

Explaining parent-child proximity in Europe: a micro and macro perspective

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Outline

- Introduction
- General framework
- Hypotheses: micro and macro
- Data & Method
- Results
- Conclusions
- Further research plans



Introduction

- Relationship older parent adult children important element of intergenerational relationships in ageing society
- Geographic proximity parent adult children = opportunity structure intergenerational solidarity
- Geographic proximity = reflection of intergenerational solidarity (~ dependent variable)

(Tomassini et al., 2003; Hank, 2008)

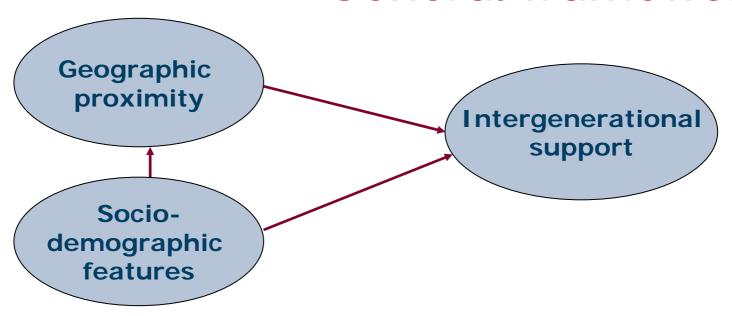


Introduction

- Geographic proximity knew some major changes during past decades (e.g. decline multigenerational households)
- In addition: families are changing in form and meaning
- ⇒ Pessimistic view: "Decline of the family"
- ⇒ Optimistic view: "Intimate but distant relationships" still providing support



General framework



• First step: Insight in the diversity in geographic proximity ~ necessary precondition to understand effect of geographic proximity on intergenerational support



(Potential) need support parent

Micro

(Potential) need support child

Life events parent(s)

Life events child

Normative solidarity

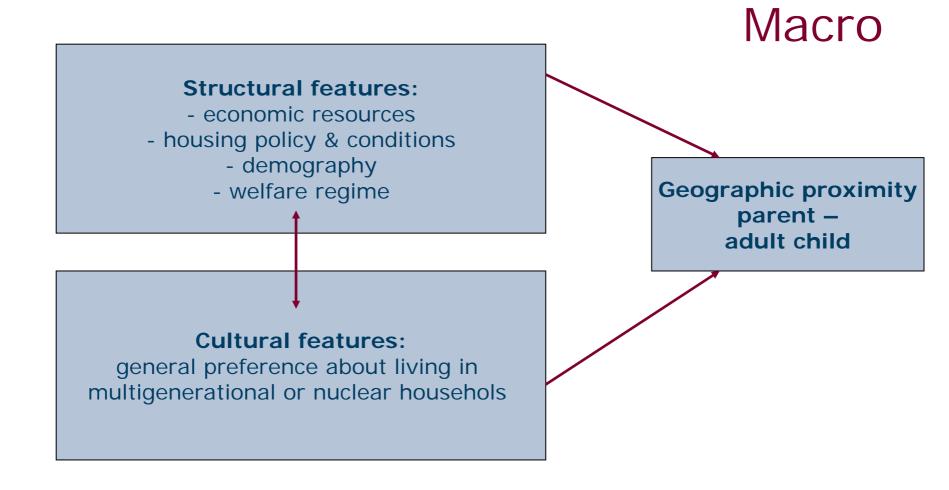
Control variables:

Socio-economic status

Demographic features

Geographic proximity parent – adult child







Macro

- In this study: data from GGS
 → comparison Western & Eastern Europe (France & Germany) vs. (Bulgaria, Georgia & Russia)
 - Structural features:

Economic resources & housing market:

Eastern Europe: post-socialist Europe → household extension as adaptive strategy ~ economic disruption (Ahmed et al., 2005)

- Cultural features:

Eastern Europe ~ stronger family culture Western Europe: preference for separate households



