Differences over time in the relationship between family disruptions and support in early old age in Britain

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1. Introduction

There has been long-standing interest in how changes in family life may affect support for older people. In particular, researchers have debated the impact of the rise in divorce on inter-generational support in later life: most have considered that the experience of divorce is likely to weaken family ties thereby reducing mutual support. A growing body of evidence (largely from the U.S. and the Netherlands) has found that family disruptions over the life-course do have deleterious consequences for support at older ages (Dykstra, 1998; Furstenberg et al., 1995; Pezzin et al., 1999). However, the impact of divorce on support may have changed as a result of two factors (Goldscheider, 1994). First, there is growing evidence to suggest that attitudes toward family issues have altered considerably; for example, toward greater acceptance of divorce and increasing tolerance of different family forms (Thornton et al., 2001). Second, Britain, like other countries in Europe and North America, has witnessed substantial increases in the proportion of the population who have ever experienced a divorce (Cherlin, 1981, 1992; Haskey, 1988; ONS, 1999). For example, the percentage of women who ever-divorced by age 50 in Britain rose from 10 per cent among those born in 1926 to 27 per cent for those born in 1947 (ONS, 1999). Changes in family behaviour and relationships (such as rises in remarriage and cohabitation in addition to divorce) mean that older people today have experienced greater diversity in their family lives than previous generations (such as a greater prevalence of step-kin relationships) (Wachter, 1997). As such changes become a more normal and accepted aspect of family life their influence on support at older ages may also change (Goldscheider, 1994).

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At the same time, there is the popular perception that increasing rejection of traditional family roles and relationships will mean that families become less willing to care for one another, and therefore research is needed which will distinguish between changes in the willingness of families to care, changes in the need for care by the older population, and changes in the effects of past family disruptions on that willingness. To our knowledge no studies have examined changes in the relationship between family disruption and support over time; most studies rely on microsimulation methods to estimate the future potential impact of divorce (Wachter, 1997).

Whether the relationship between family disruption (e.g. due to divorce, separation, death or re-partnering) and support in later life has altered is a key issue, especially in light of recent changes in long-term care policies in Britain (and other industrialised countries). These policies have focused on reducing domiciliary and institutional care by targeting services to the most disabled older people (OECD, 2005). A consequence of such changes is likely to be a reduction in formal help available for the less disabled. Such policy changes may have been influenced by assumptions that family and friends will offset (or absorb) reductions in publicly provided services by increasing their own efforts but only limited evidence is so far available to test these assumptions (Pickard, 2002). How will changes in family life affect future support and care? Only by building a more detailed knowledge of variations in support will government policies seeking to encourage help from family members be effective and potential gaps in meeting needs be avoided.

Given concerns that increasing levels of family disruption (and diversity in family relationships) may jeopardize support at older ages, it is surprising that little research has investigated whether there have been changes over time in the relationship between family disruptions and support at older ages. In this study, we examined variations over time in the association between family disruption and support (e.g. co-residence and contact with children; and help given to, and received from, children) among 61-69 year old men and women using comparable data from the 1988 Survey of Retirement and Retirement Plans (RS) and the 2001/2 British Household Panel Survey (BHPS). Both surveys contain partnership and parenthood histories from which detailed measures of family disruption were constructed. The comparability of our data over time permits us to investigate (i) changes in support given and received and (ii) the extent to which such changes result from changes in the composition of the population (i.e. the mix of individual

attributes associated with the propensity to receive support) or changes in the strength of relationship between explanatory variables and support outcomes.

2. Background

Certain broad socio-demographic trends clearly indicate that the characteristics of future cohorts of older people will differ from that of today's older people. Changes in marriage patterns are well-documented and show rising proportions of men and women who have ever experienced divorce, remarriage and cohabitation (Cherlin, 1981, 1992; Haskey, 1988). Such trends are expected to lead to greater family diversity among current cohorts of older people in comparison with those of the past (Wachter, 1997). Family sizes have also changed: following the relatively high fertility of those born in the late 1930s/ early 1940s more recent cohorts have had fewer children and higher levels of childlessness (Grundy, 1999). Thus while the characteristics of older people today are clearly of importance for policy makers they are likely to be a poor guide to future needs (Hermalin, 2005). This has led to increasing interest in cohort succession: how the characteristics of future cohorts of older people will differ from today's older people (for example, in terms of educational achievement, parenting histories, and partnership status) (Hermalin, 2005). Moreover, an understanding of the characteristics of those in mid-life and early old age is also important as many traits are fixed by these ages (e.g. number of children and educational level; marriage or divorce histories) and are likely to set a pattern for well-being in later old age. Despite the importance of this issue there is surprisingly little empirical evidence on which to assess the direction and degree of change across cohorts.

