Gender Differences in Kin Contact and Reliance

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Abstract:

Intergenerational research has focused on contact of parent and adult children in the United States and their reliance on one another. But research has not addressed how these intergenerational relationships in the United State compare to those in other developed countries. In this research we compare intergenerational contact and kin reliance of seven urban industrialized countries using the International Social Survey Program. We also examine gender differences in the parent-child dyad on the likelihood of contact and support. We find country differences on visiting and contact between parents and children when compared to the United States. Aging parents in Australia and Hungary are more willing to rely on kin. Adult children visit parents more in Hungary and Italy and less in Australia. In all countries established gender role expectations for helping kin hold with sons having less contact with parents. Father rely on sons, sons on fathers, mothers on daughters and daughters on mothers. Reliance on kin is consistently correlated with frequency of personal contact.

Article:

Introduction

Intergenerational research has focused on contact of parents and adult children in the United States and their reliance on one another. But research has not addressed how these intergenerational relationships between parents and adult children in the United States compare to those in other developed countries which have also experienced major declines in fertility and mortality, increased female labor force participation, and increases in age at marriage and marital instability. We do not know whether similarities in demographic trends have produced similar patterns of intergenerational relations, or whether distinct historical or cultural histories have resulted in distinct differences in intergenerational relations with kin among countries.

Intergenerational relations are defined both by the contact and patterns of assistance between parents and their adult children. In the United States research on this has centered on the extent to which the elderly are isolated and/or lack needed assistance from their adult children. Recent research has found persons residing in the United States were significantly more likely to contact kin but less likely to rely on kin (parents, grandparents, adult children, or grandchildren) than persons in most other Westernized countries (Farkas and Hogan, forthcoming). This paper builds on our prior research by exploring gender differences in contact and reliance with adult sons and daughters for parents and with fathers and mothers for adult children in seven distinct post-demographic transition countries. In doing so we hope to establish the extent to which gender roles differentiate intergenerational relations in all countries.

Gender differences in kin contact and reliance have been observed in the United States (Rossi and Rossi, 1990; Eggebeen and Hogan, 1990) and with elder parents (Spitze and Logan, 1989), but we are not certain if these are specific to our system of gender stratification or are more universal. American daughters, rather than sons, are in more frequent contact with parents (Rossi and Rossi, 1990; Spitze and Logan, 1990; Eggebeen and Hogan, 1990) . Spitze and Logan (1990) found that for older parents having at least one daughter was positively and significantly correlated to visiting, phone calls, and receipt of help. Eggebeen and Hogan (1990) also found that women were both more active providers and receivers of contact and assistance with parents.

Contact levels have been observed to differ by gender of the parent and gender of the child. Rossi and Rossi (1990) found for their Boston SMSA study that mothers and daughters had greater daily face to face contact and significantly higher phone contact than did fathers or sons. When controlling for distance and the affective closeness of parent-child relationships, Rossi and Rossi continued to find significant differences for contact, visiting, and phoning. The mother-daughter dyad continued to have more contact than did the father-son dyad. They found several variables that reduced fathers and sons contact had no effect on mothers and daughters frequency of contact. Employment of either the son or father, declining health of the father, and the son's number of children all reduced visiting and phone contact. On the other hand, for the mother-daughter dyad only one variable reduced contact -- number of siblings. Interestingly as the parents and adult children aged, fathers increased contact with their daughters but not with their sons.

Gender influenced the quantity and variety of assistance given and received. Mothers provided a greater variety of assistance to their adult children than did fathers. Mothers gave daughters more comfort and emotional support, household help, and advice compared to sons. Fathers were more likely to assist financially, with job leads, and advice -- especially to sons. Eggebeen and Hogan's (1990) research using a nationally representative sample also found that men, compared to women, were more likely to provide financial assistance to kin. An asymmetric pattern of intergenerational help was noted in the research by Rossi and Rossi (1990). Adult children reported providing parents with more household help and assistance when the parent was ill than the parents provided to the adult children. Interestingly, mothers received more assistance than did fathers from their adult children, although the adult children 'specialized' on type of assistance provided. Daughters provided more help in domestic and affective forms of help, while sons specialized in repairing appliances or fixing up the parents's house. Marital status and gender was also noted to have an effect on direction and types of assistance. Daughters helped widowed fathers more than widowed mothers. Sons gave widowed mothers more financial help and advice and daughters more often provided widowed fathers with household needs (Rossi and Rossi, 1990; Spitze and Logan, 1992, 1990a, 1990b).

