INTERGENERATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS AMONG MIGRANT FAMILIES IN EUROPE

Valeria Bordone[1] and Helga De Valk[2]

Draft paper prepared for the PAA Annual Meeting 2013

PLEASE DO NOT CITE OR QUOTE WITHOUT AUTHORS´ PERMISSION

Abstract

Intergenerational relations are keys throughout the life course and a major mechanism of cultural continuity. Here we study international migrant and non-migrant populations in ten European countries by looking at relationships between elderly parents and their adult children. The Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe (SHARE) is used to compare exchange of support, frequency of contact and living arrangements among those aged 50 and over. Our findings show limited differences between migrants and non-migrants, although non-migrant elderly have more daily contact with at least one child. Moreover, elderly parents of migrant origin more likely have at least one child living in another country, pointing to the importance of transnational family ties in these families. Furthermore, persistent differences in intergenerational relationships across Europe are found irrespective of migrant status; whereas differences between migrants of various origins are found to be very limited.

[1] Wittgenstein Centre for Demography and Global Human Capital (IIASA, VID/ ÖAW, WU), Vienna University of Economics and Business. Contact: valeria.bordone@wu.ac.at

[2]. Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute (NIDI) and Vrije Universiteit Brussel. Contact: valk@nidi.nl

Introduction

One of the key demographic changes taking place in Europe is that of ageing. One novelty in this process is however that, besides the increasing number of elderly among the majority group, also (first-generation) migrants are ageing in Europe (De Valk et al., 2011). For example, in Germany the share of elderly above 60 years old with a non-German nationality was 5.5 in 1994 and amounted to about 11 per cent ten years later (Baykara-Krume, 2008). Similar patterns are observed in other north-western European countries (De Valk et al., 2011). This ageing process puts therefore into question the role and function of intergenerational ties across elderly of different ethnic origin.

Intergenerational relations are overall recognized as a main source of support in later life and they function as a major mechanism of cultural continuity. Research on the population as a whole has produced large evidence of strong attachment and exchange of support between parents and their adult children (e.g. Bordone, 2009; Grundy, 2006; Hank, 2007; Tomassini et al., 2004). Yet, this has hardly been studied in migration research, where cohort analyses of differences in the assimilation of migrant generations prevail. The few existing studies on solidarity within migrant families have mainly focused on one reception country or one migrant group only (e.g. Attias-Donfut & Wolff, 2008; Baykara-Krume, 2008; De Valk & Schans, 2008; Schans, 2008), primarily referring to migrant families with minor or adolescent children (e.g. Nauck, 2000; Boos-Nünning & Karakasoglu, 2005; Portes and Rumbaut, 2006). Already in the early 1960s many European countries recruited migrant workers mainly from Mediterranean and northern African countries. Furthermore, several European countries had colonial ties in other parts of the world which often resulted in migration moves between these areas. Although Europe is one of the main destination areas for migrants in the world,. all in all, still little is known on intergenerational relationships between elderly parents and adult children in families with a migration background in Europe. Nevertheless in migration studies the effect of migration on relations within migrant families has been put forward in two contrastinghypotheses: the first suggests a higher level of cohesion and, related to that, a higher degree of intergenerational support exchange in migrant families. The second hypothesis suggests that family relations may be more fragile for migrants, mainly as a consequence of potential intergenerational and intercultural conflicts (see Baykara-Krumme, 2008; De Valk & Schans, 2008 for a discussion).

However, both these perspectives assume different ties within families of migrant origin as compared to non-migrant families. Earlier empirical research is still inconclusive on these hypotheses. Studies on the Netherlands suggest that filial obligations are indeed stronger among some migrant origin groups but this is not necessarily reflected in higher levels of actual support (De Valk & Schans, 2008; Schans & de Valk, 2012). Similar results were obtained by Baykara-Krumme (2008) on Germany, who for example showed that intergenerational ties in later-life migrant families are not too different from those of non-migrants. At the same time some findings suggest differences between migrants and non-migrants depending on the type of support under study (e.g. Attias-Donfut & Wolff, 2008).

