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SEX LINKAGES AND OLDER PARENT - ADULT CHILD INTERACTIONS: EFFECTS ON SOCIAL ACTIVITIES, MUTUAL ASSISTANCE, AND EXPECTATIONS FOR FILIAL SUPPORT

The University of North Carolina at Greensboro PH.D. 1984

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SEX LINKAGES AND OLDER PARENT-ADULT CHILD INTERACTIONS: EFFECTS ON SOCIAL ACTIVITIES, MUTUAL ASSISTANCE, AND EXPECTATIONS FOR FILIAL SUPPORT

by

Richard Max Learner

A Dissertation submitted to
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Approved by

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APPROVAL PAGE

This dissertation has been approved by the following committee of the Faculty of the Graduate School at The University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

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LEARNER, RICHARD MAX, Ph.D. Sex Linkages and Older Parent-Adult Child Interactions: Effects on Social Activities, Mutual Assistance, and Expectations for Filial Support. (1984) Directed by Dr. Vira R. Kivett. Pp. 145.

The study investigated patterns of social interaction between older parents and their adult children. The major purpose was to examine the effects of sex of parent, type of sex linkage (i.e., mother-daughter, mother-son, father-daughter father-son), and selected contextual variables on measures of social activity, help received from children, help given to children, and parental expectations for filial responsibility. Data from a random sample survey of adults aged 65 or older (n of parents=271) were used to test the research hypotheses (North Carolina Agricultural Research Servide Project 13644).

Based on the reports of earlier studies, it was predicted that mothers would engage in more frequent interaction with children and that the mother-daughter linkage would be characterized by the highest level of interaction. In addition, it was expected that daughters would live closer to parents than sons and contact parents more frequently. Statistical procedures for the analyses included multiple regression analysis, analysis of variance and covariance, multiple classification analysis, chi-square tests, and descriptive statistics.

The major findings were the following:

- there was no difference between fathers and mothers on measures of social activity, help given, and expectations for filial support;
- mothers received help more often;
- the mother-daughter linkage scores were not significantly higher than all other linkages on the dependent measures;
- mothers who had both sons and daughters were more likely to report a daughter to be most often in contact while fathers were equally likely to report on sons and daughters;
- sons and daughters were comparable in proximity to parents and contacted them with similar frequency;
- geographic proximity and marital status of the parent were significant contextual variables.

The results challenge the assumption that mother-child relationships are stronger bonds than father-child relationships within families in later life. When important contextual variables were identified and taken into account, there were few differences according to sex of parent or type of sex linkage. Geographic proximity was the major determinant of the extent of interaction on all measures, while marital status overshadowed sex of parent as a predictor of help received. On the whole, the evidence pointed to similar patterns of residential proximity and recency of contact, and similar levels of social activity, help given and received, and expectations for filial responsibility for fathers and mothers, and according to type of sex linkage.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

An important aspect of the American kinship system is the "kin-keeping" function performed by women. Numerous authors have discussed the central role of women in maintaining contact with family members (Adams, 1968a, 1968b; Aldous, 1967; Aldous & Hill, 1965; Blenkner, 1965; Reiss, 1965; Robins & Tomanec, 1962; Sussman, 1965; Sweetser, 1963; Troll, 1971; Troll, Miller, & Atchley, 1979). Men have been perceived as less involved in family roles and as less well integrated into their kin networks than women (Balswick & Peek, 1971; Bock, 1972; Streib, 1975; Troll, 1971; Troll, Miller, & Atchley, 1979; Watson & Kivett, 1976). The differences in family roles of men and women may be of particular importance for families in later life.

Patterns of social interaction and mutual assistance between older parents and their adult children have been frequently investigated because of their significance for both generations. As the proportion of older adults in the population increases as a consequence of demographic trends toward greater longevity and lower birth rates, more families will include aged members and will assume social and supportive functions for them. Sex linkages may play an important role in intergenerational relations and the dynamics within

families of the aged.

While there is evidence from many sources that family relations are more salient for older women than for men, the nature of sex linkages in kinship networks has seldom been investigated in a systematic way. Previous research has contributed descriptions of contact and assistance between the elderly and their children (Adams, 1968a; Litwak, 1960a, 1960b; Robinson & Thurner, 1979; Shanas, 1961, 1967, 1973, 1979a, 1979b; Sussman, 1965; Sussman & Burchinal, 1962a, 1962b; Treas, 1977). Few analyses have examined factors that may affect older men's and women's roles in kin networks. Such variables as differential mortality rates between sexes; marital status of older adults; dependency needs of older family members; social class; and the availability, proximity, and sex of adult children must be examined to develop a better understanding of interaction patterns in the families of the aged.

The primary objective of the present study was to examine the differences between older fathers and mothers in their interactions with sons and daughters. Previous research has demonstrated that parent-child relationships are significant, enduring ties across the lifespan. The parent-child relationship has been identified as the principal line of interaction and of support within the modified extended family structure that characterizes American kinship (Shanas 1979a; Sussman, 1965; Sussman & Burchinal, 1962a; Troll, 1971;

Troll, Miller, & Atchley, 1979). Sex linkages have been identified as an important aspect of older parent-adult child relationships. The closeness of mother-daughter relationships as compared to cross-sex links (mother-son, father-daughter) or father-son ties has been emphasized (Aldous & Hill, 1965; Johnson, 1978; Troll, 1971; Troll, Miller, & Atchley, 1979). Older mothers differ from older fathers in their expectations for filial support (Seelbach, 1977, 1978).

Hypotheses

In the present study, specific hypotheses about the nature of sex linkages in older parent-adult child relations were tested. The effects of such factors as age, marital status, dependency needs, education, residential proximity, and family composition (i.e., parents with both sons and daughters) were incorporated into analyses of sex linkages. Comparisons were made on dependent measures including frequency of contact and social activities, mutual aid, and parental attitudes about filial responsibility. These measures tapped several important aspects of parent-adult child relationships.

The first set of hypotheses addressed general differences that may exist between older fathers and mothers in their relationships with adult children. The hypotheses that were tested included the following:

H_{1a} When the effects of dependency needs, education, marital status, and proximity of residence to children are controlled, mothers will have higher levels of social activity with children than will fathers.

H_{1b} When the effects of dependency needs, education, marital status and proximity of residence to children are controlled, mothers will receive higher levels of assistance from children than will fathers.

H_{1c} When the effects of dependency needs, education, marital status, and proximity of residence to children are controlled, mothers will provide higher levels of assistance to children than will fathers.

H_{1d} When the effects of dependency needs, education, marital status, and proximity of residence to children are controlled, mothers will have higher expectations for filial responsibility from children than will fathers.

These hypotheses were tested for all parents in the sample, regardless of the type of sex linkage between parent and child.

Separate multiple regression analyses were used to examine the effects of the independent variables on each of the dependent variables. The independent variables were entered in a hierarchical fashion in order to compare the relative contribution of each independent variable for explaining the variance in the dependent measures. The order of entry was controlled to evaluate the impact of dependency needs first, then social status, and geographic proximity. Sex of the parent was entered last. Dependency needs were operationally defined as age over 75, self-rated health status, and perceived income adequacy. Social status variables included parent's education as an indicator of social class and marital status. Proximity of residence to the child contacted most often was measured in time required to travel

between residences. The sex of parent was entered into the analyses after the effects of the other independent variables were determined. By controlling for the other sources of variation first, it was possible to examine the unique contribution of sex of parent for explaining variation in the dependent measures.

The second set of hypotheses examined the impact of sex linkages on dependent measures of social activity, mutual help, and parental expectations for filial responsibility. The sex of the child most often contacted and the sex of the parent were categorized into the following types of sex linkage: 1) father-son, 2) father-daughter, 3) mother-son, 4) mother-daughter. Comparisons were made using analysis of variance to determine whether there were differences on dependent measures between categories of sex linkage. Analysis of covariance was then used to incorporate the effects of dependency needs, social status variables, and proximity of residence as control variables. The hypotheses that were tested included the following:

H_{2a} The mother-daughter linkage will be associated with a higher level of social activity than other types of sex linkage, even when the effects of dependency needs, education, marital status, and proximity of residence are controlled.

H_{2b} The mother-daughter linkage will be associated with a greater level of assistance received than will other types of sex linkage, even when the effects of dependency needs, education, marital status, and proximity of residence are controlled.

H_{2c} The mother-daughter linkage will be associated with

a greater level of assistance given than will other types of sex linkage, even when the effects of dependency needs, education, marital status, and proximity of residence are controlled.

H_{2d} The mother-daughter linkage will be associated with a higher level of parental expectations for filial responsibility than will other types of sex linkage, even when the effects of dependency needs, education, marital status, and proximity of residence are controlled.

Specific hypotheses about sex linkages were investigated among respondents who had both living sons and daughters. By selecting only respondents who had children of both sexes, it was possible to examine differences between fathers and mothers in the type of linkage with the child most often contacted. Sex of the parent was cross-tabulated with sex of the child most often contacted to determine whether there were differences that reflected more same-sex linkages than cross-sex linkages. The third hypothesis was that:

H_3 More parents will have same-sex linkages than will have cross-sex linkages with regard to the child most often contacted.

The third hypothesis was tested with chi-square comparisons for a 2x2 contingency table.

The fourth hypothesis examined the geographic proximity of all sons and daughters to parents who had both types of children:

H_4 The residential proximity of daughters to parents will be closer than that of sons.

Chi-square comparison was used to compare sons and daughters on the proximity variable. Sex of child was cross-tabulated

with proximity of residence for all sons and daughters of all parents who had both sons and daughters.

The fifth hypothesis examined recency of contact in an analysis similar to that outlined for H_4. The hypothesis was that:

H_5 Parents will report more recent contacts with daughters than with sons.

Sex of children was cross-tabulated with recency of contact for all sons and daughters of parents who had both sons and daughters. The comparisons for H_4 and H_5 were made first without regard for sex of parent and then by controlling for sex of parent in three-way tables. This permitted an evaluation of differences related to sex linkages.

Research Plan

Data from a survey of a random sample of 321 older adults living in Rowan County, North Carolina were available for analyses to test the research hypotheses. The data were collected for North Carolina Agricultural Research Service Project #13644, "Correlates and Patterns of Kin Group Solidarity among Older Rural and Urban Adults." Data collection took place between March 1980 and March 1981.

A variety of statistical procedures were used to describe the sample and to test the hypotheses. Descriptive information was presented using frequency tables and contingency tables. The research hypotheses were evaluated with multiple regression, analysis of variance and covariance, and chi-square statistics, as outlined above. Dependent measures

were constructed using factor analysis and reliability analysis to guide the selection of scale items. Data analyses were performed with programs from the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (Hull & Nie, 1979; Nie, Hull, Jenkins, Steinbrenner, & Bent, 1975).

Definitions

The following definitions applied to the terms used in the research hypotheses. Specific operational definitions for the independent and dependent variables were based on the items used in the research instrument (Appendix), which was described more completely in Chapter III.

Age. Age was dichotomized as 65 to 74 years, coded (0), and 75 years and older, coded (1). This cutoff was chosen because it represented a widely acknowledged indicator of increased dependency needs and frailty.

Dependency needs. The extent to which older adults had need of support from family and social networks based upon physical, social, and economic circumstances. Items that reflected dependency needs included self-rated health, age over 75, and perceived income adequacy.

Education. Parent's education in years was used as an indicator of social class.

Expectations for kin responsibilities. The attitudes of older adults regarding the responsibilities of kin for providing financial assistance, giving help during illness, and maintaining contact. Respondents were asked to indicate the extent of responsibility that kin should take in four hypothetical situations. Responses to these items were summed to form a score.

Marital status. The current marital status of the parent, recoded as a dummy variable with married coded as (1) and widowed, separated, and divorced coded as (0).

Mutual assistance. The extent to which the older adults gave help and received help from kin, as measured on separate scales. Seven items were included on each of

the two scales: transportation, household repairs, housekeeping, shopping, yardwork, illness, and decision making. Subjects were asked to indicate the frequency with which they gave help and received help for each item. The responses for each item were coded on nine-point scales, ranging from never, coded (1) to daily, coded (9). Item scores were summed to produce the separate help given and help received scale scores.

Perceived income adequacy. The respondents' ratings of the adequacy of their incomes for meeting expenses was scored on a four-point scale, ranging from "not enough money," coded (1), to "enough money," coded (4).

Proximity of residence. The geographic closeness of the respondent to the relative as expressed in the time needed to travel between households by automobile or other customary ground transportation.

Self-rated health. Health status as reported by the respondent. Subjects were asked to rate their current health status on a self-anchored ten-point scale for which the "worst possible health" was coded (0) and the "best possible health" was coded (9).

Sex linkage. The relationships between kinsmen, based on gender. Same-sex linkages included those between mothers and daughters, and fathers and sons. Cross-sex linkages included mothers and sons, and fathers and daughters.

Social activity. The extent to which the respondents interacted with kinsmen in nine specific types of activities. These were commercial recreation, home recreation, outdoor recreation, visits, vacations, family reunions, emergencies, holidays, and church activities. Each item was scored according to the frequency of the activity, ranging from never, coded (1), to daily, coded (9). Item scores were summed to produce the scale score.

Limitations and Scope of the Study

The present study explored sex linkages in intergenerational relationships based on data from older adults. There were a number of limitations restricting the scope of the study. It was not feasible to interview the children discussed by the respondents. As a result, the information presented here represented only the respondents' perceptions

of the relationships. Information was collected on all living children with regard to sex, age, recency of contact, proximity of residence, and marital status. More extensive information was collected on the child with whom the respondent had the most contact. Analyses regarding the extent of social activities and helping behaviors were necessarily restricted to the data on the child most frequently in contact with the respondent.

The present study was an attempt to provide a more complete picture of sex linkages in intergenerational relationships than has been developed in previous literature on families in later life. Tests of the research hypotheses permitted an evaluation of some of the assumptions regarding the roles of men and women in primary kinship relations. Detailed analyses that examined or controlled for sources of variation such as marital status, residential proximity, and dependency needs permitted a close examination of the effects of sex linkages on patterns of social interaction and mutual assistance. The goal of the study was to develop information that would lead to a better understanding of the dynamics of relationships between older parents and their adult children.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Considerable information is available on the relationships between elderly parents and their adult children. A focal point of family research during the 1950's and 1960's was the impact of modernization and industrialization on family forms. A specific point of contention was whether isolated nuclear families or extended kinship ties characterized American families. Litwak (1960a, 1960b, 1965), Sussman and Burchinal (1962a, 1962b), Sussman (1965), and Shanas (1961, 1967; Shanas, Townsend, Wedderburn, Friis, Milhøj, & Stehouwer, 1968) presented data on patterns of interaction between adults and their parents. A major purpose of these studies was to test Talcott Parsons' theory that American families were best described as isolated nuclear family units (Parsons, 1943; Parsons & Bales, 1955). In the present paper, findings from a number of these studies of family structure were presented because of their implications regarding intergenerational relations.

Another major theme in the literature on family relations of the aged has been the nature of filial responsibility for older parents. Research attention has focussed on the types, extent, and quality of interactions between older parents and their adult children. Many studies have

demonstrated that parents and their adult children maintain contact and engage in helping behaviors (Adams, 1968a, 1968b; Bengtson, Olander, & Haddad, 1976; Blenkner, 1965; Johnson, 1978; Robinson & Thurner, 1979; Schorr, 1965; Shanas, 1973, 1979a, 1979b; Treas, 1977; Troll, 1971; Troll, Miller, & Atchley, 1979). Such aspects of intergenerational relations as geographic proximity, social class, family structure, household composition, marital status, emotional ties, dependency needs, and helping patterns have been studied with regard to filial responsibility (Seelbach, 1977, 1978; Seelbach & Sauer, 1977; Sussman, 1979; Wake & Sporakowski, 1972). A summary of literature on these topics was presented, with particular attention to information on sex linkages in intergenerational relationships.

The topic of sex linkages in the relationships between aged parents and their adult children has received largely incidental treatment in the literature on intergenerational relationships. It has been a basic assumption that women play a more salient role in kinship relations and much evidence justifies that position. Papers that have referred to sex linkages in intergenerational relations include Adams (1968a, 1968b), Aldous (1967), Aldous and Hill (1965), Robins and Tomanec (1962), Schneider and Smith (1973), Sweetser (1963), Treas (1977), Troll (1971), and Troll, Miller, and Atchley (1979). Differences between older men and women in their family roles have also been discussed by a number

of authors (Balswick & Peek, 1971; Streib, 1975; Watson & Kivett, 1976). These differences have implications for the consequences of widowhood for men and women (Adams, 1968b; Arling, 1976; Bock, 1972; Bock & Webber, 1972; Petrowsky, 1976; Pihlblad & Adams, 1972). In studies of attitudes and expectations regarding filial responsibility, men and women have expressed different levels of expectation for support from children (Seelbach, 1977, 1978; Seelbach & Sauer, 1977; Wake & Sporakowski, 1972).

