Distance makes the heart grow fonder?

Migration and Intergenerational Support Exchanges in Romania

by

Boróka Bó (University of California, San Francisco)
Zachary Zimmer (University of California, San Francisco)
Codrina Rada (University of Utah)

Abstract

Studies that examine bidirectional intergenerational support transfers in rapidly developing European countries are virtually non-existent, along with the effect migration has on these exchanges. Yet, the consideration of a bidirectional model when thinking about the relationship between migration and aging reveals some ways in which institutional and cultural patterns shape support transfers. Therefore, we examine circumstances in which older adults: receive assistance; provide support; engage in bidirectional transfers; along with the variables that influence the exchanges; as these scenarios are shaped by and influence the life-chances of both generations. Recent data from Romania, currently undergoing rapid economic, welfare and political transitions, allows us to illuminate determinants influencing informal support transfers between the generations. Multivariate equations predict directional flow of intergenerational exchanges based on migration status of the children and the location of the nearest child, highlighting potential vulnerabilities guiding support. Results suggest the need for concern for the many unsupported elders, with altruism and corporate motives driving existing support exchanges, in addition to migration shaping the flows.

Acknowledgements

Partial funding for this research is provided by National Science Foundation Graduate Research Fellowship & by Soros Fellowship for New Americans (Bó).

* Work in Progress. Please do not cite. Contact lead author for updated version.

Introduction

A growing body of research calls for addressing the multiple challenges that accompany the population aging of the European Union (Nimwegen & van der Erf, 2010; Bijak et al., 2007; Frejka & Sardon, 2004; Gauthier, 2007; Grant et al., 2004). The EU has experienced overall below-replacement fertility rates for the last two decades along with decreasing mortality levels, leading to concerns about population decline and its economic implications (Bijak et al., 2007, 2008; UN, 2002; McDonald, 2010; Hoffman et al., 2008). A large portion of the region is now represented by the older and oldest-old age groups (van Nimwegen & van der Erf, 2010).

This trend is also emerging in the former Eastern bloc countries, such as Romania, which has additionally recently underwent dramatic political and economic transitions (Arltová & Langhamrová, 2010). Women in Romania on average only have 1.3 children (United Nations, 2011). 19.5% of Romania's population is over 60 years old, and by 2050, the percentage of population over 60 years old will exceed Europe's average. Furthermore, in 2011, 19% of the aged (65+) was under the poverty line (Craciun, 2012). As Romania is experiencing demographic change concurrently with a substantial out-migration of the working-aged population, older people face a potential decline of informal support (Institutul National de Statistica, 2011).

The above societal dynamics and challenges point to the need to scrutinize intergenerational support transfers. Transfers are traditionally linked to institutional regimes as these arrangements shape normative and legal obligations, along with shaping opportunities and restrictions; yet we know that the social institutions of Romania are still relatively unstable as they have undergone significant reconfigurations in the recent past (Uhlenberg & Reiley, 2000). Families are an integral component of the contemporary welfare system in countries such as Romania, so it is important to examine the influence of migration on intergenerational transfers (Kohli, 1999). Migration of adult children both

enables and constrains support exchanges, highlighting the imperative to study the ways in which proximity between the generations affects particular support flows.

Multiple researchers across different contexts have shown that support provided by adult children frames the health outcomes of aged parents (Beckett, Goldman, Weinstein, Lin, & Chuang, 2002; Dupertuis, Aldwin, & Bosse, 2001; Sherbourne & Stewart, 1991). Although adult children are instrumental in supporting elderly parents, parents continue to provide support to their adult children, with important repercussions on their life outcomes, from financial to physical and psychological health (De Jong-Gierveld & Dykstra, 2008; Deindl & Brandt, 2011; Fingerman et al., 2011; Grundy, 2005; Ha, Carr, Utz, & Nesse, 2006; Kalmijn, 2007; Kunemund & Vogel, 2008; Silverstein, Gans, & Yang, 2006; Suitor, Sechrist, & Pillemer, 2007; Szinovacz & Davey, 2008; Pillemer, Suitor, Pardo, & Henderson, 2010; Richmond, Stocker, & Rienks, 2005). Therefore, it is just as crucial to look at the determinants of parental support transfers directed toward adult migrant children as it is to look at the determinants of support directed toward the aged.

The objective of this study is to examine a particular aspect of the relationship between migration and aging: the intergenerational transfers of support and their flows between older Romanian parents and their migrant children, while considering the location of the nearest child. More specifically, our aim is to examine some of the circumstances in which older adults are: more likely to receive assistance from their adult children; when they are likely to serve as providers of support to their often geographically distant adult children; in addition to when they are likely to engage in bidirectional support transfers; along with the variables that influence the likelihood support exchanges; as all of these scenarios are shaped by and influence the life-circumstances and life-chances of both generations.

Contextual and Theoretical Foundations of Intergenerational Transfers in Romania

In the process of its turbulent shift from communism toward a democratic market economy, accompanied by a global economic crisis, Romania has experienced considerable international migration, with 12% of its population permanently emigrating (Boeri et al., 2001; Eurostat, 2005; Thelen, 2006; Eke & Kuzio, 2000; .Kligman, 1998; Linz & Stepan, 1996; Institutul National de Statistica, 2011; Perlog et al., 2003). After joining the European Union, the above migratory profile of the country largely shifted toward temporary labor emigration to the more developed European countries (Oteanu, 2007). Moreover, the economic disparities that emerged between the regions of Romania led to a significant increase in internal migration (Constantin et al., 2003).

Literature from other developing countries points to migration being an impetus for support transfers: it often has a strong intergenerational foundation as parents strategically invest in the successful settlement of their children through financial and instrumental support exchanges, with the likely expectation that they reciprocate through remittances of financial and material support (Liu & Reilly, 2004; Secondi, 1997; Cai, 2006; Giles & Mu, 2007; Mulder & van de Meer, 2009; Ikkink et al. 1999; Zimmer et al. 2008; MacDonald & Koh, 2003; Vanvey, 2004; Zimmer & Knodel, 2010, Agree and Glaser 2009). Supporting this view, existing literature from some developing countries in Asia points to migrant children who receive financial support from their parents before migrating providing more remittances (Brown & Poirine, 2005; Stark, 1991). Indeed, we find that remittance flows to Romania were largest in the European Union, with Romanians receiving $4.5 billion in remittances in 2010 (World Bank, 2011; Eurostat, 2010).

Distance allows for the transmission of certain kinds of support while hindering others (Stark and Bloom, 1985; Stark and Lucas, 1988). Parents who have a child in the same locality will likely have a comparative advantage when it comes to both receiving and giving non-monetary support. Parents who

have children who are internal migrants, living in another region of Romania, or are international migrants, will likely have a comparative advantage when it comes to receiving financial support from their child; while also likely contribute instrumental and material support to aid the settlement of the migrant child. In Romania, the speed of socioeconomic and demographic change suggest the potential for traditional forms of support exchange patterns to be threatened by diminished social contact, as older adults may not have children nearby.

There are several compelling reasons for examining the flow of intergenerational support transfers between the generations in Romania. Romania occupies a unique position in the EU, as the country is very different from Western Europe in that until the recent past, it was characterized by an entirely different state socialist regime of intergenerational transmission. Kohli (2004), examining transfers in East Germany while still under a socialist regime, infers that the centralized power structure of Romania's communist regime could either weaken family ties (as the regime had an overall tendency to break up the power of the family by directly socializing the children in addition to constraining the transmission of parental status to younger generations) or strengthen family ties (as family ties became indispensable for physical survival in the shortage economy that characterized the regime). While we do not have longitudinal data on intergenerational support flows from Ceausescu's regime, we find that prior to 1945, a corporate mentality of exchanges held in Romania: familial norms of reciprocity guided instrumental and service transfers, in addition to adult children often co-residing with the aged (Nadolu, Nadolu, & Asay, 2007; Mitrut & Nordblom, 2010).

Kohli (2004) directly engages the current transition period following the fall of communism, presenting both a negative and a positive hypothesis: the stress of this period could erode family ties, while lack of resources could interfere with intergenerational support transfers; or alternatively, social instability may lead to increased family cohesion with a need to rely on family for support. In regards to

this, select scholars suggest that considering the diminished social contact that is a likely outcome of having fewer children, in addition to children migrating away from their aging parents, familial norms of altruism might erode to the point of the elderly facing the risk of abandonment (Aboderin, 2004). However, others argue that the family unit exists to ensure the survival of its members, with family values prevailing in the face of demographic and economic changes (Silverstein et al., 2012; Vanwey, 2004). The common thread in both the negative and the positive hypotheses when considering this transition period is a decrease in overall transfer capacity, as this is dependent on available resources (Kohli, 2004).