In our study we add to the existing literature by studying intergenerational relationships in their different dimensions and their determinants in later life among (international) migrant and non-migrant populations in ten European countries (see Bengtson & Schrader, 1982; Roberts et al., 1991 for a codification of family solidarity) using the Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe (SHARE).

Background

Theories on family relations have stressed the importance of different types of family systems dominant in different parts of the world. Kagitcibasi (1996), for example, suggested that family systems are not static but will also accommodate, according to the circumstances, the family encounters. This is also one basic idea that helps explaining the well-established differences in family ties between northern and southern European countries: the welfare system, more developed in northern countries, has taken over part of the care arrangements which are shouldered by the family in southern European countries (Reher, 1998; Dykstra & Fokkema, 2011). According to these ideas, in countries with a highly developed welfare system, the society has moved from a culture of "relatedness", featuring high levels of intergenerational dependency, to a culture of "separateness", where the state is expected to provide material support and adult children are left to give affective support. Similarly, for migrant families, often originating from countries in which relatedness in family ties prevail (as is the case for many less developed and more agricultural societies in which children tend stem for old age security), the move to

countries with more developed welfare systems may increase their dependence on the state rather than on the family, within the process of adaptation.

The diversity among the countries of origin as well as among the destination countries in our study allows us to test the following hypotheses:

H1. The migration effect: *Families of migrant origin are likely to be involved in intergenerational exchange within the family differently from non-migrants.*

Studies on the effect of migration on relations have however indicated two different contradicting hypotheses. On the one hand, migration would have a disruptive effect on the relations (for example between parents and children). On the other hand, it has been suggested that, as a result of the migration move, levels of cohesion and solidarity as well as the maintenance of key norms and values would be stronger. Since no evidence has been shown for elderly migrants and their relationship with their children, we test these two viewpoints against each other and explore the correctness of either one:

H1.1 Family of migrant origin establish higher level of cohesion and higher degree of intergenerational solidarity

H1.2 Families of migrant origin experience more fragile relations and lower solidarity due to potential intergenerational and intercultural conflicts

As indicated above, family relations are different throughout Europe. Migrants who move to different parts of Europe, encounter therefore different levels of family and welfare state support systems. Europe in this sense is a natural laboratory where we can study the effect of the country of residence in detail. Since in many northern European countries support functions that were traditionally taken care of by the family have been handed over (at least partially) to the state, one could expect that more developed welfare state arrangements would thus result in less intergenerational relationships because of the reduced necessity for it.

H2. The country of residence effect*: Although we expect to find diversity in intergenerational support between migrants of different origin based on the different family*

systems developed in the world[3]*, families of migrant origin, as well as non-migrants, living in countries with advanced welfare state arrangements are more likely to be less dependent on family members; while, families living in countries with less developed welfare state arrangements are more likely to maintain their previous ties dependencies.*

Whereas in societies with less developed welfare systems family members have to rely on each other in throughout life (e.g. children may be considered a sort of old age security for their parents who invest more in them when young as they would do in a "support bank"), this is less the case in more developed welfare states. Nevertheless, previous studies have pointed out that in all societies parent-child relationships remain characterized by emotional bonds (i.e. there is no crowing out of the family, rather mixed responsibilities are shared). This implies that the effect of the country of residence and the availability of welfare state arrangements in different European countries may be more relevant in shaping those dimensions of intergenerational relationships that may be perceived as a burden when fully shouldered by family members. We therefore hypothesize that:

H2.1 The country of residence effect is more likely to be strong for those dimensions of intergenerational relationships that could eventually be replaced by the state or the private market (i.e. functional solidarity).

In our analyses, we distinguish four dimensions of intergenerational relationships, following the solidarity paradigm initially proposed by Bengtson and colleagues (e.g. Bengtson & Schrader, 1982; Roberts et al., 1991) and further elaborated by several scholars: functional upward solidarity (i.e. practical help from the children to the parents), functional downward solidarity (i.e. practical and care-related help from the parents to the children) – in terms of practical help from the parents to the children and grandparental childcare), association (i.e. frequency of contact), and structure (i.e. living arrangements).

[3] E.g. we assume that those originating from areas in which strong intergenerational ties prevail (Africa, Asia and Southern Europe) will maintain these stronger ties also after migration. We acknowledge that changes in family support patterns have shaped family relationships also in those regions of origin where traditionally family ties were stronger. Yet, focusing on the population aged 50+, we rely on the information about family support as referred to past decades.