Type of assistance and patterns of assistance has also been found to be dependent on an individuals' life course stage and their gender (Rossi and Rossi, 1990; Eggebeen and Hogan, 1990) . Aging mothers and fathers decrease their help to ill sons and daughters, while the adult children, especially daughters, increase assistance. Although levels of assistance provided decreases with age for parents and increases for adult children, daughters and mothers provide more assistance to ill kin, on average, across the life course. Gender differences across the life course also exist in household help. Mothers are more likely than fathers to assist adult children with household needs. Daughters provide more household help to aging parents than do sons. Across the life course, daughters provide more types and higher levels of assistance to aging parents, especially to mothers, than do sons. An exception is monetary assistance where sons and daughters provide similar financial help to aging mothers.

Differences by gender in contact and the provision and receipt of assistance has been attributed to biological, socialization, and labor specialization differentials of men and women (Lancaster and Lancaster, 1987; Rossi and Rossi, 1990; Treas, 1991) . Regardless of whether the society has a high or low fertility schedule, mothers carry the majority responsibility for child rearing. Furthermore, the pregnancy and birthing process may provide mothers with a 'physiological' edge over fathers (Rossi and Rossi, 1990). In addition because women live longer, are more likely to be widowed and need assistance at older ages, mothers may make a greater investment, emotionally and by various forms of material assistance in their children. Assuming this, it follows that in low fertility/low mortality societies, women might deliberately increase their investment per child as an assurance of assistance and contact by the child over the mother's extended lifetime.

Socialization perspective proponents suggest that the dissimilarities in expectations and experiences of early childhood perpetuate gender differentials for kin contact and assistance at older ages. Little girls are rewarded when they anticipate by play the typical motherhood roles which become realized with their personal procreation. Although in the past two decades women have significantly increased their paid labor force

participation outside the home, women have continued to shoulder the majority of the childrearing, and the 'traditional' motherhood and adult daughter responsibilities.

According to 'family organizational economy theory,' the specialization of men and women in differentiated gender roles during the formative stages of their marriage persists for the duration of the marriage (Treas, 1991). Men specialize in the formal labor market while women, regardless of paid employment, specialize in home production and nurturing. The distinctive family roles, although modified and refined across the life course, retain characteristics of the original contract. For women, the combination of the physiological edge, gender socialization, and the division of labor may act in combination to encourage greater contact and reliance with kin. Wives encourage husbands contact with his parents. Mothers prompt grandchildren to contact grandparents. Adult daughters, compared to sons, provide more physical care to elder parents. Grandmothers, compared to grandfathers, provide more childcare to grandchildren.

To recapitulate, gender differences have been noted in the U.S. in kin contact and assistance that persist across the life course. Women, on average, have higher levels of contact and provide more varied forms of instrumental and affective assistance than do men. Aging mothers receive more assistance from adult children, except when the father is widowed. We are uncertain if these gender differences may be generalized to countries with distinctive contexts. However since women's familial roles are similar across countries, we expect to find similarities in contact and reliance behavior that may be correlated with the biological, socialization, and family labor specialization of women.

Our analysis is restricted by the data available to Australia, Austria, West Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Italy, and the United States. This includes countries in both Southern and Northern Europe with their distinctive patterns of family life (Wall, Robin, and Laslett, 1983). Hungary was part of the Eastern block at the time of the survey providing a distinct contrast to the more vibrant market economics of other nations. The U. S. has perhaps the weakest public system of family support.

Variations in individual purchasing power exists between these highly industrialized countries. Data has been prepared by the United Nations using an international comparable scale of purchasing power (PPP$)[1] (United Nations Development Programme, 1992) . For the countries in our data set, we find that in the later 1980's persons in the United States had the highest domestic purchasing power (20,998 PPP$ in 1989) and Hungary has the lowest domestic purchasing power (6,245 PPP$ for 1989). The five remaining countries international purchasing power dollars ranged from 13,608 to 15,226 PPP$ (United Nations Development Programme, 1992).

These economic differences translate into differences in modern transportation and communication systems, which may have important impacts for ease of contact between parents and children. In Hungary only 158 phones exist per 1000 persons, while in the other six countries one phone existed for every two people (United Nation Statistical Yearbook, 1990). Hungary spends less of its Gross Domestic Product on transportation and communication, about 5.8 percent, while the remaining countries spend between 8 and 10 percent of their GNP (World Bank International Economics Department, 1993) . The lower disposable income, reduced access to telephones, and poorer transportation system of Hungary may reduce Hungarian families capability to have levels of interaction similar to that observed in other countries.