Similarly to other developing countries, Romania is now in the beginning stages of instituting a formal social security support system for its population. In this period, its elderly need to rely on coresident or nearby children for support (Bongaarts & Zimmer, 2002; de Jong Gierveld, Dykstra, & Schenk, 2012; R. D. Lee, 2000; Piotrowski, 2007; Silverstein, Conroy, & Gans, 2012; Robila, 2004). Hence, coresidence or distance to the nearest child in itself could be considered as a specific form of intergenerational exchange, and needs to be taken in to account in the examination of support transfers (Kohli, 2004). This leads us to the necessity to consider the location of the nearest child and incorporate an altruistic perspective, as this holds that support received will be proportional with needs and vulnerabilities exhibited, with resource flows favoring dependent parents (Frankenberg, Chan, & Ofstedal, 2002; Y. J. Lee, Parish, & Willis, 1994; Lin et al., 2003; Secondi, 1997). According to this view, adult children are more likely to provide support when parents are ill, widowed or in socioeconomic distress (Korinek, Zimmer, & Gu, 2011; van Eeuwijk, 2006; Zimmer, 2010; Silverstein, Conroy & Gans, 2012). The altruistic model suggests that the responsibility for parental support is shared among children and support provisions will depend on ability and need (Quashie & Zimmer, 2012). This perspective also allows for the consideration of other factors, such as the gender of the

parties along with the ability to provide support given distance and financial means (Chen & Silverstein, 2000; Whyte & Qin, 2003; Yount & Agree, 2004; Zimmer, 2005).

Intergenerational transfers to adult children are similarly motivated by corporate and altruistic motives (Becker, 1991; Cong & Silverstein, 2011). Transfers taking place within family units provide for the perpetuation of social status (Spilerman, 2000), social capital (Putnam, 2000) and economic advantage (Kunemund et al., 2003) among family members. In many societies, families serve as institutions of social welfare, with most of the support flows being directed toward needy adult children; the flows changing direction when the health or economic status of the older person changes (Kohli & Kunemund, 2003; Kohli, 1999; Szydlik, 2000; Low, 1998; Attias-Donfut, 1995; Attias-Donfut and Wolff, 2000; Gulbrandsen & Langsether, 2000; Klevmarken, 2002).

However, in order to clarify the influence of migration on transfer motives, we need to incorporate the relational dimensions of support transfers, inferring beyond the narrowly dualistic parent-to-child and child-to-parent focus dominating much of the existing literature. The consideration of a bidirectional exchange model reveals some of the ways in which institutional and cultural patterns shape the negotiation of intergenerational support transfers, from norms of reciprocity to other relational aspects that are likely time and geography dependent. Yet, research examining the bidirectional nature of intergenerational support in developing European countries is virtually non-existent, along with the effect the location of the adult children has on intergenerational support exchanges. This theoretical dimension implies that while the provisions of support are likely to be bidirectional, the particular forms of support exchanged will depend on resource availability and on the location of the children. The effect of proximity on bidirectional exchanges is shaped by the needs and resources of the aged parent, such as their health and disability status, income adequacy, gender, age, education and marital status.

The bidirectional exchange model is important when it comes to understanding intergenerational transfers in this mercurial region, as bidirectional support exchanges in particular (as compared to exchanges that flow in one direction) greatly contribute to the stability of the larger family unit in addition to maintaining the physical and mental health of the aged parents (Mancini & Blieszner, 1989). Several studies looking at other parts of the globe point to intergenerational exchanges following bidirectional patterns, with adult children being guided by norms of reciprocity when it comes to returning parental support (Chen, 2001; Li, Feldman & Jin, 2004; Sun, 2002; Zhang, 2005; Silverstein, Conroy & Gans 2012; Bernheim, Shleifer & Summers, 1985; Cox, 1987; Agree et al., 2002; Silverstein et al., 2002). Support the aged receive is influenced by the support they give to their adult children (Grundy, 2005; Klein Ikkink, Van Tilburg, & Knipscheer, 1999). Additionally, the support children receive is influenced by the support they give to their elderly parents (Leopold & Raab, 2011; Suitor et al., 2006). From the perspective of this literature, the goal is to achieve a semblance of equity or balance between the exchanges.

The Present Research

The above discussion underscores the relevance of examining how Romania's population is navigating such rapid demographic and social transitions. The intergenerational transfer story of this society tells us as much about the social norms in this rapidly changing country as it does about the formal systems of support in place to assist vulnerable populations, highlighting the ways in which intergenerational support transfers function as informal insurance, interacting with the currently solidifying state and corporate support provisions. With this in mind, our primary concern is to clarify the influence of migration on transfer motives, taking into consideration the ways in which the location

of the adult internal and external migrant children affects the overall odds that an aged parent receives or is the provider of financial, instrumental and material support.

This study addresses three critical questions to evaluate the influence of migration on intergenerational transfers and their potential motivators: (1) How does the location of the nearest child and the migration status of all the children condition intergenerational exchanges? (2) Are older persons in Romania engaged in bidirectional exchanges of support? (3) What factors and vulnerabilities enable or constrain the transfer capacity of the generations and how do they influence the various exchange flows?

Methods

Data

Data come from the 2011 Romanian Aging and Migration Survey (RAMS), administered by the Center for Urban and Regional Studies (CURS), consisting of a sample of 1509 Romanians aged 60 and over, living in the 41 counties of Romania and in the municipality of Bucharest (Stoica, 2011). The survey focused on questions related to intergenerational exchanges and migration, including the location of the children, the health status of the family members along with socioeconomic variables. The interviews were conducted in Romanian at respondent's homes by a team of surveyors trained by CURS.

The sampling strategy included: 1) a survey on a nationwide, random, stratified, multi-stage sample of 1125 respondents aged 60+; 2) an add-on survey of a nationwide, quasi–random sample of 384 additional individuals aged 60+ with international migrant children. The boost sample was designed to increase the sample size of older adults with international migrant children and thereby provide

adequate power in doing analysis that compared international versus other migrants. The current study is limited to 1,400 respondents who report having at least one living child and know their whereabouts.

Dependent Variable: Support Types and Directions

The survey queried respondents regarding the types of support received from or provided to their adult children. We consider three dimensions of support. The first dimension consists of monetary support provided to the aged parent and/or provided to the adult child. The respondents were asked if their children have given them any money during the past year. In addition, they answered the following question for each child: "During the past year, have you or your spouse given assets or financial help (loans) to your child?" Responses were coded into four categories: gave and received financial support; did not receive but gave financial support; received financial support but did not give; neither gave nor received financial support.

The second is a measure of material support other than money. Respondents were asked if their children have helped with food or other goods during the past year. In addition, they also answered the question of "During the past year, have you or your spouse given food or other household items to your children?" Responses were coded into four categories: gave and received material support; did not receive but gave material support; received material support but did not give; neither gave nor received material support.

The third dimension consists of instrumental support. Respondents were asked the following questions about each child: "During the past year, has your child helped you with housework (cooking, cleaning, etc.)?" and "During the past year, has your child helped with your work, business or family farm?" In addition, they also provided responses to: "During the past year, have you or your spouse helped your child with housework?"; "During the past year have you or your spouse helped your child with housework other than childcare?" and "During the past year have you or your spouse helped your

child with childcare?" These responses were also coded into the same four categories as those for material and financial support.

Independent Variables: Proximity of Children

Proximity to children is based on respondents answering the question: "Where does (name) live?" for each child and/or step children. We consider four categories of this measure: co-resident; living in the same locality (town/village); living in Romania (in another city or county); and being abroad at the time of the survey. By definition, co-resident children and local migrants are closest to their parents, as they either live with their aged parents or in the same locality with them. Internal migrants were coded as living outside the locality of their parents but still within the borders of Romania. International migrant children live in a different country, with 40% of them being in Italy, 17% in Spain and 8% in Germany. The countries of France, the United Kingdom and the United States house 5% each, with the remaining 20% of our international migrant adult children living in 25 other countries.

Other covariates

Multivariate models control for parent characteristics that indicate predisposition to provide support or to receive it. These include age, measured continuously, sex, employment, marital status, and the respondent parent's educational attainment level. Marital status is a categorical variable, comprised of currently married and not married. Those no longer in a union form the reference group, which consists of respondents who are divorced, widowed or single. We grouped all unmarried elders together, as only 0.6% of them never married and only 3.8% of the respondents were divorced. The largest category (36.3%) of our currently unmarried respondents is widowed. Similarly, only 4% of our respondents report being employed (either full time or part time), therefore we also coded this variable as a categorical variable, comprised of currently employed or not employed.

Educational attainment is coded into three categories: those with less than 9th grade education, those who completed high school and/or a year of vocational training, and finally those who have a college education. We also control for number of living children, measured continuously, and income. For income, this survey asks an open-ended question about respondents having enough income to meet their needs. We code this as a dichotomous variable, differentiating between those who report adequate income and those whose income does not meet their basic survival needs.

Health status is reflected through the measure of self-assessed health. Self-assessed health has been found to be a powerful predictor of other health indicators, along with present and future health outcomes among older adults (Zimmer et al., 2000). The respondents were asked how they would rate their health at the present time. Their available response categories were: 'very good, good, fair, poor' and 'very poor'. We combined very good health and good health, as not many respondents report being in very good health.

Additionally, we control for residual household size (number of people in the household minus those accounted for by other variables in the model), whether the aged respondent lives with a spouse and whether there are grandchildren in the household. In order to adjust for other factors that indicate predisposition to receive or provide support, we also include a series of characteristics for the adult children. These include age, sex, marital status, employment status and educational attainment levels. Full descriptions of the individual predictor variables are presented in Table 1.