Data and method

In this study we are primarily interested in the various dimensions of solidarity between elderly migrant parents and their (second-generation migrant) adult children in Europe. Data from the Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe (SHARE, Börsch-Supan et al., 2005) are used to carry out descriptive and multivariate analyses on solidarity dimensions among migrants and non-migrants aged 50 and over in ten European countries. SHARE is a multidisciplinary cross-sectional database, containing information on the country of origin and detailed socio-demographic characteristics of the interviewees and their children (Börsch-Supan et al., 2005). Although 14 countries have so far joined SHARE, we consider the following 10 countries for this study: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden. While Ireland has a too limited sample size, Israel does not contain complete information about the migration background. Czech Republic and Poland are not included in the analysis as they are mainly countries of out-migration rather than of in-migration. The ten countries representing North, Central and Southern Europe are part of the longitudinal database which contains interviews carried out in 2004 and 2006. We keep the first interview for each respondent.

Dependent variables

The dependent variables reflect four dimensions of family solidarity.

Functional. The giving and receiving of support across generations includes upward and downward support. Functional solidarity upward generational lineage is considered as the amount of days per year in which the interviewed elderly person receives help from the child in personal care (e.g. dressing, bathing or showering, eating, getting in or out of bed, using the toilet), practical household tasks (e.g. with home repairs, gardening, transportation, shopping, household chores) and help with paperwork (e.g. filling out forms, settling financial or legal matters). Downward support is measured as the number of days per year that the elderly parent gives help to the child in practical household tasks and/or paperwork. Additionally, the amount of time spent in taking care of grandchildren is considered, as it is recognized as one of the main downward transfers in later life. The sample for this latter analysis is reduced as only

grandparents are included (i.e. interviewees in the sub-sample on grandparenting have at least one grandchild.

Association. In SHARE, the frequency of parent-child contact is measured after the following question (asked to the parent): "During the past twelve months, how often did you have contact with [{child name}], either personally, by phone or mail?"

Structure. Parent-child proximity is derived from the following question: "Where does child N live?". The possible answers are "same household; same building; less than 1 km; 1 to 5 km; 5 to 25 km; 25 to 100 km; 100 to 500 km; more than 500 km; more than 500 km, in another country". All the following analysis exclude parent-child dyads living in the same household or building.

Explanatory variables

The independent variables of main interest are the region of origin and the region of residence. Concerning the region of origin, SHARE includes information about the country where the interviewed person was born. Following the classification of countries into regions as suggested by the United Nations Statistics Division (http://unstats.un.org/unsd/methods/m49/m49regin.htm, accessed on September 21, 2012), we consider six origins: North-Western Europe, Southern Europe, Eastern Europe, South America, Africa, Asia. Interviewees originating from North America and Australia are not considered as they were forming too small groups to be considered independently; while not fully fitting in any of the other groups from the point of view of family characteristics or migration patterns. As for the region of residence, North, Central, and Southern European countries form three distinct groups. Table 1 summarises the information on country of residence and country of origin. The unit of analysis is the child of the interviewed person, as it will be in the multivariate analysis.

Controls

Control variables include socio-demographic characteristics of the individual and of the family which were found to be predictors of intergenerational relationships in previous studies and for which we expect similar effects in migrant and non-migrant families. As for the parent, we control for the following characteristics: age (50-65; 66-75; 76+), gender, marital status

(married; separated or divorced; widowed; never married), number of children, education (low; middle; high). Characteristics of the child additionally included are: gender, marital status (living with spouse or partner; living alone), having children (=1; 0 otherwise), having at least one sibling living in the same household of the interviewed parent (=1; 0 otherwise). In all the models, but the one on structural solidarity, geographical distance between the parent and the child is included as a control (less than 1 km; 1 to 5 km; 5 to 25 km; 25 to 100 km; 100 to 500 km; more than 500 km; more than 500 km, in another country). Given that some types of intergenerational solidarity are closely linked to a need of them deriving from poor health, both a variable counting the problems the person has with activities of daily living (ADL and IADL) and a measure of self-perceived health (excellent, very good, good, fair, poor) are included in all the models.