However the seven countries are very similar on several demographic, educational, and labor force measures. Each country ranked highly on the United Nations Human Development Index (HDI) a composite measure of human progress[2] (United Nations Development Programme, 1992). The measure's possible range is from 0.00 to 1.00. In 1990, the HDI range from 0.976 to 0.893, for the United States and Hungary respectively, demonstrates the comparability of the countries on human progress.[3]

The seven countries are also comparable in other demographic variables. For example, the total fertility rate for each country was at replacement or below replacement by the late 1980's.[4] As a consequence of the

simultaneous changes in fertility and mortality, these countries have increasingly aged population structures which are projected to become more aged over the next three decades. Between 16 and 21 percent of the population of these countries were over 60 years of age in the late 1980's. By the year 2020, nearly 25 to 30 percent of these countries' populations are projected to be over 60 years of age.

The labor force participation of women is similar in these industrialized countries. While women have increased their labor force participation in Australia, Hungary, Italy, Great Britain, and the United States in the past two or three decades, the proportion of women in Germany and Austria in paid employment remained constant in the 1980' s (World Bank, 1993). Women comprised about 32 percent of the Italian workforce. Nearly half, 45 percent, of Hungary's workforce were women in the late 1980's. In the United States, Austria, Australia, Germany, and Great Britain women are nearly 40 percent of the total labor force. Regardless of the women's labor force participation, wage disparity between male and female wages existed in the late 1980' s. Employed women's earnings were only about 60 to 80 percent of men's wages for these countries (Barta et al., 1984; German, 1989; Schmittroth, 1991; Young, 1990).

A number of hazards exist when cross country comparisons are made. Numerous variables bound to influence the society, (government, norms, religion, and economy for example), may operate differently for each country. However, these comparisons suggest that these countries are sufficiently similar to provide a sound test of family relations for countries with modern demographic and industrialization situations. On the other hand, they differ sufficiently in women's labor force participation, history of family culture, and transportation and communication technology to suggest the effects of national differences on gender differences in kin assistance in aging societies.

Data and Methods

The data come from the International Social Survey Program (ISSP), a set of cross-national annual social surveys. In 1986 and 1987, as a supplement to their respective national social surveys, each participating country conducted a module on the topic of social networks and social support. The seven participating countries for this module are Australia, Austria, West Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Italy, and the United States. The social support module contains questions about the availability of, and contact, with adult relatives and friends, as well as questions identifying the person the respondent would expect to rely on for help in certain situations. The seven countries' surveys were based on interviews with random national samples of persons ages 18 and older.[5] Samples sizes range from 1020 in Italy to 2791 in Germany. Pooling these surveys together we have a total of 10,661 respondents. From the pooled samples, we selected (1) respondents who were parents with noncoresidential adult children and (2) respondents who were adult children with noncoresidential parents. From the pooled survey, 5025 adult children reported having a living mother, and 3725 adult children reported having a living father. Of those who reported they had living children, 2121 said they had at least one living son, and 2318 reported they had at least one daughter.

The primary focus is on gender differences by country of residence on intergenerational reliance and contact with kin. For adult children, measures of contact and reliance with (1) a father and (2) a mother were constructed. For aging parents, measures of contact and reliance with (1) an adult son and (2) a daughter were constructed. Intergenerational contact was measured both by frequency of visiting and contact by phone or letter. The measures ranged from daily (scored 6), to never (scored 0). Reliance on kin for instrumental assistance was measured by using three questions where the respondent was asked from whom they would seek help from in different hypothetical situations. The lead-in statement and questions are as follows:

> "Now we'd like to ask you about some problems that can happen to anyone."
>
> 1. "First, there are some household and garden jobs you really can't do alone--for example, you may need someone to hold a ladder, or to help you move furniture."

2. "Suppose you had the 'flu and you had to stay in bed for a few days, and needed help around the home, with shopping and so on."

3. "Suppose you needed to borrow a large sum of money."

For each of these questions, respondents provided their first and second choice for help. The response categories include no one, spouse or partner, mother, father, daughter, son, sister, brother, other relative, closest friend, other friend, neighbor, someone you work with, and various formal support systems which vary by question, such as social services, a paid helper, a doctor, a clergy member, an employer, or a financial institution. Dichotomous intergenerational reliance measures for each situation were created for relying on (1) a father by an adult child, (2) a mother by an adult child, (3) a son by a parent and (4) a daughter by a parent. The independent variables for the analyses include the country of residence, age groups and gender. We control respondent's educational attainment[6], geographic proximity across the generations[7], marital status, and number of children (for parents) or number of siblings (for children).

Multivariate regression (OLS) models were estimated to determine the effects country of residence, age, and gender controlling for education, marital status, number of siblings /children, and geographic proximity have for intergenerational interaction. Next, we estimate logistic regression models of intergenerational kin reliance. The logistic coefficients have been transformed into odds ratios to aid in interpreting the explanatory variables' influence on an event. A reported odds ratio of greater than 1 may be interpreted as an increased likelihood of intergenerational reliance, while an odds ratio of less than one is interpreted as a decrease in the likelihood of an event occurring. We estimate two sets of these multivariate models -- one for contact and reliance of adult children on mothers and fathers, and one for contact and reliance on sons and on daughters by parents. Finally, we measure whether the gender patterns of intergenerational relations are the same or differ across the countries.

