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Network for Studies on Pensions, Aging and Retirement

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intergenerational support:  
Responsiveness to parental  
needs in individual and  
familialistic countries**

**Discussion Papers 2006 – 005**

January 2006

# **A comparative perspective on intergenerational support: Responsiveness to parental needs in individualistic and familialistic countries**

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Paper to be presented at the session on *Intergenerational Relations* of the FAMNET  
Workshop in Turin, January 27, 2006 (EQUALSOC conferences)

## **Abstract**

It has often been argued that Southern European countries are more familialistic in their culture than Western and Northern European countries. In this paper, I examine this notion by testing the hypothesis that adult children are more responsive to the needs of their elderly parents in Southern Europe than in Western and Northern Europe. To test this hypothesis, I analyze the *Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe* (SHARE), which is a survey that was held in 10 European countries among people aged 50 and over. I focus on three indicators of need: (a) the partner status of the parent (widowed and divorced versus married), (b) the health status of the parent, and (c) the age of the parent. I examine two forms of support: (a) whether the child was living with the respondent, (b) whether an outside child provided practical or other types of help to the parent. I estimate effects of support need on these types of support and I compare these effects across countries, using additional information on country-level values from the *European Values Studies*.

## **Introduction**

For elderly parents, children are an important source of support. Children can provide several types of support, including emotional and social support on the one hand, and practical and financial assistance on the other hand (Silverstein & Bengtson 1997). The degree to which elderly parents receive support is a function of the need that parents have for that support and the degree to which children are responsive to those needs. For example, the death of a spouse increases the need for support on the part of the parent,

but some children will respond more strongly to such a life course transition than others (Stroebe, Stroebe, & Abakoumkin 1999).

Although many studies have examined the antecedents and consequences of intergenerational support, few studies have analyzed intergenerational support from a comparative perspective. Studying the role of the national context is important because there are important cultural differences between countries. More specifically, a distinction has been made between familialistic and individualistic settings (Lesthaeghe & Meekers 1986; Reher 1998). Familialistic climates can be found in Southern European countries whereas individualistic climates can be found in Western and Northern Europe. The main difference between these countries, so it is believed, lies in the strength of kinship norms. In most societies, there exists the norm that one should care for one's family members in times of need. Such norms apply to all types of family, but they are especially strong for one's own parents, although norms to support one's own children are even stronger (Lee, Netzer, & Coward 1994; Rossi & Rossi 1990). While these filial obligations are felt in all human societies, the norms are believed to be stronger in familialistic countries than in individualistic countries. There are not only norms about giving, there are also norms about receiving. Somewhat in contrast to norm of filial obligation, there is the norm that one should be independent and autonomous. Studies have shown that many elderly persons express a desire to remain independent as long as possible and to not be a 'burden' to their children (Silverstein & Bengtson 1994). Such norms of autonomy are probably stronger in individualistic countries than in familialistic countries. Countries also have different institutional arrangements for support (Esping-Andersen 1993). Differences can be found in the type and degree of social security, but also in formal care for the elderly. Such institutional differences seem to coincide with cultural differences—the more familialistic cultures have less state support for the elderly—but this relationship has not been studied systematically.

On the basis of the considerations above, one would expect that there is more informal social support from adult children in more familialistic countries. Although systematic comparative research is not well developed, the few studies that have been done indeed

point in this direction. Differences have been demonstrated for the frequency of contact between parents and adult children, as well as for the degree to which children live with their parents (Börsch-Supan et al. 2005; Höllinger & Haller 1990; Tomassini et al. 2004). Less is known about national differences in the support that parents receive from children and the evidence that there is, is less clear for the hypothesis (Börsch-Supan et al. 2005; Höllinger & Haller 1990).

In this contribution, I examine cultural differences in a new fashion. In addition to examining whether the overall level of support differs between countries, I examine whether the degree to which children respond to the needs of their parents depends on the national context. The central idea is that in settings where norms of filial obligations are stronger and where norms of individual autonomy are weaker, children will respond more strongly to the needs of their elderly parents. This will result in a stronger effect of the needs of parents on the support received in familialistic countries than in individualistic countries.

To test this hypothesis, I look at three indicators of need. First, I examine the effect of partner status. It can be assumed that the need of support from children is greater when the parent lives alone. Previous research confirms that parents who live alone receive more support from children, although these effects are clearest for widowhood and they are stronger for women (Barrett & Lynch 1999; Dykstra 1990; Eggebeen 1992; Roan & Raley 1996; Silverstein, Parrott, & Bengtson 1995). Second, I examine the effect of health impairments, and especially the degree to which older persons are limited in their daily functioning. Many studies have shown that such impairments – as measured by ADL scales – are associated with increased support from children (Eggebeen & Davey 1998; Klein Ikkink, Van Tilburg, & Knipscheer 1999; Spitze & Logan 1990). Third, I examine the role of age. Although age is a more indirect indicator of need, it is important to make a distinction between age categories. The older the parent becomes, the more need there will be for support.