Sample construction

We retain the sample aged 50 to 85 years old with at least one child. The main drop of the sample derives from selection in the number of children considered and in parent-child geographical proximity.

Overall the proportion of elderly that share the household with an adult child is about the same for migrant and non-migrant elderly. About 69% of non-migrants have at least one child living with them; while 66% of the non-migrant parents co-reside with at least one child. The first steps of analysis, following below, do not include parent-child dyads co-residing in the same household. Yet, information is retained about having at least a child living with the parent. A further selection of the sample derives from the drop out of the respondents with more than 4 children. This is due to the fact that SHARE asks information about associational solidarity only up to the fourth child. Yet, only about 5% of the sample interviewed has 5 or more children. Since both these selections may particularly affect the sample with an international migration background, we might consider the possibility of including also the sub-sample of children living in the same household as the parent and those parents with more than 4 children for further analyses. In particular, the restriction on the number of children is not necessary for the study of functional exchange. Additionally, the sample is reduced by eliminating all missing observations in the dependent variables or in the key information about being born in or outside the country of residence, but also in the information about socio-demographic and health-related variables.

Multivariate approach

We carry out multivariate analyses on the two sub-populations defined by migration background (i.e. the sub-population where the interviewed parent was not born in the country of residence and the sub-population where the interviewed parent was born in the country of residence), in order to trace patterns of exchange of support between parents and children, frequency of contact and living arrangements.

Zero-inflated negative binomial models (zinb in STATA) are used to study functional exchange, where the majority of the sample has a 0 (i.e. not receiving, not giving, not grandparenting, respectively). Zero-inflated negative binomial regressions model count variables with excessive zeros. Theory suggests that the excess zeros are generated by a separate process from the count values and that the excess zeros can be modeled independently. Therefore, these models predict two parts: in the first part (reported in Table 4), all the variables of our main interest as well as controls are included to estimate the association between the dependent variable and each independent variable considered; the second part (available from authors upon request) predicts the 0, thus it tells which variables, among those considered, are more likely to give a 0 in the dependent variable. For example, the coefficient of self-reported health in the inflated part of the model on upward support, tells us that the more the person is in poor health, the less likely it is to find a 0 (as it can be expected, a condition of poor health increases the probability to receive functional support from the children).

Due to the nature of the variables, ordinal logistic regression models are carried out contact and geographical distance.

Results

Descriptive findings

From the descriptive analysis, the frequency of help received (Figure 1a) from the children (in the form of personal care, houseworks and paperwork) as well as the frequency of help given (Figure 1b) to the children (in the form of housework and paperwork), do not appear to be significantly different between the non-migrant and the migrant populations. However, a

distribution skewed towards 0 (no support received and no support give prevail) affects the descriptive results of these two variables. Grandparenting (Figure 1c) seems to occur significantly more often among non-migrants than among child-parent dyads where the parent has migrated out of the country of origin (note that only children with at least one child have been considered in this graph).

Preliminary descriptive results show that the sample of older people of migrant origin has on average a higher number of children (2.6 against 2.5 among the non-migrant sample). However, the frequency of contact between parent and child is on average higher among the non-migrant sample: Table 2 reports a value of 4.3 among the migrants and 4.6 among the non-migrants. Similarly, Figure 1d shows a statistically significant difference in the average amount of contact between the two sub-populations considered.

Looking at the distribution of the average geographical distance between parents and children (Table 3), a similar pattern for migrant and non-migrant elderly parents emerges: the modal category is represented by children living between 5 and 25 km from the parents (20% among children of non-migrants; almost 19% among second-generation migrants). At the opposite, we find about 3% of the children in both sub-samples that are living more than 100 km away from the interviewed parent, within the same country. There is one exception to this similar pattern: children of parents who migrated out of their country of origin are more likely to live in another country (10% against 2.7% of children of non-migrants), indicating the importance of transnational family ties in migrant families. Figure 1e confirms that descriptively the geographical distance between parent and child is significantly different between non-migrants and families of migrant origin. In the following multivariate analysis, parent-child dyads living in the same household or same building have not been included.