Family Structure

Talcott Parsons' theories have served as a point of departure for research on family structure and sex roles. Parsons discussed changes on family patterns as a consequence of modernization. His position was that small households comprised of parents and their dependent children represented the most efficient family structure in an industrialized society (Parsons, 1943). These nuclear families were described as structurally isolated from extended kin and independent in economic and social functions. Parsons emphasized two primary functions of the nuclear family: the socialization of children and the provision of emotional security (1965). He viewed the emotional ties as the principal link that endured between adult children and their parents, although he noted that extended kin served as a resource for

assistance in illness and times of need (1965). Parsons discussed the roles of men and women in terms of structural and functional characteristics (Parsons & Bales, 1955). He emphasized the instrumental functions of men in providing economic support and the expressive functions of women in providing nurturance to children. This differentiation in sex roles was presented as an essential element for the nuclear family functions of socializing children and providing emotional security (Parsons & Bales, 1955).

Litwak (1960a, 1960b, 1965) developed the concept of a modified extended family network in contrast to Parsons' position. Litwak examined the effects of geographic and occupational mobility on extended family cohesion with data from a survey of 920 white middle-class women (1960a, 1960b). A major finding of Litwak's research was that identification with extended family members remained strong regardless of differential occupational mobility. He suggested that geographical mobility was a barrier to face-to-face interaction but not necessarily to a high level of continued contact and family involvement.

Litwak (1965) presented a comparison between the modified extended family type and the isolated nuclear family type in a theoretical analysis of kin relationships in industrialized society. He suggested that the modified extended family structure was adapted to occupational and geographical mobility which produced structural isolation of nuclear

family groups. Litwak argued that families exchanged services across a broad range of functions including child rearing, education, protection, medical care, old age security, and others. These functions were not entirely the responsibility of family members, however, because formal organizations have assumed a large measure of responsibility in many areas. In contrast, the concept of the isolated nuclear family implied that extended kin functions had almost completely been replaced by formal organizations, leaving as the major family functions the socialization of children and gratification of emotional needs. The modified extended family concept was consonant with evidence from Sussman and Burchinal (1962a, 1962b) and Shanas (1967) that families interacted across a broad range of functions.

Sussman and Burchinal (1962a) reviewed research that challenged the theory of the isolated nuclear family. These authors pointed out the diversity of family forms that existed in America and the variations among subgroups of society. They identified mutual aid and social activities as the major activities linking family units into a modified extended family form. Data from research conducted primarily among white middle-class young adults indicated that mutual help patterns characterized extended family relations. Financial assistance was typically given by parents to young adult children during the early years of marriage. Few older adults received financial aid from children, but other forms of assistance were

noted. Help during illness, child care, visiting , social activities, advice, and other forms of interaction were found to be common (Sussman & Burchinal, 1962b).

Shanas (1961, 1967) examined residential proximity and frequency of interaction between older adults and their children. Based on data collected from a national probability sample of older respondents, Shanas (1961) reported that aged parents preferred to live in independent households near, but not with, adult children. Comparative data from three industrialized societies showed that the pattern of residential proximity (within one hour's travel time from a child) and frequent visiting (weekly or more often) characterized the relationships of a majority of older parents (Shanas, 1967; Shanas, Townsend, Wedderburn, Friis, Milhøj, & Stehouwer, 1968). These findings provided support for the concept of the modified extended family pattern of continued contact and mutual assistance.

The studies by Litwak, Sussman, and Shanas demonstrated that parent-adult child relationships continued to be important social and emotional ties. Patterns and types of mutual assistance were identified in these studies. Attention was directed toward the effects of social class and stage of the family life cycle on intergenerational relations. Following these early studies which focused primarily on young adult respondents, more research attention was paid to the characteristics of older parent-adult child relationships and filial responsibility.

Older Parents and Their Adult Children

Research on the relationships of older parents and adult children has focused on structural features such as geographic proximity, frequency and recency of contact, frequency and types of mutual assistance, and on expectations regarding filial responsibility. Much attention has centered on patterns of support for the aged and on dispelling widely held beliefs that elderly persons were neglected by their families. The articles summarized in this section focused on theoretical and empirical issues in aged parent-adult child relations.

Blenkner (1965) described "filial maturity" as a developmental task faced by many middle-aged persons. She emphasized that older parents turned to their children for help in personal and protective services when their independence was no longer possible. Both parents and children held expectations that the government would provide for economic maintenance. Blenkner noted that middle-aged women were called on for personal care, household sharing, and help in accessing public services more often than were men. Furthermore, daughters were the most frequently involved relative, rather than daughters-in-law. Blenkner discussed the concept of filial maturity in terms of the middle-aged person accepting a role of being dependable as a resource for help. This concept stood in contrast to earlier theories that depicted role-reversal processes in which children were

supposed to take on "parent" roles in providing support to an aged parent. Blenkner's analysis of filial roles in support of the elderly has remained consonant with research findings from other studies undertaken in the 1960's and 1970's.

Shanas (1979a) presented data from a 1975 national probability sample of non-institutionalized persons aged 65 and older. She reported that 79% of the 5755 respondents had one or more living children. More than half of the respondents with children had seen a child on the day of the interview or the day before. An additional 24% had seen a child within the preceding week. Shanas found that 7% of the persons interviewed were housebound and that an additional 7% could go out only with difficulty. Thus 14% of the non-institutional elderly were at levels of disability that left them in need of supports for personal care or household matters. Findings indicated that spouses were the major source of assistance during illness. Women relied more heavily on children for help, presumably because fewer women remained married.

Shanas (1979b) compared data from the 1975 survey with those of earlier surveys in 1957 and 1962. These studies consistently indicated a high degree of residential proximity between older parents and adult children. The proportion of elderly living within ten minutes distance of a child was 59% in 1957, 52% in 1975. The proportion who shared

residences with a child had declined, however, from 36% in 1957 to 18% in 1975. This trend was indicative of the high value placed by parents and children on maintaining independent residences. Shanas reported that visiting remained an important part of parent-child relationships: 83% of the 1957 respondents had seen a child in the preceding week, compared with 77% in 1975.

Shanas' findings, in conjunction with those of other authors, have demonstrated that older parents were not isolated from their adult children (Adams, 1968a; Sussman & Burchinal, 1962b). On the contrary, geographic proximity, frequent contact, and mutual assistance when needed were found to characterize intergenerational relations. These studies, however, did not examine the overall contact patterns of older parents with each of their living children. In addition, there were few data on specific factors that affected contact or support patterns other than social class and geographic proximity.

Sex Linkages in Older Parent-Adult Child Relationships

Evidence from many sources has pointed to differences between men and women in their relationships with kin. Men have been perceived as less well integrated into family roles than women. Men's occupational roles may have been in conflict with family roles during the working career and thus contributed to less interaction within families. Other

cultural factors in the socialization process may have been operative. Parsons and Bales (1955) depicted male family roles as primarily instrumental rather than expressive. Though Parsons and Bales viewed the family as the base of emotional security, they described nurturing activities as largely the woman's role. Balswick and Peek (1971) attributed lack of emotional involvement in men's interpersonal relationships to early socialization experiences which shape men into inexpressive emotional patterns.

Studies of the relationships between older parents and their children have reflected differences between men and women related to sex linkages. In general, findings have indicated that mother-daughter ties are closer in terms of interaction and affection than mother-son, father-son, or father-daughter relationships (Adams, 1968a; Sussman, 1965; Sweetser, 1963; Treas, 1977; Troll, 1971; Troll, Miller, & Atchley 1979).

Reiss (1965) examined kinship networks and interaction frequency among a random sample of 127 community respondents and 34 college students. The sample included young, middle-aged, and older adults from a middle-class Boston area. Reiss reported that there was no difference between men and women in their overall frequency of interaction with kinsmen. He noted, however, that among married respondents contacts with the wife's family predominated: "females are in contact with relatives more than are males but males are in contact with in-laws more than are females" (p. 334). Reiss found that

attitudes toward interaction with kin were more positive among women. In response to the question: "Do people have an obligation to keep in touch with kin?" (p. 336), women more often gave positive answers. Reiss suggested that women were primarily involved in establishing the frequency of interaction with all kin.

Robins and Tomanec (1962) presented information on kin relations from a non-random sample of adults aged 18 to 45, predominately college students (74%). The authors attempted to test the hypothesis that more interaction took place with maternal relatives than with paternal relatives. Questions were asked to determine the extent of knowledge about extended kin relations and various types of interaction. A pertinent finding of this study was that women played a central role in maintaining relationships:

> Female relatives tend to be closer to Ego than male relatives, and relatives to whom he is related through his mother tend to be closer than those to whom he is related through his father. The greater closeness to female relatives can probably be explained by the fact that women tend to act as the representative of the nuclear family in fulfilling obligations to relatives (p. 345).

Respondents reported greater closeness to maternal relatives in 60% of the cases, compared with 31% closer to paternal relatives, and 9% who reported no difference. Although Robins and Tomanec presented data from a non-random sample of college-aged adults, their findings reflected a division in kin interaction that has been supported in subsequent studies.

Sweetser (1963) examined the relationships between married daughters and sons and their parents in the context of cross-cultural customs involving in-law avoidance. She noted that census data showed that among married females living with parents, 60% lived with the wife's parents and 40% with the husband's parents. Sweetser found evidence of asymmetry in relations between married adults and their parents that reflected strong mother-daughter ties. These included differences in sharing households; attitudinal differences between sons and daughters; differences in attachment to parents and dependency on them; evidence of more frequent conflict with the husband's parents than with the wife's parents; and higher expectations for help during illness on the part of mothers and daughters. She noted that further research was needed to investigate the effects of availability of children of both sexes, proximity of residence, and differences with regard to specific types of interaction.

Aldous and Hill (1965) investigated cultural transmission through family lineages in a unique sample that included respondents from three generations. Each family had one set of grandparents, parents and a married child. There were 88 lineages, broken down into the following types according to the respondents who were in the lineages:

1) Pure patrilineage (grandfather-father-son), 15 cases;
2) Pure matrilineage (grandmother-mother-daughter), 32 cases;

3) Cross-sex lineage, grandfather-father-daughter, 21 cases;
4) Cross-sex lineage, grandmother-mother son, 20 cases.

Aldous and Hill theorized that same-sex systems would show more evidence of cultural transmission than cross-sex lineages. This proposition was based on societal tendencies for mothers to be more involved in the socialization of daughters and fathers with sons. The authors stressed the psychological process of identification with and role modeling of the same-sex parent by the developing child.

Aldous and Hill examined religious affiliation, role specialization, and conventional behavior in household tasks, occupation, and education as indices of cultural continuity. Their findings suggested that there was greater cohesiveness in same-sex lineages. In addition, there were differences between types of lineage on the various indices of cultural transmission. The all-female lineages had greatest continuity in religious affiliation and thus provided evidence that "women are the keepers of the religious heritage" (p. 48). With regard to conventionality in role behavior, the same-sex lineages showed greater continuity than cross-sex lineages. All-male lineages showed greater continuity in occupation than did other lineages. The authors' overall conclusion was that greater cohesiveness across generations was evident in same-sex lineages. In addition, greater continuity was found for expressive norms among female lineages and instrumental norms among male lineages.

Aldous (1967) conducted further analyses of intergenerational visiting patterns within 79 of the three-generational families described above. She focused on the role of women in maintaining kin contacts. Aldous suggested that women received aid and advice from relatives that strengthened their performance of wife and mother roles. Men, on the other hand, were more concerned with work roles. Contact with kin did not contribute as directly to competence in husband and father roles. Aldous examined hypotheses related to the effects of sex linkage, family life cycle stage, social class, and social mobility on intergenerational visiting patterns. Geographic proximity was controlled, as all respondents lived within a 100-mile radius of Minneapolis, where the study was conducted.

Aldous found that the parental generation was most involved in family interactions and served as a link in the relations between ascending and descending generations. Women in the middle generation were most active in contacts with their parents. Granddaughters visited grandparents more frequently than did grandsons. Little difference between sons and daughters was found in the frequency of visits to their parents (the middle generation). Aldous noted that men with blue-collar occupations engaged more frequently in intergenerational visits than did those in white-collar jobs. Much of this visiting was attributed to common occupations of the third-generation sons and their fathers. Aldous concluded

that women played an important kin-keeping function, particularly in white collar families.

Adams (1968a, 1968b) presented a thorough investigation of sex linkages, social class, occupational mobility, and geographic proximity as these variables affected parent-adult child relationships. Data were collected from 799 young adults, all married and middle-aged or younger, all white. The sample included 467 women and 332 men living in Greensboro, North Carolina. Adams found evidence of the importance of women in maintaining general kin ties. He reported that women had a more extensive knowledge of kin, with a median of 29.7 kin acquaintances compared with 26.2 for men. In addition, women more frequently reported that relations with kin were an important aspect of their lives.

Adams (1968a) noted that the residential proximity of males and females to their parents was comparable in his sample. Approximately 39% of the husbands' parents lived in the city, compared with 32% of the wives' parents. With regard to frequency of interaction, Adams reported that women were more likely to visit their parents more than once a week. When comparisons were based on weekly visits, men and women were almost equally likely to visit when the effects of geographic proximity were controlled. On measures of contact other than visiting, Adams found differences according to social class and geographic proximity. Writing took place more often when parents were nonlocal, while telephoning

was more frequent when residences were closer. White-collar respondents made more use of both media when parents were not local. No consistent pattern of differences according to sex of child was evident.

Adams investigated eight types of contact: home visiting, social activities, participation in voluntary organizations, working together, participation in family rituals, communication, aid received by young adults, and aid given to parents. He reported that:

> Frequent communication, home visiting, and the sharing of ritual occasions dominate contact between these kin. Thus, simple visiting... is more frequent than the exchange of aid between parents and adult offspring. (pp. 52-53)

Less common types of interaction were working together, participation in voluntary organizations, social activities, and the giving of aid to parents. When patterns of contact were examined in relation to sex and social class, overall differences between sexes were minor. More females reported receiving aid in the forms of child care and gifts. More males reported giving aid to parents in the form of financial help or household maintenance, usually to a widowed mother. In terms of social class, Adams found less involvement of blue collar respondents in activities with parents, particularly when the respondents were downwardly mobile in social class. Among both middle and working classes, males were primarily involved with parents through visiting and communication, while women were involved in mutual aid as well.

Adams identified value consensus, affection, and obligation as three subjective aspects of parent-adult child relationships. He found that daughters tended to share values and interests with their mothers and to be closer to their mothers on measures of affection and values than were men. There was little difference between men and women in affection or value consensus with regard to their fathers. A high degree of association between affection and level of contact was found among males; among females this association was less important. This indicated that women tended to maintain contact even when they did not feel close to parents. Feelings of obligation to keep in touch or help parents were particularly evident with regard to widowed mothers (Adams, 1968b). Adams (1968a, 1968b) found that obligation and unreciprocated aid from the adult son were characteristic of relationships between sons and widowed mothers. Daughters tended to engage in reciprocal helping patterns and to maintain closer affectional relations.

Other authors have confirmed the importance of sex linkages in the relationships between adults and their parents. Several studies have supported Adams' findings that marital status of the parent and sex of the child affected the types of interaction. Philblad and Adams (1972) reported that men were less active in associations with family, friends, and social organizations than women. Contacts in each of these associations declined for men after widowhood, but not for

women. Widows had higher levels of contact with children and this was associated with greater life satisfaction for women, but not for men. For men and women, contact with friends was more closely associated with life satisfaction than was contact with children. Conflicting findings were reported by Petrowsky (1976) who found no difference between men and women in kin contact or social participation after widowhood.

Some evidence has been presented suggesting that widowhood and lack of integration into kin and social networks have negative consequences for older men. Bock (1972) and Bock and Webber (1972) found that elderly widowed persons, especially men, had higher suicide rates than their married counterparts. Bock suggested that widowers were more isolated than married men, married women, or widows and that this isolation was an important factor in the higher suicide rate among widowers. Other authors have found little or no connection between the morale of older men and indices of kin interaction (Arling, 1976; Petrowsky, 1976; Philblad & Adams, 1972; Watson & Kivett, 1976). Such factors as health status, economic well-being, and interaction with friends have been identified as better predictors of morale than kin interaction (Larson, 1978). These factors may have been an underlying explanation for Bock's findings, in addition to the effects of social isolation.

Attitudes Regarding Filial Responsibility

Investigations of attitudes toward filial responsibility have indicated that older women hold higher expectations for filial support than do men (Seelbach, 1977, 1978; Seelbach & Sauer, 1977; Sussman, 1979). Seelbach (1977) presented data from a sample of 595 urban, low-income elderly parents. The respondents were predominantly blacks, 74%, and 56% were women. The mean age of respondents was 70 years. When men and women were compared on their responses to attitudinal questions, women were more likely to believe that elderly persons should live with a child. No significant gender differences were found with regard to expectations for financial support: 20% of men compared with 23% of women expected their children to provide financial aid (Seelbach, 1977).

Subsequent analyses of the same data base revealed that women had higher levels of filial support in help with activities of daily living than did men (Seelbach, 1978). This finding may have reflected differences in marital status, as men were more likely to be married and to rely on their spouses for aid. Although Seelbach (1978) noted that widowed respondents reported higher levels of filial support, he did not attempt to control for marital status in comparisons between men and women.

Seelbach and Sauer (1977) examined gender differences in the correlation of filial expectations with morale. The authors reported that men who had higher expectations for help

from children tended to have lower morale scores. Among women, there was no significant relationship between level of filial expectations and morale. These findings, together with Seelbach's other results, indicated that men and women differed in their expectations for filial support (Seelbach, 1977, 1978).