Macro

- Hypotheses
 - Higher prevalence of multigenerational hh in Eastern Europe
 - Optimistic vs. pessimistic view on intergenerational sol.
 Optimistic view:
 - Western Europe: living separately but at a small distance
 - Western Europe: significant effects norms & need for support on geographic proximity



Data & Method

- Data: GGS
 - 5 countries
 - 18-79 years
 - Germany: geographic proximity not known when parents divorced → bias results, controlled for in multivariate analyses
- Method:
 - Multinomial logistic regression
 - Dependent: distance to mother (& father, results not shown)
 - Reference category: living within 10 minutes
 - Step 1: Each country separately
 - Step 2: Differences between countries



Data & Method

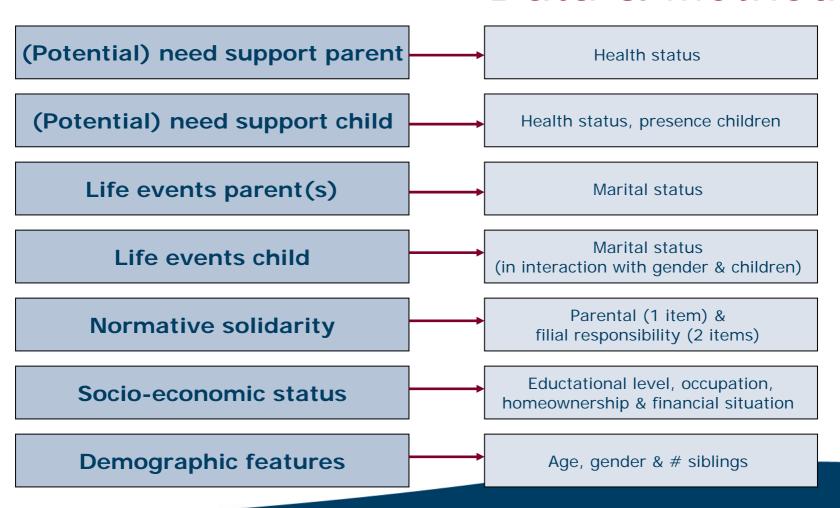




Table: Distance to mother

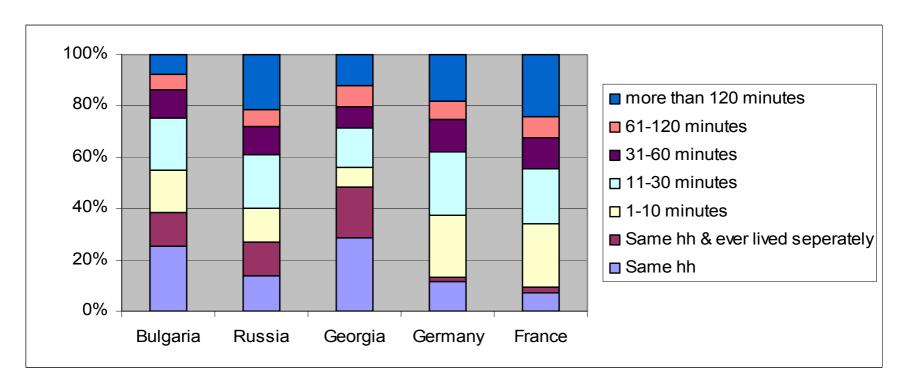
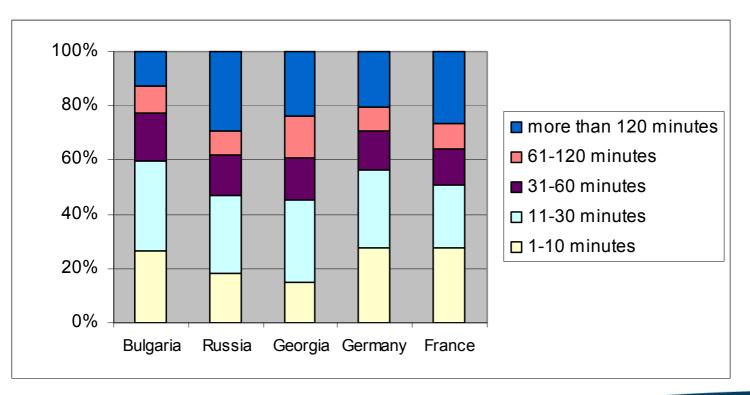