Multivariate analysis

Multivariate analyses will shed further light on the determinants of intergenerational relationships among migrant and non-migrant families. Table 4 shows some preliminary results of regression models on the 5 dependent variables representing various dimensions of intergenerational solidarity. Given the model specification described in the previous section, beta

coefficients are reported for the models on upward and downward help; while odds ratios fill in the columns referred to ordinal logistic models (i.e. on contact and geographical distance).

A first interesting result is that the country of residence has a large effect on several of the dimensions of intergenerational relationships considered. Child-parent dyads where the parent has a migration background are more likely to be involved in upward intergenerational transfers of help if they live in Central or Southern Europe (although only the first is statistically significant). Similarly, grandparental childcare is more frequent in Central Europe than in Northern Europe. Significant is also the positive difference in the frequency of grandparental childcare between Mediterranean countries and both Northern and Central Europe. Among the non-migrant families, the frequency of both upward and downward transfers of help increases along a North-South line. This is not confirmed among migrant families for what it concerns functional downward support different from grandparental childcare.

For all (migrant and non-migrant) child-parent dyads the country of residence plays a significant role in determining the frequency of contact (lowest in Northern Europe and highest in Southern Europe).

While geographical distance between parent-child in Southern Europe is significantly lower than in Northern Europe among non-migrants, children of migrants residing in the Mediterranean countries tend to live geographically more distant from the parents.

Looking at the country of origin in the models on people of migrant origin, we notice little differences, such as Southern and Eastern Europeans as well as Africans tend to receive more frequent help from their children than Northern Europeans. However, a significant result concerns the highest frequency of contact among migrants of Mediterranean or African origin.

Concerning control variables, except little differences which may derive from sample size issues, we find similarities rather than differences in determining higher or lower levels of intergenerational relationships in migrant or non-migrant families.

Conclusion

This study aimed to shed light on similarities and differences in intergenerational relationships within the family by comparing parent-child relationships among parents with and without an international migration background in 10 European countries.

Using the cross-country comparable database SHARE, we were able to explore functional, associational and structural dimensions of family relationships. Concerning the first dimension, both upward (help with personal care, housework and paper work from the children) and downward (help with housework, paper work and grandchild care from the parents) support have been analysed.

Our descriptive findings show that non-migrant elderly have more daily contact with at least one child; while elderly parents of migrant origin more likely have at least one child living in another country, pointing to the importance of transnational family ties in these families. Preliminary multivariate analyses highlight similarities rather than differences in the socio-demographic determinants of parent-child relationships between migrant and non-migrants in Europe. Yet, the country of residence seems to play a significant role in explaining the amount of support provided and received between family members. This result hints to the need of accounting for availability of formal care to both children and older generations in the countries under study in order to understand possible macro-level mechanisms that drive dyadic relationships within family members. Further steps of this work may take into account a set of macro-level indicators (e.g. from the Multilinks database, see Multilinks, 2011; Saraceno and Keck, 2009).

While persistent differences in intergenerational relationships across Europe are found irrespective of migrant status; differences between migrants of various origins are found to be very limited.

A set of questions about values on family duties, the role of the woman and intergenerational obligations is also included in the SHARE data and we will further explore it in the next step of analysis.

Results are preliminary and incomplete

References

Attias-Donfut, C., & Wolff, F.-C. (2008). Patterns of intergenerational transfers among immigrants in France: A comparative perspective. In C. Saraceno (Ed.) *Families, Ageing and Social Policy. Generational Solidarity in European Welfare States*. Edward Elgar, Cheltenham: 259-284.

Baykara-Krumme, H. (2008). Reliable bonds? A comparative perspective of intergenerational support patterns among migrant families in Germany. In C. Saraceno (Ed.), *Families, Ageing and Social Policy. Generational Solidarity in European Welfare States*. Edward Elgar, Cheltenham: 285-311.

Bengtson, V. L., & Schrader, S. S. (1982). Parent-child relations. In D. Mangen & W. Peterson (Eds.). *Handbook of research instruments in social gerontology*, Vol. 2. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis: 115-185.

Börsch-Supan, A., Brugiavini, A., Jürges, H., Mackenbach, J., Siegrist, J., & Weber, G. (2005). *Health, ageing and retirement in Europe – First results from the Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europ*e. Mannheim: Mannheim Research Institute for the Economics of Aging (MEA).