If one wants to examine support from a comparative perspective, it is important to consider coresidence. There are large differences between European countries in the extent to which older adult children live with their parents. This may affect comparisons between countries in two ways. First, we have to realize that coresidence is an important way in which children can support their elderly parents. Hence, the hypothesis should first be tested for variations in coresidence. Second, when parents have an adult child living in, they have less need for support from an independently living child. Hence, variations in the actual support that parents receive from outside children should be studied for parents who do not live with an adult child. This leads to a two-step analysis: an analysis of coresidence, and for parents who do not live with their children, an analysis of support received.

The effects of the three aspects of need on support are examined in ten European countries, using the recently completed *Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe* (SHARE). This survey was held in 10 European countries among people aged 50 and over. The countries are Greece, Spain, and Italy in the south, Austria, Germany, The Netherlands, Switzerland, and France in the west, and Sweden and Denmark in the north. Descriptive preliminary results of these data have been published (Börsch-Supan et al. 2005), but the hypothesis suggested here has not yet been tested with these data.

For examining variations in the normative climate in different countries, I rely on data from the *European Values Studies 1999* (Halman 2001). The EVS data include 9 of the 10 countries that were covered in SHARE. The survey inquired about a range of individual attitudes, including the attitudes that people have toward supporting elderly parents.

## **Data**

To answer my research questions, I analyze the Survey of Health and Retirement (SHARE). SHARE is based on nationwide representative samples of ten countries

Greece, Spain, Italy, Austria, Germany, The Netherlands, Switzerland, France, Sweden and Denmark. Because of its limited sample size, Switzerland is excluded. In some countries, individuals were the sample units, in other countries, households were sampled. All persons aged 50 and over in a household were included in the sample. Household response rates vary from 42 percent in Sweden to 69 percent in France (average 55 percent). Respondents were interviewed with CAPI questionnaires at home. For the current analyses, I selected respondents aged 50 and over with at least one adult child. We define adult in this paper as 21 years of age or older.

### *Measures of support*

In the interview, all (living) children were recorded and for all children. Questions about coresidence and geographic distance were asked for all the children. My first measure is *whether or not the parent resides* with any adult children living (children 21 and over). An additional measure is a measure of coresidence that includes respondent who live in the same building as the parent. This option is a mix between living independently and living together. For the child generation, it is a way in which support can be given to parents without sacrificing the privacy of the nuclear family.

The second measure is a direct measure of support. This is based on a general question about whether or not the respondent received help during the past twelve months from persons outside the household. Help was defined as help with personal care, household tasks, or administrative tasks (examples were given on a separate list). If help was received, follow-up questions asked which person gave this help (up to a maximum of three different persons). The measure I used is *whether or not the respondent received any help from any independently living child* in the past twelve months. Support from outside children is very rare if the parents already have an adult child who lives in the household. For that reason, the analysis of support is based on parents who do not have adult children living with them.

### *Independent variables*

The first *need* variable is based on information about marital history and living situation. I make a distinction between respondents living with a partner and respondents living alone. For the latter group, I further make distinction in whether or not the respondent was divorced/separated or widowed. Never married single respondents are excluded (there are few such persons). Two variables are used: 'living alone' (coded 1, 0 otherwise), and 'alone and divorced' (coded 1, 0 otherwise). This specification allows me to assess whether living alone leads to an increase in support, and whether on top of such an effect, the divorced are different from the widowed.

In the analyses, I will be comparing the single widowed and divorced with the married. Note that for the respondents who are living with a partner, it cannot be assessed whether they were previously divorced or widowed. Hence, the married reference group includes persons who are remarried. This may bias the effects in uncertain ways. The effects of marital status are considered separately for men and women.

The other measures of *need* of the parent (respondent) are as follows: (a) age, broken up in three categories (50-64, 65-74, and 75+), (b) a subjective assessment of health by the respondent (ranging from 1 for 'excellent' to 5 for 'poor'), and (c) a scale of activities of daily living (ADL), which measures how many essential activities the respondent has difficulties in performing (e.g., getting out of bed, doing work around the house, showering). These are sometimes referred to as 'instrumental' tasks.