Analysis

We begin our analysis descriptively by examining variations in the flows of intergenerational transfers of support based on the location of the children. Next, we present the results of multivariate equations that predict the flow of specific intergenerational exchanges. Separate multinomial regression models are used to predict the probability of aged Romanians exchanging the above three forms of

support with their nearest and migrant children, controlling for other variables in the model. Multinomial logistic regression analysis is appropriate as our dependent variables under examination are categorical. Interaction effects were also tested. Results show the log odds of various forms of support exchanged along with the significant interaction effects. Predicted probabilities are used to extrapolate the linear trends of the various support exchanges, based on the migration status of the adult children.

Results

How does the location of the nearest child and the migration status of the individual children condition intergenerational exchanges?

Table 1 shows the location of the children along with descriptive statistics for our sample. 30.1% of the respondents have a co-resident child. 28.4% has their nearest child in the same locality, while 38% has at least one child in the same locality. 28.7% has a nearest child in Romania outside of the locality and 50.4% has at least one child within Romania away from the parent's locality. At the time of our survey, 12.8% of the respondents reported having their nearest child abroad and 36.8% report having at least one international migrant child.

Tables 2 and 2.1 illustrate the ways in which the migration status of the children conditions intergenerational exchanges, independent of other variables. For a more intuitive look, we also present predicted probabilities from the multinomial regression results of the various support exchanges based on the location of the children, holding the other variables in the model constant at their mean values (Charts 1-3.1). Examining the trends between distance and support exchanged, it is clear that the various support flows are shaped differently by proximity when considering both distance to the nearest child and having at least one child in different locations.

Nearly 50% of the respondents report *'not exchanging'* any financial support across all location categories. There are important differences between the effect of distance on the lack of material and financial support exchanges in this category, with the probability of 'no exchange of material support' being highest (at 56% for nearest child and 45% for at least one child) when the migrant is abroad. The probability of 'no exchange of financial support' is lowest when either the nearest child or at least one child is an international migrant. The probability of not exchanging support is greatly influenced by the type of support in question in addition to migration being an important factor.

There are significant differences between the above flows and those who report *'only providing*' without receiving anything in return in how distance affects the various exchange types. The probability of 'only giving material and financial' support is highest when any of the children are internal migrants located within the borders of Romania but outside of the locality itself. Instrumental support stands out as an anomaly to the above, with the probability of 'only providing instrumental' support without receiving the same being the lowest when the children are either co-residing with the parent or are in Romania but outside of the locality.

The narrative is quite different when it comes to the probability of *'only receiving'* support. Considering material and financial support, the probability of receiving without reciprocating is highest when either the nearest child or at least one child is an international migrant. On the other hand, the probability of receiving instrumental support is lowest when either the nearest child or at least one child is abroad.

Are older persons in Romania engaged in bidirectional exchanges of support?

Tables 2 and 2.1 present the percentage of parents engaging in *bidirectional exchanges* of support, based on support category and location of the children. Instrumental support followed by material support is exchanged bidirectionally the most (with percentages ranging from 59.7% to 12.3%),

with a much smaller percentage reporting bidirectional exchange of financial support (percentages ranging from 10.2% to 5.5%). Table 3.1 shows that parents are most likely to engage in bidirectional financial support exchanges when they have at least one co-resident child and at least one international migrant child. On the other hand, when it comes to material support, parents are most likely to engage in bidirectional exchanges when their children are internal migrants and least likely to do the same with their local migrant children. Distance has a predictable impact when it comes to reporting bidirectional instrumental support exchanges, in that aged are more likely to exchange the same with their nearest child and least likely to exchange bidirectional instrumental support with their international migrant child.

What other factors or vulnerabilities enable or constrain the different exchange flows?

In addition to the migration status of the children enabling or constraining the intergenerational transfer flows, various other factors play a part in shaping this picture. Tables 3 and 3.1show the results of multinomial logistic regression equations predicting log odds for the forms of support exchanged between the respondents and their migrant children, illustrating the effects of the covariates. Two sets of models were estimated: the first predicting financial, material and instrumental support flows by the location of the nearest child, the second set predicting the same flows considering the location of all the adult children. A significant negative value indicates a lower probability of providing the type of support exchange in question, while a positive value indicates a higher probability or odds of exchanging a specific form of support in contrast to the reference categories indicated.

A cursory glance at the control variables in Tables 3 and 3.1 indicates that the support flows between parents and their migrant children are largely governed by generational needs. For example, both sets of models reveal that in comparison to those who did not exchange support, married female elders are more likely to report only giving financial support, while widowed female elders are more

likely to report the receipt of material support and the inability to engage in bidirectional exchanges of the same in all models. Increase in parental age significantly increases the likelihood of the parent reporting only receiving instrumental support without engaging in bidirectional or provisional flows. Parental and child education indicators and parental health indicators suggest similar drivers behind the various support exchanges.

The sex and marital status of the children also affects the likelihood of engaging in specific support flows. When the nearest child is female, aged parents are more likely to report only receiving instrumental support, while being less likely to report only giving material support. When they have both a male and a female nearest child, they are less likely to engage in bidirectional exchanges of financial support with their children. When the nearest child is married, the parents are more likely to report the bidirectional exchange of instrumental support. When one (but not necessarily their nearest) child is married, they are also more likely to report only giving instrumental support without receiving the same in return. As the mean age of the children increases, parents are more likely to report a decrease in only providing material support to their children.

Both grandchildren and the educational status of the migrant children affect support exchanges. Elders living with grandchildren are more likely to report only providing financial support to their nearest child, yet when considering the location of all children, having a co-resident grandchild increases the chances of reporting bidirectional exchanges of financial support overall. Compared to those whose children have attained higher levels of education, parents whose children's highest education is lower secondary school are less likely to report bidirectional exchange of instrumental and material support or the sole provision of material support.

Discussion

The speed of socioeconomic and demographic changes in Romania, in conjunction with large-scale internal and external labor force migration suggest the potential for established support exchange patterns to be threatened by diminished social contact (Arltová & Langhamrová, 2010; Institutul National de Statistica, 2011; Oteanu, 2007). Additionally, Romania is very unique in that it is currently experiencing a transition period of significant reconfigurations when it comes to its established welfare systems and intergenerational support patterns, as in the recent past, it was characterized by an entirely different state socialist regime of intergenerational transfers, grounded in norms of reciprocity (Kohli, 2004; Uhlenberg & Reiley, 2000; Nadolu, Nadolu, & Asay, 2007; Mitrut & Nordblom, 2010). The main purpose of this analysis was to examine a particular aspect of the relationship between migration and aging: the intergenerational transfers of support and their flows between older Romanian parents and their migrant children, while considering the location of the nearest child.

Our article asked three pressing questions, finding that the answer to each is highly nuanced, providing an important first step toward constructing the puzzle of emerging intergenerational support transfers in rapidly developing countries such as Romania. The first question was as follows: *How do the location of the nearest child and the migration status of the other children condition intergenerational exchanges?* Our results suggest that there are significant differences when it comes to the support flows between parents and their domestic children vs parents who have an international migrant child. Supporting our original hypothesis, we find that instrumental support exchanged is driven by distance between the parents and their offsprings. Having a coresident child does not make a difference with respect to financial support. When it comes to material support exchanges, the generations are more likely to engage in bidirectional support exchanges with coresident children. This carries significant implications, as it points to the importance of incorporating a bidirectional exchange

model when it comes to future research looking at the physical and mental health of aged Romanian parents (Mancini & Blieszner, 1989). Intriguingly, the probability of providing material support to one's migrant and nearest child dramatically increases when the child is living within the borders of Romania but outside of the locality of the parents. Yet, the probability of receiving material support does not increase when the children are internal migrants. Elderly parents do not appear to reap rewards for their material contributions when it comes to their internal migrant children, suggesting that they are likely facilitating the relocation of their economically vulnerable domestic children. This offers support for the altruistic perspective (Kohli & Kunemund, 2003).

We find that there is a dramatic change in the three types of support exchange flows when the children are abroad vs when they are located within Romania. For material and instrumental support, the probability of exchange in any direction declines when the child is abroad. When either the nearest or any of the children are abroad, the probability of the parent providing financial support declines substantially, whereas the probability of receiving financial support increases. This is in-line with corroborating evidence and existing literature presented earlier, yet as our study is cross-sectional, it does not reflect the potential struggles of recent international migrants.

Our second question asked if *older persons in Romania engaged in bidirectional exchanges of support.* Overall, we find that the probability of bidirectional support exchanges decreases when the nearest child is not a coresident. This decrease is especially pronounced when it comes to material and instrumental support, pointing to concerns when it comes to the physical and mental health of the aged in Romania - as 70% of our respondents do not have coresident children - raising questions about the long-term stability of the institution of the family (Mancini & Blieszner, 1989). Clearly, there is a pressing need for longitudinal data when it comes to this population in order to assess the influence of time on short-term and long-term bidirectional exchange flows. This is crucial, as research examining

the bidirectional nature of intergenerational support in developing European countries is virtually non-existent, yet longitudinal bidirectional support flows would be instrumental in highlighting the ways in which institutional and cultural patterns shape the negotiation of intergenerational support transfers.