Boos-Nünning, U., & Karakaşoğlu, Y. (2005). *Viele Welten leben. Zur Lebenssituation von Mädchen und jungen Frauen mit Migrationshintergrund*. Waxmann, Münster/New York/München/Berlin.

Bordone, V. (2009). Contact and proximity of older people to their adult children: a comparison between Italy and Sweden. *Population, Space and Place*, 15: 359-380.

De Valk, H.A.G., Huisman, C., & Noam, K. R. (2011). *Migration patterns and immigrant characteristics in north-western Europe*. NIDI: The Hague (Report for CELADE/UN regional office).

De Valk, H.A.G., & Schans, D. (2008). 'They ought to do this for their parents': perceptions of filial obligations among immigrant and Dutch older people. *Ageing & Society*, 28: 49-66.

Dykstra, P.A., & Fokkema, C.M. (2011). Relationship between parents and their adult children: a west European typology of late-life families. *Ageing & Society*, 31(4): 545-569.

Grundy, E. (2006). Ageing and vulnerable elderly people: European perspectives. *Ageing & Society*, 26: 105-134.

Hank, K. (2007). Proximity and contacts between older parents and their children: a European Comparison. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 69: 157-173.

Kagitcibasi, C. (1996). *Family and human development across cultures: A view from the other side*. Lawrence Erlbaum, Mahwah, New Jersey.

Multilinks 2011. Multilinks Database on Intergenerational Policy Indicators. Version 2.0. Multilinks Project and Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (WZB), http://multilinks-database.wzb.eu.

Nauck, B. (2000). Eltern-Kind-Beziehungen in Migrantenfamilien - ein Vergleich zwischen griechischen, italienischen, türkischen und vietnamesischen Familien in Deutschland. In Sachverständigenkommission 6. Familienbericht (Hrsg.), *Familien ausländischer Herkunft in Deutschland: Empirische Beiträge zur Familienentwicklung und Akkulturation. Materialien zum 6. Familienbericht*, Band I. Leske + Budrich, Opladen: 347-392.

Portes, A., & Rumbaut, R. G. (2006). *Immigrant America: A portrait*. 3rd edition. University of California Press, Los Angeles.

Reher, D. S. (1998). Family ties in Western Europe: persistent contrasts. *Population and Development Review*, 24(2): 203-234.

Roberts, R. E. L., Richards, L. N., & Bengtson, V. L. (1991). Intergenerational solidarity in families: Untangling the ties that bind. In S. K. Pfeifer & M. B. Sussman (Eds.). *Marriage and Family Review*, Vol. 16. Haworth Press, Binghamton, NY: 11-46.

Saraceno, C., and Keck, W. 2009. MULTILINKS project report. *The institutional framework of intergenerational family obligations in Europe: a conceptual and methodological overview*. Berlin: Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung. http://multilinks-project.eu/uploads/papers/0000/0016/technical-report-version-1-2.pdf

Schans, D. (2008). *Solidariteit tussen generaties: Beeldvorming allochtonen/autochtonen genuanceerd*. DEMOS, 24,5, 6-7.

Schans, D., & De Valk, H.A.G. (2012). Filial Obligations among Migrants and Dutch: a Comparison of Perceptions and Behaviour among Ethnic Groups and Generations In A. Kraler, E. Kofman, M. Kohli & C. Schmoll (Eds.), *Gender, Generations and the Family in International Migration*. Amsterdam University Press: 99-120.

Tomassini C., Kalogirou S., Grundy E., Fokkema T., Martikainen P., Broese Van Groenou M., & Karisto A., (2004). Contacts between elderly parents and their children in four European countries: Current patterns and future prospects. *European Journal of Ageing*, 1: 54-63.

Tables and figures

Table 1. Descriptive sample by country of origin and country of residence of the parent.