Summary

The central role of women in maintaining kinship ties has been a recurring theme in the literature on intergenerational relationships. Research on older parents' interactions with their adult children has demonstrated that contact and mutual aid are important features of these relationships. Factors that influenced the extent of communication and aid included geographic proximity; social class; need for family assistance; and the attitudes of parents and children regarding filial responsibility. Men and women have been found to differ in their participation in family activities and in their attitudes regarding family roles. These gender differences in family roles may reflect cultural sex role definitions that affect behavior across the lifespan. Situational factors, however, may be important determinants of the extent and type of parent-child interactions during later life.

Previous authors who have examined gender differences in family roles have rarely pursued investigation of situational variables that may affect intergenerational relations.

The present study examined sex linkages in the relationships between older parents and their adult children and the impact that situational variables had on these relationships. By controlling for the effects of geographic proximity, family composition (ie. families with both sons and daughters), marital status, parental dependency needs, and social status in multivariate analyses, it was possible to examine the conditions under which sex linkages differed. Dependent measures of contact, social activity, attitudes toward filial responsibility, and mutual assistance served as the basis for comparisons between older mothers and fathers and between types of sex linkage.

CHAPTER III

METHODS

Sample Selection

The sample included 321 men and women aged 65 years or older, living in Rowan County, North Carolina. Rowan County was located in the western part of the Piedmont region. The total population was 90,035 in 1970 (United States Bureau of the Census, 1973) of whom 8,951 were age 65 or older. The majority of persons, 52,104, lived in rural areas; non-rural population centers included the cities of Salisbury, Spencer, and northern Kannapolis. Rowan County has undergone transition from an agriculturally based economy to an industrial one, centered on textile production, within the past three generations. Because changes in patterns of kinship were thought to accompany industrialization, the elderly of Rowan County were chosen as the target population for the investigation of "Correlates and Patterns of Kin Group Solidarity Among Older Rural and Urban Adults," (North Carolina Agricultural Research Service project 13644).

Sampling Method

Subjects were selected using an area cluster sampling strategy, with stratification for the inclusion of urban and

rural areas. A listing was made of all census enumeration districts and the number of housing units in each, using census tract data. The enumeration districts were stratified by rural and non-rural location. Sampling ratios of .03108 for non-rural areas and .02376 for rural areas were derived by dividing the number of housing units into the desired sample size (N=400). These ratios were used to calculate the number of housing units per sampling unit: approximately 32 houses per urban sampling unit and 42 per rural sampling unit, yielding approximately 10 subjects per sampling unit.

The lists of rural and non-rural enumeration districts were each divided into 10 "paper" zones which included 40 sampling units. Two sampling units were then drawn at random from the paper zones for a total of 40 sampling units, half rural, half urban. The enumeration districts in which the selected sampling units occurred were divided into area segments (clusters) to correspond to the sampling units containing roughly 40 houses each. This was done using aerial photographs, census block statistics, and housing counts obtained by cruising the areas. After the boundaries of area segments were determined, the predetermined number of clusters for each enumeration district was randomly chosen. Those were the areas in which subjects were interviewed. Attempts were made to interview all persons aged 65 and older within the selected area segments. A second sample of eight clusters was drawn, following the same procedures, after it became

evident that more subjects would be needed to attain the desired sample size. Four rural segments and four urban segments were chosen.

Research Design

The present study was part of the primary analysis of the sample survey data collected for the larger research project on kin group solidarity. Information was gathered on seven categories of kin for the main study; the present study analyzed only data on relationships with children. The survey instrument was a 141-item questionnaire administered by trained interviewers. The interviews took approximately two hours to complete. The instrument was developed in the Spring of 1979. It was pilot tested on a small sample in the Summer of 1979 and subsequently revised. Interviewers were trained in the administration of the questionnaire by the investigators. The interviewers were assigned to area segments and instructed to interview all persons aged 65 and older who lived within the areas. Up to three call-backs were made to reach respondents who were not initially available for interviews. The overall response rate for the survey was 82%. Data used in the present study were collected between March 1980 and March 1981.

Research Instrument

Information was collected on 655 variables, including demographic characteristics, income, health, morale, and

relationships with children, grandchildren, in-laws, and collateral kin. Demographic information included sex, age, race, education, place of birth, and religious preference. Information was collected on marital status and marital history, including length of marriage and length of widowhood or divorce, and number of times married, widowed, and divorced. Data on household composition included number of persons in the household, their relationship to the respondent, age, and identity of household head. In addition, questions were asked about length of residence, home ownership, and rural or urban location of residence.

Data on occupation, retirement, and income were collected. The following variables were included: type of occupation during working career, spouse's occupation; current employment status; length of retirement; reasons for retirement; satisfaction with retirement, income sources and amounts, perceived income adequacy; and income needs.

The items on health included self-rated health, for which the Cantril ladder technique was used to obtain a rating on a self-anchored nine-point scale (Cantril, 1965). Information was collected on the presence of illnesses and severity of health impairment; mobility, number of days sick and days hospitalized; self-rated vision and hearing; and the relationship of the person who would be contacted in the event of illness or emergency.

Morale was measured with the revised Philadelphia Geriatric Center Morale Scale (Lawton, 1975) which was comprised of 17 statements with dichotomous responses. Other items included the importance of religion, perceived happiness and loneliness, availability of a confidant, participation in social activities, church, and community organizations, and ranking of social roles,

The principal concern of the research project was with the relationships between older adults and their kin. Questions were asked about the availability of kin and about specific relationships with representatives of seven categories of kin: children, children-in-law, grandchildren, siblings, siblings-in-law, nieces/nephews, and cousins. To determine the availability of kin, questions were asked about each category of kin with regard to the number living, number not living, name of one most often in contact, and the approximate age range of persons in each category. Extensive information was collected about the person in each category who was most often in contact with the respondent. With regard to children, respondents were asked about the number of living natural, adopted, foster, and step-children, number of dead children; sex, age, proximity of residence, recency of contact, and marital status of all living children.

A series of questions were asked about the child with whom the parent had most frequent contact. Information was collected on background characteristics including sex, age,

type of relationship (natural, foster, adopted, step-child), education, occupation, spouse's occupation, and proximity of residence. Items were included on the frequency of writing and telephoning, perceived compatibility and closeness of the relationship, and perceived agreement of values.

Mutual assistance between the respondent and the adult child was assessed by reported frequency of 11 specific helping behaviors. These included help with transportation, minor household repairs, housekeeping, shopping, yardwork, car care, illness, important decisions, legal aid, financial aid, and other help specified by the respondents. The subjects were asked how often the child helped with the above activities and how often they had helped the child within the past year. Responses for each item were coded according to the frequency of the activity: (1) never, (2) less than once a year, (3) once a year, (4) several times a year, (5) once a month, (6) several times a month, (7) once a week, (8) several times a week, (9) daily. Separate scales for help received and help given were constructed.

Other questions dealt with the frequency of specific activities engaged in by the respondents and their children. The activities included commercial recreation, home recreation, outdoor recreation, visits, vacations, family reunions, emergencies, working together, baby sitting, holidays, attending church, shopping, and other activities identified by the respondent. Responses to these items were coded on the

nine-point scale of frequency described above for social activity items.

Another section of questions dealt with the respondents' attitudes about kin responsibilities. Four scenarios were presented to the subjects about hypothetical situations of older persons who need financial help,aid during illness, or who were lonely. The respondents were asked to indicate the degree of responsibility that they felt children should assume in helping their older parents. Respondents were also asked to cite reasons why they would not always expect kin to help one another.

In summary, the questionnaire was designed to provide information on a range of variables theoretically linked to kin solidarity for each of seven categories of kin. Demographic information and data on health, income, and morale were collected to assess the effects of such factors on various parameters of kin solidarity. (The assessment instrument is included in the Appendix.)

Data Analysis

Descriptive statistics were used to provide information on the characteristics of the respondents. Frequencies and contingency tables were presented to compare fathers and mothers on variables of interest including age, race, health status, marital status, income adequacy, number of children, and other items. These comparisons facilitated interpretation

of the results of other analyses. Reliability analyses--including item-item correlations, item-scale correlations, Cronbach's alpha, and factor analysis--were used to construct measures of social activity, mutual assistance, and expectations for filial responsibility. These analyses used data from all subjects who reported information on a child (N=271).

Scale construction. Two mutual assistance scales measured help received from children by parents and help given to children by parents. Eleven items were included on each of the scales initially. The items recorded the reported frequency of help with transportation, minor household repairs, housekeeping, shopping, yardwork, car care, decision making, legal aid, financial aid, and other help. The proportions of respondents who received or gave help for each item were presented in Table 3.1. The results of factor analysis and reliability analyses based on inter-item and item-scale correlations showed that four items on the help-received scale could be eliminated. These items were financial aid, legal aid, help with car care, and other aid. Few parents reported that these forms of assistance occurred: consequently, the items contributed little to the overall scale variance. The items were eliminated and a seven-item scale was formed by adding the item scores for a total score ranging from 7 to 63 points. The mean score for all parents was 19.8 with a standard deviation of 12.4. Cronbach's alpha, an indicator

of internal reliability of the scale, was .85 which indicated substantial consistency in the direction of individual items. Factor analysis indicated that all items loaded on a single factor, help received, with loadings of .55 to .80. The communality retained by the factor ranged from .30 for help with yardwork to .64 for help with housekeeping and shopping. These results provided additional confirmation that the seven items were an internally consistent index of help received.

Similar analyses were performed on the help-given items. Reliability analysis indicated that the four items dropped from the help-received scale could be dropped from the help-given scale. In addition, the item "help given with yardwork" could also have been eliminated. The variable made no substantial contribution to the scale as it was rarely reported as a form of assistance given (Table 3.1). The same seven items that composed the help-received scale were retained for the sake of comparability between scales. A Cronbach's alpha of .71 was found for the seven-item scale, indicating somewhat less internal consistency for the help-given scale than for help-received. Factor analysis indicated that the help-given scale tapped several dimensions. A three-factor solution was achieved after rotation. Transportation (with a factor loading of .76), home repairs (.64), and help with decisions (.44) loaded highest on Factor 1. Factor 2 was primarily related to housekeeping (.62) and shopping (.83). Yardwork loaded

Table 3.1

Proportion of Respondents Reporting Mutual Assistance Activities Once a Year or More Often by Sex of Parent

Item	Help Received		Help Given	
	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %
Transportation	49.5	70.4	35.4	18.1
Household repairs	30.3	43.1	18.2	3.6
Housekeeping	25.5	36.3	4.0	13.1
Shopping	29.3	48.8	11.1	19.2
Yardwork[a]	24.2	35.7	9.1	4.8
Car care[a]	19.2	19.4	7.1	3.0
Help when ill	43.4	51.2	16.2	23.2
Help with decisions[a]	31.3	56.0	19.2	23.2
Legal aid[a]	8.1	15.5	0.0	3.0
Financial aid[a]	4.1	14.8	7.1	10.1
Other aid[a]	1.0	.6	2.0	1.2

Note. N=271.

[a]These items were dropped from the scales after item analysis.

highest on the third factor (.56). The three-factor solution showed less consistency within the help-given scale than within the help-received scale. The loadings suggested that the help-given scale operated differently for men than for women as the factor loadings paralleled the reported incidence of help given for specific items. That is, men more frequently reported giving help with transportation and household repairs (Factor 1). Women reported giving more help with housekeeping and shopping (Factor 2). Even so, the additive scale appeared to balance out the gender differences. The average score for men was 10.7; for women, 10.8. The scale had a possible range of 7 to 63 points, with a mean of 10.7 for all parents and a standard deviation of 6.0.

The thirteen items that related to frequency of social activities were subjected to reliability and factor analysis. Four items were eliminated from the final scale: working together, babysitting, shopping together (an item that was retained in the help-given and received scales), and other activities. The items retained were commercial recreation, home recreation, outdoor recreation, visiting, vacationing, family reunions, emergencies, happy occasions, and church attendence. The occurrence of these activities was documented in Table 3.2. Reliability analysis indicated that the nine-item scale had a moderate degree of internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha=.62). The scale had a possible range of 9 to 81, with a mean of 24.6 and a standard deviation of 8.2

Table 3.2

Proportion of Respondents Reporting Social Activities Once a Year or More Often, by Sex of Parent

Item	Male %	Female %
Commercial recreation	23.2	17.3
Home recreation	41.0	44.0
Outdoor recreation	25.0	19.0
Visits	82.0	83.4
Vacations	28.0	28.6
Family reunions	48.0	52.4
Emergencies	36.0	41.1
Working together[a]	4.0	4.8
Babysitting[a]	8.0	13.8
Happy occasions	79.0	89.9
Church	48.0	56.5
Shopping together[a]	30.0	55.4
Other activities[a]	1.0	1.8

Note. N=271.

[a]These items were dropped from the final scale after item analysis.

for the entire sample.

Factor analysis showed that the social activities scale tapped three dimensions. The first factor had high loadings for visits (.66) and church attendence (.57) and appeared to be measuring frequent interactions. The second factor included vacations (.53), commercial recreation (.52), and home recreation (.53) and tapped less frequent interactions. The third factor was a one-item factor on which emergencies loaded highly (.71). The communalities retained by the factors were highest for home recreation, visiting, and emergencies (.49, .50, .51 respectively). The results indicated that the social activities scale was multidimensional with moderate internal reliability of the items that composed the scale. This meant that the scale score was influenced greatly by a few items which tended to occur with greater frequency. Among these items were visiting, happy occasions, and church attendence.

Parental attitudes toward filial responsibility were measured with four items. Respondents were asked about children's responsibility for offering help in times of illness, for help with finances, for visiting, and for writing or telephoning. Responses were coded (1) not responsible, (2) somewhat responsible, and (3) responsible. The scale was evaluated with reliability analysis and factor analysis. Reliability analysis indicated that the scale had only marginal internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha=.52). Factor

analysis showed that the scale had two distinct factors: Factor 1, which was comprised of responsibility for visiting and communicating (with factor loadings of .68 and .67, respectively); and Factor 2, which included responsibility for help with illness (.59) and with finances (.58). The results of the factor analysis explained the low internal consistency of the scale, as the items comprising the scale were orthogonal pairs of variables. Visiting and communication were highly correlated with one another, but independent of the illness/finance pair. The small number of items and the restricted range of responses were major limitations of the scale as an attitudinal measure. Scores could range from 4 to 12. The mean for all parents was 9.9, with a standard deviation of 1.2.

Tests of hypotheses. The tests of hypotheses involved multiple regression analysis, analysis of variance and covariance, multiple classification analysis, and chi-square tests of homogeneity and goodness of fit. For hypotheses H_{1a}, H_{1b}, H_{1c}, and H_{1d}, multiple regression was used. Control variables included marital status, age (coded as a dummy variable with age 75 and over coded (1) and age 65 to 74 coded (0)), health status, perceived income adequacy, education, and geographic proximity. Zero-order correlations between variables were examined. The independent variables were entered in a hierarchical fashion, to examine first the effects of dependency needs, then social status, and geographic proximity prior to

entry of the major variable of interest, sex of parent. The results of the separate multiple regressions for each dependent variable permitted evaluation of the first set of hypotheses.

Analyses of variance and covariance were used to evaluate the second set of hypotheses. These hypotheses involved comparisons between categories of sex linkage on dependent measures of social activity, mutual assistance, and expectations for filial responsibility. One-way analysis of variance was used to compare categories of sex linkages on the dependent measures. Analysis of covariance was used to take into account the effects of dependency needs, social status, and proximity prior to comparisons between categories of sex linkage. The results of multiple classification analysis were presented when there was a significant effect of sex linkage in the analysis of covariance. Scheffe's test was used for making multiple comparisons when the main effects of sex linkage were significant.

Analyses of the remaining three hypotheses involved chi-square tests to evaluate the importance of sex linkages with regard to prevalence of contacts through same-sex linkages; residential proximity, and recency of contact. Comparisons were made for the subgroup of parents who had both sons and daughters. Analyses were done first without regard to sex of parent and then taking sex linkages into account by analysis of three-way contingency tables.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Comparisons were made between fathers and mothers on demographic characteristics and the characteristics of their children. These comparisons served to describe the sample and to identify the differences between men and women on social and demographic variables. A series of analyses were performed to test the research hypotheses related to the effects of sex of parent and type of sex linkage on measures of social activity, mutual assistance, and parental expectations. Results are presented separately for the tests of each hypothesis and discussion sections were included in order to maintain clarity of exposition. The overall implications of the findings were presented in greater detail in Chapter V.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE

Demographic Characteristics

The sample consisted of 271 parents aged 65 years or older. These persons included all respondents from the total sample of 321 who reported having one or more living children. There were 100 men and 171 women in the parent sample. Comparisons were made between men and women with regard to demographic characteristics and background variables (Table 4.1). The groups were similar with regard to age distributions:

Table 4.1

Demographic Characteristics of Respondents According to Sex of Parent

Variable	Men %	Women %	df	Chi square[a]
Race				
White	94	95	1	1.7
Black	6	5		
Age				
65-74	62	58	2	.4
75-84	32	34		
85-96	6	8		
Education				
0-6 years	20	14	3	9.5*
7-10 years	48	38		
11-12 years	23	26		
13 or more years	9	22		
Marital status				
Married	85	46	2	42.2***
Widowed	12	47		
Divorced/separated	3	7		
Household composition[b]				
Alone	8	41	1	33.4***
Spouse	84	46	1	37.6***
Son(s)	9	7	1	1.8
Daughter(s)	5	6	1	.2
Child(ren)	10	11	1	.0
Source of income[b]				
Employment	19	15	1	.8
Investment	39	36	1	.3
Social Security	91	89	1	.2
SSI	2	2	1	.0
Veterans Administration	4	4	1	.0
Pension	46	35	1	3.1
Family	1	3	1	1.1

Note. Table continues on the following page.