Results

We begin by looking at the likelihood of contact or reliance on a parent or an adult child using the detailed description of the dependent variables in Table 1. Mothers and daughters have the highest levels contact and visiting. Most parents and children have at least monthly visits and other interaction. There are consistent sex differences in types of aid provided. Few children would ask their father for help when ill (less than 1 percent), and few parents would rely on a son when ill. Parents would ask sons for the physical help with the house (about 21 percent), but would rely on their daughters for help when they were ill (about 21 percent). Children would ask their mother for financial aid more often than fathers (11 percent and 8 percent respectively), however this is a result of adult children having more living mothers. In additional analysis (data not shown), we found that when both parents are living, adult children rely on mothers and fathers equally.

The asymmetric pattern of assistance between parents with their adult children found in Rossi and Rossi's work (1990) also emerged in this research. Parents reported they would rely more frequently on their children for assistance when ill and with household help than the children reported relying on parents. This difference could be the result of distinct networks available at diverse life course stages (Rossi and Rossi, 1990). Since the adult children were on average younger, they may have more living and healthy siblings and friends from whom they would seek help. As a result of the negative effects of mortality and health have on their social networks, aging parents might consider their adult children as the major source of assistance.[8]

Figures 1 to 4 illustrate the country patterns of visiting for parent-child dyad. Some country and gender differences are apparent. On average, the father-child dyad shows that fathers have frequent visits with a daughter -- especially in the Great Britain, and West Germany (Figures 1 and 2). About a third of American, Hungarian, and Austrian fathers visit a son daily. And nearly a third of American fathers visit daily with their daughters. Italian fathers had only infrequent contact with their sons or daughters.

Mothers have more frequent contact with daughters. Nearly half of all American mothers visit with their non-coresidential daughters daily, but less than a quarter of mothers see sons daily (Figures 3 and 4) . British mothers are twice as likely to visit a daughter weekly compared to a son. Italian mothers visit their sons and daughters more frequently than do Italian fathers. Hungarian mothers are equally likely to visit daily with either a son or a daughter. On average, when mothers and fathers visit a child frequently, the child is most likely the daughter. However, mothers and daughters visit each other more frequently than do fathers and daughters or father and sons.

Multivariate regression (OLS) models were estimated to determine the effects that country of residence, age, and gender had on interaction when controlling for education, number of siblings/children, and geographic proximity. The multivariate results for visiting and contact are shown in Tables 2 and 3. Logistic regression models are shown in Tables 4 and 5. In additional analysis we tested for interaction between gender of the respondent and country of residence on visiting, contact, and reliance on kin. Only a few interactions (less than 3 percent of 133) were significant at the 0.05 significance level.

We found that gender functioned as expected for contact with and reliance on kin. Across countries, fathers and sons are less likely to visit than are mothers and daughters. Men are also less likely to contact kin by phone or letter. Fathers and sons are more likely to depend on the other for household assistance, while mothers and daughters rely on each other. Daughters are more likely to be asked to assist when a parent is ill -- especially by a mother. Sons are less likely to ask mothers for help when ill or for monetary assistance. Parents depend on sons and daughters about equally for monetary aid.

Country differences were found for contact with and reliance on kin. Visiting parents was significantly greater by Hungarian and Italian children than for American families. Italian and Austrian parents are more likely to visit sons and daughters than American parents net of control variables. British and Australian children visit parents less. British parents visit sons more, but Australian parents visit sons and daughter less than American parents. Younger adult children are more apt to visit with a mother than older adult children, but younger adult children contact fathers less. On average parents and children are in more frequent phone or letter contact in the United States.

Hungarian and Italian families depend heavily on kin for assistance. Hungarian and Italian parents rely on sons and daughters for financial aid. Hungarian children would seek financial assistance from their mothers but not from fathers. Hungarian daughters are more likely to be asked to help when the parent is ill or needed household help. Italians count on their daughters for household help. Hungarian children would seek household help from either a mother or a father, but Italian children are more apt to ask a mother for assistance.

Very few other countries differences were noted on kin reliance. Children are less likely to seek financial assistance from fathers in Australia, West Germany, Great Britain, and Austria than are American children. Mothers are less likely to be asked for financial aid in Great Britain or West Germany. German and British parents are likely to ask household help from a son (data not shown).