Residence	Northern Europe			Central Europe			Southern Europe		
Origin of the interviewed parent	Freq.	Percent	Cum.	Freq.	Percent	Cum.	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
North-West Europe	262	63.13	63.13	630	37.91	37.91	21	16.15	16.15
Southern Europe	47	11.33	74.46	393	23.65	61.55	36	27.69	43.85
Eastern Europe	58	13.98	88.43	263	15.82	77.38	9	6.92	50.77
North-South America - Australia	14	3.37	91.81	25	1.5	78.88	35	26.92	77.69
Asia	31	7.47	99.28	137	8.24	87.12	18	13.85	91.54
Africa	3	0.72	100	214	12.88	100	11	8.46	100
Total	415	100		1,662	100		130	100	
Non migrants	7,354			16,563			10,737		

Note: Classification of the regions of origin based on http://unstats.un.org/unsd/methods/m49/m49regin.htm. The number of observations refers to the children, considered as unit of analysis. Source: SHARE, authors' elaboration.

Table 2. Descriptive statistics of the variables indicating exchange.

	Non migrants					Migrants				
Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
receive	2207	9.316	76.041	0	1095	27466	7.068	63.575	0	1095
give	2207	3.945	39.290	0	730	27466	3.756	32.219	0	730
grandparenting	2207	12.819	56.649	-1	365	27466	15.303	62.674	-1	365
contact	2207	4.300	1.514	0	6	27466	4.564	1.393	0	6
geographical distance	2207	5.654	1.807	3	9	27466	5.208	1.557	3	9

Note: the number of observations refers to the children, considered as unit of analysis. Help received includes personal care, practical household help and help with paperwork; help given includes the last two types of help. Source: SHARE, authors' elaboration.

Table 3. Geographical distance of each child to the parent (%).

	Non migrants	Migrants
same household	16.96	14.70
same building	3.78	3.59
<1km	11.74	8.33
1-5km	16.73	16.55
5-25km	20.14	18.88
25-100km	13.42	13.00
100-500km	11.06	11.37
>500km	3.49	3.44
>500km (another country)	2.67	10.14
N	34,654	2,701

Note: the number of observations refers to the children, considered as unit of analysis. Source: SHARE, authors' elaboration.

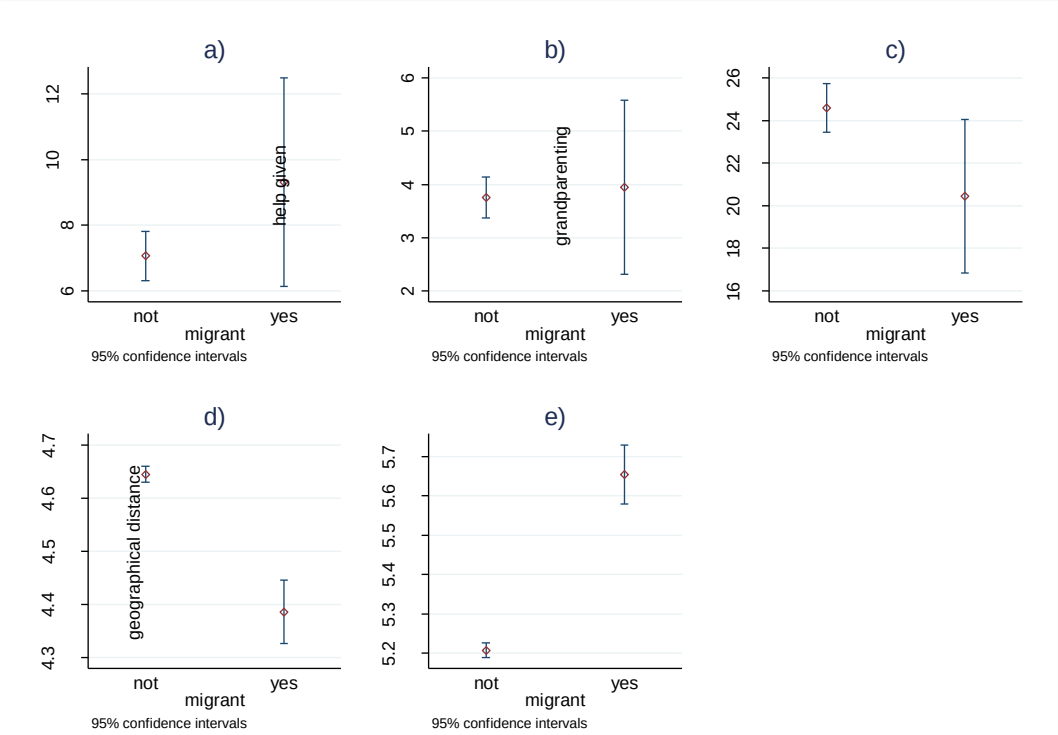
Table 4. Multivariate results.