2.1 Operationalising Support

One of the difficulties in studies of support lies in its conceptualisation and operationalisation (see Barrera 1986, Hermalin 2002, and House 1988). Support is usually defined in terms of: (i) structural characteristics of the social support network; (ii) social embeddedness (e.g. the frequency of contact with others); (iii) emotional assistance (which is assumed to reflect current and future availability, as well as adequacy, of practical and emotional support); and (iv) instrumental assistance (e.g. transfers of space, time and money) from family, friends, neighbours and other community members (Barrera, 1986; Hermalin 2002; House et al., 1988; Soldo et al., 1993; Wenger, 1996). In the BHPS and RS

comparable support outcomes are: (i) co-residence; (ii) frequency of contact with children; (ii) money transfers and assistance with household tasks to and from children.

2.2 Empirical evidence on the relationship between family disruption and support

There is a considerable literature (largely from the U.S.) on the relationship between older adults' current marital status and patterns of support. Most of this work suggests that being divorced (particularly for men) is negatively associated with various measures of support (e.g. transfers of space, time and money); however, widowhood appears to have either no relationship or a positive one (Crimmins et al., 1990; Eggebeen, 1992; Hoyert, 1991; Tomassini et al., 2004). A limitation of these studies is that they consider marital status at only one point in time and therefore do not effectively capture the long-term impact of partnership dissolutions on support in later life.

Most of the work on the long-term impact of partnership dissolution has focused on outcomes for children; less research has investigated the consequences of such trends for support in later life (Curran et al., 2003; Dykstra, 1998; Furstenberg et al., 1995; Pezzin et al., 1999). However, there is a growing body of evidence (largely from the U.S. and the Netherlands) that has found that family disruptions over the life-course (particularly divorce) do have deleterious consequences for support at older ages. This research has largely found that divorce and remarriage decrease (i) co-residence, quality of relationship, contact and transfers with adult children; (ii) perceived support from any source and (iii) social network size (Aquilino, 1990; Bulcroft et al., 1991; Cooney et al., 1990; Curran et al., 2003; Dykstra, 1998; Furstenberg et al., 1995; Pezzin et al., 1999; Tomassini et al., 2004). In a forthcoming paper we consider how far this association is also found in the UK (Glaser et al.). There appear to be fewer long-term effects due to widowhood (Bulcroft et al., 1991).

Family disruption appears to have a greater negative impact on late-life support for men than for women; the assumption being that mothers are generally emotionally closer to their children (Bulcroft et al., 1991; Cooney et al., 1990; Curran et al., 2003; Dykstra, 1998). The timing of divorce also appears to be important according to U.S. data, i.e. the younger the age of the child at the time of the parental partnership disruption (whether due to divorce or widow(er)hood) the lower the level of contact and transfers reported by elderly parents (Bulcroft et al., 1991). Research

also reveals that older parents are less likely to receive assistance from step-children than biological children (Pezzin et al., 1999).

3. Data and Methods

3.1 Data

Our analyses use data from two comparable surveys: the 2001-2 British Household Panel Survey (BHPS) and the 1988-9 Retirement Survey (RS). The BHPS is an annual longitudinal survey of a nationally representative sample of private households in the U.K.(Taylor et al., 2001). All household members are followed until they die, move permanently into an institution or emigrate. Our analyses are based on survey waves 11 (2001-2) and 12 (2002-3) which included measures of support, linked to the partnership and parenthood histories available in earlier waves. The sample size is around 10,000 adults for earlier waves with larger sample sizes for later waves (between fifteen and eighteen thousand adults), a result of the inclusion of additional sub-samples in 1997 (European Community Household Panel or ECHP), 1999 (Scottish and Welsh extension samples) and 2001 (Northern Irish extension sample) (Taylor et al., 2001). As the ECHP sub-sample included respondents from Northern Ireland, analyses of waves 11 and 12 BHPS relate to the United Kingdom rather than just to Great Britain, even though the Northern Irish extension sample is not used (see Footnote 1).

In the first wave of the BHPS, interviews with all eligible adults occurred in 69 per cent of households (including proxies). Once ineligible subjects (i.e. those who died or moved out of scope of the study) are excluded, the wave on wave response rate has varied between 88 and 97 per cent (Taylor et al., 2001). Of the original sample members with a full interview for the first wave, 66 per cent of those still eligible responded at waves 11 and 12. The BHPS collects detailed marriage, non-marital cohabitation, parenthood and job histories; information on health and other socio-economic factors; use of home care services; and in waves 11 and 12, information on contact with and support from children living outside the household.

The Retirement Survey 1988-9 conducted 3,543 interviews with a nationally representative sample of individuals aged 55-69. They were re-interviewed in 1994 but only the 1988-9 data are used here. The response rate

in 1988-9 was 75 percent (Disney et al., 1997). In addition to detailed health and disability measures, life history information (i.e. partnership, parenthood, caregiving and work) was obtained. One limitation in the data is that currently-married men were not asked how many natural or step-children they had had, even if they (or their current partner) reported a previous marriage; we report below how this was dealt with in our analysis.

Our analyses are based on people aged 61-69 as the 2002-3 BHPS only collected information on support among respondents aged 61 and over, while the upper age limit for RS respondents in 1988/89 was 69 years. Sample sizes are 644 mothers and 546 fathers in the BHPS and 937 mothers and 801 fathers in the 1988/89 RS, all aged 61-69 years. In addition to comparable support measures, both surveys collected detailed partnership and parenthood histories permitting the creation of indicators of family disruption. Although both the RS and the BHPS are longitudinal studies, the data have also been used in cross-sectional analyses of changes over time (Berthoud et al., 2000; Disney et al., 1997).