Age is a significant predictor across countries for reliance on kin. Older parents, aged 65+, are more likely to rely on adult children for household assistance, help when ill, and monetary assistance than are middle aged parents. Aging parents in Australia and Hungary are more willing to rely on kin (data not shown). Younger parents rely on adult children less. Younger adult children are more likely to depend on parents, especially on mothers, for help compared to middle aged adult children.

Conclusions

The main focus of this paper is on gender differences on intergenerational contact and reliance by country of residence for adult children and for parents. We test for interactions by the respondent's gender and of the combinations of the parent-child gender dyad on intergenerational relations. We also explore if age, a proxy for

life course stage, has a similar effect on kin reliance for adult children and aging parents in other industrialized countries that is has in the United States.

We find across countries that established gender role expectations of parent child relationships hold. We find few interactions by gender and country. We observe an asymmetric pattern of assistance, most likely a result of changes in the parents' and children's life course. As parents age they expect to rely on their children who presumably have more resources and are healthier.

Gender patterns of visiting and contact observed in the descriptive measures of the paper continued to be observed in the OLS models. The mother-daughter dyad is the strongest. Mothers and daughters are more active in visiting, other forms of contact, and providing assistance than are fathers across countries. Sons have less contact with mothers than do daughters. Visiting and contact remains at about the same level across the life course for parents and child.

Traditional gender patterns in reliance are pervasive. Across all countries when ill, children are more likely to seek help from their mother and parents seek assistance from their daughters. When needing household help, son and fathers help each other, while mothers and daughters would rely on each other. It is highly possible given the gendered specialization of labor within households, that fathers and sons provide different types of household help to each other than do mothers and daughters. Therefore, fathers (or sons) would feel it was inappropriate to ask their daughters (or mothers) for assistance. Perhaps as the traditional gender boundaries become obscure, parents will be more apt to seek help from a different sex child.

Parents and children rely on each other more in Hungary. Plus children visit parents more frequently regardless of poorer transportation systems. It may be that the institutional uncertainty in the period before the survey may have strengthened kin relationship. As Rossi and Rossi's work illustrates normative obligations are closest to 'primary kin,' parents and children.

Interestingly, in Great Britain where children are less likely to visit or contact their parents, children are less likely to rely on their parents for financial and household help than children in the U.S. The opposite pattern is observed for Italy. In Italy parents visit children, and children visit parents more. Additionally, we find that Italian parents and children are significantly more likely to rely on each other for assistance, especially mothers and daughters. We conclude that a positive relationship between level of contact and reliance on kin exists in these countries.

Expectations of assistance change as people age. As parents age, they count on their adult children to provide assistance. Young adults in the formative stages of career and family building rely on their parents for support. In sum, we find that traditionally divided gender roles persist across countries for reliance on primary kin. In addition, we find that daughters and mothers had more visits and higher contact than did fathers and sons. What effect socialization, specialization of household labor, and biology plays on the differences cannot be untangled with the data. However if socialization and specialization of household labor become less gender divided, we might begin to expect to see a blurring of the gender divisions on reliance and contact for parents and children. To tap gender change, future research on this subject should to include measures of change in gender role attitudes and gender role practices in the home domain, as well as the work sphere. More country specific measures, government structure, economic stability, unemployment, and military, would provide additional information on kin relationships and expectations of assistance observed in specific countries.

Notes

1. The United Nations has developed an international comparable scale to capture the domestic purchasing power within a given country. This measure of purchasing power parity is expressed in international dollars rather than U.S. dollars (United Nations Development Programme, 1992).
2. The Human Development Index (HDI), a composite measure using indicators of national income, life expectancy, and educational attainment give a composite measure of human progress. It is not a measure of

human development but ranks countries in relation to each other according to how far they are from the lowest levels of development and how far they would need to travel to reach the highest levels of achievement present on each indicator. Canada with a HDI of 0.982 is the highest and Guinea with a HDI of 0.052 the lowest for the 160 countries represented (United Nations Development Programme, 1992).

3. Life expectancy at birth in 1990 for the seven countries in our study ranged from 69.4 to 76.8. Australia had the highest life expectancy and Hungary the lowest. Mean years of schooling for males and females ranged from 7.3 in Italy to 12.3 in the United States. Six of the countries reported an adult literacy rate of 1.0. Only Italy's literacy rate was below 1.0 at .97.

4. The total fertility rate (TFR) is the average number of children a woman would bear if the prevailing age-specific fertility rates remained for the woman's total fertility career. The lowest fertility rates were found in Italy and Austria, 1.4 and 1.5 respectively. The United States fertility rate was the highest of the seven countries at replacement of 2.1. The TFR in the remaining four countries was between 1.7 to 1.8 (World Bank, 1993). Dates on fertility measures at the time of the survey varied slightly by availability of data.

