dwelling?						
Yes	15.40	38.58	7.03	38.99	100	1,163
No	14.26	68.83	0.95	15.96	100	17,168
All, new weighting	14.31	67.70	1.18	16.81	100	18,331

Note: 1. not living apart together

Source: INSEE, SILC 2004

The main conclusion is that, in order to know the couple status of adults, taking multi-residence into account in order to correct the weights does not make a big difference; people living in two dwellings are much more likely to be included in the survey in the dwelling where they do not live alone, be it because the dwelling where they live alone may not be considered as eligible. If they are living alone in one dwelling, with their family in the other, it is likely that they will be present in the survey only in their latter dwelling. As we do not know their precise family situation in the second dwelling, we can only consider their ‘main’ family situation in their first dwelling.

The family situation of adults also depends on the presence of children in their household. The situation of children is known more accurately from the survey, because it is more likely that all the dwellings they are living in are included in the survey. Furthermore, double-counting is almost certain for children who live part-time with their father, part-time with their mother. Table 2 presents some information about the family situation of children, taking into account the fact that adults and children may live in different dwellings, with weighting the children by the number of family dwellings they ‘usually’ live in.

¹ This estimate is not very accurate because the secondary dwellings are affected to households and not to individuals; nevertheless it proves that less than one third of secondary dwellings of adults are included in the survey. Of course we do not know whose second dwellings are eligible in practice.

Table 2. Distribution of children by family situation, and proportion of children living in several households, by family situation

Situation of children's parents in the dwelling	Unweighted Sample size	Using raw weights		Using corrected weights	
		Distribution	% two-home	Distribution	% two-home
Both parents, one dwelling	4729	77,7	0,5	79,8	0,5
Both parents, two dwellings	87	1,4	47,3	1,1	32,6
One-parent family, mother	680	10,4	11,9	10,1	7,1
Stepfamily, mother	279	4,6	17,3	4,4	11,3
One-parent family, father	146	2,3	68,7	1,6	53,1
Stepfamily, father	149	2,4	54,5	1,9	41,2
Living with no parent	77	1,3	33,7	1,2	21,3
All children	6147	100	6,4	100	3,8

Source: INSEE, SILC 2004

The first column presents the unweighted sample size: it has to be kept in mind, as all uncommon family situations are represented by a small number of children, and estimates are all the more fragile that some of these children live with siblings and thus in the same household, making observations correlated.

The second column shows the distribution of 100 children aged 0-17 by family situation and number of dwellings used by the parents: 1.4% of children live with their both parents in two dwellings or more, being good candidates for double-counting as well as for artefactual one-parent families, according to surveys (or censuses) if one parent is counted in one dwelling, the other in the other dwelling. 15% of children live with their mother only, more often in a one-parent family than with a stepfather; 4.7% live with their father only, with an equal share of lone father families and stepfamilies (father and stepmother); finally, 1.3% live with none of his/her parents/parents in the household.

These family situations are those observed in the dwelling where the survey took place. The third column shows the proportion of children living in two dwellings (two-home children). According to ERCV data with the standard weights, 6.4% of children live in more than one dwelling; this situation is rare for children living with both parents (0.5%), but more frequent if the parents have two dwellings or if they are separated (25%). Children living with their mother only do not often live in two dwellings (14%), but it is the case for a majority of children living with their father (61%). More precise distinctions could be made, such as the difference between 'two-home children' and 'two-household children', the former term implying joint physical custody, while the

latter only refers to the fact of having two beds to sleep in two separate households (Callister, Birks 2004).

These estimates are strongly biased by the fact that children living in two dwellings are over-represented in the sample, because they can be interviewed in two different places. It is not the case for children who are also living in a collective dwelling: they are counted only once in the survey, because collective dwellings are not included in the sample. When the weight of each child is divided by the total number of family dwellings where he/she is usually living, the proportion of children living in several dwellings moves to 3.8%, instead of 6.4% with the raw weights (Table 2, column 4). The corrected proportion is lower mainly for children whose parents are separated: 8% of children living with their mother, and 47% of those living with their father, are living in two dwellings, according to the correctly weighted sample. As most children living with both parents and elsewhere are living in a collective dwelling, the proportion of those living in two dwellings (0.5%) is not affected by this new weighting procedure. The proportion of children living with both parents and also elsewhere does not change.