3.2 Variables

In order to estimate comparable models across survey years, we have developed a similar set of variables for each sample. In 2001-2 the BHPS collected for the first time, in the new ageing and retirement module, information on social support networks (e.g. living kin, contact, and help given and received). This was for the non-extension survey samples only; the module was repeated in 2002-3 for the Welsh and Scottish extension samples.[4] The RS collected the same data in a similar form in 1988-9 (and 1994). Both surveys collected details of all household members, including their relationships one to another.

Our study focuses on three comparable dependent variables in the BHPS and RS: (i) co-residence with children; (ii) frequency of seeing the child living outside the household with whom the respondent reported the most contact; and (ii) money transfers and assistance with household tasks to and from children living outside the household. Co-residence with children was determined from the household roster. In the BHPS, after establishing the numbers and types of living relatives (see below under 'Independent Variables'), any respondent with at least one non-coresident child (whether or not they also had a co-resident child), was asked: 'Thinking now about your children. If you have

[4] The module has never yet been run for the Northern Irish extension sample and therefore its members cannot be included in this study.

more than one son or daughter not living with you please think about the one you have the most contact with. Please look at this card and tell me how often you see your son/daughter.' The categories on the card were: daily, at least once a week, at least once per month, several times per year, less often, and never. A binary variable was created distinguishing those seeing a child once a month or more from those who saw him/her less frequently or never; in creating this variable, anyone with a coresident child was assumed to have more-than-monthly contact, irrespective of their answer given with regard to the closest non-coresident child (if any).

For those reporting at least one non-coresident child (whether or not they also had a co-resident child), questions followed about help given and help received: 'Nowadays, do you regularly or frequently do/receive any of the things listed on this card for/from your children who are not living here?' All the types of help listed on the cards are shown in Table 2, and the respondent mentioned the types of help given or received (if any). Two binary variables were created: one distinguished those who gave any type of help from those who did not, and the other distinguished those who received any type of help from those who did not.

The questions in the RS were very similar. After establishing the respondent's number of living children, the interviewer asked 'How often do you usually see (any of them/him/her) nowadays?'. The pre-coded answers were: Every day or at least 4 times a week, at least once a week, at least once a month, at least once every three months, at least once a year, less than once a year, and never. As for the BHPS, a binary variable was created which separated those who saw a child once a month or more from those who did not. Questions followed on help given and help received: 'Nowadays (do you/ does either of you) regularly or frequently (do/receive help with) any of the things on this card for/from your child(ren) (include step and adopted children)?'.

The types of help were almost identical to those in the equivalent BHPS question except that the RS lacked a category for receipt of help with personal care. However, a similar question was asked elsewhere in the RS interviewing schedule, at the end of a long health module: 'Does anyone regularly help you with everyday activities like bathing, dressing or getting about?', and if so, 'Who usually helps you?'. If the reply was 'Son/daughter not in household' (one of the pre-coded responses), then the respondent was considered to receive personal care. Responses

from these questions were combined to create two binary variables: one distinguished those who gave any type of help to children from those who did not, and the other distinguished those who received any type of help from children from those who did not.

One difference between the BHPS and the RS was that in the latter, questions on help given and received were asked with reference to any child, and it was not possible to distinguish answers which referred to co-resident children from those which referred to children living outside the household. Since in the BHPS these questions only referred to children outside the household, we limited our analysis of help given and received to parents with no co-resident children.

In order to estimate comparable models over time, we developed a set of identical independent variables in each sample. Family disruptions were assessed by (i) measures of partnership disruptions (due to death, separation, divorce and re-partnering); (ii) their timing, derived from the partnership and parenthood histories (i.e. whether a disruption occurred when any child was aged 0-17); and (iii) indicators of family composition, i.e. existence of biological, step and adopted children.

In the BHPS full partnership and parenthood histories were collected in waves 2, 11 or 12; shorter question modules were used for some new entrants in waves 8 onwards. We updated partnership histories wave by wave using indicators of partner in the household and questions on changes in marital status. In this study it was decided to study partnerships, without distinguishing between the legal and the consensual, since in the BHPS the unusual richness of data made it clear that respondents themselves did not necessarily recognise this distinction (see Stuchbury et al, 2005). In the same way, the category 'separated' included those who considered themselves to be separated or divorced regardless of whether or not they had experienced a legal marriage, separation or divorce. From the partnership histories of both surveys we created indicators of partnership disruptions distinguishing those were: (i) remarried, (ii) widowed, and (iii) separated or divorced from those still in their first marriage (the reference category).

Indicators of family composition were derived from the parenthood histories (including adopted and step-children). From these histories a binary measure was created reflecting whether or not the respondent had ever lived

with step-child(ren) (including children of a cohabiting partner and children of any age, not just minors).[i] In addition, a binary variable which distinguished those for whom data on having lived with step-children was available, from those for whom the data were missing. The histories also contributed to an indicator of whether or not the respondent experienced either widowhood or separation from a partner while s/he had a biological child (or children) aged less than 18 years; again another variable identified those for whom detailed fertility data were missing (in the RS this was mainly twice-married men, as described above). The two variables identifying missing data were included in the models but had so little effect that they were excluded from the final set; in fact the measures of step-children and partnership disruption during the minority of a child were also both omitted from the final models for men.