Table 4.1, Continued

Variable	Men %	Women %	df	Chi square[a]
Perceived income adequacy				
Always enough money	49	37	3	4.8
Usually enough money	36	42		
Seldom enough money	9	10		
Never enough money	6	12		
Residence				
Rural	48	44	1	.3
Urban	52	56		
Self-rated health				
Poor 0-2	13	7	7	7.8
3	5	12		
4	6	8		
5	18	22		
6	10	8		
7	15	15		
8	21	18		
Good 9	12	11		

Note. n of men=100, n of women=171.

[a]Chi square comparisons were made on frequency data, not on the percentages shown here. Percentages were presented in the table in order that differences in the distributions would be readily apparent to the reader. Cells were collapsed when necessary to obtain expected cell frequencies greater then 5.

[b]Categories were not mutually exclusive.

*$p<.05$

**$p<.01$

***$p<.001$

the majority of subjects were in the 65 to 74 age group. The mean age for men was 73.5 years, for women 74.4 years, a difference that was not statistically significant. The respondents were predominately white, 95%, which reflected the racial composition of the Rowan population aged 65 and older. The sample was almost evenly divided according to urban-rural residence: 52% of the men and 56% of the women lived in towns; the remainder lived in rural areas. The total sample had been selected to provide proportional representation for urban and rural segments of the area population.

Little difference was evident between men and women on socioeconomic variables. The distribution of the groups according to education did differ significantly ($\chi^2=9.5$, $p<.05$). For men, the average education level was 8.5 years as compared with 9.6 years for women. This difference was due to a larger proportion of women who had some college education, 21%, compared with 9% of men. A greater proportion of men had less than 10 years of education. With regard to major occupation before retirement, 36% of the women had been homemakers, 12% had been professionals or managers, and about 33% had been employed in industrial jobs. Among the men, 8% had been professionals or managers; 61% had been employed as craftsmen or operatives, primarily in industrial positions. Only 8% of men and 5% of women reported being employed either full or part-time at the time of the interview. The most common source of income for both groups was Social Security. Pensions

and investment income were other important sources of income, particularly for men. There were no significant differences between men and women with regard to sources of income. Comparisons of the groups on perceived adequacy of income showed that a smaller percentage of women reported "always" having enough income to meet their needs, 37%, compared with 49% of men. The difference was not statistically significant.

A major area of difference between men and women was in marital status and household composition. The majority of men were married, 85%, compared with 46% of women. More women were widowed, 47% to 12% of the men. This difference was reflected in household composition as more women lived alone than men. Similar proportions of each group lived with one or more children, around 10%. The difference in marital status and the resultant impact on household composition reflected the effects of differential mortality between men and women, since more women had survived their husbands. The impact of mortality was evident in the sample sizes in which the ratio of men to women was 1 to 1.7. Because the sample was drawn at random and thus was representative of the Rowan population aged 65 and over, the sample reflected the distribution of men and women in the older population.

With regard to health status, there were no significant differences between men and women on the distributions of self-rated health scores. Similar proportions of men and women ranked themselves at each level of self-rated health

on a ten-point scale ranging from (0) poor health to (9) excellent health.

Number of Living Children. Comparisons were made between fathers and mothers on the number of living children (Table 4.2). There were no significant differences between men and women in the number of children. Approximately one in five parents had only one living child. Similar proportions of each group had five or more living children: 20% of the men and 22% of the women. Comparisons on the numbers of sons and daughters revealed no significant differences in the distributions between fathers and mothers. Among men, 86% had one or more sons and 73% had one or more daughters. There were 59% of the fathers who had both son(s) and daughter(s). Among women, 81% had one or more sons, 73% had one or more daughters, and 54% had children of each sex.

Characteristics of Child Most Often Contacted. Parents were asked to identify the child with whom they had the most contact and to answer a series of questions about that child. Comparisons were made between mothers and fathers on the characteristics of the child most often contacted (Table 4.3). A majority of men reported that a son was most often in contact, 56%. A majority of women reported that a daughter was most often contacted, 54%. A chi square test of homogeneity indicated that the differences were not statistically significant. There were no significant sex differences with regard to other variables: distance from the child most

Table 4.2

Chi-square Comparison of Number of Living Children, According to Sex of Parent

Number of children	Men %	Women %	df	Chi square
All children				
1	17	22	4	3.8
2	36	30		
3	15	19		
4	12	7		
5 or more	20	22		
Sons				
0	14	19	5	7.8
1	39	42		
2	29	23		
3	10	12		
4	3	1		
5 or more	5	3		
Daughters				
0	27	27	5	4.3
1	33	30		
2	18	22		
3	12	9		
4	5	7		
5 or more	5	5		

Note. n of men=100, n of women=171.

Table 4.3

Chi-square Comparisons of Characteristics of Child Most Often Contacted, According to Sex of Parent

Variable	Men %	Women %	df	Chi square
Sex of child				
Son	56	46	1	2.6
Daughter	44	54		
Distance from child				
Same house	10	11	4	1.3
10 minutes or less	41	45		
11-30 minutes	19	19		
31-60 minutes	12	11		
Over 60 minutes	18	18		
Last saw child				
Same house	10	11	4	2.1
Yesterday-today	47	46		
1-7 days	20	22		
8-30 days	8	10		
31 days-1 year or more	15	11		
Marital status of child				
Single	10	8	3	1.3
Married	86	86		
Widowed	2	3		
Other	2	4		

Note. n of men=100, n of women=171.

often contacted, time since most recent contact, or the marital status of the child.

TESTS OF HYPOTHESES

Hypothesis 1

The first set of hypotheses addressed differences between fathers and mothers in their reported levels of social contact and mutual assistance activities with the child most often contacted, and in their expectations for filial responsibility. The effects of age, self-rated health status, perceived income adequacy, education, marital status, and geographic proximity were analyzed by including these variables as control variables in the regression analysis. The first set of hypotheses did not examine sex linkages, but focused on global differences between fathers and mothers in their interactions with the child most often contacted.

> Hypothesis 1_a. When the effects of dependency needs, education, marital status, and proximity of residence to children are controlled, mothers will have higher levels of social activity with children than will fathers.

Hypothesis 1_a predicted that mothers would report more frequent social activity with adult children than would fathers. Regression analysis was used to examine this hypothesis. The social activity scale was regressed on age, self-rated health, perceived income adequacy, education, marital status, proximity, and sex of parent (Table 4.4). Examination of the zero-order correlations between the

Table 4.4

Regression of Social Activity on Control Variables and Sex of Parent

Variable	Zero-order Pearson r	Step	Multiple R at step	R^2 at step	R^2 change	Standardized Beta
Age	.00	1	.00	.00	.00	-.06
Health	.15	2	.15	.02	.02	.09
Income adequacy	-.07	3	.15	.02	.00	-.03
Education	.12	4	.17	.03	.01	.14
Marital status	.03	5	.18	.03	.00	.04
Proximity	-.37	6	.43	.18	.15	-.40**
Sex of parent	.06	7	.43	.18	.00	.04

Note. n=250, F(df=7,242)=7.79**, multiple R=.43, multiple R^2=.18, adjusted R^2=.16.

**p<.01

independent variables and the dependent measure revealed that proximity of residence was the only independent variable that was moderately correlated with social activity. The negative correlation between social activity and proximity (-.37) indicated that the farther the respondent lived from the child, the lower the level of social activity.

Results of the regression analysis showed no differences in the overall level of social activity of fathers and mothers. Sex of parent had an initial correlation of .06 with the social activity score, contributed nothing to the change in $\underline{R}^2$, and had a standardized beta of .04. Consequently, the hypothesis that mothers had higher levels of social activity than fathers was rejected. Proximity was the only significant predictor of level of social activity. The regression equation had a multiple $\underline{R}$ of .43 and an $\underline{R}^2$ of .18 (adjusted $\underline{R}^2$=.16), of which .15 was accounted for by proximity. Standardized beta weights reflected the relative importance of proximity. The beta for proximity was -.40, compared with .14 for education, and .09 for health, which were the only other variables that produced a change in the $\underline{R}^2$ for the model.

Additional descriptive analyses were made of the social activity scale. Men had a mean of 23.7 points on the scale, with a standard deviation of 8.3. Women had a mean of 25.1 on the scale, with a standard deviation of 8.1. There were few differences between men and women in the proportions of the groups who engaged in specific social activities, as

indicated in Table 4.5. Similar proportions of men and women reported home recreation, visits, vacations, reunions, and emergencies as activities they had engaged in with children at least once in the past year. Slightly higher proportions of men reported commercial and outdoor recreation activities than women. These differences were balanced out by higher proportions of women who participated in happy occasions and church attendance.

In summary, findings indicated that there were no substantial differences between men and women in regard to overall levels of social activity with the child most often contacted when selected variables were controlled. The major factor affecting the level of social activity was geographic proximity: parents whose children lived farther away tended to have lower levels of social interaction with them. The regression equation indicated that the independent variables accounted for 18% of the variance in social activity scores. Hypothesis 1_a was rejected.

> Hypothesis 1_b. When the effects of dependency needs, education, marital status, and proximity of residence to children are controlled, mothers will receive higher levels of assistance from children than will fathers.

Help received by parents was measured with a seven-item scale, described more fully in Chapter III. The help received scale was regressed on control variables and sex of parent in order to test Hypothesis 1_b. The zero-order correlations between help received and the independent variables indicated

Table 4.5

Participation in Specific Social Activities Once a Year or More Often, According to Sex of Parent

Item	Men %	Women %
Commercial recreation	23	17
Home recreation	41	44
Outdoor recreation	25	19
Visits	82	83
Vacation	28	29
Family reunion	48	52
Emergencies	36	41
Happy occasions	79	90
Church	48	57

Note. n of men=100, n of women=171. The mean score on the social activity scale was 23.7 for men (standard deviation=8.3) and 25.1 for women (standard deviation=8.1).

that five variables had low to moderate correlations with help received (Table 4.6). Marital status (r=.35) represented the most highly correlated variable. Single status was associated with higher levels of help received. Geographic proximity was negatively correlated with help received (r=-.29). Sex of parent was correlated, r=.27, which indicated that women tended to report higher levels of help received than men. Three indicators of dependency--age, self-rated health, and perceived income adequacy--exhibited correlations that were in the anticipated directions, but low.

The results of the regression analysis showed that sex of parent made a statistically significant contribution to the explained variance in help received after the effects of control variables were taken into account. A 2.6% increase in explained variance was accounted for by sex of parent. Women tended to report higher levels of help received than men; therefore, Hypothesis 1_b was accepted. Geographic proximity had the strongest individual effect on help received, followed by marital status, and sex of parent. The standardized beta weights reflected the relative importance of these three variables. Proximity had a beta of -.29, compared with .25 for single marital status, and .16 for female sex. Age over 75 and self-rated health had smaller standardized beta coefficients of .11 and -.11, respectively.

Table 4.6

Regression of Help Received Scale on Control Variables and Sex of Parent

Variable	Zero-order Pearson r	Step	Multiple R at step	R^2 at step	R^2 change	Standardized Beta
Age	.22	1	.22	.05	.05	.11
Health	-.16	2	.26	.07	.02	-.11
Income adequacy	.12	3	.28	.08	.01	.03
Education	-.05	4	.28	.08	.00	.01
Marital status	.35	5	.40	.16	.08	.25**
Proximity	-.29	6	.49	.24	.08	-.29**
Sex of parent	.27	7	.51	.26	.02	.16**

Note. n=250, F(df=7,242)=12.28**, multiple R=.51, multiple R^2=.26, adjusted R^2=.24.

**p<.01

Hypothesis 1_c. When the effects of dependency needs, education, marital status, and proximity of residence to children are controlled, mothers will provide higher levels of assistance to children than will fathers.

Hypothesis 1_c was tested with a regression analysis. There was no difference between men and women in the overall regression analysis that incorporated the effects of control variables, so Hypothesis 1_c was rejected. The overall regression equation accounted for only 7% of the variance in help given scores and 6% of the explained variance was due to geographic proximity (Table 4.7).

Hypothesis 1_d. When the effects of dependency needs, education, marital status, and proximity of residence to children are controlled, mothers will have higher expectations for filial responsibility from children than will fathers.

Hypothesis 1_d predicted that mothers would report higher expectations for filial support than would fathers. Filial responsibility expectations were measured with a four-item scale which was regressed on the control variables and sex of parent. As indicated in Table 4.8, none of the independent variables correlated even moderately with the expectation scores. The overall multiple R for the equation was .17 and the multiple R^2 was .03. The poor model was partially attributable to the inadequacies of the dependent measure which tapped two orthogonal dimensions of expectations. (See discussion of the scale in Chapter III for details.) Because the regression analysis did not provide evidence of any gender differences in parental expectations, Hypothesis 1_d was rejected.

Table 4.7

Regression of Help Given Scale on Control Variables and Sex of Parent

Variable	Zero-order Pearson r	Step	Multiple R at step	R^2 at step	R^2 change	Standardized Beta
Age	-.01	1	.01	.00	.00	-.09
Health	.03	2	.03	.00	.00	-.02
Income adequacy	-.07	3	.07	.01	.01	-.10
Education	.02	4	.08	.01	.00	.04
Marital status	.09	5	.13	.02	.01	.14
Proximity	-.22	6	.27	.07	.06	-.24***
Sex of parent	.01	7	.27	.07	.00	-.03

Note. n=250, F(df=7,242)=2.82**, multiple R=.27, multiple R^2=.08, adjusted R^2=.05.

**p<.01

***p<.001

Table 4.8

Regression of Filial Responsibility Scale

on Control Variables and Sex of Parent

Variable	Zero-order Pearson r	Step	Multiple R at step	R^2 at step	R^2 change	Standardized Beta
Age	.09	1	.09	.01	.01	.06
Health	-.01	2	.09	.01	.00	.00
Income adequacy	-.01	3	.09	.01	.00	-.02
Education	-.07	4	.11	.01	.00	-.05
Marital status	.05	5	.11	.01	.00	.04
Proximity	-.14	6	.17	.03	.02	-.13
Sex of parent	.01	7	.17	.03	.00	.00

Note. n=250, F(df=7,242)=1.01, multiple R=.17, multiple R^2=.03, adjusted R^2=.00.

Descriptive comparisons were made in order to examine responses to individual scale items. Men and women had virtually identical means on the expectation scale, 9.9 and 10.0 respectively. Chi-square comparisons for the individual scale items, however, revealed differences in the response patterns of men and women (Table 4.9). For the chi-square analyses, the "not responsible" category was collapsed into the "somewhat responsible" category, due to the low frequency of "not responsible" responses. Greater proportions of men had high expectations with regard to financial help from children. A greater proportion of women indicated that children should be "somewhat responsible" for giving financial aid. A greater proportion of men indicated high expectations for help when ill. More women had high expectations for writing or telephoning by children who lived far away. The findings from these comparisons suggested that there were differences between men and women in specific areas of expectations for filial responsibility.

Discussion of Differences Between Fathers and Mothers

The first set of hypotheses addressed general differences between fathers and mothers on measures of parent-child interaction. There was little indication of differences between fathers and mothers with regard to the level of social activities with the child most often contacted. The major forms of social contact were visiting and the sharing of holidays and happy occasions. Visiting occurred on a frequent

Table 4.9

Chi-square Comparisons of Expectations for Filial Responsibility Items, by Sex of Parent

Item	Men %	Women %	Chi square
Help with illness			
Somewhat responsible	58	69	10.3**
Responsible	42	31	
Help with finances			
Somewhat responsible	77	87	3.9*
Responsible	23	13	
Visiting			
Somewhat responsible	17	15	.1
Responsible	83	85	
Telephoning/writing			
Somewhat responsible	40	26	6.0*
Responsible	60	74	

Note. n of men=100, n of women=171. The "not responsible" category was collapsed into the "somewhat responsible" category for chi-square comparisons due to the low frequency of "not responsible" responses.

*$p < .05$

**$p < .01$

basis; 77% of men and 79% of women had reported seeing a child within the week prior to the interview. This finding was quite comparable to the results reported by Shanas (1979a). Shanas indicated that 73% of men and 79% of women had reported seeing a child within the week prior to interview. The results of the multiple regression analysis showed that geographic proximity was the only significant predictor of level of social activity. This finding supported the conclusions reached by Litwak (1960a, 1965) and by Adams (1968a) that face-to-face interactions were less frequent when the distance between households was greater. Dependency needs, social status, and sex of parent had limited effects on the level of contact relative to the impact of geographic proximity. Overall, the findings of the present study indicated that older fathers and mothers experienced similar patterns of contact and social interaction with children.