Comparing the distributions derived from raw and from corrected weights, the main difference concerns the proportion of children living with their father: 3.5% (instead of 4.7%) live with their father only, with an almost equal share of lone fathers and fathers living with a new partner (1.6% and 1.9%).

A comparison can be made with the 2004 employment survey (ES). It shows that the SILC corrected distribution is closer from the ES than the raw SILC estimate (Table 3). Moreover, the proportion of children living with one parent only is even lower in the ES than in SILC with the corrected weights. The differences between ES and ERCV may thus not at all be attributed to the fact that the ES survey counts some children twice. On the contrary, the proportion of children whose parents are separated seems to be underestimated in the ES, despite the absence of explicit control for multi-residence of children. In fact, the variable on the presence in the dwelling is making reference to a 'permanently living in the dwelling', which could lead some children to be omitted if they live 'only partially' in the dwelling.

Table 3. Distribution of children by family situation, with a comparison between SILC and Employment surveys

Situation of parents in the dwelling	Raw Distribution in SILC	Corrected Distribution in SILC	Distribution In EC
Both parents	79.1	80.9	81.8
One-parent family, mother	10.4	10.1	10.8
Stepfamily, mother	4.6	4.4	4.1
One-parent family, father	2.3	1.6	1.3
Stepfamily, father	2.4	1.9	1.3
Living with no parent	1.3	1.2	0.7
All children	100	100	100.0
One parent	19.6	17.9	17.5
Two parents	79.1	80.9	81.8
No parent	1.3	1.2	0.7

Source: INSEE, SILC 2004, employment survey2004

b. Weighting and post-stratification

As most surveys are post-stratified by several control variables, bias due to errors on sampling probabilities may be diluted if the variables used for the post-stratification are correlated with multi-residence. As the numbers of individuals are constrained by the post-stratification, bias is only present on structures and subtotals, e.g. the number of children will remain unbiased but the proportion of children living with one parent may be biased.

The most common rule in surveys and censuses, based on the time spent in each dwelling, may lead to many errors. The number of errors is likely to increase, because of the increasing frequency of multi-residence. Furthermore, in the French annual census surveys, the usual instruction ‘one form, no more and no less, for each individual’ does not hold anymore, as a person interviewed in a dwelling and also living elsewhere has around 92% chance that the other dwelling will not be included in the sample during the same year, making double-counting invisible: he/she will fill in only one form, but his/her probability of inclusion is twice the estimate.

III – How to take multi-residence into account

Dividing the weight of adults and children by their number of dwellings corresponds to dividing themselves in their different dwellings. This may lead to a false description not only of the family situation of children and adults, but as a consequence it may be inconsistent for households and family situations.

a. Dwellings, households and individuals

The concepts of household size, household structure, etc. may dramatically change if individuals can be counted as living in more than one dwelling. Dividing the weights of individuals between their dwellings is only a second-best solution.

Let us take two examples for children, based on cases 1 and 4 in part I.c) above. First, a child living half the time with his/her father and a stepmother, half with his/her mother. The mother's household can be counted either as a single-parent family or a one-person household; the father's household as a step-family or a childless couple. All combinations are possible. Second example, a child living with his/her mother, the father living partly in the household and partly on his own. The mother's household may be counted as a single-parent family or a couple with one child; the father's household as an empty dwelling or a one-person household. Here again, all combinations are possible.

A perfect solution to this problem would consist in taking all the dwellings of each individual into account. This solution is very difficult to reach, especially in censuses where simple rules must apply. If individuals may belong to different households, the equivalence between dwellings and households disappears, and belonging to the same household or living in the same dwelling are no more equivalence relations between individuals. The relations are reflexive, and symmetric, but no more transitive: If an individual A (partially) lives with B, and if B lives with C, it is not sure anymore that A lives with C. Dwellings and Households are thus no more a partition of the population.