Several control variables are considered. First, I consider measures of the *potential supply* of support: (a) how many adult children the respondent has, (b) what proportion of the children is a daughter. These variables are defined differently for the different dependent variables. For coresidence, I look at the number of adult children; for support, I look at the number of adult and independently living children

Second, I include *educational level* in the analysis. Many previous studies have shown that education of parents and children has a strong negative effect on contact and a positive effect on geographical distance (Kalmijn 2006a). To make education comparable, I converted the ordered educational categories into proportional scores. These scores indicate for each person what proportion of respondents has a lower level of education. Proportional scores are constructed within countries so that there are essentially a relative stratification measure.

Third, sex is included in all analyses. In the current version, models are not estimated separately for men and women because this would reduce the statistical power of the effects, especially for the country-specific models. In one obvious case, however, I include an interaction of sex, and that is the interaction of sex and divorce. The effect of divorce is interacted with sex because it is known that divorced fathers receive less support from children than divorced mothers (Eggebeen 1992; Kalmijn 2006b; Pezzin & Steinberg Schone 1999). In the country-specific analyses, the divorced are excluded altogether because there are too few divorcees (by gender) in Southern European countries.

#### *Country level measures*

There are two ways to test the hypothesis. The first is to make an a priori division in familialistic and individualistic countries. In this approach, one would make a North-South division, with Greece, Spain and Italy as the Southern countries, and the other countries as the Northern countries. Some authors make a further distinction in Northern Europe and Western Europe. The Northern European countries are represented by Sweden and Denmark, whereas the Western European countries are represented by Germany, France, The Netherlands, and Austria. The Western group is probably heterogeneous.

A second approach is to measure familialistic norms at the country level. This has three advantages: (a) it gives the categorization an empirical base, (b) it makes it possible to

look at familialism as a continuous phenomenon, and (c) it avoids lumping together different countries in one Western European category. To measure familialism, I use data from the European Values Studies 1999. This survey was held in a large number of countries, including the nine countries analyzed here. In this survey, respondents answered a large number of attitude items, including one question about intergenerational obligations. Respondents were asked to consider two statements and to make a choice between the two:

*A Regardless of what the qualities and faults of ones parents are, one must always love and respect them*

*B One does not have the duty to respect and love parents who have not earned it by their behavior and attitudes*

The first option represents a normative and altruistic approach to intergenerational relations (it emphasizes *unconditional* support), the second option represents an exchange approach to intergenerational relations (it emphasizes *conditional* support). Hence, the we can regard people who chose the first option as more familialistic than people who chose the second option. As an aggregate measure of familialism, I use the percentage of respondents who chose the first option.

## **Descriptive results**

Table 1 first show how attitudes about intergenerational support vary among countries. The results confirm the general division into an individualistic north and a familialistic south that has often been made in the literature. In Italy, 79 percent of the population supports the notion of unconditional love and respect of one's parents. In Denmark, this is only 36 percent. The three Southern European countries are quite similar, as are the two Northern European countries. The Western category is mixed. On average, we see that the Western category is in between the Southern and the Northern category. Two exceptions are important however. The Netherlands is as individualistic as the Northern European countries and France is quite familialistic and belongs more to the Southern group.

The first column of Table 2 shows how many parents have adult children living in. The results show that coresidence is most common in the three Southern countries (about 50 percent in Italy and Spain), and least common in the north (below 5 percent in Denmark and Sweden). Western European countries are in between, ranging from 15-20 percent. The second column uses a broader definition of coresidence and includes parents who live in the same building as their children. We see that especially Germany, Austria, and Greece are affected by this redefinition. For example, in Germany, the coresidence percentage increases from 16 to 29, showing that 13 percent of the parents have children living in same building. In Figure 1, I present the relationship between coresidence and familialistic norms. The figure shows a clear relationship: The stronger the familialistic norm in a country, the more coresidence there is. The relationship is not fully linear, but it approaches a linear relationship reasonably well.

The third column in Table 1 presents the help that parents obtain from outside children, given that they do not have adult children living at home. Help numbers range considerably, from a low of 11 percent in Italy to a high of 28 percent in Greece. When linking the level of support to familialistic norms, we see no clear link (Figure 3). Spain and Italy, for example, have familialistic norms but low levels of support. Similarly, Denmark has weak norms but high levels of support. Overall, there seems to be no linear link between support and norms at the country level, in contrast to what one would expect.

As an additional descriptive measure, I look at contact between parents and children. For the four children who live closest to the respondent, SHARE asked about the frequency of contact (regardless of type of contact, thus including phone contact).<sup>1</sup> In Table 1, I look at the percentage of parents with daily contact with at least one child. Contact percentages also vary considerably. Contact is least common in Denmark (31 percent) and most common in Italy (72 percent). This is in line with prior research (Höllinger &

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<sup>1</sup> This measure is not used in the regression models because there are no clear effects of need on contact (which is consistent with earlier studies). This makes contact a less suitable indicator for testing the notion that effects of need are greater in some contexts than in others.