The third question was as follows: *What other factors enable or constrain the different exchange flows?* The answer to this question is complex, as it depends on the flow type under examination in addition to being dependent on geographic proximity. Specific support flows are driven by altruistic motives, with resource exchanges favoring the more vulnerable parents and children (Korinek, Zimmer, & Gu, 2011; Silverstein, Conroy & Gans, 2012). For example, in comparison to those who did not exchange support, married female elders are more likely to be able to be economically stable enough to provide financial support, while widowed female elders are more likely to need material support and display the inability to engage in bidirectional exchanges. Increase in parental age significantly increases the likelihood of the parent reporting only receiving instrumental support. Poor parental health indicators similarly provide altruistic drivers behind the receipt of particular forms of support. As the mean age of the children increases, parents are more likely to report a decrease in only providing material support to their children. These results underscore that exchange flows are constrained by resource availability and generational need in addition to proximity, with provisions of support often following an altruistic flow pattern when family members demonstrate needs, such as a physical or financial hardship.

Elders living with grandchildren are more likely to report only providing financial support to their nearest child, yet when considering the location of all children, having a co-resident grandchild increases the chances of reporting bidirectional exchanges of financial support overall. This suggests that parents are compensated by children living outside of the household when they care for grandchildren. This is consistent with Cong and Silverstein's (2011) findings in China, pointing to

altruism, strategic investment, corporate motives and bargaining power comingling to shape intergenerational support transfers in Romania.

When the nearest child is married, the parents are more likely to report the bidirectional exchange of instrumental support, likely leading to multiple benefits when it comes to the health and wellbeing of both generations. On the other hand, when one of their other children is married, they are more likely to report only giving instrumental support without receiving the same in return. This suggests that parents are providing instrumental support to strategically invest in the successful settlement of their internal migrant children, as these children are likely more economically vulnerable than those who continue to live with and share the established resources of the parents. This supports the literature pointing to intergenerational support flows being motivated by both altruistic and corporate motives, in addition to highlighting that the families of Romania represent important institutions of social welfare.

The sex of the children had particularly interesting effects on support exchanges. When the nearest child is female, aged parents were more likely to report only receiving instrumental support, while being less likely to report only giving material support. This is in contrast to the support flows being in place in Romania prior to the communist regime, as we find that past norms of reciprocity do not seem to apply to instrumental support provided by female children (Nadolu, Nadolu, & Asay, 2007; Mitrut & Nordblom, 2010). This calls for further research on how prevailing gender norms in more patriarchal societies affect our often taken-for-granted theoretical perspectives centering on norms of reciprocity and altruism, potentially exacerbating the vulnerability of the adult female children. However, when it comes to financial support, when the aged have both a male and a female nearest child, they are less likely to engage in bidirectional exchanges of financial support with their children.

This finding carries many implications regarding the potential bargaining and intra-household patterns of resource allocation that may be taking place between the adult children.

Together, our findings poignantly illustrate that the consideration of a bidirectional exchange model is imperative when it comes to theoretical development in the area of intergenerational relationships in rapidly changing societies. In addition to shedding light on generational mental and physical health-effects, family stability and the gendered-relational dimensions of support transfers, the inclusion of a bidirectional model serves as an important first step toward examining the ways in which institutional and cultural patterns (such as institutionalized sexism) shape the negotiation of intergenerational transfers, from norms of reciprocity to other relational aspects that are likely time and geography dependent.

References

Aboderin, I. (2006). International support and old age in Africa. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction.

Aboderin, I. (2004). Modernisation and ageing theory revisited: Current explanations of recent developing world and historical Western shifts in material family support for older people. Ageing & Society, 24(1), 29-50.

Agree, E. M., Biddlecom, A. E., Chang, M. C. and Perez, A. E. (2002). Transfers from older parents to their children in Taiwan and the Philippines. Journal of Cross-Cultural Gerontology, 17: 269–294.

Agree, Emily M. and Glaser, K. (2009). "Demography of Informal Caregiving International Handbook of Population Aging." Pp. 647-668, vol. 1, International Handbooks of Population, edited by P. Uhlenberg: Springer Netherlands.

Attias-Donfut, C. & Wolff, F.C. (2000). The redistributive effects of generational transfers. In S. Arber & C. Attias-Donfut (Eds.), The myth of generational conflict: The family and state in ageing societies. pp. 22-46. London: Routledge Publishers.

Becker, G. S. (1991). A treatise on the family (enlarged edn). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Beckett, M., Goldman, N., Weinstein, M., Lin, I.-F., & Chuang, Y.-L. (2002). Social environment, life challenge, and health among the eldelry in Taiwan. Social Science & Medicine, 55(2), 191-209.

Bernard, Mitchell (2000). "Post-Fordism and Global Restructuring". In Stubbs, Richard, and Geoffrey R.D. Underhill. Political Economy and the Changing Global Order. Oxford University Press Canada.

Bernheim, D., Shleifer, A., & Summers, L. (1985). The strategic bequest motive. Journal of Political Economy, 33, 1045–1076.

Bijak, J., Kupiszewska, D., Kupiszewski, M., Saczuk, K. and Kicinger, A. (2007). Population and labour force projections for 27 European countries, 2002-2052: impact of international migration on population ageing, European Journal of Population, 23(1): 1-31.

Bijak, J., Kupiszewska, D., & Kupiszewski, M. (2008). Replacement migration revisited: Simulations of the effects of selected population and labor market strategies for the aging Europe, 2002–2052. Population Research and Policy Review, 27, 321–342.

Boeri, T., Brucker, H. et al. (2001). The Impact of Eastern European Enlargement on Employment and labour Market in the EU member States, European Integration Consortium, Berlin & Milan.

Bongaarts, J., & Zimmer, Z. (2002). Living arrangements of the elderly in the developing world: An analysis of DHS household surveys. Journal of Gerontology: Social Sciences, 57(1), S145-S157.

Brown, R. P. C., & Poirine, B. (2005). A model of migrants' remittances with human capital investment and intrafamilial transfers. International Migration Review, 39, 407–438.

Cai, Fang, ed. (2006) Green Book of Population and Labor—Demographic Transition and Its Social and Economic Consequences, Beijing : Social Sciences Academic Press.

Caldwell, J. C. (1982). Theory of Fertility Decline. New York: Academic.

Ceobanu, A. M. and Koropeckyj-Cox, T. (2012). Should International Migration be Encouraged to Offset Population Aging? A Cross-Country Analysis of Public Attitudes in Europe. Popul Res Policy Review. Springer online, retrieved January 2013.

Chen, J. (2001). The effect of parental investment on old-age support in urban China. In M. K. Whyte (Ed.), China's revolutions and intergenerational relations. Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan.

Chiappori, Pierre-Andre. (1992). " 'Collective' Models of Household Behavior: The Sharing Rule Approach." Paper presented at the International Food Policy Research Institute-World Bank Conference on Intrahousehold Resource Allocation: Policy Issues and Research Methods, Washington, D.C., February of 1992.

CNS (1995) Anuarul statistic al Romaˆniei. (1994). Bucharest: Comisia Nationala pentru Statistica.

Cong, Z., & Silverstein, M. (2008). Intergenerational time-for-money exchanges in rural China: Does reciprocity reduce depressive symptoms of older grandparents? Research in Human Development, 5(1), 6-25.

Cong, Z. and Silverstein, M. (2011). Intergenerational exchange between parents and migrant and nonmigrant sons in Rural China. Journal of Marriage and Family, 73, 93-104.

Constantin, D.L., Parlog, C., Goschin, Z. et al. (2002). Resursele umane in Romania. Mobilitatea Teritoriala, Editura A.S.E., Bucuresti.

Constantin, D., Perlog et al (2003). Interregional Migration in Romania during the 1990, Congress of European Regional Science Association, 27th to 30th August 2003, Jyväskylä, Finland.

Cox, D. (1987). "Motives for Private Income Transfers." Journal of Political Economy, 95 (3): 508-46.

Cox, D. (1990). "Intergenerational Transfers and Liquidity Constraints." Quarterly Journal of Economics 125:187-217.

Craciun, G. (2012). Bilant: Evaluarea Activitatii Politiei de Frontiera Romane in Anul 2011. Frontiera, 2, pp. 6-9.

de Jong Gierveld, J., Dykstra, P. A., & Schenk, N. (2012). Living arrangements, intergenerational support types and older adult loneliness in Eastern and Western Europe. Demogr Res, 27, 167-200.

Deindl, C., & Brandt, M. (2011). Financial support and practical help between older parents and their middle-aged children in Europe. Ageing & Society, 31, 645–662.

Dupertuis, L., Aldwin, C. M., & Bosse, R. (2001). Does the source of support matter for different health outcomes? Findings from the Normative Aging Study. Journal of Aging and Health, 13(4), 494-510.