All BHPS and RS sample members, including married men in the RS, were asked how many living children (without further specification) they had in total; this was the measure used in our analysis to distinguish parents from non-parents and for the variable 'number of living children'.

Other covariates included age, education, social class, tenure status, mean number of living children and health. These socio-economic characteristics have all been identified as key determinants of late-life support in previous studies (Pezzin et al., 1999). Unlike the rest of these characteristics, the questions on health were quite different in the BHPS and RS. In this analysis we selected three fairly similar measures from each survey. In the BHPS respondents are asked: 'Does your health in any way limit your daily activities compared to most people of your age?', and then if the answer is 'yes': 'Please look at this card and tell me which of these activities, if any, you would normally find difficult to manage on your own'. The activities on the card include climbing the stairs, dressing yourself, and walking for at least ten minutes; we created a binary variable which classified the respondent as suffering mobility problems due to poor health if any of these three were selected.

In the RS, respondents were asked: 'Can you tell me whether you have any of the following difficulties due to a long term health problem or disability, either physical or mental?'. One of the difficulties listed was 'Difficulty walking for a quarter of a mile on the level'; another was 'Great difficulty walking up or down stairs'. Later in the same module

was: 'Do you difficulty managing any of the following activities?' with one possibility being 'Dressing and undressing yourself'. As for the BHPS, a binary variable distinguished respondents for whom any of these three was applicable.

Analysis Plan

Our aim was to study changes in the correlates (and family disruption in particular) of provision and receipt of support among older people. The descriptive analyses examined differences in the key characteristics of mothers and fathers between the two time points using t-tests. For the multivariate analyses we used logistic regression as comparable support outcomes were binary. Following Tomassini and Wolf (2000), we explored whether differences in support over time were due to differences in the (i) mean values of the independent variables (i.e. the *percentage* experiencing family disruption) or (ii) regression coefficients (i.e. the *effects* of family disruption).

Results

Table 1 presents for fathers and mothers the mean values of the explanatory variables used in our analyses (as well as the t-test statistics for the null hypotheses of no change in these mean values between 1988 and 2001/2). With few exceptions, nearly all of the variables shown in Table 1 are dummy variables whose means are shown in percentage form. The t-test statistics shown in Table 1 indicate that in nearly all cases the sample means are significantly different: showing evidence of significant changes over time. For example, the percentage of remarried mothers among those aged 61-69 significantly increased from 7 to 20 per cent between 1988 and 2001/2 (Table 1). Paradoxically, despite increasing levels of family disruption over time levels of support, as measured by co-residence or frequency on contact with children largely remained unchanged (the exception being a significant decrease in contact with children among fathers).

Table 2 shows for fathers and mothers with no coresident children, differences in help given and received from children living outside the household (including the specific type of help). As in Table 1, all of the variables in Table 2 are dummy variables whose means are shown in percentage form. The t-test statistics shown in Table 2 once again indicate significant differences in these characteristics over time. For both mothers and fathers aged 61-69 with no coresident children the percentage reporting giving help to children increased from 1988 to 2001/02. For example,

among mothers 49 per cent reported helping children in 1988 compared with 67 per cent in 2001/2. While both mothers and fathers reported increases in regular or frequent help from children this was only significant for mothers. For example, in1988 37 per cent of mothers aged 61-69 with no coresident children reported receiving any regular or frequent help from children compared with 49 per cent in 2001/2. Clearly some tasks may have lost their importance over time due to changes in technology and availability; for example, the significant reduction of children helping their parents with washing and ironing may imply an increased presence in the older parents' homes of washing machines. Conversely the increased proportion of children driving their mothers around may mean an increased proportion with access to a car.

Tables 3-6 show the results, for fathers and mothers, of our multivariate analyses. We report the logistic coefficients for 1988 and 2001/2, their standard errors and indicators of significance levels. We also report test statistics and significance levels for the hypothesis that each coefficient in the 2001/2 model is equal to the corresponding coefficient in the 1988 model, i.e. tests of the stability of the relationships between individual explanatory variables and support over time. In interpreting the ßs recall that each represents the effects of a given explanatory variable on the log-odds ratios of the probability of co-residing, contacting or providing or receiving help from children.

Looking first for broad patterns in Tables 3-6, we see that among mothers in 1988 widowhood is positively related to receiving help from children (Table 3). Among men in 1988, remarriage is negatively related to giving and receiving help from children (Table 5), and to coresidence and frequent contact with children (Table 6). In 1988 widowerhood is negatively related to providing help to children (Table 5), and separation is negatively related to providing help to children (Table 5) and frequent contact with children (Table 6). However, the findings for mothers and fathers in 2001/2 show either no change or a loss of significance for many of the family disruption variables in comparison to 1988. For example, among fathers the effect of separation in 2001/2 no longer demonstrates a significant negative association with the provision of help to children and with frequent contact with children (Tables 5-6).