Haller 1990). When we plot contact at the country level with familialistic attitudes, we see a positive relationship (Figure 2). Hence, the stronger the familialistic norms, the more contact there is between generations. This is in line with expectations. In the plot, there is one exception. In France, the level of contact is below what one would expect given the strong norms that exist there.

## **Regression results**

For each dependent variable, a logistic regression model was estimated. The models were initially applied to all the nine countries and dummy-variables were included for the country differences. The results are in Table 3.

First, we see a positive effect of widowhood on both outcomes. Compared to married parents, parents who live without a partner have a 39 percent higher odds to live with an adult child and they have a 2.2 times higher odds to receive help. This is in line with the principle of need.

Note that in the group of parents without a partner, there is sharp contrast between the divorced and the widowed. The divorced are less likely to live with their children than the widowed and they are less likely to receive help. For coresidence, the interaction is so strong that it also implies that divorced parents are less likely to live with their children *than married parents*. The divorce effects are stronger for fathers, as the significant interactions between divorce and gender show. The implication of these latter effects is that compared to married fathers, divorced fathers are not only less likely to live with their children, they also receive less support from children ( $b = -.70 = +.79 - .41 - 1.08$ ). The mechanism behind this effect has to do with investments of divorced fathers in children, which works against the principle of need (Kalmijn 2006b). In the country-specific analyses, we will focus on the simpler effects of widowhood only (due to the small numbers of divorced fathers in a few countries).

The effects of health problems are also in line with the need hypothesis. We see significant positive effects of IADL on coresidence and on support, given coresidence. The more limitations in daily living the parent has, the more often the parent lives with a child and the more often he or she receives help from a child. The effects on coresidence are small—one standard deviation increase in IADL leads to a 15 percent increase in the odds of coresidence. The effects on support are strong (39 percent increase in the odds per standard deviation). In addition, we see a significant effect of subjective health on support. The poorer the health of the respondent, the more support he or she receives from an outside child. General health has no effect on coresidence, but we should keep in mind that IADL is already taken into account. In general, the results are in line with the need hypothesis.

Finally, we look at age. We see that a positive effect of parental age on support and a negative effect on coresidence. Parents aged 65-74 have a 33 percent higher odds to receive help than parents aged 50-64 and parents aged 75 or over have a 1.64 times higher odds to receive support than parents aged 65-74 (i.e.,  $\exp(.782 - .286)$ ). This is in line with the notion of need. The results for coresidence are the opposite, which will have to do with the role of the age of the child. The older the parents, the older the child, and the less likely it is that the child will want to live with the parent. Additional analyses need to incorporate the age of the children in the models.

Effects of the control variables are discussed next. We see that there are clear effects of the supply of support. The more adult children the parent has, the more often he or she lives with an adult child. Similarly, the more adult and independently living children the parent has, the more often he or she receives support from a child. In other words, having a large family does serve as a kind of old-age insurance. Effects of gender are also clear. We see that fathers receive less support than mothers. Because there is an interaction between gender and divorce in the model, the main effect applies to married and widowed parents. The sex of the child is also important. We find that the higher the proportion of daughters, the lower the chance that a child will live with the parent. This

suggests that especially sons are living with their parents. Analyses at the level of children (or multilevel analyses) are better suitable for addressing these issues, however.

In Table 4, we present the results of the model for coresidence for each country. Rather than discussing these results in detail, we present the main findings graphically. In Figures 4-8, we plot the countries in a diagram where we present the level of familialism on the horizontal axis and the regression effects of need on the vertical axis. Each of these figures plots a different need effect.

Figure 4 presents the effect of living without a partner on coresidence and Figure 5 presents the effect of IADL on coresidence. Neither figure confirms the hypothesis. We do not find stronger effects of need on coresidence in more familialistic countries.

Figure 6 presents the effect of living without a partner on support received. This figure provides positive evidence for the hypothesis. The more familialistic the country, the stronger the effect of partner status on support received. Multilevel analyses need to confirm this effect statistically (to be done). While this supports the central hypothesis, we do not find the expected pattern for the effects of IADL (Figure 7). Health limitations do not have stronger effects on support received from children in more familialistic countries. Similarly, we do not find stronger effects of age in more familialistic countries (Figure 8).

All in all, there seems to be only weak evidence that children are more responsive to the needs of their parents in more familialistic countries.

## **Conclusion**

To be written.