Table: Distance to mother, living together not included





- Multinomial logistic regression: some remarks
 - Odds-ratio's, only significant effects shown
 - Results shown for life events & norms
 - Effects of health status limited
 - Controlled for educational level, occupational status, financial situation hh, homeownership, age, gender & # siblings

			Bul.	Rus.	Ge.	Ger.	Fr.
Living in same hh	Marital status mother (ref. married)	Mother divorced		2,77			1,67
		Mother widowed	1,97	0,05	1,47	0,40	0,07
	Marital status	Single parent & man	2,76	26,43			
(ref. living within 10	& gender	Single & man	17,41	13,30	10,28	6,34	27,84
minutes)	(ref. couple	Stepfamily & man		0,20			
	with children)	Couple, no children & man	1,65		2,24		
	ŕ	Single parent & woman	6,01	2,61	4,86		4,59
		Single & woman	83,90	14,78	150,76	12,68	35,17
		Stepfamily & woman					
		Couple, no children & woman	2,98				
Living in same hh, lived seperately for > 3 months	Marital status mother (ref. married)	Mother divorced		4,06	0,39		3,05
		Mother widowed	1,87		1,45		
	Marital status & gender	Single parent & man	3,71	23,77			
		Single & man	20,70	15,07	8,98	16,08	28,08
	(ref. couple with children)	Stepfamily & man				6,84	
(ref. living within 10 minutes)		Couple, no children & man	1,77		2,10		
		Single parent & woman	12,64	6,19	10,71		18,88
		Single & woman	75,82	11,31	87,22	122,18	80,28
		Stepfamily & woman		2,06	5,189		
		Couple, no children & woman	3,19	1,99		17,20	

			Bul.	Rus.	Ge.	Ger.	Fr.
Living 11-30	Marital status mother (ref. married)	Mother divorced					
minutes from mother		Mother widowed					
	Marital status & gender	Single parent & man					
(ref. living		Single & man	1,75				
within 10	(ref. couple	Stepfamily & man					1,76
minutes)	with children)	Couple, no children & man				1,63	
		Single parent & woman	0,55				
		Single & woman					
		Stepfamily & woman					
		Couple, no children & woman					
Living more	Marital status mother (ref. married)	Mother divorced	1,66				1,41
than 30 minutes from		Mother widowed	1,21				0,80
mother	Marital status & gender	Single parent & man					
		Single & man	2,45	2,41		1,58	1,38
(ref. living	(ref. couple with children)	Stepfamily & man				2,08	
within 10 minutes)		Couple, no children & man				1,64	
minutes)		Single parent & woman					
		Single & woman	2,85	2,01		2,04	
		Stepfamily & woman					1,74
		Couple, no children & woman			0,59		



- Distance to father & marital status father:
 - In all countries: if not living together, greater distance
 - In Russia & France: higher odds to live with divorced father than living close by (within 10 minutes)

			Bul.	Rus.	Ge.	Ger.	Fr.
Living in	If adult children in	(Strongly) disagree	0,63				
same hh	need, parents should adjust lives	Neither agree / nor disagree			1,88		
	(ref. strongly agree)	Agree					
(ref. living	Children's resp. for	(Strongly) disagree					
within 10 minutes)	caring parents in need (ref. strongly	Neither agree / nor disagree			0,23		
minutes)	agree)	Agree					
	Children have parents to live with them (ref. strongly agree)	(Strongly) disagree		0,44			0,48
		Neither agree / nor disagree	0,71	0,52			0,42
		Agree		0,58			
Living in same hh, lived seperately for > 3 months	If adult children in need, parents should adjust lives (ref. strongly agree)	Strongly) disagree					
		Neither agree / nor disagree					
		Agree	1,47				
	Children's resp. for	(Strongly) disagree					
	caring parents in need (ref. strongly	Neither agree / nor disagree			0,20		0,40
(ref. living within 10 minutes)	agree)	Agree					0,60
	Children have	(Strongly) disagree	0,54	0,48		0,27	0,50
	parents to live with them (ref. strongly	Neither agree / nor disagree	0,55	0,63			0,53
	agree)	Agree	0,77				