Moreover, we find few instances of statistically different coefficients between the two time points. This conclusion is based on the columns of χ^2 statistics for the hypotheses $ß_{88} = ß_{01/02}$. These test statistics come from "pooled" models. We pooled the 1988 and 2001/2 data and then estimated a logistic regression model containing every explanatory variable as well as an interaction of every explanatory variable with a dummy variable for the survey year, coded one for observations in 2001/2. The test statistics on the interaction variables are the ones reported in Tables 3-6. According to these test statistics, the effect of the family disruption variables on the log-odds of receiving help is statistically smaller in absolute value in 2001/2 than in 1988. For example, while remarriage among men is negatively associated with receiving help from children in both 1988 and 2001/2, the size of the coefficient is smaller at the later time point. Among mothers separation has a significant positive association with receipt of help from children in 2001/2 in comparison with 1988: separated mothers are significantly more likely to receive help from children in the later than in the earlier period.

Another way of presenting the results from the logistic regression models is to calculate the probabilities of each category of the dependent variable for selected characteristics of the mothers and fathers. We created three profiles for each category of the dependent variable, the '1988 profile' (applying the 1988 coefficients to the 1988 mean values of the covariates), the 'changed structure profile' (applying the 1988 coefficients to the 2001/2 mean values of the covariates in order to capture how the probability of giving/receiving support would have changed if the relationship between the covariates and support had remained at the 1988 level), and finally the '2001/2 profile' (applying the 2001/2 coefficients to the 2001/2 mean values of the covariates). In this way Figure 1a and 1b illustrate the effects of changes in the population composition between 1988 and 2001/2: the first and third columns represent the situation in 1988 and 2001/2 respectively, while the middle column reflects changes in the probability of giving/receiving support due to differences between 1988 and 2001/2 in the characteristics of the older parents in our samples (the propensity to give/receive support is kept at the 1988 level). Figure 1a and 1b show that for both mothers and fathers increases in the percentage giving or receiving support is a result of changes in the effects of the variables over time rather than in the changes in the means (changes in the means alone would have resulted in a decrease in support as the middle

column in the figure shows). For example, Figure 1b shows that for both fathers and mothers the percentage reporting receiving help from children would have decreased over the time period considered if just the differences in the mean values of the characteristics (between 1988 and 2001/2) were taken into account; however, the increased reporting of both giving to, and receiving help from, children is a result of changes in the effects of the covariates in 2001/2 in comparison with 1988.

Discussion

Our findings show an increase in the experience of family disruption among men and women aged 61-69 between 1988 and 2001/2. Despite these changes, the percentage of older people receiving support from (and providing to) children has generally increased. Moreover, our analyses show that there have been some important changes in the effect of family disruption on support over time. The negative effect of family disruption on support appears to be weakening over time in early old age suggesting that such events may become less important now than in the past in shaping relations between older parents and their children. It may be that declines in the social disapproval of divorce have led to reductions in the negative impact of family disruptions on support in early old age. Moreover, previous research suggests that in the U.K. family support at older ages is less affected by personal characteristics (such as parental divorce) than other factors such as need (e.g. poor health) (Glaser et al.).

[i] It should be noted that 16 per cent of the respondents in our sample were never asked (or, occasionally, did not answer) this question. They were classified as not having lived with step-children; if they are excluded from the analysis, the percentage for men reported in Table 1 rises from 3 per cent who have ever lived with step-children to 4 per cent; that for women does not change.

Table 1: Characteristics of fathers and mothers aged 61-69 (1988 and 2001/2)

Weighted %

	Fathers			Mothers		
	1988 RS n=801	2001/2 BHPS n=546	t for H_0: $\mu_{88} = \mu_{01/02}$	1988 RS n=937	2001/2 BHPS n=644	t for H_0: $\mu_{88} = \mu_{01/02}$
	%	%		%	%	
Mean age	64.9	64.9	0.01	64.97	64.84	0.92
No educational qualifications (reference: any educational qualifications)	73.3	37.3	13.88***	77.1	49.4	11.54***
Social housing tenant or renter (reference: owner-occupier)	37.4	17.8	8.28***	42.8	21.6	9.26***
Social class: (reference: non manual occupation)						
Manual worker	58.7	53.2	2.00*	51.4	38.5	5.12***
Never worked, or missing	-	-	-	1.6	5.3	3.80***
Marital status: (reference: still in first partnership)						
Remarried	9.0	24.8	7.50***	7.4	19.6	6.84***
Widowed	6.7	4.5	1.76	26.7	16.2	5.13***
Separated	4.5	7.7	2.36**	4.6	11.2	4.65***
Mean no. living children	2.42	2.52	1.01	2.35	2.62	3.59***
Has lived with step- or adopted child	(a)	10.1		4.9	7.8	2.28*
Experienced marital disruption when any child aged 0-17	(a)	10.4		14.8	17.2	1.27
Mobility problems due to health (reference: no such problems)	22.5	14.1	4.01***	24.2	17.7	3.16***
Support						
Lives with child	21.6	19.0	1.17	16.9	14.4	1.35
Sees a child at least monthly	88.0	82.0	2.99**	85.8	84.9	0.50