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Table 1.- Attitudes toward intergenerational support in 9 European countries

% respondents supporting  
unconditional love and respect of parents

*South*

Italy 79

Spain 79

Greece 69

*North*

Sweden 43

Denmark 36

*West*

France 75

Germany 60

Austria 65

Netherlands 32

Source: European Values Studies 1999 (own calculations)

Table 2.- Coresidence with and support from adult children: Parents aged 50+ in 9 European countries

	Adult child lives with parent	Adult child with parent or in building	Help obtained from outside child (no adult child at home)	Daily contact with outside child (no adult child at home)	N (1st two columns)	N (2nd two columns)
<i>South</i>						
Italy	0.506	0.615	0.106	0.722	1495	738
Spain	0.497	0.549	0.123	0.665	1476	741
Greece	0.385	0.534	0.275	0.691	1207	742
<i>North</i>						
Sweden	0.053	0.061	0.151	0.346	1847	1748
Denmark	0.055	0.072	0.207	0.314	968	914
<i>West</i>						
Austria	0.188	0.340	0.205	0.418	1186	963
Germany	0.155	0.292	0.212	0.364	1622	1366
Netherlands	0.163	0.171	0.122	0.358	1604	1340
France	0.180	0.199	0.144	0.321	953	778
Total	0.244	0.316	0.170	0.435	12358	9330

Source: Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe (own calculations).

Table 3.- Logistic regression of coresidence with and support from adult children:  
Parents aged 50+ in 9 European countries

	Adult child in household or building		Help obtained from adult child (parents without adult children at home)	
	b	p	b	p
<i>Need variables</i>				
Age 65-75 (versus 50-64)	-1.040	.00 *	0.286	.00 *
Age 75+ (versus 50-64)	-1.196	.00 *	0.782	.00 *
Living without partner	0.326	.00 *	0.789	.00 *
Divorced (versus widowed)	-0.560	.00 *	-0.412	.00 *
Divorced x male	-1.040	.00 *	-1.080	.00 *
Poor health	-0.015	.56	0.185	.00 *
Limited instrumental ADL	0.077	.00 *	0.186	.00 *
<i>Control variables</i>				
Man versus woman	0.011	.82	-0.375	.00 *
Number of children 21+	0.139	.00 *		
Number of outside children 21+			0.130	.00 *
Proportion daughters	-0.340	.00 *	0.030	.73
Education (proportional score)	-0.141	.14	-0.257	.05 *
<i>Country variables</i>				
Italy	1.345	.00 *	-1.121	.00 *
Spain	1.060	.00 *	-1.050	.00 *
Greece	1.032	.00 *	-0.111	.35
Sweden	-1.996	.00 *	-0.415	.00 *
Denmark	-1.716	.00 *	-0.098	.41 *
Netherlands	-0.877	.00 *	-0.800	.00 *
Germany (reference)	0.000		0.000	
Austria	0.230	.01 *	-0.211	.07
France	-0.590	.00 *	-0.699	.00 *
Constant	-0.440	.00 *	-2.851	.00 *
Model Chi-square	2961		1205	
Quasi R-square	0.22		0.13	
N	11817		8890	

Source: Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe (own calculations).

Table 4.- Logistic regression of parents aged 50+ having coresident older child(ren) in 9 European countries

	Italy		Spain		Greece		Sweden		Denmark		Netherlands		Germany		Austria		France	
	b	p	b	p	b	p	b	p	b	p	b	p	b	p	b	p	b	p
<i>Need variables</i>																		
Age 65-75 (versus 50-64)	-1.004	.00	-1.219	.00	-1.051	.00	-1.141	.00	-1.266	.00	-1.774	.00	-.681	.00	-.313	.06	-1.837	.00
Age 75+ (versus 50-64)	-1.202	.00	-1.124	.00	-1.305	.00	-1.585	.00	-1.282	.01	-2.401	.00	-.818	.00	-.633	.00	-1.561	.00
Living without partner	.539	.00	.499	.00	-.216	.20	.357	.36	.149	.72	.327	.19	.466	.01	.264	.15	.236	.37
Poor health	-.132	.04	-.084	.19	-.129	.07	.319	.01	-.039	.79	.031	.70	.058	.39	-.055	.47	.255	.02
Limited instrumental ADL	.069	.03	.110	.00	.032	.37	.007	.93	.282	.00	.070	.24	.080	.04	.138	.00	.092	.16
<i>Control variables</i>																		
Woman (vs. man)	-.082	.50	.064	.60	.170	.26	-.337	.12	-.383	.21	-.243	.11	.050	.69	.203	.20	.158	.44
Number of children 21+	.120	.01	.142	.00	.249	.00	-.045	.64	.324	.01	.130	.02	.224	.00	.054	.36	.167	.01
Proportion daughters	-.563	.00	-.136	.40	-.143	.41	-.792	.01	.539	.21	-.308	.15	-.536	.00	-.421	.02	-.597	.02
Education (proportional score)	.192	.42	.244	.36	1.103	.00	.171	.68	.628	.26	-.268	.33	-1.114	.00	-1.336	.00	-.438	.27
Constant	1.230	.00	.453	.10	.165	.60	-2.464	.00	-3.364	.00	-1.030	.00	-.517	.08	.257	.42	-1.399	.00

Note: Divorced parents who live alone are excluded. Coresidence includes same building.