5. For purposes of comparability we exclude 16 and 17 year olds sampled in the Austrian study.

6. Education systems vary across nations making comparisons difficult. The education variable for this analysis is coded to indicate the relative educational attainment (low, middle, high) of a person in their nation.

7. Distance from a parent or from a child is measured in the average amount of time it would take to travel from the respondent's home to the relative's home rather than in miles. The geographic proximity variable ranges from 1 (less than 15 minutes) to 6 (over 12 hours).

8. The mean ages in this survey were: for the adult child, 31 years with a standard deviation of 14.2. The mean age of the parent was 58 years with a standard deviation of 16.3.

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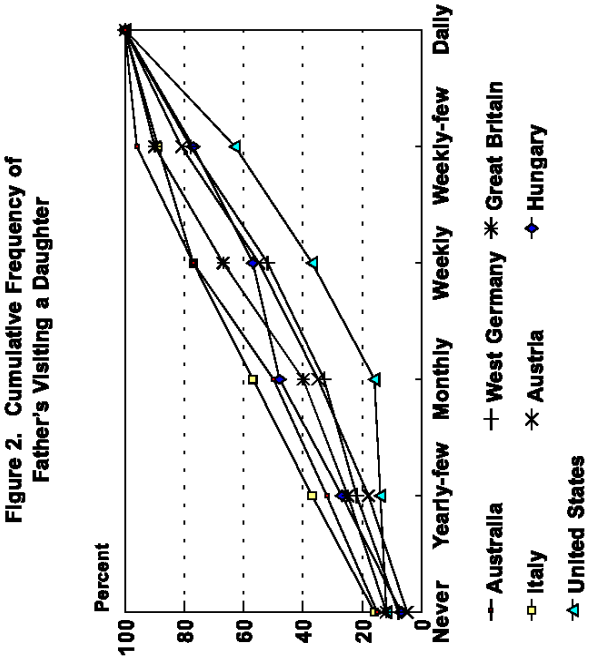