			Bul.	Rus.	Ge.	Ger.	Fr.
Living 11-30	If adult children in need, parents should adjust lives	(Strongly) disagree					
minutes from mother		Neither agree / nor disagree					
motriei	(ref. strongly agree)	Agree					
	Children's resp. for	(Strongly) disagree					
(ref. living within 10	caring parents in need (ref. strongly	Neither agree / nor disagree	1,72		0,21		
minutes)	agree)	Agree	1,22	1,39			
	Children have parents to live with them (ref. strongly agree)	(Strongly) disagree				1,86	1,37
		Neither agree / nor disagree				1,69	
		Agree				1,80	1,33
Living more than 30 minutes from mother (ref. living within 10 minutes)	If adult children in need, parents should adjust lives (ref. strongly agree)	Strongly) disagree				0,53	
		Neither agree / nor disagree				0,47	
		Agree				0,61	
	Children's resp. for caring parents in need (ref. strongly agree)	(Strongly) disagree					
		Neither agree / nor disagree				1,48	
		Agree				1,51	
	Children have	(Strongly) disagree				1,72	
	parents to live with them (ref. strongly	Neither agree / nor disagree				1,71	0,80
	agree)	Agree				1,51	



	(ref. France)	Country	Country (controlling for other features)
Living in same hh	Bulgaria	5,62	7,43
	Russia	3,72	3,79
(ref. living within 10	Georgia	13,26	22,59
minutes)	Germany	1,76	2,58
Living in same hh,	Bulgaria	9,64	13,80
lived seperately for > 3 months	Russia	11,05	8,59
(ref. living within 10	Georgia	29,10	43,84
minutes)	Germany		
Living 11-30 minutes	Bulgaria	1,49	1,57
from mother	Russia	1,84	1,91
(ref. living within 10	Georgia	2,36	2,68
minutes)	Germany	1,22	1,19
Living more than 30	Bulgaria	0,85	1,22
minutes from mother	Russia	1,62	1,87
(ref. living within 10	Georgia	2,04	2,61
minutes)	Germany	0,89	0,83



Conclusions

- Family constellation ~ geographic proximity
 - Marital status mother & father:
 - Precarious situation divorced fathers (& mothers in France and Bulgaria)
 - Remark: no results for Germany
 - Family constellation adult child
 - + Single parents, specifically mothers more often live with & live close to their mother not in Germany
 - Stepfamilies tend to live further away in France & Germany:
 - Germany: Men
 - France: Men & Woman
 - Remark: proportion low in all countries, specifically Russia

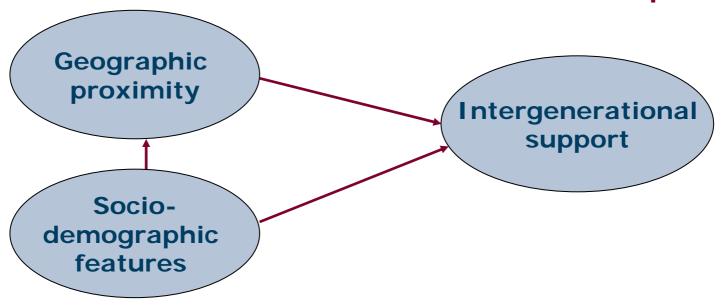


Conclusions

- · Optimistic vs. pessimistic scenario
 - More multigenerational hh in Eastern Europe
 - + If not living together: living at a smaller distance in France & Germany
 - + In France & Germany: family norms affect geographic proximity (~ changed sol.)
 - ⇒ Western Europe: different, but intact opportunity structure for intergenerational support



Further research plans



 Next step: intermediate effect of geographic proximity (SEM) + data from Italy & Norway



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