	Receive (beta coefficients)		Give (beta coefficients)		Grandparenting (beta coefficients)		Contact (odds ratios)		Geographical distance (odds ratios)	
Variable	Migrant parent	Non-migrant parent	Migrant parent	Non-migrant parent	Migrant parent	Non-migrant parent	Migrant parent	Non-migrant parent	Migrant parent	Non-migrant parent
Country of residence (Ref.: Northern Europe)										
Central Europe	0.833**	0.453***	0.339	0.392***	0.427**	0.611***	0.641***	0.777***	0.832	0.871***
Southern Europe	0.446	0.676***	0.452	0.869***	1.158***	1.394***	1.704**	2.899***	1.795**	0.823***
Southern Europe	0.646**		0.748		0.085		1.524***		1.004	
Eastern Europe	0.533*		-0.373		0.474*		0.854		1.075	
South America	1.149		-1.963		0.971*		1.065		0.892	
Asia	0.176		-0.603		0.529*		1.141		0.775	
Africa	1.440**		-0.435		0.266		1.6727***		1.167	
Age	-0.085	0.074	-1.011*	0.181*	0.09	-0.004	0.765**	0.781***	0.951	1.012
	0.560*	0.187*	-0.327	0.345*	-0.12	-0.126	0.742*	0.715***	1.144	1.105**
Gender	-0.470*	-0.155*	0.241	0.177**	0.114	0.149***	1.433***	1.214***	1.074	1.028
Marital status (Ref.: married)										
Separated/ divorced	0.379	0.266*	0.274	0.102	-0.102	0.082	0.504***	0.479***	1.005	1.001
Widowed	0.366	0.463***	0.882	0.136	-0.036	-0.086	0.763*	0.881**	0.919	0.982
Never married	-1.710*	1.567***	2.578*	0.231	-0.725	-0.198	0.323***	0.421***	1.703	1.164
Number of children (Ref.: 0)	0.259*	-0.056	-0.26	-0.227***	-0.117	-0.203***	0.802***	0.760***	1.530***	1.379***
Education (Ref.: low)										
middle	-1.012***	-0.379***	0.038	-0.142	-0.303*	-0.066	1.112	1.005	1.111	1.238***
high	-1.137***	-0.611***	0.57	-0.173*	-0.510**	-0.048	1.279*	1.112***	1.587***	1.478***
Daughter (Ref.: son)	0.112	0.481***	-0.072	0.183**	0.479***	0.243***	1.623***	1.779***	1.033	1.012

Living with spouse/partner (Ref.: living alone)	0.293	-0.085	0.18	-0.13	-0.354*	-0.107*	1.014	0.959	0.99	0.928**
Number of children (Ref. 0)	-0.335	-0.283***	1.229***	0.106	(omitted)	(omitted)	0.896	0.914**	0.687***	0.702***
Having at least one sibling living with the parent (Ref.: not)	-0.892***	-0.068	0.113	0.254***	-0.301	0.276***	0.933	1.073**	0.134***	0.109***
Geographical distance	-0.640***	-0.372***	-0.132	-0.234***	-0.473***	-0.340***	0.629***	0.619***		
adliadl	0.072	0.152***	-0.109	0.136***	0.009	-0.021	0.992	0.981*	0.968	0.996
sphus	0.293**	0.125***	0.14	0.033	0.046	0.02	1.093*	0.962**	0.939	0.993
N	2207	27466	2207	27466	1422	17493	2207	27466	2207	27466

Note: the number of observations refers to the children, here considered the unit of analysis. Help received from the children includes personal care, practical household help and help with paperwork; help given to the children includes the last two types of help. Source: SHARE, authors' elaboration.

Figure 1. Descriptive differences in the frequency of exchange.



Note: unit of analysis is the child. Source: SHARE, authors' elaboration.