Source: Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe (own calculations).

Table 5.- Logistic regression of parents aged 50+ obtaining support from non-resident older child(ren) in 9 European countries

	Italy		Spain		Greece		Sweden		Denmark		Netherlands		Germany		Austria		France	
	b	p	b	p	b	p	b	p	b	p	b	p	b	p	b	p	b	p
<i>Need variables</i>																		
Age 65-75 (versus 50-64)	0.561	.14	0.394	.30	0.804	.01	0.408	.06	-0.009	.97	0.331	.19	0.339	.07	0.083	.72	0.507	.22
Age 75+ (versus 50-64)	0.835	.05	0.428	.30	1.498	.00	1.027	.00	0.105	.71	0.754	.01	1.073	.00	0.263	.32	1.438	.00
Living without partner	0.701	.02	1.272	.00	1.077	.00	0.900	.00	0.613	.01	0.778	.00	0.562	.00	0.852	.00	1.208	.00
Poor health	0.141	.38	0.362	.01	0.153	.16	0.165	.07	0.197	.06	0.071	.49	0.313	.00	0.050	.63	0.044	.78
Limited instrumental ADL	0.168	.00	0.220	.00	0.180	.00	0.221	.00	0.266	.00	0.129	.01	0.105	.04	0.176	.00	0.394	.00
<i>Control variables</i>																		
Woman (vs. man)	0.831	.01	0.220	.47	-0.115	.63	0.631	.00	0.590	.01	0.689	.00	0.126	.43	0.059	.79	0.551	.08
Number of outside children 21+	0.195	.05	0.107	.17	0.131	.17	0.067	.30	0.162	.06	0.147	.01	0.182	.01	0.117	.12	0.122	.13
Proportion daughters	0.482	.22	0.459	.22	0.756	.00	-0.762	.00	-0.223	.44	-0.055	.85	-0.095	.63	0.427	.09	-0.278	.46
Education (proportional score)	-1.704	.01	-1.557	.05	-0.351	.49	0.040	.90	0.724	.07	-0.077	.83	-0.777	.02	-0.455	.19	-0.662	.27
Constant	-4.120	.00	-4.104	.00	-3.575	.00	-3.190	.00	-3.178	.00	-3.604	.00	-2.864	.00	-2.389	.00	-3.706	.00

Note: Only parents without resident adult children. Divorced parents who live alone are excluded.

Source: Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe (own calculations).