Dittmann-Kohli, F., Bode, C., & Westerhof, G. J. (Eds.) (2001). Die zweite Lebenshälfte –Psychologische Perspektiven. Ergebnisse des Alters-Survey. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.

Eke, S.M. and Kuzio, T. (2000). 'Sultanism in Eastern Europe: the socio-political roots of authoritarian populism in Belarus', Europe-Asia Studies, 52(3) 523-547.

Eurostat (2008). EUROPOP2008, Demographic Database, http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu.

Eurostat (2005). EUROPOP2005, Demographic Database, http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu.

Eurostat. (2010). Eurostat online statistical database. Accessed 8 May 2013 at <<http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/statistics/search_database>>.

European Commission (2007). Europe's Demographic Future: Facts and Figures on Challenges and Opportunities. Brussels: European Commission.

Favell, A. (2008). The New Face of East–West Migration in Europe, Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 34(5), 701-716.

Fingerman, K., Miller, L., Birditt, K., & Zarit, S. (2009). Giving to the good and the needy: Parental support of grown children. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 71, 1220–1233.

Frankenberg, E., Chan, A., & Ofstedal, M. B. (2002). Stability and change in living arragements in Indonesia, Singapore, and Taiwan, 1993-1999. Population Studies, 56(2), 201-213.

Frejka, T. and Sardon, J.-P. (2004). Childbearing Prospects in Low-Fertility Countries: A Cohort Analysis. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic.

Gauthier, A.H. (2007). The impact of family policies on fertility in industrialized countries: a review of the literature, Population Research and Policy Review, 26(3), 323-346.

Grant, J., Hoorens, S., Sivadasan, S., van het Loo, M., DaVanzo, J., Hale, L., Gibson, S., & Butz, W. (2004). Low fertility and population aging: Causes, consequences and policy options. Santa Monica: Rand.

J. Giles and R. Mu. (2007). Elderly parent health and the migration decisions of adult children: evidence from rural China. Demography, 44, 2, 265–88.

Goode, W. J. (1963). World Revolution and Family Patterns. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press.

Grundy, E. (2005). Reciprocity in relationships: Socio-economic and health influences on intergenerational exchanges between Third Age parents and their adult children in Great Britain. The British Journal of Sociology, 56, 233–255. doi:10.1111/j.1468-4446.2005.00057.x

Gulbrandsen, L. & Langsether, A. (2000). Wealth distribution between generations: A source of conflict or cohesion? In S. Arber & C. Attias-Donfut (Eds.), The myth of generational conflict: The family and state in ageing societies (pp. 69-87). London: Routledge.

Ha, J., Carr, D., Utz, R. L., & Nesse, R. (2006). Older adults' percep- tions of intergenerational support after widowhood: How do men and women differ? Journal of Family Issues, 27, 3–30.

Hermalin, Albert I., Ming-cheng Chang, Hui-sheng Lin, Mei-lin Lee, and Mary Beth Ofstedal. (1990). "Patterns of Support among the Elderly in Taiwan and Their Policy Implications." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Population Association of America, Toronto.

Hoffmann, I. et al. (2008). Europe's Demographic Future: Growing Imbalances. The Berlin Institute for Population and Development, Germany.

Ikkink, K. K., van Tilburg, T., and Knipscheer, K. C. P. M. (1999). Perceived Instrumental Support Exchanges in Relationships Between Elderly Parents and Their Adult Children: Normative and Structural Explanations. Journal of Marriage and Family, 61(4), 831-844.

Jackson, J. S., Brown, K. T., Brown, T. N., & Marks, B. (2001). Contemporary immigration policy orientations among dominant-group members in Western Europe. Journal of Social Issues, 57(3), 431–456.

Jemna, D., Pintilescu, C., and Turturean, C. (2010). Population in Romania within the United Europe. Analele Ştiintifice Ale Universitatii Alexandru Ioana Cuza, Ştiinţe Economice, 329-340.

Kalmijn, M. (2007). Gender differences in the effects of divorce, widow- hood and remarriage on intergenerational support: Does mar- riage protect fathers? Social Forces, 85, 1079–1104.

Katz, S., Ford, A. B., Moskowitz, R. W., Jackson, B. A., & Jaffee, M. W. (1963). Studies of illness in the aged: The index of ADL, a standardized measure of biological and psychosocial function. Journal of the American Medical Association, 185(12), 914-919.

Klein Ikkink, K., Van Tilburg, T., & Knipscheer, K. C. P. M. (1999). Perceived instrumental support exchanges in relationships between elderly parents and their adult children: Normative and structural explanations. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 4, 831–844.

Klevmarken, N. A. (2002). On the wealth dynamics of Swedish families, 1984-1998. Uppsala, Sweden: mimeo.

Kligman, G. (1998). The Politics of Duplicity: Controlling Reproduction in Ceausescu's Romania. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Korinek, K., Zimmer, Z., & Gu, D. (2011). Transitions in marital status and functional health and patterns of intergenerational coresdience among China's eldelry population. The Journals of Gerontology: Social Sciences, 66(2), 260-270.

Kohli, M. (1999). Private and public transfers between generations: Linking the family and the state. European Societies, 1, 81-104.

Kohli, M. (2004) Intergenerational Transfers and Inheritance: A Comparative View. In: Silverstein, Merril (Ed.). 2004. *Intergenerational relations across time and place* (Annual Review of Gerontology and Geriatrics, Vol. 24). New York: Springer, pp. 266-289.

Kohli, M. & Künemund, H. (2003). Intergenerational transfers in the family: What motivates giving? In V. L. Bengtson & A. Lowenstein (Eds.), Global aging and challenges to families (pp. 123 - 142). New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

Künemund, H. & Rein, M. (1999). There is more to receiving than needing: Theoretical arguments and empirical explorations of crowding in and crowding out. *Ageing and Society*, 19, 93-121.

Kunemund, H., & Vogel, C. (2008). Intergenerational support intensity in European families. Zeitschrift für Gerontologie und Geriatrie, 41, 59–60.

Künemund, H., Motel-Klingebiel, A. & Kohli, M. (2003). Do private intergenerational transfers increase social inequality in middle adulthood? Evidence from the German Aging Survey. Research Group on Aging and the Life Course (FALL), Research Report 72. Berlin: Freie Universität Berlin.

Kunovich, R. M. (2002). Social structural sources of anti-immigrant prejudice in Europe. International Journal of Sociology, 32(1), 39–57.

Lawton, M. P., & Brody, E. (1969). Assessment of older people: Self-maintaining and instrumental activities of daily living. The Gerontologist, 9(3), 179-186.

Lee, R. D. (2000). Intergenerational transfers and the economic life cycle: A cross-cultural perspective. In A. Mason & G. Tapinos (Eds.), Sharing the Wealth: Demographic Change and Economic Transfers between Generations (pp. 17-56). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Lee, Y. J., Parish, W. L., & Willis, R. J. (1994). Sons, daughters and intergenerational support in Taiwan. American Journal of Sociology, 99(4), 1010-1041.

Lee, Y. J. and Z. Xiao. 1998. "Children's support for elderly parents in urban and rural China: results from a national survey." J Cross Cult Gerontol 13:39-62.

Leopold, T., & Raab, M. (2011). Short-term reciprocity in late parent-child relationships. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 73, 105–119. doi:10.1111/j.1741-3737.2010.00792.x

Li, S., Feldman, M. W., & Jin, X. (2004). Children, marriage form, and family support for the elderly in contemporary rural China: The case of Songzi. Research on Aging, 26, 352 – 384.

Lin, I. F., Goldman, N., Weinstein, M., Lin, Y. H., Gorrindo, T., & Seeman, T. (2003). Gender differ- ences in adult children's support of their parents in Taiwan. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 65, 184 – 200.

Linz, J.J. and Stepan, A. (1996). Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation. Southern Europe, South America and Post-Communist Europe. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Litwak, E. (1960a). "Occupational Mobility and Extended Family Cohesion." American Sociological Review 25:9-20.

Litwak, E. (1960b.) "Geographic Mobility and Extended Family Cohesion." American Sociological Review 25:385—394.

Liu, Q. and Reilly, B. (2004). Income transfers of Chinese rural migrants: Some empirical evidence from Jinan. Applied Economics, 36: 1295–1313.

Low, B. S. (1998). The evolution of human life histories. In C. Crawford & D. L. Krebs (Eds.), Handbook of evolutionary psychology: Ideas, issues, and applications (pp. 131-161). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Lowenstein A, Katz R, Daatland S O. (2005). Filial norms and intergenerational support in Europe and Israel: a comparative perspective. In: Silverstein M, editor. Annual Review of Gerontology and Geriatrics. Vol. 24. 2005. Intergenerational Relations Across Time and Place. New York: Springer, pp. 200–223.

MacDonald, M., and Koh, S. K. (2003). Consistent motives for inter-family transfers: Simple altruism. Journal of Family and Economic Issues, 24, 73-97.

Mancini, J. & Blieszner, R. (1989). Aging parents and adult children: Research themes in intergenerational relations. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 51, 275-290.

McDonald, P., (2000). Gender equity, social institutions and the future of fertility. Journal of Population Research, No 17(1), pp. 1-16.