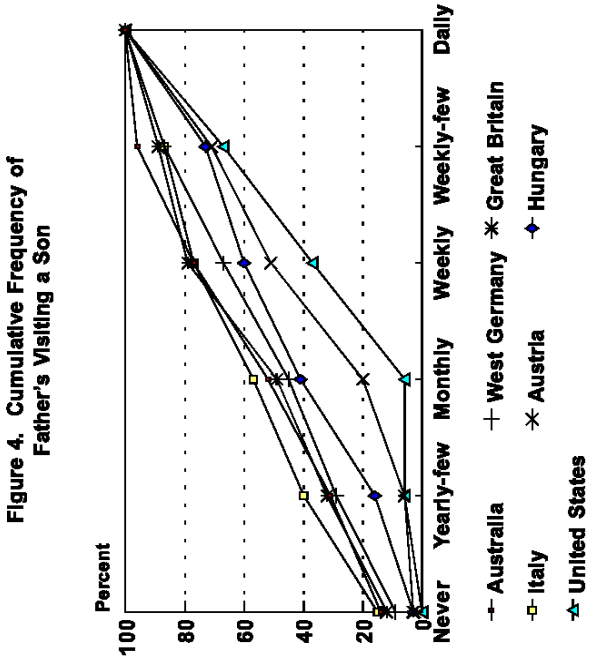

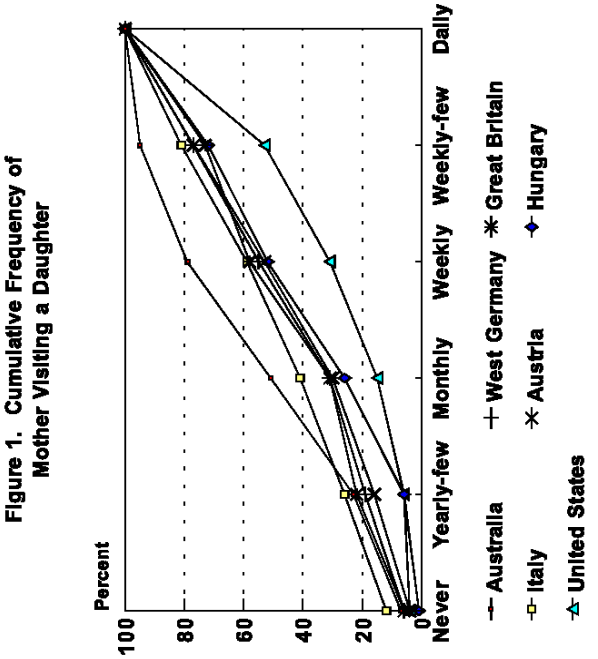

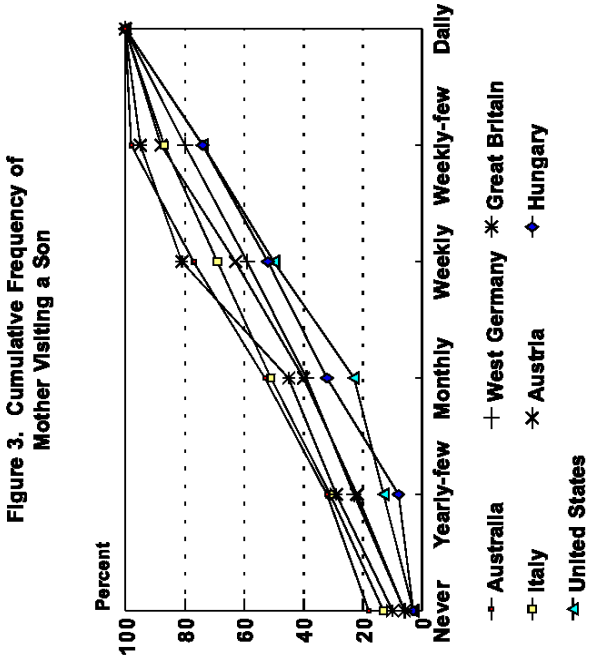

Table 1. Definition of Dependent Variables, Means and Standard Deviations

Variable	Mean	s.d.	N
Reliance on a parent and contact with a parent by the adult child			
Visiting (6 = Daily)			
Father	3.309	1.498	3725
Mother	3.511	1.398	5025
Other Contact (6 = Daily)			
Father	3.123	1.763	3725
Mother	3.575	1.742	5025
Ask for Parent for: Household Help			
Ask Father	0.048	0.215	3725
Ask Mother	0.025	0.157	5025
Help when Ill			
Ask Father	0.008	0.093	3725
Ask Mother	0.113	0.316	5025
Monetary Assistance			
Ask Father	0.084	0.215	3725
Ask Mother	0.113	0.349	5025
Reliance on an adult child and contact with an adult child by the parent			
Visiting (6 = Daily)			
Son	3.441	1.478	2121
Daughter	3.674	1.428	2318
Other Contact (6 = Daily)			
Son	3.808	1.723	2121
Daughter	4.024	1.764	2318
Ask adult child for: Household Help			
Ask Son	0.224	0.416	2121
Ask Daughter	0.108	0.310	2318
Help when Ill			
Ask Son	0.072	0.258	2121
Ask Daughter	0.213	0.409	2318
Monetary Assistance			
Ask Son	0.112	0.315	2121
Ask Daughter	0.082	0.275	2318

Table 2. Ordinary Least Squares Regression Coefficients for Models of Visiting a Parent by an Adult Child

Variable	Visit		Contact	
	Father	Mother	Father	Mother
Country				
Australia	-0.124*	-0.146***	-0.115	-0.323***
West Germany	-0.031	-0.029	0.065	-0.011
Great Britain	-0.145*	-0.147***	-0.386***	-0.558***
Italy	0.253***	0.194***	-0.124	-0.004
Austria	-0.098	-0.046	-0.418***	-0.283**
Hungary	0.336***	0.246***	-1.692***	-2.223***
United States	---	---	---	---
Gender (1 = male)	-0.053	-0.171***	-0.234***	-0.487***
Age				
Age 18-24	0.047	0.153*	-0.243*	0.069
Age 25-44	0.015	0.024	-0.176*	0.097
Age 45-64	---	---	---	---
Age 65+	-0.213	-0.049	-0.312	-0.227
Educational Attainment				
Low Level	---	---	---	---
Middle Level	0.064	0.054	0.189**	0.249***
High Level	0.025	0.016	0.441***	0.361***
Marital Status				
Married	---	---	---	---
Previously Married	-0.054	0.049	-0.234*	0.031
Never Married	0.081	0.227***	0.019	0.090
Geographic Distance	-0.462***	-0.186***	-0.163***	-0.134***
Number of Kids	-0.049	-0.041***	-0.106***	-0.103***
Intercept	4.862***	5.038***	4.423***	4.698***
R^2	0.587	0.644	0.168	0.261

Table 3. Ordinary Least Squares Regression Coefficients for Models of Visiting and Contacting Adult Children by Parents