Figure 1.- Parent-child coresidence

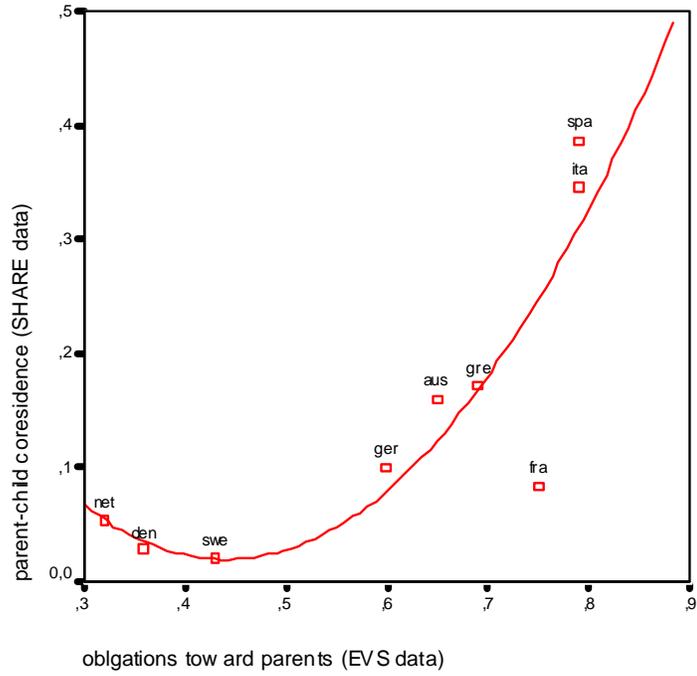


Figure 2. - Parent-child contact

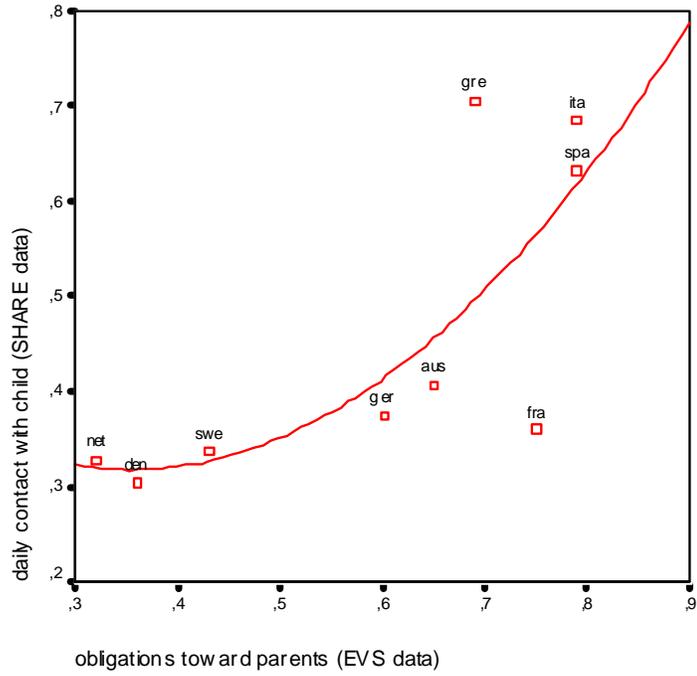


Figure 3.- Support from child to parent

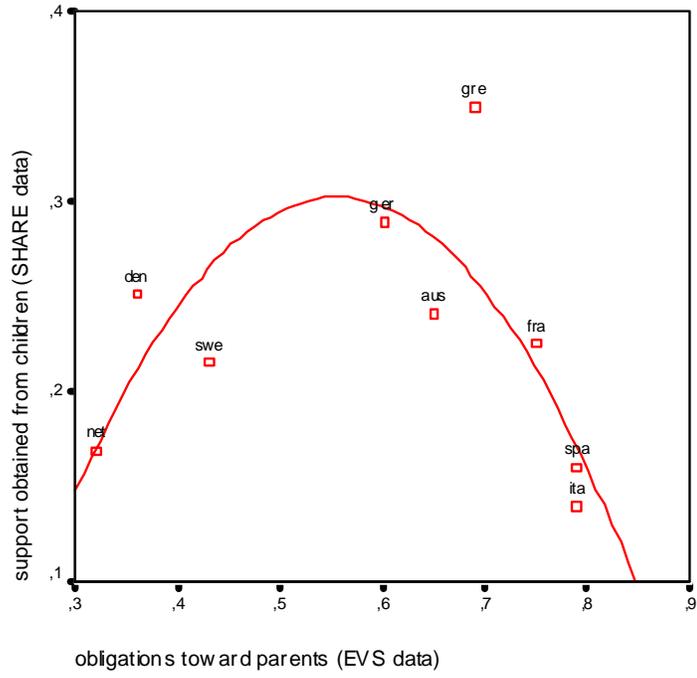


Figure 4.- Effect of no partner on coresidence

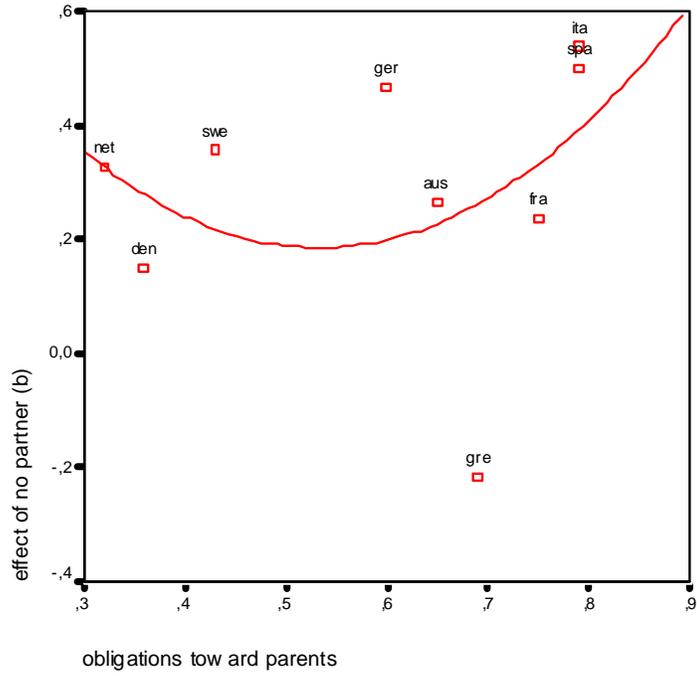