In surveys, the path from a sample of dwellings to a sample of households and samples of individuals also becomes more complicated if individuals live in several dwellings.

b. Multi-residence as a specific category

Let us use again the ERCV survey in order to describe explicitly these new situations of multi-residence. We will restrict the observation to children, whose situations are simpler than those of adults, allowing for imputation. Only limited information is collected in the ERCV survey on the family situation in the second dwelling (a question has been introduced in the second wave of the panel, on the presence of 'the other parent' in the second dwelling of children living with one parent only). We could assume that children living with only one parent and living also in another dwelling are living with their other parent in this other dwelling. But it is possible to get a better

estimate under the following assumption. We can consider that children do not live with their parents in a collective dwelling, and that the conjugal situations of both parents are independent, if they do not live together. We can also assume that the probability of inclusion of a child is the same in all his/her family dwellings, and null in a collective dwelling. Thus, it is possible to distribute the family situations of children in their second dwelling, conditional to the actual family situation in the first dwelling, from the distribution of family situations of all children in the first dwelling. This hypothesis of independence of parents' couple status, if they are separated, is debatable, but it is useful to present an order of magnitude of complex family situations.

In practice, imputation was made as following:

- for children living with both parents, no imputation was needed: there is no parent in the other dwelling;
- for children living with no parent (0.9%), the assumption was made that the other dwelling, if any, included both parents;
- for children living with one parent only, the family situation in the other dwelling was imputed (with the other parent in a single family; with the other parent in a stepfamily; with no parent in a collective dwelling) under the assumption that the second dwelling hosting the other parent was a family dwelling, and that the conjugal status of the other parent is distributed as in Table 2).

From these hypotheses, we can guess the family situation of the children in their second dwelling. The main results are presented in table 4. Among all children, 96.5% are living only in one family situation, 2.2% are sharing their time between their two separated parents, and 1.3% live in two dwellings, without any parent in one of them. Most children (81.1%) are living with both parents, at least for a part of their time; 15.8% are living with their mother only, 4.3% with their father only, and 2.2% belong simultaneously to these two categories, because they share their time between their both parents.

When both parents are living together, having two dwellings is rare among children: 0.7% of all children live also without them in another dwelling (0.5% were interviewed in the parental home, 0.2% in the other dwelling), and 0.3% live with them in their other dwelling (see Table 2).

Among children living with one parent only in their first dwelling (second column), 12.2% are sharing their time between the two parental dwellings. 3.6% are living in another 'usual' dwelling

with no parent (a collective dwelling by definition of the imputation). The most common situation is of course to live with the mother in a one-parent family (53%). Note that children living with their father only (2.1% of all children, 11.9% of children with separated parents) are as numerous as children sharing their time between the two dwellings of their separated parents (2.2% of all children, 12.2% of children with separated parents). Among children living with their father and not with their mother, half of them are in fact also living with their mother in another dwelling.

The situation of shared time between separated parents accounts for 58% of all children living in two dwellings. The other common situation is living with both parents in one dwelling, with no parent in the other.

These results are very much in line with a recent work made by Chardon (2007), who found between 1.3% and 2.1% of children aged 0-14 sharing their time between their two parents, depending on the double counting hypothesis, from a merged dataset of 7,436 children from three surveys which took place in 2006 and 2007.

Table 4. Distribution of children by number of dwellings and family situation

Number of different households	Family situation of children in their first dwelling (where the ERCV survey takes place)		
	All children	Children living with one parent	Children living in two dwellings
One household (parents have one or two dwellings)	96.5	84.3	8.0
Two households (one with the father, one with the mother)	2.2	12.2	57.5
Two households (one or both with no parent)	1.3	3.6	34.5
All children	100.0	100.0	100.0
Household situation of children and parents combined in the first dwelling (1) where the survey took place and in the eventual second dwelling (2)	All children	Children living with one parent	Children living in two dwellings
1 or 2) Children living with both parents, 2) with no parent*	81.1		25.7
1) One-parent family with the mother, 2) with no parent*	9.5	53.1	4.3
1) Step-family, with the mother, 2) with no parent*	4.1	22.8	4.8
1) and 2) Sharing time between both parents	2.2	12.2	57.5
1) In a one-parent family, with the father, 2) with no parent*	0.8	4.4	1.6
1) In a step-family, with the father, 2) with no parent*	1.3	7.5	6.2
1) and 2) Living with none of the parents*	0.9		
All children	100.0	100.0	100.0