The findings with regard to mutual assistance patterns between parents and their children showed that help was more often received than given by parents and that mothers were more likely to receive aid. Among both men and women a low level of involvement in help given to children was evidenced by very low scores on the help-given scale. There appeared to be gender differences in the type of help given: more men reported giving some help with transportation, household repairs, and yardwork while more women reported giving help with housekeeping, shopping, and aid during illness. Help

received by parents represented a more common form of interaction. A larger percentage of women received help with transportation, housekeeping, household repairs, shopping, yardwork, and decision-making than among men. The results of the multiple regression analysis showed that the effect of sex of parent remained significant after the effects of other explanatory factors were considered. The results suggested that women were more likely to turn to children as a resource for help. A greater proportion of women were widowed than were men, 47% compared with 12%. More women lived alone, 41%, compared to 8% of men, while most men lived with their spouses, 84%. Thus men who needed assistance with household matters, transportation, and other activities could turn to their wives for help, while many women were compelled to seek other sources of help.

The findings of the present study supported conclusions reached by Shanas (1979a) that children are likely to take on primary responsibility for providing care during illness or when spouses are no longer available. The finding that sex of parent had a significant effect after dependency needs, marital status, and proximity were taken into account suggested that women tended to receive more help than men regardless of the other explanatory factors. This finding may have reflected social norms that encourage filial support for mothers, particularly by daughters. Adams (1968b) found that feelings of obligation to maintain contact and give

assistance were particularly strong with regard to widowed mothers. Aid to widowed mothers was largely unreciprocated, according to Adams. In the present study, widowhood was associated with higher levels of help received by parents and the level of help given by parents was lower on the average than the level of help received, findings which seemed to substantiate Adams' report. In contrast, Sussman and Burchinal (1962a) reported that young adults typically received financial aid from parents and help with child care. These findings, however, were from respondents in their early years of adulthood who did not typically have aged parents. As Blenkner (1965) suggested, patterns of mutual aid may shift over time because the needs of older parents and adult children change.

With regard to parental expectations for filial responsibility, no differences were found between fathers and mothers on the overall measure, though comparisons on individual scale items suggested some differences in specific areas of expectations. More men evidenced high expectations for help with finances, a finding that differed from that reported by Seelbach (1977) who found no gender differences on a similar item. Overall, the findings of the present study were inconclusive, as none of the independent variables in the regression analysis were significant predictors of expectation scores.

In summary, the results of analyses were generally consistent with earlier studies that addressed similar questions. Sex differences were important only with regard to help received, for which women reported higher levels of assistance. Fathers and mothers reported similar frequency of contact with children and had comparable social activity scores. Findings with regard to expectations for filial responsibility were inconclusive due to the low variability of the dependent variable and related measurement problems.

Hypothesis 2

The second set of hypotheses addressed the effects of type of sex linkage on the dependent measures. It was hypothesized that mother-daughter relationships would be characterized by higher levels of social interaction, mutual assistance, and expectations for filial support than would other types of sex linkage. The samples available to examine the second set of hypotheses included 56 father-son linkages, 44 father-daughter linkages, 92 mother-daughter linkages, and 78 mother-son linkages.

> Hypothesis 2_a. The mother-daughter linkage will be associated with a higher level of social activity than other types of sex linkage, even when the effects of dependency needs, education, marital status, and proximity of residence are controlled.

Descriptive statistics indicated that the mother-daughter linkage was characterized by the highest level of reported interaction, with a mean of 26.2 for this linkage (Table 4.10).

Table 4.10

Summary Statistics and Analysis of Variance for Social Activity by Sex Linkage

Summary statistics

Type of linkage	n	Mean	Standard deviation
Father-son	56	23.5	8.8
Father-daughter	44	23.9	7.6
Mother-son	77	23.9	8.5
Mother-daughter	91	26.2	7.7

Analysis of variance

Source	Sum of squares	df	Mean square	F
Sex linkage	360	3	120	1.8
Residual	17,597	265	66	

Note. N=268, R=.12, R^2=.01.

Other linkages had means ranging from 23.5 to 23.9. A one-way analysis of variance, however, revealed that the differences were not statistically significant.

Analysis of covariance was used to test Hypothesis 2_a so that the effects of sex linkage could be evaluated in the context of control variables. The results presented in Table 4.11 indicated that sex linkage had no significant effects on level of social activity when the effects of health status, income adequacy, education, marital status, and proximity were controlled. Geographic proximity had the strongest effect on the level of social activity. Hypothesis 2_a was rejected as no significant difference was found between types of linkages on the dependent measure.

> Hypothesis 2_b. The mother-daughter linkage will be associated with a greater level of assistance received than will other types of sex linkage, even when the effects of dependency needs, education, marital status, and proximity are controlled.

Examination of the mean scores for help received from children indicated a substantial difference between the mother-daughter linkage and the father-son linkage (Table 4.12). The mean help received score was 21.9 for mother-daughter linkages compared with 12.3 for father-son linkages. Means for cross-sex linkages were 17.0 for father-daughter linkages and 17.7 for mother-son linkages. One-way analysis of variance showed the groups to differ significantly (Table 4.12). Multiple comparisons using Scheffe's test indicated

Table 4.11

Analysis of Covariance for Social Activity, by Sex Linkage and Control Variables

Source	Sum of squares	df	Mean square	F
Covariates	2,994	5	599.0	10.5***
Health	161	1	161.0	2.8
Income adequacy	5	1	5.5	.1
Education	364	1	364.8	6.4**
Marital status	52	1	52.9	.9
Proximity	2,403	1	2,403.9	42.0***
Main effect				
Sex linkage	196	3	65.3	1.1
Explained	3,190	8	398.9	7.0***
Residual	14,144	247	57.3	
Total	17,335	255	68.0	

Note. N=256, R=.43, R^2=.19.

**p<.01

***p<.001

Table 4.12

Summary Statistics and Analysis of Variance for Help Received, by Sex Linkage

Summary statistics

Type of linkage	n	Mean	Standard deviation
Father-son	56	12.3	7.1
Father-daughter	43	17.0	9.5
Mother-son	77	17.7	11.1
Mother-daughter	91	21.9	10.6

Analysis of variance

Source	Sum of squares	df	Mean square	F
Sex linkage	3,333	3	1111.1	11.2***
Residual	26,203	264	99.3	

Note. N=268, R=.33, R^2=.11.

***p<.001

that the mother-daughter mean score was significantly higher than the father-son score but that the cross-sex linkages were not significantly different from either of the extremes (ie. mother-daughter and father-son), thus partially confirming the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 2_b was tested with analysis of covariance. Marital status, geographic proximity, and self-rated health were all significant covariates (Table 4.13). After the effects of covariates were considered, the main effect of sex linkage remained significant. The overall model explained 27% of the variance in level of help received. Multiple classification analysis, which expressed differences between groups in terms of deviations from the grand mean for all subjects, showed that adjustment for the effects of covariates reduced the difference between the extreme means, i.e., mother-daughter and father-son. The adjusted mean for the mother-daughter linkage was 20.5; for the father-son linkage it was 14.3. The difference between these groups remained significant (Table 4.13).

The results of these analyses showed that the mother-daughter linkage was associated with a greater level of assistance received from children than were other types of sex linkages. The mother-daughter linkage had a significantly higher level of help received than that of father-son linkages, providing a partial confirmation of Hypothesis 2_b.

Table 4.13

Analysis of Covariance and Multiple Classification Analysis for Help Received, by Sex Linkage and Control Variables

Analysis of covariance

Source	Sum of squares	df	Mean square	F
Covariates	6,229	5	1,245.9	15.1***
Health	497	1	497.3	6.0**
Income adequacy	17	1	17.5	.2
Education	37	1	37.6	.5
Marital status	2,707	1	2,707.3	32.7***
Proximity	2,545	1	2,545.3	30.8***
Main effect				
Sex linkage	1,129	3	376.6	4.6***
Explained	7,359	8	911.0	11.1***
Residual	20,341	246	82.7	
Total	27,701	254	109.1	

Multiple classification analysis

	Deviation from grand mean	
Sex linkage	Unadjusted	Adjusted for covariates
Father-son	-5.58	-3.58
Father-daughter	- .77	- .20
Mother-son	- .08	- .43
Mother-daughter	3.84	2.64

Note. N=255, R=.52, R^2=.27. Grand mean=17.83.

**$p<.01$

***$p<.001$

Hypothesis 2_c. The mother-daughter linkage will be associated with a greater level of assistance given than will other types of sex linkage, even when the effects of dependency needs, education, marital status, and proximity of residence are controlled.

Comparisons between mean scores on help given showed that the mother-daughter linkage had the highest mean score, 12.3 (Table 4.14). The mother-son linkage was the lowest, at 9.1. Father-son and father-daughter linkages were in-between, at 10.4 and 11.0, respectively. One-way analysis of variance indicated that the linkages did differ significantly ($p<.01$) (Table 4.14). Multiple comparisons using Scheffé's test showed that the mother-daughter and the father-daughter means were significantly higher than the mother-son mean.

The results of analysis of covariance showed that the differences between sex linkages remained after the effects of control variables were taken into account (Table 4.15). Proximity and marital status were the most influential of the covariates. Sex linkage differences were significant. The overall model explained 11% of the variance in help given scores. The results of multiple classification analysis indicated that the mother-son linkage remained significantly lower than the father-daughter and mother-daughter linkages. Hypothesis 2_c was partially confirmed in that the mean help-given score for the mother-daughter linkage was higher than that of the other linkage types, though the difference was significant only with respect to the mother-son linkage.

Table 4.14

Summary Statistics and Analysis of Variance for Help Given, by Sex Linkage

Summary statistics

Type of linkage	n	Mean	Standard deviation
Father-son	56	10.4	5.4
Father-daughter	43	11.0	6.1
Mother-son	77	9.1	4.4
Mother-daughter	91	12.3	7.2

Analysis of variance

Source	Sum of squares	df	Mean square	F
Sex linkage	466	3	155.4	4.4**
Residual	9,270	264	35.1	

Note. N=268, R=.10, R^2=.01.

**$p < .01$

Table 4.15

Analysis of Covariance and Multiple Classification Analysis for Help Given, by Sex Linkage and Control Variables

Analysis of Covariance

Source	Sum of squares	df	Mean square	F
Covariates	632	5	126.6	3.7***
Health	0	1	.4	.0
Income adequacy	57	1	57.9	1.7
Education	18	1	18.6	.5
Marital status	118	1	118.0	3.4
Proximity	469	1	469.8	13.7***
Main effects				
Sex linkage	379	3	126.3	3.7**
Explained	1,011	8	126.5	3.7***
Residual	8,429	246	34.3	
Total	9,441	254	37.2	

Multiple classification analysis

	Deviation from grand mean	
Sex linkage	Unadjusted	Adjusted for covariates
Father-son	- .27	.24
Father-daughter	.11	.19
Mother-son	-1.69	-1.80
Mother-daughter	1.53	1.27

Note. N=255, R=.33, R^2=.11. Grand mean=10.84.

**$p<.01$

***$p<.001$

Hypothesis 2_d. The mother-daughter linkage will be associated with a higher level of parental expectations for filial responsibility than will other types of sex linkage even when the effects of dependency needs, education, marital status, and proximity of residence are controlled.

Descriptive comparisons of the mean scores on the measure of expectations for filial responsibility showed little difference between sex linkage types (Table 4.16). Mean scores ranged from 9.8 to 10.2 and the variance of scores was extremely small. The results of the analysis of variance showed no differences between linkage types (Table 4.16). Analysis of covariance was performed but there were no significant covariates or main effects (Table 4.17). Consequently, Hypothesis 2_d was rejected.

Discussion of Differences According to Sex Linkage

Based on the reports of Adams (1968a), Aldous and Hill (1967), Reiss (1965), and Sweetser (1963), it was hypothesized that mother-daughter relationships would be characterized by higher levels of interaction than would father-son or cross-sex linkages. The second set of hypotheses was designed to investigate differences between types of sex linkage on measures of social activity, mutual assistance, and parental expectations for filial responsibility.

The finding that there was no difference in level of social activity between the categories of sex linkage (Hypothesis 2_a) was compatible with reports of Adams (1968a) and Shanas (1979a) which indicated few differences in the

Table 4.16

Summary Statistics and Analysis of Variance for Expectations for Filial Responsibility, by Sex Linkage

Summary statistics

Type of linkage	n	Mean	Standard deviation
Father-son	56	9.8	1.5
Father-daughter	42	10.2	1.0
Mother-son	77	9.9	1.2
Mother-daughter	91	10.0	1.1

Analysis of variance

Source	Sum of squares	df	Mean square	F
Sex linkage	4	3	1.4	1.0
Residual	375	264	1.4	

Note. N=269, R=.04, R^2=.00.

Table 4.17

Analysis of Covariance for Expectations for Filial Responsibility by Sex Linkage and Control Variables

Source	Sum of squares	df	Mean square	F
Covariates	7	5	1.6	1.1
Health	0	1	.1	.0
Income adequacy	0	1	.7	.5
Education	0	1	.3	.2
Marital status	2	1	2.1	1.4
Proximity	4	1	4.7	3.2
Main effect				
Sex linkage	3	3	1.1	.7
Explained	11	8	1.4	.9
Residual	362	247	1.5	
Total	373	255	1.5	

Note. N=255, R=.17, R^2=.03.

frequency of visiting according to sex of parent. The earlier studies were not strictly comparable to the present one, in that each study reported data according to sex of the respondent only, without accounting for type of sex linkage, and a single item index was used. Taken together, the findings from the present study and information from earlier studies suggested that sons and daughters had comparable levels of social activity with fathers and mothers.

Some evidence was found for differences in level of help given and help received between types of sex linkage. Mother-daughter linkages had higher mean scores on both the help-received and help-given scales than did other types of linkage, though the differences were not all statistically significant. With regard to the help-given scale, the higher scores for the mother-daughter and father-daughter linkages suggested that older fathers and mothers gave comparable levels of assistance to daughters, and were somewhat more involved in giving assistance to daughters than to sons. This finding was compatible with the reports of Adams (1968a) and Sussman and Burchinal (1962a, 1962b) who indicated that young adult women received higher levels of assistance than did men.

Scores on the help-received scale were consistently higher than those on the help-given scale. Though no tests for statistical significance were made, the higher levels of help received suggested that assistance through each type of sex linkage was most likely to flow from the younger

generation to the older. Type of sex linkage showed a significant main effect on levels of help received, with the mother-daughter linkage significantly higher than the mean for the father-son linkages. The findings were an indication that mothers were more likely to receive help than fathers and that daughters were likely to provide higher levels of assistance to mothers than sons, though not all differences were statistically significant. The effects of dependency needs on level of help received were clearly indicated: parents who needed help due to poor health or widowhood were more likely to receive it. Geographic proximity affected the availability of help and was thus a strong covariate.

The results of the analysis provided limited support for the contention of Johnson (1978) that the relationships between older mothers and their daughters were particularly important for older women with increased dependency needs. The findings were congruent with Shanas' description of daughters as an important source of help to older widowed mothers who lacked other family supports in time of illness (1979b).

The findings with regard to expectations for filial responsibility indicated that parental attitudes regarding filial responsibility were uniform across groups. No evidence was found that mothers, particularly those reporting on mother-daughter relationships, had higher expectations for filial support. These findings contrasted with those of

Seelbach (1977, 1978) who reported that women had higher expectations for living with children than did men. Seelbach (1977) compared men and women on specific attitudinal questions, not on an aggregated score. Similar comparisons of fathers and mothers on specific items showed some differences between men and women (Hypothesis 1_d). Comparisons on the overall scale, however, showed no differences in the scores according to sex of parent or type of sex linkage.

Hypothesis 3

> More parents will have same-sex linkages than will have cross-sex linkages with regard to the child most often contacted.

The third hypothesis was included to investigate parental preferences for maintaining contact with children in same-sex linkages. For the total sample of parents, 56% of the 100 fathers interviewed reported having the most contact with a son and 44% reported on their relationship with a daughter. Among women, 46% of the 170 respondents reported having the most contact with a son and 54% had the most contact with a daughter. A chi square test for homogeneity showed that the difference between these distributions was not significant ($\chi^2=2.58$, $df=1, p>.05$).

Hypothesis 3 was tested with a subsample of parents who had both sons and daughters, in order to control for the availability of children of both sexes by eliminating parents who had only sons or daughters. By controlling for availability of children of both sexes, the relative

prevalence of same-sex linkages could be documented. The results of a chi square test for homogeneity showed that the distributions for fathers and mothers did not differ significantly (Table 4.18). Among the mothers who had sons and daughters, 33 of 92 (36%) reported having the most contact with a son, while 64% had the most contact with a daughter. Fathers (n=60) were almost evenly divided, with 29 reporting on a son and 31 reporting on a daughter.

Chi square tests for goodness of fit were used to compare the actual distributions with the hypothetical distributions that would have been expected if children of either sex were equally likely to be chosen (Table 4.18). It was assumed that 50% of the fathers (n=30) would report on daughters and 50% on sons. Comparison of the hypothetical distribution with the actual distribution revealed that the data were consistent with the hypothetical model. A similar hypothetical distribution was constructed for mothers. It was expected that 50% of the mothers (n=46) would report on daughters and 50% on sons. The chi square test for goodness of fit revealed a significant difference between the actual distribution and the expected distribution for mothers. More mothers reported on relationships with daughters than the hypothetical model predicted. As a consequence of these findings, Hypothesis 3 was only partially supported. The hypothesis did not hold true for fathers, who demonstrated no difference with regard to prevalence of same or cross-sex

Table 4.18

Chi-square Analyses of Sex of Child Contacted Most Often, by Sex of Parent

Chi-square test of homogeneity

Parent	Son	Daughter	Row Total
Father	29	31	60
Mother	33	59	92
Total	62	90	152

Note. n of parents=152, χ^2=2.31, df=1, NS.