Figure 5.- Effect of ADL on coresidence

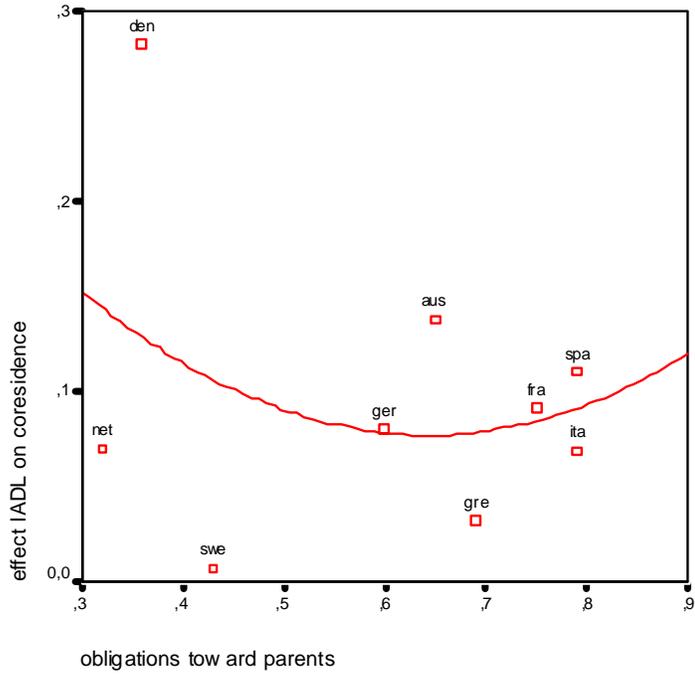


Figure 6.- Effect of no partner on support

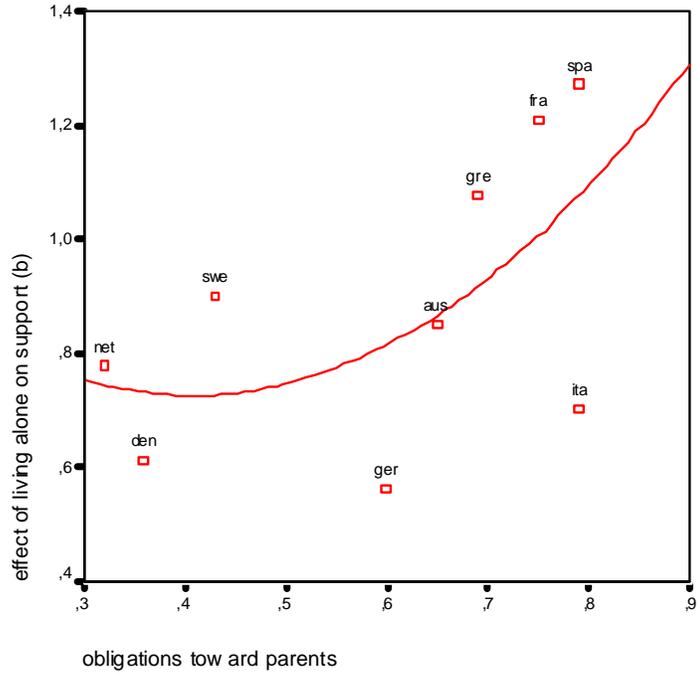


Figure 7.- Effect of ADL on support

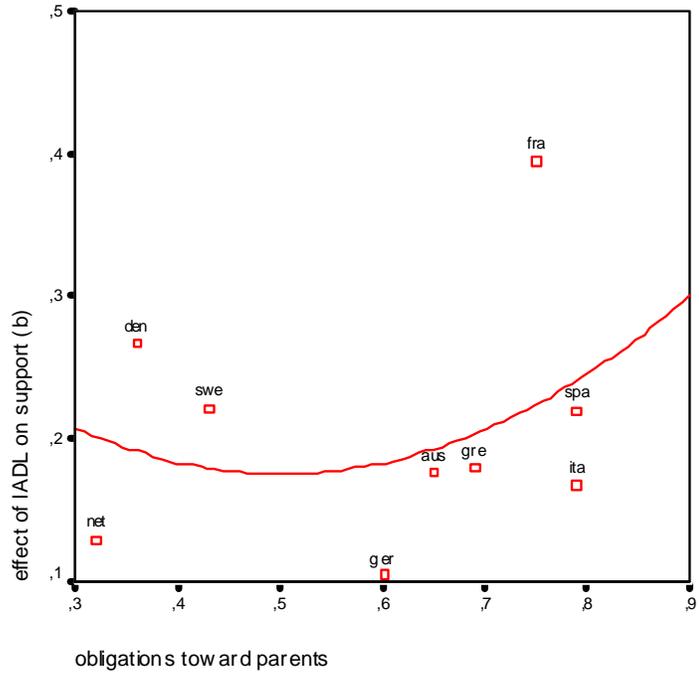


Figure 8.- Effect of parental age on support