McHale, S. M., Crouter, A. C., McGuire, S. A., & Updegraff, K. A. (1995). Congruence between mothers' and fathers' differential treatment of siblings: Links with family relations and children's well-being. Child Development, 66, 116–128.

Mitrut, A., & Nordblom, K. (2010). Social norms and gift behavior: Theory and evidence from Romania. European Economic Review, 54(8), 998-1015.

Markéta Arltová, Jitka Langhamrová. (2010). Migration and Aging of the Population of the Czech Republic and the EU Countries. Prague Economic Papers, 1, 2010.

Mulder, C. H and van de Meer, M. J. (2009). Geographical distances and support from family members. Population, Space and Place, 15, 343-357.

Nadolu, B., Nadolu, I. D., & Asay, S. M. (2007). Family strengths in Romania. Marriage and Family Review, 41(3-4), 419-446.

van Nimwegen, N. & van der Erf, R (2010). Europe at the Crossroads: Demographic Challenges and International Migration, Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 36(9), 1359-1379.

Nugent, Jeffrey B. (1985). "The Old-Age Security Motive for Fertility." Population and Development Review 11:75-97.

Oteanu, A. M. (2007). International circulatory migration as a local developing factor: The Romania example. Anthropological Notebooks 13(1), 33-44.

Pillemer, K., Suitor, J. J., Pardo, S., & Henderson, C. Jr. (2010). Mothers' differentiation and depressive symptoms among adult children. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 72, 333–345.

Piotrowski, M. (2007). Intergenerational relations in a context of industrial transition: A study of agriculture labor from migrants in Nang Rong, Thailand. Journal of Cross-Cultural Gerontology, 23(1), 17-38.

Putnam, R. D. (2000). Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Quashie, N. & Zimmer, Z. (2013). Residential proximity of nearest child and older adults' receipts of informal support transfers in Barbados. Ageing and Society, 33, 320-341.

Richmond, M. K., Stocker, C. M., & Rienks, S. L. (2005). Longitudinal associations between sibling relationship quality, parental differential treatment, and children's adjustment. Journal of Family Psychology, 19, 550–559.

Secondi, G. (1997). Private monetary transfers in rural China: Are families altruistic? The Journal of Development Studies, 33, 487 – 511.

Sherbourne, C. D., & Stewart, A. L. (1991). The MOS social support survey. Social Science & Medicine, 32(6), 705-714.

Silverstein, M., Conroy, S. J., Wang, H., Giarrusso, R., & Bengtson, V. L. (2002). Reciprocity in parent-child relations over the adult life course. The Journals of Gerontology, Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences, 57, S3–13.

Silverstein, M., Conroy, S. J., & Gans, D. (2012). Beyond solidarity, reciprocity and altruism: Moral capital as a unifying concept in intergenerational support for older people. Ageing & Society, 32(7), 1246-1262.

Silverstein, M., Gans, D., & Yang, F. M. (2006). Intergenerational support to aging parents: The role of norms and needs. Journal of Family Issues, 27, 1068–1084. doi:10.1177/0192513X06288120

Spilerman, S. (2000). Wealth and stratification processes. Annual Review of Sociology, 26, 497-524.

Stark, O. (1991). *The migration of labor*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

Stark, O. and Bloom, D. E. (1985). The new economics of labor migration. The American Economic Review: Papers and Proceedings of the Ninety-Seventh Annual Meeting of the American Economic Association, 75, 2, 173–8.

State of World Population 2007 – Unleashing the Potential of Urban Growth, UNFPA – United Nations Population Fund, 2008.

Stoica, Catalin A. (2011). The Impact of Migration on Older Parents Left Behind in Romania: A Methodological Report. Bucharest: CURS.

Suitor, J. J., Pillemer, K., & Sechrist, J. (2006). Within-family differences in mothers' support to adult children. The Journals of Gerontology, Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences, 61, S10–S17.

Suitor, J. J., Sechrist, J., & Pillemer, K. (2007). Within-family differences in mothers' support to adult children in black and white families. Research on Aging, 29, 410–435.

Sun, R. (2002). Old age support in contemporary urban China from both parents' and children's perspectives. Research on Aging, 24, 337 – 359.

Szinovacz, M. E., & Davey, A. (2008). The division of parent care between spouses. Ageing & Society, 28, 571–597.

Szydlik, M. (2000). Lebenslange Solidarität? Generationenbeziehungen zwischen erwach- senen Kindern und Eltern. Opladen, Germany: Leske +Budrich.

Szydlik, M. (2004). Inheritance and inequality: Theoretical reasoning and empirical evidence. European Sociological Review, 20, 31-45.

Thelen, T. (2006). Law and mutual assistance in families: A comparison of socialist legacies in Hungary and Eastern Germany. Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law 53/54: 177-207.

UNHCR (2001). Asylum Applications in Industrialized Countries 1980_1999. Geneva: United Nations High Commisioner for Refugees. Population Data Unit. Population and Geographical Data Section, online at http://www.unhcr.org/statistics/STATISTICS/3c3eb40f4.pdf, accessed 12 January 2013.

Uhlenberg, P. & Riley, M. W. (Eds.) (2000). Essays on age integration. *The Gerontologist*, 40, 261-308.

van Eeuwijk, P. (2006). Old-Age Vulnerability, Ill-Health and Care Support in Urban Areas of Indonesia. Ageing & Society, 26(1).

Vanwey, L. K. (2004). Altruistic and contractual remittances between male and female migrants and households in rural Thailand. Demography, 41, 739-756.

Verbrugge, L. M., & Jette, A. M. (1994). The Disablement Process. Social Science and Medicine, 38(1), 1-14.

Whyte, M. K., & Qin, X. (2003). Support for aging parents from daughters versus sons. In M. K. Whyte (Ed.), China's Revolutions and Intergenerational Relations (pp. 167-195). Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

World Bank, Migration and Remittances Factbook 2011, http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTLAC/Resources/Factbook2011-Ebook.pdf, p.26

Yount, K. M., & Agree, E. M. (2004). The power of older women and men in Egyptian and Tunisian Families. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 66(February), 126-146.

Zhang, H. (2005). Bracing for an uncertain future: A case study of new coping strategies or rural parents under China's new birth control policy. China Journal, 54, 53 – 76.

Zimmer, Z., Natividad, J., Lin, H., & Chayovan, N. (2000). A Cross-National Examination of the Determinants of Self-Assessed Health. Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 41(4), 465-481.

Zimmer, Z. (2005). Health and living arrangement transitions among China's oldest-old. Research on Aging, 27(5), 526-555.

Zimmer, Z. (2010). Shifting coresidence near the end of life: Comparing decedents and survivors of a follow-up study in China. Demography, 47(3), 537-554.

Zimmer, Z. and Knodel, J. (2010). Return migration and the health of older aged parents: evidence from rural Thailand. Journal of Aging and Health, 22, 7, 955–76.

Zimmer, Z., Korinek, K., Knodel, J. and Chayovan, N. (2008). Migrant interactions with elderly parents in rural Cambodia and Thailand. Journal of Marriage and Family, 70, August, 585–98.

Zimmerman, K. (1995). Tackling the European Migration Problem. The Journal of Economic Perspectives, Vol. 9, No. 2 (Spring, 1995), pp. 45-62

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics (N=1,400)[1]

Location of Nearest child (%)		*Sex of Nearest child (%)*	
In the same household	30.1	Male	45.9
In the same locality	28.4	Female	35.8
In Romania	28.7	Both	18.4
Abroad	12.8	*Has at least one child (%)*	*Male Child* *Female Child*
Has at least one child (%)		In the same household	19.9 12.1
In the same household	30.1	In the same locality	24.4 21.2
In the same locality	38.0	In Romania	28.7 32.8
In Romania	50.4	Abroad	21 21.7
Abroad	36.8		
Characteristics of parents			
Female (%)	57.1	*Mean Age of All Children (SDev)*	42.21 (8.29)
Age (mean/SDev)	69.99 (7.36)		
# of Children (mean/SDev)	2.21 (1.21)	*Mean Age of Nearest Child (Sdev)*	41.98 (8.71)
Residual Household Size (mean/SDev)	0.397 (0.84)		
Lives with Grandchild (%)	17.1	*Highest Education of Nearest Child (%)*	
Marital Status (%)		Lower Secondary	8.3
Not married	42.0	Secondary	56.6
Married Female	23.5	Post Secondary	35.1
Married Male	34.5	*Highest Education Among All Children (%)*	
Unmarried Female	33.6	Lower Secondary	5.7
Unmarried Male	8.4	Secondary	52.5
Employment Status (%)		Post Secondary	41.8
Currently not employed	95.7	*Employment Status of Nearest Child (%)*	
Currently employed	4.3	Both Employed & Unemployed	7.7
Income		Unemployed Only	17.8
Enough income for basic needs	35.8	Employed Only	74.5
Not enough income for basic needs	64.2	*Employment Status of All Children (%)*	
Education (%)		Both Employed & Unemployed	22.6
Grades 0-8	53.9	Unemployed Only	8.6
Grades 8-13	39.3	Employed Only	68.8
University Graduate	6.8	*Marital Status of Nearest Child (%)*	
Self Rated Health (%)		Both Married & Unmarried	6.6
Good	15.2	Married Only	72.4
Fair	38.9	Unmarried Only	21.1
Poor	33.6	*Marital Status of All Children (%)*	
Very Poor	12.2	Both Married & Unmarried	22.9
		Married Only	66.4
		Unmarried Only	10.7