Chi-square tests for goodness of fit

Fathers	Son	Daughter	Total
Expected	30	30	60
Observed	29	31	60

Note. n of fathers=60, χ^2=.06, df=1, NS.

Mothers	Son	Daughter	Total
Expected	46	46	92
Observed	33	59	92

Note. n=92, χ^2=7.4, df=1, $p<.01$.

linkages. Among mothers, however, the hypothesis was supported in that mother-daughter linkages were more prevalent than mother-son linkages.

Hypothesis 4

> The residential proximity of daughters to parents will be closer than that of sons.

Hypothesis 4 was tested for parents who had both sons and daughters, to examine patterns of geographic proximity for all sons and daughters. The analysis was conducted to determine whether there were differences between sons and daughters in residential proximity which could account for differences between types of sex linkage on dependent measures. A contingency table was constructed to cross-tabulate sex of children by residential proximity for all sons and daughters of parents who had both sons and daughters (Table 4.19). A total of 153 parents, 60 men and 93 women, had both living sons and daughters. There were 292 sons and 333 daughters for whom information on residential proximity was available. A chi square test for homogeneity revealed that the distributions of sons and daughters were comparable with regard to geographic proximity to parents.

The data were broken down further into tables according to sex of parent, in order to investigate possible differences in geographic proximity of sons and daughters to fathers and mothers. Table 4.20 presents data on proximity of children to fathers. A chi square comparison showed no difference

Table 4.19

Chi-square Comparison for Residential Proximity, by Sex of Child

Residential proximity	Sons	Daughters	Row total
Same house	15	13	28
10 minutes or less	98	90	188
11-30 minutes	55	86	141
31-60 minutes	33	50	83
60 minutes-1 day	60	54	114
1 day or longer	31	40	71
Column total	292	333	625

Note. n of parents=153, χ^2=9.6, df=5, NS.

Table 4.20

Chi-square Comparison for Residential Proximity to Fathers, by Sex of Child

Residential proximity	Sons	Daughters	Row total
Same house	9	4	13
10 minutes or less	39	33	72
11-30 minutes	25	33	58
31-60 minutes	17	16	33
60 minutes-1 day	22	24	46
1 day or longer	12	17	29
Column total	124	127	251

Note. n of fathers=60, χ^2=4.4, df=5, NS.

between sons and daughters in the distributions of residential proximity to fathers. A difference was found, however, in the residential proximity of children to mothers (Table 4.21). A chi square test for homogeneity indicated that distributions of sons and daughters on residential proximity were not equivalent. A higher proportion of sons, 39%, lived within 10 minutes of the mothers' residences than did daughters, 32%. More sons lived 60 minutes away or further, 34%, compared with 26% of daughters. On the whole, the evidence developed through the analysis of contingency tables provided little support for Hypothesis 4. Children of both sexes were about equally likely to reside near parents, though the distributions were not equivalent with regard to mothers.

Hypothesis 5

> Parents will report more recent contacts with daughters than with sons.

The fifth hypothesis was tested for all sons and daughters of parents who had both sons and daughters. The analysis was similar to that used to test Hypothesis 4. Recency of contact was cross-tabulated with sex of child for all parents (Table 4.22). A chi square test for homogeneity indicated that there were no significant differences between sons and daughters in the distribution of recency of contact. Sons and daughters were about equally likely to be in contact: 56% of all sons and 60% of all daughters had called or visited within the week prior to the interview.

Table 4.21

Chi-square Comparison for Residential Proximity to Mothers, by Sex of Child

Residential proximity	Sons	Daughters	Row total
Same house	6	9	15
10 minutes or less	59	57	116
11-30 minutes	30	53	83
31-60 minutes	16	34	50
60 minutes-1 day	38	30	68
1 day or longer	19	23	42
Column total	168	206	374

Note. n of mothers=93, χ^2=11.1, df=5, p<.05.

Table 4.22

Chi-square Comparison for Most Recent Contact with Parents, by Sex of Child

Last contact	Sons	Daughters	Row total
Same house	15	12	27
Yesterday-today	72	86	158
1-7 days	73	100	173
8-30 days	49	53	102
31 days-1 year	64	61	125
Not in last year	15	16	31
Column total	288	328	616

Note. n of parents=151, χ^2=3.5, df=5, NS.

The data were further broken down into tables according to sex of parent to examine separately the recency of contact with fathers and mothers. Sons and daughters had similar distributions with regard to recency of contact with fathers: 56% of sons and daughters had been in contact within the prior week (Table 4.23). Comparisons on recency of contact with mothers revealed no significant differences between sons and daughters (Table 4.24). The results of these analyses showed no support for Hypothesis 5; consequently, it was rejected.

Discussion of Differences in Contact Patterns and Residential Proximity

Hypotheses 3, 4, and 5 investigated differences in contact patterns and residential proximity with children according to sex linkage, for a restricted sample of parents. Comparisons of fathers and mothers who had living children of each sex made it possible to control for availability of children of both sexes, so that differences according to type of sex linkage could be detected.

Johnson (1978), Troll (1971), Aldous (1967), and Treas (1977), among others, have emphasized the closeness of mother-daughter ties in later life. Based on the reported significance of the mother-daughter relationship, it was hypothesized that mothers who had both living sons and daughters would be more likely to report on their relationship with a daughter than with a son. Evidence for a parallel pattern

Table 4.23

Chi-square Comparison for Most Recent Contact with Fathers, by Sex of Child

Last contact	Sons	Daughters	Row total
Same house	9	4	13
Yesterday-today	30	34	64
1-7 days	29	33	62
8-30 days	18	17	35
31 days-1 year	29	31	60
Not in last year	7	8	15
Column total	122	127	249

Note. n of fathers=59, χ^2=2.5, df=5, NS.

Table 4.24

Chi-square Comparison for Most Recent Contact with Mothers, by Sex of Child

Last contact	Sons	Daughters	Row total
Same house	6	8	14
Yesterday-today	42	52	94
1-7 days	44	67	111
8-30 days	31	36	67
31 days-1 year	35	30	65
Not in last year	8	8	16
Column total	166	201	367

Note. n of mothers=92, χ^2=3.6, df=5, NS.

among fathers was slim, although Aldous and Hill (1965) did indicate that all-male lineages, like all-female lineages, showed greater cohesiveness than cross-sex lineages. Consequently, Hypothesis 3 was designed to test for preferences for same-sex linkages among mothers and fathers. Results of the analysis showed that fathers were evenly divided in reporting that sons and daughters were the child most frequently in contact, while mothers showed a strong tendency to report on same-sex linkages. The finding of more same-sex linkages among women provided evidence in support of other authors that mother-daughter ties were closer than other types of linkage. The finding of no same-sex preference among men may have reflected a mediating role of wives in maintaining contact with children. That is, men may have had more frequent contact with daughters due to visits primarily associated with mother-daughter interaction. The number of widowed men (n=12) was too small to test the plausibility of this explanation by comparing married and widowed men. Alternatively, there may have been no preference on the part of men for contact with sons versus daughters.

Residential proximity was consistently found to be an important predictor of social activity and mutual assistance (Hypotheses 1 and 2). These findings were in keeping with the reports of Litwak (1960a, 1965), Sussman and Burchinal (1962a), Adams (1968a), and others that face-to-face interactions occur less frequently when geographic distances between

households are greater. The fourth hypothesis tested for differences in the geographic proximity of sons and daughters that might have affected the opportunity for interactions with parents. It was hypothesized that daughters would tend to live closer to parents, and particularly to mothers, and as a result be more available for interaction. The hypothesis was grounded in observations by Litwak (1960b, 1965), Bengtson et al. (1976), and Sussman and Burchinal (1962b) that greater occupational mobility on the part of sons might require geographic mobility; hence, sons would tend to live farther away from parents. Results from the present analyses, however, showed no significant differences in the geographic proximity of sons and daughters to parents. These findings were compatible with those of Adams (1968a), who noted that similar percentages of young adult men and women reported living in the same city as their parents.

Comparisons of sons and daughters with regard to recency of contact indicated that there were no significant differences (Hypothesis 5). No comparable analyses were reported in earlier studies, although Adams (1968a) indicated that young adult men and women visited their parents with similar frequency. These findings, together with those related to geographic proximity and social interaction, suggested that older fathers and mothers did not differ in patterns of contact and social interaction with their adult sons and daughters.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The present study analyzed differences in patterns of interaction between older parents and their adult children as a function of sex linkages and control variables. The study was designed to test hypotheses about the nature of sex linkages in intergenerational relationships with data from a subsample of 100 fathers and 171 mothers who participated in a study of kinship relations of the elderly (North Carolina Agricultural Research Service Project 13644, "Correlates and Patterns of Kin Group Solidarity Among Older Rural and Urban Adults"). Based on the evidence from tests of hypotheses, the following conclusions were reached:

1) Sex of parent and type of sex linkage were of no importance in the extent to which older parents visited and engaged in social interaction with the child with whom they had the most contact

2) Older mothers were more likely than older fathers to receive assistance from children, while there were no differences in the extent of help given to children by mothers and fathers. The mother-daughter sex linkage were characterized by more help received by the parent than other sex linkage types, though the level of help received was not significantly greater than that for the father-daughter and mother-son linkages.

3) Sex of parent and type of sex linkage were of no importance to levels of expectation for filial support.

4) Among parents who have both sons and daughters, mothers were most likely to report that a daughter

was the child most often contacted, while fathers were equally likely to report sons and daughters as the child most often contacted.

5) Among parents who had both sons and daughters, there were no differences according to sex of parent in the geographic proximity of sons and daughters or in recency of contact of sons and daughters.

6) Geographic proximity was the most important contextual variable affecting the extent of social interaction and mutual assistance between older parents and adult children. Marital status was a key factor affecting the level of help received by the older parent.

On the whole, the results of the present study challenge the assumption that mother-child relationships represent stronger bonds than father-child relationships in families of the aged. The findings showed that mothers and fathers engaged in comparable amounts of social interaction with children, as all types of parent-child sex linkages had similar levels of reported social activity and similar patterns of recency of contact. With regard to help given to children by parents, older mothers and fathers reported giving similar levels of assistance. Only in respect to help received from children were significant differences between fathers and mothers found. Mothers were more likely to receive help from children and the mother-daughter linkages were characterized by high levels of help received. In this case, marital status represented the key variable that contributed to the differences between men and women on the amount of help received. As noted earlier, 85% of men were married,

compared with 53% of women. Consequently, more women than men may have turned to children when assistance of any sort was needed, while men were able to receive help from their spouses. Differences attributable solely to sex of parent were statistically significant, but very small in comparison to the effect of marital status. When sex linkage effects were analyzed, no significant differences were found between fathers and mothers in the extent of aid received from daughters, though the mother-daughter linkage was significantly higher than the father-son. Taken together, the results of analyses of social activities and mutual assistance did not reveal substantial differences between fathers and mothers in their interactions with adult children once the effects of contextual variables were considered.

The results from the present study suggested that fathers and mothers had similar levels of expectation for filial responsibility; no differences were found according to sex of parent or type of sex linkage. These findings must be considered tentative, as analysis of the scale used to measure expectations indicated that it was not an internally consistent measure. A more reliable scale is needed to make adequate comparisons of the attitudes of men and women about specific dimensions of expectations for filial responsibility.

The major contribution of the present study was in the systematic analysis of the effects of geographic proximity, marital status, dependency needs, and availability of children

(i.e., having children of both sexes) on patterns of older parent-adult child interactions. By incorporating these variables into multivariate analyses, it was possible to fairly evaluate the effects of sex of parent and type of sex linkage and to assess the impact of contextual variables. The importance of geographic proximity to extent of social interaction, help received, and help given was underscored in each of the regression and analysis of covariance models. Geographic proximity was the most important predictor in all of the models: when children lived closer to parents, more interactions took place. The effects of proximity were comparable for fathers and mothers, since there were no significant differences in the proximity of children according to sex of parent or sex linkage. Other contextual variables studied were marital status, age of parent, self-rated health, perceived income adequacy, and education. Marital status demonstrated significant effects only with respect to help received, as did self-rated health to a lesser extent. Education had a small but significant effect on the level of social activity in the analysis of covariance model: persons with higher education levels reported higher levels of social activity. This finding suggested the possiblilty of social class differences in levels of interaction with children. Perceived income adequacy, age, and self-rated health were shown to have little influence on the measures of parent-child interactions. The overall conclusions reached

were that geographic proximity must be taken into account in studies of parent-child interactions and that marital status should be considered when mutual assistance is studied.

The results of the present study suggested a number of directions for further research on the family roles of men and women in later life. The study did not account for all possible explanations for thefindings with regard to levels of social activity. It remains plausible that married men experienced similar levels of social contact with children because their wives mediated the relationship between the couples and their children. More definitive analyses of this phenomenon would require comparisons of married men with widowed men to determine whether there were differences in their levels of social interaction and mutual assistance across sex linkage types. Other related research would include investigation of qualitative aspects of older parent-adult child relationships. The present study focused on the frequency of interactions, with limited attention to gender differences in the forms of interaction. There may be real differences between men and women in the types of interactions that take place, and the importance of such interactions to the respondents. Study of the psychological importance of parent-child relationships for older parents would require better indices of parental expectations for filial responsibility and attitudes about social and helping activities. In addition, more detailed research on the psychological

closeness of parents to children and the effects of contextual variables and type of sex linkage on the closeness of relationships would be valuable. Such research would require more intensive interviews with subjects than the design of the present study permitted. Further study of these topics would provide additional insight into the nature of the relationships between older parents and their adult children and the significance of these relationships for families in later life.

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APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRE

QUESTIONNAIRE

Correlates and Patterns of Kin Group Solidarity
School of Home Economics (Agricultural Research Service)
University of North Carolina at Greensboro
Project 13644

Subject Number: _____

Subject's Name: _____
Last First Middle

Subject's Address: _____
Street/Number Town (County) Zip

Telephone Number: _____

Record of Calls and Callbacks			
Calls	Date	Time Began Finished	What Happened (General Reaction)
1			
2			
3			

Questionnaire: _____ complete _____ incomplete

Interviewer: _____

CARD 1

Data set [1 | 4]

Subject # [2 3 4 | | |]

Card # [5 6 | 0 |]

INTERVIEWER: OBSERVE RESPONDENT AND CHECK APPROPRIATE ANSWER.

1. Sex of Subject [7]
   1 Male
   2 Female

2. Race [8]
   1 White
   2 Negro/Black
   3 Other (specify) _____

SECTION I.

GENERAL INFORMATION: INTERVIEWER. READ TO THE RESPONDENT.

"I am going to ask you several questions. You do not have to respond to all questions and you may stop the interview at any point. Your answers, however, are very important to this research. All information given to me will be held in strict confidence and your name will remain anonymous. There are no right or wrong answers to the questions that I am going to ask you. Just give the answer that is right for you. Most of the questions will need only one answer. I will mark your answer on this sheet. First, I would like to ask you some general questions." CIRCLE ONLY ONE RESPONSE UNLESS OTHERWISE INSTRUCTED.

---

3. Are you single, married, widowed, divorced, or separated? [9 10 11 12 13]
   1 single
   2 married (How many years? _____)
   3 widowed (How many years widowed?_____ How many years married? _____
   4 divorced (How many years? _____) (How many years married?)_____
   5 separated (How many years? _____) (How many years married?)_____

CARD 1

4. How many times have you been married? _____ 14 ___

5. How many times have you been divorced? _____ 15 ___

6. How many times have you been widowed? _____ 16 ___

7. How many years of schooling did you complete? _____ 17 18 ___

8. When were you born? _____ 19 20 21 ___
(Month) (day) (year)

9. Where were you born? _____ 22 ___
(city/county) (state) (country, if not U.S.)

10. What is your religious preference? _____ 23 24 ___

11. I would like to know who lives here with you. Starting with the oldest, tell me what is their relationship to you (niece, child, husband, etc.) and their approximate age.

Relationship	Age	
		25 26 27 28 ___
		29 30 31 32 ___
		33 34 35 36 ___
		37 38 39 40 ___
		41 42 43 44 ___
		45 46 47 48 ___
		49 50 51 52 ___
		53 54 55 56 ___
		57 58 59 60 ___
		61 62 63 64 ___

12. Are you the family head? 65

1 Yes

2 No (Specify who) _____

13. Is your permanent residence located in a ... 66

1 Town

2 Rural place

14. How many times have you moved since 1977? _____times. 67

IF RESPONDENT HAS MOVED, ASK ITEM 15.