Variable	Visit		Contact	
	Son	Daughter	Son	Daughter
Country				
Australia	-0.248***	-0.133*	-0.389**	-0.267*
West Germany	-0.051	0.158**	0.130	0.118
Great Britain	0.221**	-0.034	-0.396***	-0.478***
Italy	0.283**	0.231**	-0.184	0.034
Austria	0.237**	0.127*	-0.067	-0.077
Hungary	0.116	0.141	-2.236***	-2.381***
United States	---	---		---
Gender (1 = male)	-0.058	-0.185***	-0.166*	-0.461***
Age				
Age 25-44	-0.082	-0.162*	-0.233	-0.421***
Age 45-64	---	---	---	---
Age 65+	-0.111**	-0.041	-0.138*	0.006
Educational Attainment				
Low Level	---	---	---	---
Middle Level	-0.101*	0.003	0.316***	0.272***
High Level	0.003	0.081	0.602***	0.513***
Marital Status				
Married	---	---	---	---
Previously Married	-0.142**	-0.091*	-0.138	-0.344***
Never Married	-0.046	0.016	-0.385	-0.685
Geographic Distance	-0.457***	-0.475***	-0.197***	-.202***
Number of Siblings	-0.008	0.001	-0.056*	-0.66**
Intercept	5.231***	4.262***	4.789***	5.377***
R^2	0.626	0.635	0.218	0.253

Table 4. Reliance on an Adult Child by Parent for Assistance (Odds Ratios)

Variable	Household		Monetary		Illness	
	Son	Daughter	Son	Daughter	Son	Daughter
Country						
Australia	0.998	1.438	1.259	1.632	1.046	1.611*
West Germany	1.478*	1.501	0.947	0.854	0.917	1.222
Great Britain	1.642*	1.689	1.678	1.374	1.073	1.224
Italy	1.176	2.231*	7.256***	2.673**	1.004	1.119*
Austria	1.509	1.335	1.324	1.026	0.729	1.070
Hungary	1.612	6.389***	2.923***	4.297***	1.894	1.888*
United States	---	---	---	---	---	---
Gender (1 = male)	1.838***	0.384***	1.346	0.712	1.294	0.344***
Age						
Age 25-44	0.422*	0.297*	0.144*	0.176*	0.571	0.588
Age 45-64	---	---	---	---	---	---
Age 65+	1.309*	1.683**	2.109***	1.954***	1.538*	1.478**
Educational Attainment						
Low Level	---	---	---	---	---	---
Middle Level	1.108	0.694	0.784	0.607*	1.357	0.825
High Level	1.015	0.629	0.444**	0.700	1.069	0.749
Marital Status						
Married	---	---	---	---	---	---
Previously Married	5.145***	7.149***	2.383***	2.964***	6.936***	6.410***
Never Married	2.732	6.439**	0.032	6.763***	9.321**	9.222**
Geographic Distance	0.728*	0.737*	0.914*	0.898*	0.632***	0.636**
Number of Kids	0.965	0.919	0.883*	0.932	0.736**	1.047
Intercept	0.285***	0.099***	0.008***	0.071***	0.134***	0.396***
Model ChiSq	349.322***	374.135***	167.986***	160.696***	197.656***	590.230***
df	16	16	16	16	16	16

Table 5. Reliance on a Parent by an Adult Child for Assistance (Odds Ratios)

Variable	Household Help		Monetary		Illness
	Father	Mother	Father	Mother	Mother
Country					
Australia	0.803	0.432	0.583**	0.857	0.793
West Germany	0.857	1.086	0.656*	0.696*	1.080
Great Britain	1.235	0.331	0.629**	0.725*	1.209
Italy	0.465	2.378*	1.362	1.389	2.537***
Austria	1.119	1.530	0.637*	0.716	1.480*
Hungary	3.254***	3.519***	0.472***	1.490**	1.586*
United States	---	---	---	---	---
Gender (1 = male)	1.850***	0.441***	1.549	0.589***	0.318***
Age					
Age 18-24	1.822	4.561***	1.714***	2.078***	2.901***
Age 25-44	2.660*	2.154*	1.288	1.624***	2.914*
Age 45-64	---	---	---	---	---
Age 65+	0.086	0.023	1.763	1.342	0.015
Educational Attainment					
Low Level	---	---	---	---	---
Middle Level	1.269	0.925	1.137	0.790*	0.943
High Level	1.091	0.915	1.473	0.989	0.936
Marital Status					
Married	---	---	---	---	---
Previously Married	3.627***	4.173***	1.660**	1.432*	4.006***
Never Married	5.921***	4.780***	1.717	1.826***	5.601***
Geographic Distance	0.739***	0.663***	0.911***	0.945**	0.643***
Number of Siblings	0.863**	0.916	0.932**	0.888*	0.878
Intercept	0.018***	0.015***	0.170***	0.205***	0.146***
Model ChiSq	185.756***	185.924***	142.526***	205.894***	668.142***
df	16	16	16	16	16