Notes: - Under 10 cases; (a) In the Retirement Survey parenthood histories were collected from all women and unmarried men. Married men in their first marriages were assigned their spouse's fertility history; however, it was not possible to determine parenthood histories for men in second and later marriages (around 11% of all men). Notes: *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table 2: Characteristics of fathers and mothers aged 61-69 with no co-resident child (1988 and 2001/2)

Weighted %

	Fathers			Mothers		
	1988 RS n=629	2001/2 BHPS n=448	t for H_0: $\mu_{88} = \mu_{01/02}$	1988 RS n=778	2001/2 BHPS n=554	t for H_0: $\mu_{88} = \mu_{01/02}$
	%	%		%	%	
Gives help to children regularly or frequently:						
Lifts in car	14.8	21.0	2.60**	10.3	13.8	1.92
Shopping	8.7	14.0	2.67**	8.2	19.7	5.88***
Providing or cooking meals	11.0	11.2	0.10	9.5	23.0	6.51***
Looking after children	36.8	41.4	1.52	35.9	49.1	4.83***
Helping with money	14.2	32.7	7.07***	10.1	20.4	5.09***
Washing, ironing or cleaning	10.3	3.1	4.92***	9.0	20.4	5.71***
Helping to sort out paperwork	6.4	10.7	2.45*	3.2	4.0	0.77
Decorating, gardening, repairs	12.7	29.0	6.46***	8.2	11.5	1.97*
Other help	2.9	1.3	1.87	3.5	1.9	1.82
Any regular or frequent help to children	51.0	65.0	4.65***	48.7	67.2	6.89***
Receives help from children regularly or frequently:						
Lifts in car	16.3	19.5	1.34	21.6	35.3	5.46***
Shopping	13.4	14.1	0.33	16.2	22.0	2.64**
Providing or cooking meals	3.5	12.5	5.21***	4.0	12.0	5.16***
Helping with personal care	0.6	0.1	1.46	0.5	1.0	1.02
Helping with money	1.6	1.5	0.13	2.3	3.1	0.88
Washing, ironing or cleaning	5.8	1.7	3.68***	5.4	2.3	3.01**
Helping to sort out paperwork	2.2	5.2	2.50*	5.5	6.7	0.90
Decorating, gardening, repairs	11.5	12.0	0.25	16.0	17.5	0.72
Other help	1.7	0.5	1.96	2.3	2.3	0.00
Any regular or frequent help from children	29.3	34.4	1.77	37.3	49.4	4.41***

Notes: *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table 3: Results of logistic regression models of help to and from children, mothers 61-69 with no coresident children (1988 and 2001/2)

	Help to child $ß_{88}$	Help to child $ß_{01/02}$	χ^2 for H_0: $ß_{88} = ß_{01/02}$	Help from child $ß_{88}$	Help from child $ß_{01/02}$	χ^2 for H_0: $ß_{88} = ß_{01/02}$
Age (reference: 61-64)	-0.37* (0.15)	-0.76*** (0.18)	2.92	-0.09 (0.16)	-0.26 (0.16)	0.49
No educational qualifications (reference: any educational qualifications)	0.14 (0.19)	-0.14 (0.19)	1.14	0.66** (0.22)	0.81*** (0.18)	0.32
Social class (reference: non-manual worker)						
Manual worker	0.06 (0.17)	0.22 (0.19)	0.42	0.12 (0.17)	0.35* (0.18)	0.86
Never worked	-0.52 (0.76)	0.28 (0.43)	0.83	0.54 (0.76)	-0.05 (0.41)	0.47
Tenure status (reference: owner-occupier)	-0.26 (0.17)	-0.28 (0.24)	0.00	0.48** (0.17)	0.28 (0.23)	0.48
Marital status (reference: first marriage)						
Remarried	-0.45 (0.33)	-0.29 (0.25)	0.15	-0.04 (0.35)	-0.03 (0.24)	0.00
Widowed	-0.18 (0.19)	0.12 (0.27)	0.79	1.16*** (0.20)	0.53* (0.26)	3.68
Separated	-0.09 (0.38)	-0.43 (0.32)	0.48	0.24 (0.40)	1.36*** (0.34)	4.56*
Number living children	0.24*** (0.07)	0.40*** (0.08)	2.02	0.16* (0.08)	0.16* (0.07)	0.00
Has lived with step-child	-0.72 (0.38)	-0.36 (0.29)	0.58	-0.80 (0.42)	-0.67* (0.30)	0.06
Experienced marital disruption when any child	-0.19 (0.27)	0.03 (0.26)	0.34	-0.25 (0.28)	-0.19 (0.26)	0.02

aged 0-17						
Mobility problems due to poor health (reference: no such problems)	-0.19 (0.18)	-0.82*** (0.22)	5.08*	0.42* (0.19)	0.55* (0.22)	0.19
Survey year (reference: 1988 Retirement Survey)	0.71* (0.35)			0.89* (0.36)		

Notes: *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: The models adjust for the following additional characteristics: (1) no educational qualifications versus the reference group, any of these: 'O' levels or above, clerical, commercial or trade qualifications (2) Registrar General's Social Class 'manual – skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled' or 'armed forces' versus the reference group, 'professional', 'managerial or technical' or 'skilled non-manual' classes (based on current or last occupation) (3) not living in an owner-occupied dwelling versus the reference group, living in an owner-occupied dwelling, with or without a mortgage.