15. The last time that you moved was it from... 68 69

1 One place in this town/county to another?

2 Another area in North Carolina, but not this town, county?

Where? _____

3 A different state?

Where? _____

4 Abroad?

_____

Where? _____

16. How many years have you lived in this immediate neighborhood? _____years. 70 71

17. Which best describes your present housing? You - 72 73

1 Own your home (or condominium), no mortgage

2 Own your home (or condominium), mortgage

3 Rent house (yourself)

4 Rent apartment (not subsidized)

5 Rent apartment (subsidized)

6 Live in relative's home (which relative - son, daughter, etc.?) _____

7 Other (specify) _____

18. What is your basic way of transportation? CARD 1

74 75

1 Drive your car
2 Ride with your husband/wife
3 Drive someone else's car
4 Ride the bus
5 Ride with a neighbor, friend, or relative
6 Get a taxi
7 No transportation (why?) _____

SECTION II. WORK AND RETIREMENT

INTERVIEWER: READ TO RESPONDENT.

"Next I would like to know about your work or retirement".

---

19. What kind of work have you done most of your life?

76 77

1 Never employed
2 Housewife
3 Other (State the specific occupation in detail).

_____

20. What was the major work of your spouse? ASK EVEN IF PERSON IS DIVORCED/SEPARATED OR SPOUSE IS DECEASED. _____

78 79

21. In regard to working, are you presently...

80

1 Employed full time
2 Employed part time
3 Retired
4 Retired on disability
5 Not employed

IF RESPONSE TO ITEM 21 WAS (1 OR 2), GO TO SECTION III.

CARD 2

Data set 1- [4]

Subject # 2 3 4 [ ][ ][ ]

Card # 5 6 [0][2]

22. How long have you been retired? _____years 7 8 [ ][ ]

23. Why did you retire? _____ 9 10 11 12 [ ][ ][ ][ ]

24. Which reason was most important? _____

25. How do you like being retired? 13 [ ]

3 Like it very much

2 Have no strong feelings about it

1 Dislike it very much

IF RESPONSE TO ITEM 25 WAS (1), ASK ITEM 26.

26. Why do you dislike being retired? 14 15 [ ][ ]

_____

_____

SECTION III. INCOME

INTERVIEWER: READ TO RESPONDENT.

"Now, for a few minutes I would like for us to talk about income."

CARD 2

27. Where does your income (money) come from (yours and your husband's/wife's)?

CIRCLE YES OR NO FOR EACH OF THE FOLLOWING.
BREAK DOWN TO MONTHLY INCOME.

No	Yes	If yes How much		
1	2		Earnings from employment (wages, salaries or income from your business)	16 17 18 19 20
1	2		Income from rental, interest from investments, savings, insurance policies, etc.	21 22 23 24 25
1	2		Social Security (include S. S. disability)	26 27 28 29 30
1	2		SSI payment (Supplemental Security Income)	31 32 33 34 35
1	2		VA benefits	36 37 38 39 40
1	2		Disability payments not covered by Social Security, SSI, or V.A.	41 42 43 44 45
1	2		Unemployment Compensation	46 47 48 49 50
1	2		Retirement pension	51 52 53 54 55
1	2		Regular welfare payments (Dept. Soc. Services, organization, agencies, churches	56 57 58 59 60
1	2		Regular assistance from family members	61 62 63 64 65
1	2		Alimony	66 67 68 69 70
1	2		Other. What? _____	71 72 73 74 75

28. Next, I would like to talk to you about having enough money for what you need. Which of these best describes your financial situation? 76

1 You always have enough money for everything that you need
2 You usually have enough money
3 You seldom have enough money
4 You almost never have enough money for the things that you need

IF RESPONSE TO ITEM 28 WAS (4), ASK ITEM 29.

CARD 2

77 78

29. What kinds of things do you not have enough money for:
YOU MAY NAME MORE THAN ONE.

_____

_____

79 80

CARD 3

Data set 1) 1 4

Subject # 2 3 4

Card # 5 6 0 3

SECTION IV. HEALTH

INTERVIEWER: READ TO RESPONDENT.

"I would like to know something about your health."

30. Here is a picture of a ladder. Suppose we say that the top of the ladder (pointing) represents perfect health and the bottom (pointing) represents the most serious illness. Where on the ladder (moving finger up and down ladder) would you say your health is at the present time? 7

_____ (Code step on ladder)

31. How much do your health troubles stand in the way of your doing the things you want to do--not at all, a little (some), or a great deal? 8

3 Not at all

2 A little (some)

1 A great deal

32. During the past six months how many days were you so sick that you were unable to carry on your usual activities--- such as going to work or working around the house? 9 10 11

_____ Days

33. How many days in the past six months were you in the hospital for physical health problems? 12 13 14

_____ Days

CARD 3

34. How is your eyesight (with glasses or contacts), excellent, good, fair, poor, or are you totally blind? 15

1 Excellent
2 Good
3 Fair
4 Poor
5 Totally blind

35. How is your hearing, excellent, good, fair, poor, or are you totally deaf? 16

1 Excellent
2 Good
3 Fair
4 Poor
5 Totally deaf

36. Do you have any of the following illnesses at the present time? CIRCLE "YES" OR "NO" FOR EACH OF THE FOLLOWING.

YES	NO		
1	2	Arthritis	17
1	2	High blood pressure	18
1	2	Heart trouble	19
1	2	Circulation trouble in arms or legs	20
1	2	Diabetes	21
1	2	Kidney problems	22
1	2	Effects of stroke	23

37. Are there any other illnesses? List:_____ 24 25

38. In a crisis or an emergency such as sudden illness, who would you call upon? (Give the relationship, not the name, i.e., daughter, sister, etc.) 26 27

_____

CARD 3

39. I'm interested in your ability to get around. Are you... 28

6 Able to go practically anyplace you want to go?
5 Able to get around the house, but seldom go out?
4 Able to get around the house, but with some difficulty?
3 Confined to a chair most of the day?
2 Stay in bed all the time?
1 Other (Specify)_____

SECTION V. FAMILY

INTERVIEWER: READ TO RESPONDENT.

"Next I would like to ask you some questions regarding your family."

---

40. How many living children do you have who are

_____ Natural children? 29 30

_____ Adopted children? 31 32

_____ Foster children (not legally adopted)? 33 34

_____ Step-children? 35 36

_____ No children? 37

41. How many children do you have who are not living? _____ 38 39

IF NO LIVING CHILDREN, GO TO ITEM 47.

42. I'd like to ask you some questions about your children. Could we start with your eldest child?

INTERVIEWER: RECORD INFORMATION REQUESTED FOR EACH CHILD (1 ROW FOR EACH CHILD). FOR EACH CHILD, ASK THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:

A. How long would it take for him (her) to get here from where he/she lives (by the usual way)?

B. When did you last see him/her?

C. Is he/she married?

D. What about your other sons? Your daughters?

REPEAT FOR EACH ADDITIONAL CHILD

42. CHILDREN

CARD 3

Name	Sex: Son	Sex: Daughter	Age	I. Time normally required to get here: Same household	10 minutes or less	11 to 30 minutes	31 to 60 minutes	Over 60 minutes but not one day	One day or more	II. When did you last see him/her? (Either he/she came here or you went to see him/her: Same household	Today or yesterday	2 to 7 days	8 to 30 days	31 days to year	Not in last year	III. Is he/she married?: Single (never married)	Married	Widowed	Other
	1	2		1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4
	1	2		1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4
	1	2		1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4
	1	2		1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4
	1	2		1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4
	1	2		1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4
																CARD 4			
	1	2		1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4
	1	2		1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4
	1	2		1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4
	1	2		1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4
	1	2		1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4

40 41 42 43 44 45

46 47 48 49 50 51

52 53 54 55 56 57

58 59 60 61 62 63

64 65 66 67 68 69

70 71 72 73 74 75

1	2	3	4	5	6
4				0	4

7 8 9 10 11 12

13 14 15 16 17 18

19 20 21 22 23 24

25 26 27 28 29 30

31 32 33 34 35 36

IF ONLY ONE CHILD, GO TO ITEM 44. CARD 4

43. Which child do you see or have contact with most often? 37

_____ (Name of child)

1 Male
2 Female

44. Is (child, most contact) 38
1 Adopted
2 Step-child
3 Natural child
4 Foster child (Not legally adopted)?

45. How many years of schooling did (child) complete? _____years 39 40

46. What is (child's) occupation?_____ 41 42

What is/was (child's) husband/wife's occupation? _____ 43 44

INTERVIEWER: READ TO THE RESPONDENT.

"Next I would like to ask you brief questions about other family members and then we will go back and discuss some of them".

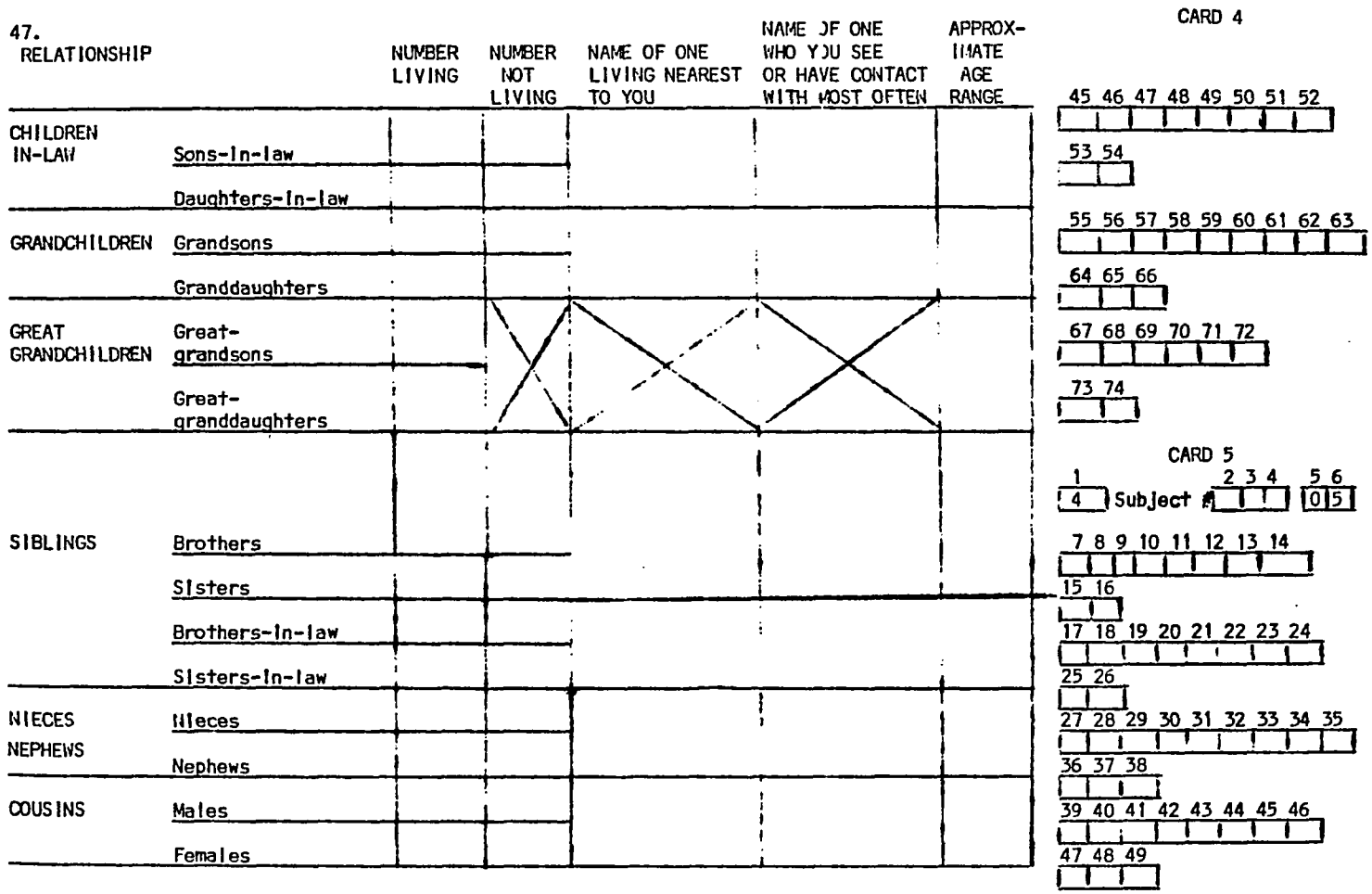
INTERVIEWER: USING THE FOLLOWING TABLE, GO ACROSS EACH ROW AND ASK THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:

47. A. How many (children-in-law) do you have living?

B. What is the name of the one living nearest to you? (IF MORE THAN ONE AT SAME DISTANCE, NAME ALL)

C. What is the name of the (child-in-law) with whom you have the most contact?

D. What is the age range of your (children-in-law)? (GIVE APPROXIMATE AGE OF YOUNGEST AND OLDEST.)
INTERVIEWER: REPEAT QUESTIONS FOR EACH ROW IN THE TABLE THROUGH FEMALE COUSINS.


47.
RELATIONSHIP
NUMBER LIVING
NUMBER NOT LIVING
NAME OF ONE LIVING NEAREST TO YOU
NAME OF ONE WHO YOU SEE OR HAVE CONTACT WITH MOST OFTEN
APPROX-IMATE AGE RANGE
CHILDREN IN-LAW
Sons-In-law
Daughters-In-law
GRANDCHILDREN
Grandsons
Granddaughters
GREAT GRANDCHILDREN
Great-grandsons
Great-granddaughters
SIBLINGS
Brothers
Sisters
Brothers-In-law
Sisters-In-law
NIECES
NEPHEWS
Nieces
Nephews
COUSINS
Males
Females
CARD 4
45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52
53 54
55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63
64 65 66
67 68 69 70 71 72
73 74
CARD 5
1
4
2 3 4
Subject #
5 6
0 5
7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14
15 16
17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24
25 26
27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35
36 37 38
39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46
47 48 49

CARD 5

IF NO LIVING CHILDREN-IN-LAW, GO TO ITEM 54 (GRANDCHILDREN).

THESE QUESTIONS REFER TO THE CHILD-IN-LAW WITH WHOM THERE IS THE MOST CONTACT.

48. "Now I would like to go back and ask you about (child-in-law's name), your son/daughter-in-law: 50

1 Male
2 Female

ASK ITEM 49 ONLY IF MORE THAN ONE CHILD.

49. To which of your children is this daughter/son-in-law married? 51

_____

50. What is the approximate age of this child-in-law? _____years 52 53

51. How many years of schooling did (child-in-law) complete? 54 55

(GIVE APPROXIMATE YEARS IF NOT KNOWN). _____years

52. What is (child-in-law) 's occupation? BE SPECIFIC. 56 57

_____

What is his/her husband's/wife's occupation? 58 59

_____ BE SPECIFIC.

53. How long does it take (child-in-law) to get from his/her house to yours? 60

1 Same household
2 10 minutes or less
3 11-30 minutes
4 31-60 minutes
5 Over 60 minutes to less than a day
6 One day or more

CARD 5

IF NO GRANDCHILDREN, GO TO ITEM 62 (BROTHERS/SISTERS). THESE QUESTIONS REFER TO THE GRANDCHILD WITH WHOM THERE IS THE MOST CONTACT.

54. "Let's talk for a few minutes about your grandchild (grandchild's name) ." 61

1 Male

2 Female

55. What is his/her approximate age? 62 63

_____ years

56. Which of your children is (grandchild) the child of? 64

_____.

57. What is (was) (grandchild) 's father's occupation? BE SPECIFIC. 65 66

_____

IF GRANDCHILD HAS COMPLETED SCHOOLING, ASK ITEM 58.

58. How many years of schooling did (grandchild) complete? ____.Years 67 68

IF GRANDCHILD HAS COMPLETED SCHOOLING AND IS WORKING, ASK ITEMS 59 & 60.

59. What is (grandchild's) occupation? IF APPLICABLE, BE SPECIFIC, 69 70

_____

60. What is his/her spouse's occupation? 71 72

_____

61. How long does it take (grandchild) to get from his/her residence to yours? 73

1 Same household

2 10 minutes or less

3 11-30 minutes

4 31-60 minutes

5 Over 60 minutes

6 One day or more

CARD 5

IF NO LIVING BROTHERS AND SISTERS, GO TO ITEM 70.
(BROTHERS/SISTERS IN LAWS)

THESE QUESTIONS REFER TO THE BROTHER OR SISTER WITH WHOM THERE IS THE MOST CONTACT.

62. "Let's go back and talk about your brother/sister (name)." 74

63. What is his/her approximate age? _____ years 75 76

64. Is brother/sister nearer to your age than other living brothers and sisters? 77

1 No
2 Yes
3 Does not apply, only sibling

65. How many years of schooling did brother/sister complete? ____ years 78 79

CARD 6

Data set 1

Subject # 2 3 4

Card # 5 6

66. What is/was (brother/sister) 's major job or occupation? BE SPECIFIC. 7 8

_____

67. What is/was his/her spouse's occupation? 9 10

_____

68. How long does it take (brother/sister) to get from his/her residence to yours? 11

1 Same household
2 10 minutes or less
3 11-30 minutes
4 31-60 minutes
5 Over 60 minutes
6 One day or more

69. Does (brother/sister) live in a nursing home or similar place? 12

1 Yes
2 No

CARD 6

IF NO BROTHERS-IN-LAW, GO TO ITEM 79 (NIECES & NEPHEWS).

THESE QUESTIONS REFER TO THE BROTHER-IN-LAW OR SISTER-IN-LAW WITH WHOM THERE IS THE MOST CONTACT.

70. "Now I want to talk to you about your brother/sister-in-law (name) .