* including children living in one dwelling only

Source: INSEE. SILC 2004

These estimates are also in line with previous surveys on two-home children held by INED on much smaller samples, children's weights taking multi-residence into account (Table 5). With the recent

increase in legal decisions on share custody, the number of children living in two homes has increased. If children living in two dwellings are counted twice (multi-residence not accounted for), the proportion of children whose parents are separated is upward biased, and the increase between 1986 and 2004 is exaggerated (+4.7% instead of +3.5%). Of course, the proportion of children sharing their time between both parents is nearly doubled.

Table 5. Proportion of children with separated parents in 1986, 1994 and 2004 and, among them, proportion sharing their time between parental dwellings

Proportion of children living...	Survey year			Increase 1986-2004
	1986	1994	2004	
- with their father only	1.7	0.9	2.1	+0.4
- with their mother only	11.7	14.0	13.6	+1.9
- sharing between parents	0.9	1.3	2.2	+1.3
- Total with separated parents	14.4	16.1	17.9	+3.5
- Erroneous total (with double counts)	15.0	17.1	19.7	+4.7

Note: the erroneous totals for 1986 and 1994 have been estimated from the exact total and the bias in 2004.

Sources: INED, ESF 1986 (Leridon, Villeneuve-Gokalp 1994), INED, ESFE 1994, INSEE, SILC 2004

Conclusion

Several results may be highlighted from this work. First, there may be an emerging phenomenon of two-home adults and children.

Some 4 to 6% of adults live in more than one ‘usual’ dwelling, the estimate depending on the hypotheses made on the eligibility of the second dwelling of two-home adults. Among children, the prevalence is easier to estimate, as all dwellings are eligible. According to the ERCV survey, there are 3.8% = 480,000 two-home children among 12.4 million children aged less than 18 in France. The most frequent situation before the age of 18 concerns children whose parents are separated: 270,000 share their time between their two separated parents (2.2% of all children). It is likely that in ‘routine’ surveys without any question about another dwelling, separated parents both tend to register their two-home children as member of their household, thus leading to double-counts for these children and an over-estimation of the proportion of children with separated parents: many one-parent families or stepfamilies are only ‘part-time’, if the children from a previous union spend some time with the other parent. Census and surveys which do not take two-household situations into account may overestimate one-parent families for another reason: parents may live as a couple but not be identified as such, if they are registered in different dwellings (both dwellings being in

fact used by the couple or by one of the partners). Identifying two-home children may also be useful *per se*, as their family situation is very specific and is increasing, and not only in order to avoid double counting.

At older ages there are other reasons to live in several dwellings. For adults, we can consider those living apart together but spending some nights together, living usually in another dwelling in addition to the 'family home', for some reason (health, work, other constraint). For retired people, visiting their children and relatives for so long that they may consider having several 'usual' homes; they may also spend a few months each year in a retirement home or in a holiday home.

SILC following waves will allow studying the entries in and exits from these situations of multi-residence. It is likely that some of these situations are temporary, and their dynamics will be very useful to characterize them.

Surveys and censuses include two-home people in very different ways. In order to avoid double-counting in a survey or a census based on dwellings, it is necessary to know whether the respondents had also a chance to be interviewed in another dwelling. This is difficult in practice, but may be of crucial importance for the new French rotating census, as double counting is not identified by the individuals themselves, if their two dwellings do not belong to the same census yearly wave.

More generally, concepts such as household composition, household size, may dramatically change if individuals are not restricted to living in one dwelling only. For instance the proportions of persons living alone in all their dwellings or in one of their dwellings are becoming more and more different.

For all these reasons, INED and INSEE will prepare a methodological survey on families and dwellings, using a large sample linked to the census in the next years, maybe 2011, in line with the study of Family history which took place within the 1999 General population census (Cassan, Héran, Toulemon 2000).

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