Table 4: Results of logistic regression models of coresidence and contact with children, mothers 61-69 (1988 and 2001/2)

	Coreside with child $ß_{88}$	Coreside with child $ß_{01/02}$	χ^2 for H_0: $ß_{88} = ß_{01/02}$	Frequency of contact $ß_{88}$	Frequency of contact $ß_{01/02}$	χ^2 for H_0: $ß_{88} = ß_{01/02}$
Age (reference: 61-64)	-0.55**	-0.60**	0.04	-0.22	-0.23	0.00
	(0.19)	(0.21)		(0.20)	(0.21)	
No educational qualifications (reference: any educational qualifications)	0.19	0.71**	2.29	0.53*	0.70**	0.25
	(0.27)	(0.23)		(0.23)	(0.23)	
Social class (reference: non-manual worker)						
Manual worker	0.39	0.18	0.48	0.48*	1.22***	4.43*
	(0.21)	(0.23)		(0.23)	(0.27)	
Never worked	1.33*	1.59***	0.13	1.06	3.62*	1.71
	(0.61)	(0.38)		(1.12)	(1.60)	
Tenure status (reference: owner-occupier)	0.13	-0.31	1.63	-0.02	0.09	0.08
	(0.20)	(0.28)		(0.22)	(0.32)	
Marital status (reference: first marriage)						
Remarried	-0.85	-0.35	0.84	-0.57	-0.28	0.35
	(0.45)	(0.31)		(0.39)	(0.31)	
Widowed	0.36	0.28	0.05	0.14	0.72	1.56
	(0.23)	(0.31)		(0.26)	(0.38)	
Separated	-0.71	0.12	1.43	-0.06	-0.17	0.03
	(0.58)	(0.40)		(0.46)	(0.40)	
Number living children	0.41***	0.27**	1.40	0.64***	0.46***	1.37
	(0.08)	(0.09)		(0.12)	(0.11)	
Has lived with step- or adopted child	0.41	-1.47*	6.67**	-0.80*	-0.73*	0.02
	(0.39)	(0.62)		(0.39)	(0.34)	
Experienced marital disruption when any child aged 0-17	0.57	0.31	0.35	-0.62	-0.44	0.14
	(0.30)	(0.30)		(0.33)	(0.33)	
Mobility problems due to	0.21	-0.52	4.02*	0.08	-0.08	0.19

poor health (reference: no such problems)	(0.21)	(0.30)		(0.24)	(0.29)	
Survey year (reference: 1988 Retirement Survey)	0.34 (0.43)			0.03 (0.43)		

Notes: *p<0.05; **p<0.01 ; ***p<.001

Table 5: Results of logistic regression models of help to and from children, fathers 61-69 with no coresident children (1988 and 2001/2)

	Help to child $ß_{88}$	Help to child $ß_{01/02}$	χ^2 for H_0: $ß_{88} = ß_{01/02}$	Help from child $ß_{88}$	Help from child $ß_{01/02}$	χ^2 for H_0: $ß_{88} = ß_{01/02}$
Age (reference: 61-64)	-0.19 (0.17)	-0.54** (0.18)	1.98	0.11 (0.19)	-0.05 (0.19)	0.33
No educational qualifications (reference: any educational qualifications)	0.07 (0.21)	-0.05 (0.20)	0.19	-0.05 (0.24)	0.33 (0.20)	1.47
Manual worker (reference: non-manual worker, or missing status)	0.21 (0.19)	0.23 (0.19)	0.01	0.51* (0.21)	0.59** (0.20)	0.08
Tenure status (reference: owner-occupier)	-0.30 (0.19)	-0.63* (0.25)	1.12	0.42* (0.20)	0.09 (0.26)	1.03
Marital status (reference: first marriage)						
Remarried	-0.59* (0.29)	-0.67** (0.22)	0.05	-1.22** (0.39)	-0.57* (0.24)	1.98
Widowed	-1.21*** (0.36)	0.09 (0.43)	5.40*	0.21 (0.35)	0.65 (0.41)	0.70
Separated	-2.36*** (0.58)	-0.51 (0.34)	7.51** *	-0.83 (0.45)	-0.73 (0.38)	0.03
Number living children	0.24** (0.08)	0.33** (0.10)	0.48	0.28** (0.09)	0.37*** (0.10)	0.58
Mobility problems due to poor health (reference: no such problems)	-0.45* (0.20)	0.21 (0.27)	3.70	0.30 (0.21)	0.46 (0.26)	0.22
Survey year (reference: 1988 Retirement Survey)	0.46 (0.37)			0.07 (0.40)		