13

1 Male
2 Female

71. What is his/her approximate age? ___ years. GIVE BEST ESTIMATE.

14 15

72. How many years of schooling did (brother/sister-in-law) complete? _____ years (APPROXIMATE YEARS IF NOT KNOWN).

16 17

73. What is/was (brother/sister-in-law)'s occupation? BE SPECIFIC.

18 19

_____

74. What is/was his/her spouse's occupation?

20 21

_____

75. Is (brother/sister-in-law) on your side of the family or your spouse's?

22

1 Through marriage on spouse's side of the family
2 Through blood kin of husband/wife
3 Through marriage on your side of the family

76. Is (brother/sister-in-law) married (or previously married) to brother/sister with whom there was the most contact?

23

1 No
2 Yes
3 Non-applicable (husband or wife of only sibling)

77. Is (brother/sister in law) in a nursing home or similar place?

24

1 No
2 Yes

78. How long does it take (brother/sister-in-law) to get from his/her residence to yours?

25

1 Same household
2 10 minutes or less
3 11-30 minutes
4 31-60 minutes
5 Over 60 minutes
6 One day or more

CARD 6

IF NO LIVING NIECES AND NEPHEWS, GO TO ITEM 87 (COUSINS).

THESE QUESTIONS REFER TO NIECE OR NEPHEW WITH WHOM THEY HAVE THE MOST CONTACT.

79. "Now we are going to talk about your Niece/Nephew (name)." 26

1 Male
2 Female

80. How are you related to (niece/nephew)? 27

1 Through marriage on spouse's side of the family
2 Through blood kin of spouse
3 Through marriage on your side of the family
4 Through blood kin of yours

81. What is his/her approximate age? _____years. 28 29

IF CLOSEST NIECE OR NEPHEW HAS COMPLETED SCHOOL, ASK ITEM 82.

82. How many years of schooling did (niece/nephew) complete? 30 31
_____ years.

ASK ITEMS 83 & 84 IF NIECE/NEPHEW'S EDUCATION IS COMPLETE.

83. What is his/her occupation? _____ BE SPECIFIC. 32 33

84. What is his/her husband/wife's occupation? 34 35

_____

_____

ASK ITEM 85 IF NIECE/NEPHEW'S EDUCATION IS NOT COMPLETE.

85. What is/(was) (niece/nephew)'s father's occupation? 36 37

_____

CARD 6

86. How long does it take (niece/nephew) to get from his/her residence to yours? 38

1 Same household
2 10 minutes or less
3 11-30 minutes
4 31-60 minutes
5 Over 60 minutes
6 One day or more

IF NO COUSIN GO TO ITEM 96.

THESE QUESTIONS REFER TO THE COUSIN WITH WHOM THERE HAS BEEN THE MOST CONTACT.

87. "Let's talk about your cousin (name) for a while. 39

1 Male
2 Female

88. How is (cousin) related to you? 40

1 Mother's side (blood)
2 Mother's side (marriage)
3 Father's side (blood)
4 Father's side (marriage)
5 Spouse's family

89. Is (cousin) a 41

1 First cousin
2 Second cousin
3 Other (Explain) _____

90. What is his/her approximate age? _____ years 42 43

91. How many years of schooling did (cousin) complete? ____ years. 44 45

92. What is/was (cousin) 's occupation? 46 47

_____ BE SPECIFIC.

93. What is/was his/her spouse's occupation? _____ 48 49

CARD 6

94. How long does it take (cousin) to get from his/her residence to yours? 50

1 Same household
2 10 minutes or less
3 11-30 minutes
4 31-60 minutes
5 Over 60 minutes
6 One day or more

95. Did you ever live in the same community with (cousin)? 51

1 No, never
2 No, but have lived within 50 miles
3 No, but spent summers together while growing up
4 Yes, for a few years after becoming an adult
5 Yes, while you were growing up
6 Yes, most of your life

"I am now going to ask you some questions about your relationships with your relatives." REFER TO THE RELATIVES DISCUSSED ABOVE, IF RELATIVE LIVES IN SAME HOUSEHOLD, CODE DAILY.

96. How often does (use names of relatives) write to you? USE CODE CARD.

child	_____	52
son/daughter in law	_____	53
grandson/granddaughter	_____	54
brother/sister	_____	55
brother/sister-in-law?	_____	56
niece/nephew	_____	57
cousin	_____	58

CARD 6

97. How often does (use names and relationships) telephone you? USE CODE CARD.

child?	_____	59
son/daugher-in-law?	_____	60
grandson/grandaughter?	_____	61
brother/sister?	_____	62
brother/sister-in-law?	_____	63
niece/nephew?		64
cousin?		65

98. How well would you say that you get along with.....? USE THE NAMES OF RELATIVES DISCUSSED ABOVE.

	Very well	Pretty well	A Little	Not too well	Not well	
child?	5	4	3	2	1	66
How about your...						
son/daughter-in-law?	5	4	3	2	1	67
grandson/daughter?	5	4	3	2	1	68
brother/sister?	5	4	3	2	1	69
brother/sister-in-law?	5	4	3	2	1	70
niece/nephew?	5	4	3	2	1	71
cousin?	5	4	3	2	1	72

99. How close would you say that you feel to.....? USE THE NAMES OF RELATIVES DISCUSSED ABOVE.

	Very close	Pretty close	A Little	Not too Close	Not close	
child?	5	4	3	2	1	73
How about your...						
son/daughter-in-law?	5	4	3	2	1	74
grandson/grandaughter?	5	4	3	2	1	75
brother/sister?	5	4	3	2	1	76
brother/sister-in-law?	5	4	3	2	1	77
niece/nephew?	5	4	3	2	1	78
cousin?	5	4	3	2	1	79

CARD 7

Data	1	4
Subject #	2 3 4	
Card #	5 6	0 1 7

100. Looking at this picture of a ladder, suppose that the top of the ladder represents total agreement of views about life and the bottom represents total disagreement. Where on the ladder do you feel that (name) and you stand at the present time? USE NAMES OF RELATIVES DISCUSSED ABOVE.

child	_____	7
how about your....		
son/daughter-in-law?	_____	8
grandson/granddaughter?	_____	9
brother/sister?	_____	10
brother/sister-in-law?	_____	11
niece/nephew?	_____	12
cousin?	_____	13

101. I'm going to mention some ways in which families sometimes help each other. Tell me how many times in the past year that each of your relatives has helped you with these: USE CODE CARD AND RECORD CODE OF RESPONSES.

ALL RELATIVES REFER TO THOSE WITH WHOM THE RESPONDENT HAS HAD THE MOST CONTACT.

CARD 7

	Child (Name)	Son-in-law/ Daughter-in law (Name)	Grandson/ Granddaughter (Name)	Brother/ sister (Name)	Brother-in-law/ Sister-in-law (Name)	Niece/ Nephew (Name)	Cousin (Name)	Columns
Provided transportation								14-20
Made minor household repairs								21-27
Helped with housekeeping								28-34
Helped with shopping								35-41
Helped with yardwork								42-48
Helped take care of your car								49-55
Assisted when ill								56-62
Helped make important decisions								63-69
Provided with legal aid								70-76
								CARD 8
								Data 1 4
								Subject # 2 3 4
								Card # 5 6
Provided financial aid								7-13
Other (What and how often?)								14-20

102. How many times have you helped your relatives with these in the past year? USE CODE CARD. ALL RELATIVES REFER TO THOSE WITH WHOM THE RESPONDENT HAS HAD THE MOST CONTACT.

CARD 8

	Child (Name)	Son-in-law/ Daughter-in law (Name)	Grandson/ Granddaughter (Name)	Brother/ sister (Name)	Brother-in-law Sister-in-law (Name)	Niece/ Nephew (Name)	Cousin (Name)	Columns
Transportation								21-27
Minor household repairs								28-34
Housekeeping								35-41
Shopping								42-48
Yardwork								49-55
Car care								56-62
Assistance when ill								63-69
Important decisions								70-76
Legal aid							CARD 9	1 2 3 4 5 6 41 | 10 9 7-13
Financial aid								14-20
Other (What and how often?)								21-27

103. During the past year, how often have you done the following activities together with your relatives? USE CODE CARD. CARD 9

ALL RELATIVES REFER TO THOSE WITH WHOM THE RESPONDENT HAS HAD THE MOST CONTACT.

	Child (Name)	Son-in-law/ Daughter-in-law (Name)	Grandson/ Granddaughter (Name)	Brother/ sister (Name)	Brother-in-law/ Sister-in-law (Name)	Niece/. Nephew (Name)	Cousin (Name)	Columns
Commercial recreation (movies, sports, etc.								28-34
Home recreation (picnics, card playing, etc. shared leisure time)								35-41
Outdoor recreation (fishing, hunting or camping, shared leisure time)								42-48
Brief drop-in visits for conversation								49-55
Vacation visits								56-62
Large family reunions (including aunts, uncles, cousins, etc.)								63-69
Emergencies of any sort (sickness, death, etc.)								70-76
						CARD 10	1 2 3 4 5 6 | 4 | 1 | | 10 |	
Working at the same occupation or in the same location								7-13
Baby sitting								14-20
Happy occasions, such as birthdays or holidays								21-27
Attending the same church or religious group								28-34
Shopping together								35-41
Other (What and how often?)								42-48

INTERVIEWER: READ THIS TO THE RESPONDENT. CARD 10

I am going to describe some older persons and their situations. I will ask you some questions about each situation and I would like for you to choose the answer that comes closest to how you feel.

---

104. Mr. R had a stroke last month. Mrs. R is not well enough to take care of him by herself. She is thinking about asking some relatives for help.

	Responsible for helping no matter what	Responsible for helping if they can?	Not Responsible?	
Do you think that their children are...	3	2	1	49 ☐
What about their children-in-law? Do you think they are...	3	2	1	50 ☐
What about their grandchildren? Do you think they are...	3	2	1	51 ☐
What about their brothers and sisters? Do you think they are...	3	2	1	52 ☐
What about their brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law? Do you think they are...	3	2	1	53 ☐
What about nieces and nephews? Do you think they are...	3	2	1	54 ☐
What about their cousins? Do you think they are...	3	2	1	55 ☐

INTERVIEWER. READ TO RESPONDENT.

CARD 10

105. Mr. and Mrs. M have had trouble in making ends meet because their retirement income has not kept up with inflation.

	Responsible for giving financial help, no matter what?	Responsible for giving financial help, if they can?	Not responsible for giving financial help?	
Do you think that their children are...	3	2	1	56 [ ]
What about their children-in-law? Do you think they are...	3	2	1	57 [ ]
What about their grandchildren ? Do you think they are...	3	2	1	58 [ ]
What about their brothers and sisters? Do you think they are...	3	2	1	59 [ ]
What about their brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law? Do you think they are...	3	2	1	60 [ ]
What about nieces and nephews? Do you think they are...	3	2	1	61 [ ]
What about their cousins? Do you think they are...	3	2	1	62 [ ]

INTERVIEWER. READ TO THE RESPONDENT.

106. Mr. and Mrs. L haven't been able to get out much since Mr. L can no longer drive. Though both are in reasonably good health and they have no financial worries they sometimes feel lonely.

	Visit often (3-4 times a month)	Visit once in a while?	Not have to visit?	
Do you think that their children who live nearby should...	3	2	1	63 [ ]
What about their children-in-law? Should they...	3	2	1	64 [ ]
What about their grandchildren? Should they...	3	2	1	65 [ ]
What about their brothers and sisters? Should they...	3	2	1	66 [ ]
What about their brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law? Should they...	3	2	1	67 [ ]
What about their nieces and nephews? Should they...	3	2	1	68 [ ]
What about their cousins? Should they...	3	2	1	69 [ ]

INTERVIEWER: READ TO RESPONDENT:

CARD 10

107. Going back to the same situation, do you think that Mr. and Mrs. L's children who live far away should...

	Write or telephone often (3-4 times a month)?	Write or telephone once in a while?	Not have to write or telephone?	
Children	3	2	1	70 ☐
What about their children-in-law?	3	2	1	71 ☐
What about their grandchildren?	3	2	1	72 ☐
What about their brothers and sisters?	3	2	1	73 ☐
What about their brothers/in-law/sisters-in-law?	3	2	1	74 ☐
What about their nieces and nephews?	3	2	1	75 ☐
What about their cousins?	3	2	1	76 ☐

108. What are some reasons why you would not always expect relatives to help one another?

CARD 11

77 78

79 80

Data Subject # Card #

1 2 3 4 5 6
4 | | | | 1 | 1

7 8

SECTION V. ACTIVITIES AND ROLES.

INTERVIEWER: READ TO RESPONDENT:

"Let's talk now about some of your activities and friends".

109. I would like to know about your participation in any social organizations or groups. Do you belong to any social organizations or groups now? (INCLUDE CHURCH).

Name of Group	How long have you been a member?	Office Holder No	Office Holder Yes	How often do you attend? USE CODE CARD	
		1	2		9 10 11 12 13 14
		1	2		15 16 17 18 19 20
		1	2		21 22 23 24 25 26
		1	2		27 28 29 30 31 32
		1	2		33 34 35 36 37 38

CARD 11

110. In your opinion, which of these roles are the four most important in your life today? Please rank the top four according to their importance to you.
INTERVIEWER: SHOW RESPONSE CARD.

	For Men Only:		For Women Only:		
				39	51
_____	Worker, career	_____	Worker, career		
_____	Leisure (hobbies, crafts, etc.)	_____	Leisure (hobbies, crafts, etc.)	40	52
				41	53
_____	Husband	_____	Wife		
_____	Father	_____	Housewife	42	54
				43	55
_____	Member of society	_____	Mother		
_____	Member of religious group	_____	Member of society	44	56
_____	Grandfather	_____	Member of religious	45	57
_____	Brother	_____	Grandmother	46	58
_____	Friend	_____	Sister	47	59
_____	Uncle	_____	Friend	48	60
_____	Cousin	_____	Aunt	49	61
_____	Club Member	_____	Cousin	50	62
		_____	Club Member		63

SECTION VI. SUBJECTIVE WELL BEING

INTERVIEWER: READ TO RESPONDENT:

"For a few minutes, let's talk about your feelings about life in general".

CARD 11

111. How important is religion in your life? 64

1 Not important
2 Somewhat important
3 Important
4 Very important
5 The most important thing

112. How much happiness do you experience in life today? 65

4 Very much
3 Some
2 Not very much
1 None

113. Do you find yourself feeling lonely quite often, sometimes, or almost never? 66

1 Quite often
2 Sometimes
3 Almost never

114. Do you have as much contact as you would like with a person that you feel close to, someone that you can trust and confide in? 67

2 Yes
1 No

IF RESPONSE TO ITEM 114 WAS (2) ASK ITEM 115.

115. What is your relationship to the person in whom you confide?

_____ (FRIEND, SPOUSE, DAUGHTER,ETC.) 68 69

INTERVIEWER READ TO SUBJECT:

"I'm going to ask some questions, answer Yes or No according to the question".

116. Things keep getting worse as I get older 70

1 Yes
2 No

117. I have as much pep as I did last year 71

1 No
2 Yes

CARD 11

118. How much do you feel lonely -- not much or a lot? 72

1 A lot
2 Not much

119. Little things bother me more this year. 73

1 Yes
2 No

120. I see enough of my friends and relatives. 74

1 Yes
2 No

121. As you get older you are less useful. 75

1 Yes
2 No

122. I sometimes worry so much that I can't sleep. 76

1 Yes
2 No

123. As I get older, things are better/worse, than I thought they would be. 77

1 Worse
2 Better

124. I sometimes feel that life isn't worth living. 78

1 Yes
2 No

125. I am as happy now as when I was younger. 79

1 No
2 Yes

126. I have a lot to be sad about. 80

1 Yes
2 No

CARD 12

Data 1 4

Subject # 2 3 4

Card # 5 6 1 2

127. I am afraid of a lot of things. 7

1 Yes
2 No

128. I get mad more than I used to. 8

1 Yes
2 No

129. Life is hard for me much of the time. 9

1 Yes
2 No

130. How satisfied are you with your life today? (Not satisfied, satisfied) 10

1 Not satisfied
2 Satisfied

131. I take things hard. 11

1 Yes
2 No

132. I get upset easily. 12

1 Yes
2 No

PLEASE CHECK OVER QUESTIONNAIRE FOR NON-RESPONSES.

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133. (OFFICE ONLY)

_____Area Segment 13 14 15

CARD 12

134. Do you have a living mother? 16

1 No
2 Yes

IF RESPONSE TO ITEM 134 WAS (2), ASK THESE QUESTIONS:

135. How old is she? _____ years 17 18 19

136. How would you describe her health at the present time? 20

4 Excellent
3 Good
2 Fair
1 Poor

137. Do you help her in any way? 21 22

1 No
2 Yes (How?) _____ 23 24

_____ 25 26

138. Do you have a living father? 27

1 No
2 Yes

IF RESPONSE TO ITEM 138 WAS (2), ASK THESE QUESTIONS:

139. How old is he? _____years 28 29 30

140. How would you describe his health at the present time? 31

4. Excellent
3 Good
2 Fair
1 Poor

141. Do you help him in any way? 32 33

1 No 34 35

2 Yes (How?) _____ 36 37

_____

Couple 38 39 40

Sib 41 42

Persons 43

TOTAL 44 45 46 47