[1] Results are based on weighted sample

Table 2. Direction and type of support exchanged by proximity to nearest child

Support Exchanged	*Location of Children*			
Financial Support (%)	Co-resident Nearest Child	Nearest Child in Locality	Nearest Child in Romania	Nearest Child Abroad
Gave and Received	10.4	6.0	5.5	7.3
Gave But Did Not Receive	21.3	19.9	22.1	5.6
Received But Did Not Give	22.0	19.6	23.9	44.1
Neither Gave Nor Received	46.2	54.4	48.5	43.0
Chi-square for Nearest Financial: 65.66***				
Material Support (%)				
Gave and Received	40.5	22.4	26.1	12.3
Gave But Did Not Receive	26.3	24.7	31.1	10.1
Received But Did Not Give	14.5	22.9	18.7	25.7
Neither Gave Nor Received	18.7	30.0	24.1	52.0
Chi-square for Nearest Material: 131.4***				
Instrumental Support (%)				
Gave and Received	59.7	35.8	24.6	15.6
Gave But Did Not Receive	7.6	16.9	13.2	17.3
Received But Did Not Give	20.6	26.7	33.3	3.4
Neither Gave Nor Received	12.1	20.7	28.9	63.7
Chi-square for Nearest Instrumental: 298.96***				

Note: ***p<0.001, *p<0.05

Table 2.1. Direction and type of support exchanged by proximity to children

Support Exchanged	*Location of Children*			
Financial Support (%)	At Least 1 Co-resident Child	At Least 1 Child in Locality	At Least 1 Child in Romania	At Least 1 Child Abroad
Gave and Received	10.4	7.1	6.8	8.7
Gave But Did Not Receive	21.3	21.1	21.0	10.7
Received But Did Not Give	22.0	19.5	22.2	37.8
Neither Gave Nor Received	46.2	52.3	50.0	42.8
Chi-Square Financial Support:	11.81***	13.07***	7.03 *	95.28***
Material Support (%)				
Gave and Received	40.5	27.4	31.9	22.9
Gave But Did Not Receive	26.3	24.2	29.3	20.2
Received But Did Not Give	14.5	21.2	16.9	22.9
Neither Gave Nor Received	18.7	27.1	22.0	34.1
Chi-Square Material Support:	62.08***	0.626	41.24***	31.64***
Instrumental Support (%)				
Gave and Received	59.7	42.3	37.1	30.4
Gave But Did Not Receive	7.6	14.3	11.2	16.3
Received But Did Not Give	20.6	24.8	29.6	16.3
Neither Gave Nor Received	12.1	18.6	22.1	37.0
Chi-Square Instrumental Support:	143.31***	25.03***	32.19***	74.65***

Note: ***p<0.001, *p<0.05

Table 3. Multinomial logistic regression log odds for support exchanges between parents and their nearest child (reference category = no exchange)

Characteristics	**Financial**			**Material**			**Instrumental**		
	Bidirectional	Gave Only	Received Only	Bidirectional	Gave Only	Received Only	Bidirectional	Gave Only	Received Only
Intercept	1.623	2.368 *	-.925	-.706	2.547 *	-2.626 *	2.047 *	3.155 *	-4.071 *
Nearest Child									
In Locality	-.485	-.007	-.136	-.651 *	-.034	.285	-.838 *	.186	-.210
In Romania	-.447	.212	.164	-.135	.532 *	.326	-1.452 *	-.382	-.335
Abroad	-.099	-1.218 *	.881 *	-1.789 *	-1.721 *	-.037	-2.851 *	-.986 *	-3.451 *
Parent Characteristics									
Age of Parent	-.015	-.016	-.008	.005	-.008	.016	-.017	-.045 *	.049 *
Married Female	.397	.448 *	.159	-.255	-.363	-.161	-.188	-.227	.137
Single Female	-.244	-.242	.252	-.145	-.727 *	.628 *	-.459 *	-.455 *	.221
Single Male	-.054	.016	-.099	-.955 *	-1.457 *	-.209	-1.249 *	-2.109 *	-.195
Educ 0-8	-.491	-.770 *	.584	.770 *	-.102	-.023	.553	-.731 *	.515
Educ 9-13	-.794 *	-.386	.457	.654	-.060	-.028	.440	-.252	.512
Very Poor Health	-.366	-.209	-.242	-.152	-.342	.208	-.389	-.240	-.033
Poor Health	-.061	-.310	-.138	-.124	-.206	.338	-.439	-.199	-.128
Fair Health	-.432	-.510 *	-.230	-.213	-.478 *	.039	-.444 *	-.716 *	-.219
# of Children	.119	-.112	.111	.089	-.107	.108	-.004	-.017	.025
Residual Household Size	-.035	.032	.001	.258 *	.151	.233	.282 *	-.345	.098
Lives with Grandchild	.555	.458 *	.116	.333	.403	-.097	1.092 *	1.746 *	.169
Child Characteristics									
Both Male and Female Nearest Child	-.726 *	-.162	.025	-.320	-.061	-.154	.053	.308	.382
Nearest Child is Female	-.078	-.071	.198	-.187	-.378 *	.047	.036	.161	.367 *
Nearest Child Highest Educ: Secondary School	-.336	-.151	-.282	.236	.253	.037	.463 *	.141	.001
Nearest Child Highest Educ: Lower Secondary School	-1.116 *	-.427	-.558 *	-.331	-.419	-.381	-.474	-.620	-.332
Nearest Child is Married	-.265	-.341	-.405 *	-.205	-.745 *	-.158	1.174 *	.699	-.212
Nearest Children both Married and Single	-.456	.021	-.040	-.016	-.186	-.179	.569 *	.412	.890 *
Nearest Child is Employed	-.289	-.164	.282	.484	.115	.452	.396	-.059	.286
Nearest Child is Un Employed	-.876	.117	-.087	.136	.208	.277	.383	-.061	.214
Mean age of Nearest Children	-.021	-.017	.003	-.003	-.035 *	.003	-.014	.003	.005
Chi-Square	197.016 *			349.252 *			584.371 *		

*p<0.05

Table 3.1. Multinomial logistic regression log odds for support exchanges between aged parents and their children as influenced by proximity

Characteristics	Financial			Material			Instrumental		
Reference categories: No exchange of support, co-resident child, high school education, good self reported health									
	All Children Bidirectional vs No Support	All Children Gave Only vs No Support	All Children Received Only vs No Support	All Children Bidirectional vs No Support	All Children Gave Only vs No Support	All Children Received Only vs No Support	All Children Bidirectional vs No Support	All Children Gave Only vs No Support	All Children Received Only vs No Support
Intercept	.314	2.537 *	-1.001	-1.446	2.690 *	-2.653 *	.493	2.283 *	-4.542 *
At Least One Child									
Co-resident	.649 *	.058	-.042	.937 *	.406	.120	1.510 *	.318	.660 *
In Locality	.026	.048	-.336 *	.396 *	.292	.353	.988 *	.575 *	.798 *
In Romania	-.027	.196	-.220	1.037 *	1.049 *	.265	.698 *	.132	.985 *
Abroad	.488 *	-.685 *	.843 *	-.268	-.542 *	.221	-.528 *	-.237	-.792 *
Parent Characteristics									
Age of Parent	-.004	-.024	-.005	.001	-.006	.010	-.024	-.047 *	.042 *
Married Female	.434	.434 *	.138	-.284	-.359	-.188	-.214	-.224	.115
Single Female	-.159	-.297	.304	-.194	-.788 *	.623 *	-.509 *	-.440	.185
Single Male	.039	-.033	-.024	-.945 *	-1.523 *	-.197	-1.249 *	-2.047 *	-.199
Educ 0-8	-.372	-.874 *	.701 *	.766 *	-.164	-.075	.563	-.816 *	.491
Educ 9-13	-.744 *	-.474	.536	.625	-.143	-.086	.417	-.324	.486
Very Poor Health	-.372	-.259	-.264	-.181	-.370	.184	-.444	-.228	-.057
Poor Health	-.028	-.362	-.127	-.146	-.251	.344	-.476 *	-.172	-.126
Fair Health	-.400	-.551 *	-.201	-.203	-.478 *	.060	-.438 *	-.685 *	-.178
# of Children	.043	-.029	-.029	-.053	-.172	.052	-.018	-.005	.004
Residual Household Size	-.055	-.002	.005	.307 *	.173	.229	.336 *	-.363	.116
Lives with Grandchild	.579 *	.412	.114	.258	.213	-.180	1.069 *	1.692 *	.120
Child Characteristics									
Has Both Male and Female Children	-.433	-.195	.060	.003	.072	.053	.162	.309	.268
Child is Female	-.486	-.045	.036	.010	-.371	.105	.349	.356	.358
Children's Highest Educ: Secondary School	-.319	-.147	-.316 *	.130	.139	.041	.320	.205	-.178
Children's Highest Educ: Lower Secondary School	-2.214 *	-.552	-.813 *	-.950 *	-.699 *	-.547	-1.103 *	-.659	-.589
Child is Married	-.292	-.097	-.331	-.312	-.579 *	-.028	.543 *	.912 *	-.250
Children both Married and Single	-.197	.175	.027	-.012	-.021	-.137	.590 *	.665	.310
Child is Employed	-.391	.155	-.609	-.245	.264	.371	.238	-.280	-.263
Child is Unemployed	.237	-.249	.119	.206	.060	.332	.104	-.036	-.165
Mean age of Children	-.030	-.010	.008	.007	-.034 *	.012	-.005	.003	.012
Chi-Square	247.346 *			353.330 *			557.827 *		

*p<0.05

Chart 1.