Notes: *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<.001

Table 6: Results of logistic regression models of coresidence and contact with children, fathers 61-69 (1988 and 2001/2)

	Coreside with child $ß_{88}$	Coreside with child $ß_{01/02}$	χ^2 for H_0: $ß_{88} = ß_{01/02}$	Frequency of contact $ß_{88}$	Frequency of contact $ß_{01/02}$	χ^2 for H_0: $ß_{88} = ß_{01/02}$
Age (reference: 61-64)	-0.63*** (0.18)	-0.14 (0.20)	3.35	-0.25 (0.23)	-0.32 (0.21)	0.05
No educational qualifications (reference: any educational qualifications)	0.35 (0.23)	0.16 (0.21)	0.36	0.54* (0.27)	0.41 (0.24)	0.12
Manual worker (reference: non-manual worker, or missing status)	-0.16 (0.20)	0.70** (0.22)	8.38**	0.09 (0.26)	1.29*** (0.24)	12.14**
Tenure status (reference: owner-occupier)	-0.06 (0.20)	-0.19 (0.27)	0.14	0.03 (0.26)	-0.42 (0.29)	1.33
Marital status (reference: first marriage)						
Remarried	-0.94* (0.37)	0.04 (0.23)	5.08*	-1.24*** (0.35)	-0.81*** (0.24)	1.03
Widowed	0.01 (0.36)	-0.64 (0.59)	0.88	-0.31 (0.43)	-0.85 (0.44)	0.77
Separated	-0.85 (0.53)	-0.32 (0.40)	0.64	-1.31** (0.44)	-0.51 (0.40)	1.83
Number living children	0.39*** (0.08)	0.25** (0.09)	1.20	0.65*** (0.13)	0.25* (0.11)	5.44*
Mobility problems due to poor health (reference: no such problems)	-0.35 (0.23)	0.08 (0.27)	1.49	-0.05 (0.28)	0.47 (0.36)	1.31
Survey year (reference: 1988 Retirement Survey)	-0.56 (0.40)			0.16 (0.48)		

Notes: *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<.001

Figure 1a: Mothers and fathers 61-69

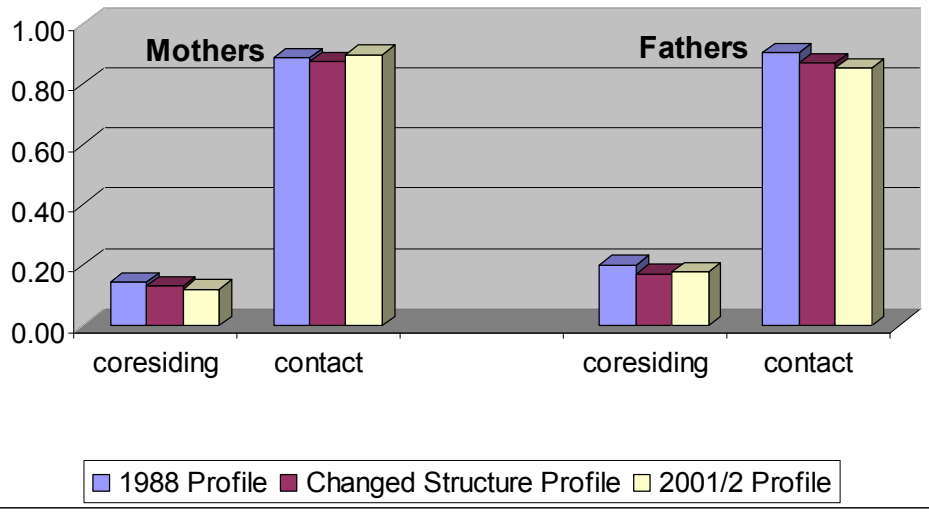
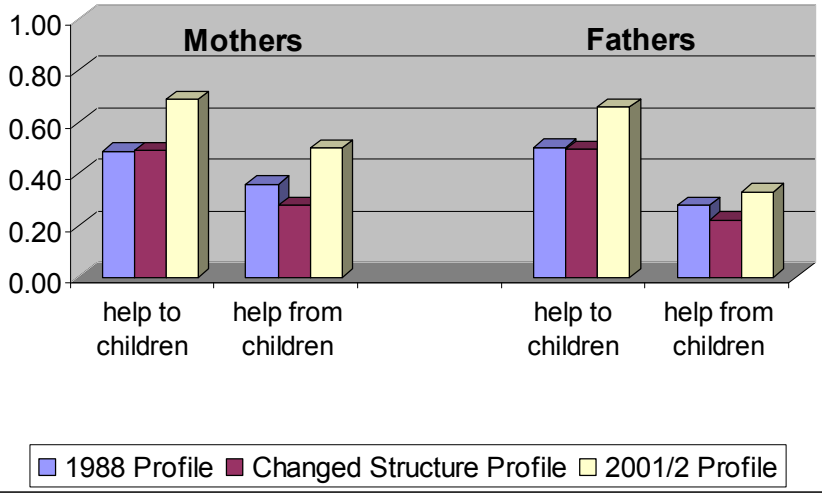


Figure 1b: Mothers and fathers with no coresident children 61-69



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