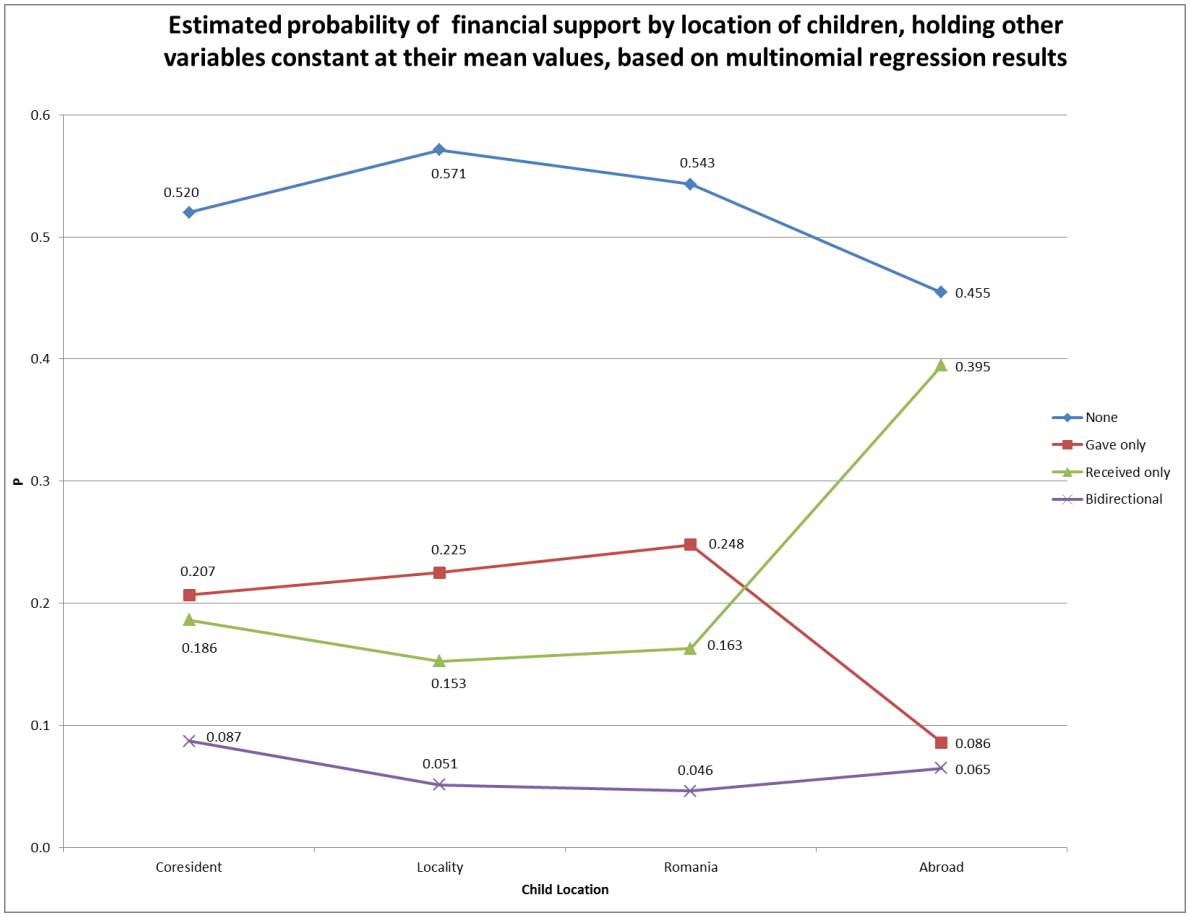

Estimated probability of financial support by location of children, holding other variables constant at their mean values, based on multinomial regression results
0.6
0.5
0.4
0.3
0.2
0.1
0.0
P
0.520
0.571
0.543
0.455
0.207
0.225
0.248
0.086
0.186
0.153
0.163
0.395
0.087
0.051
0.046
0.065
Coresident
Locality
Romania
Abroad
Child Location
None
Gave only
Received only
Bidirectional

Chart 1.1.

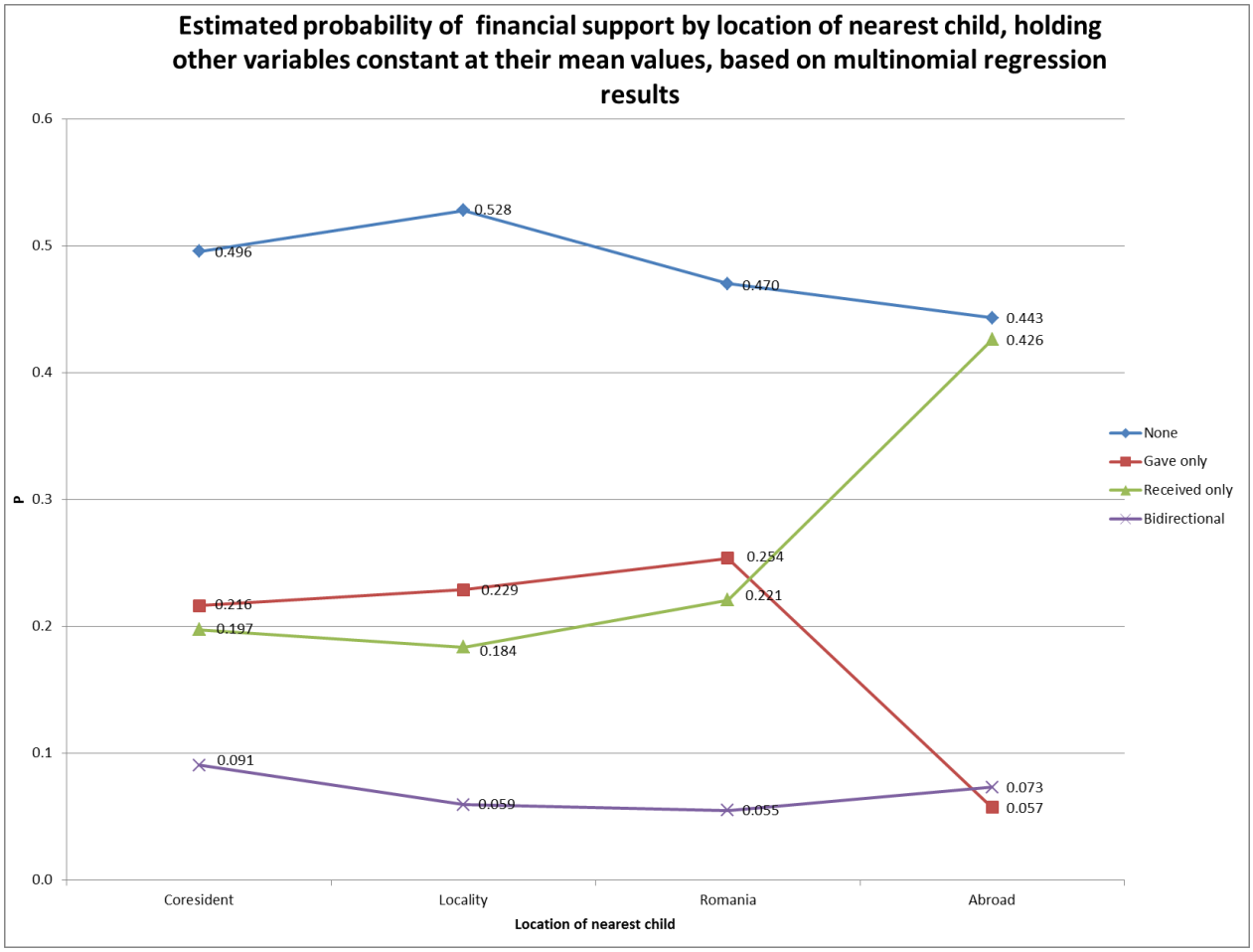

Estimated probability of financial support by location of nearest child, holding other variables constant at their mean values, based on multinomial regression results
0.6
0.5
0.4
0.3
0.2
0.1
0.0
P
0.496
0.528
0.470
0.443
0.426
0.216
0.229
0.254
0.197
0.184
0.221
0.091
0.059
0.055
0.073
0.057
Coresident
Locality
Romania
Abroad
Location of nearest child
None
Gave only
Received only
Bidirectional

Chart 2.

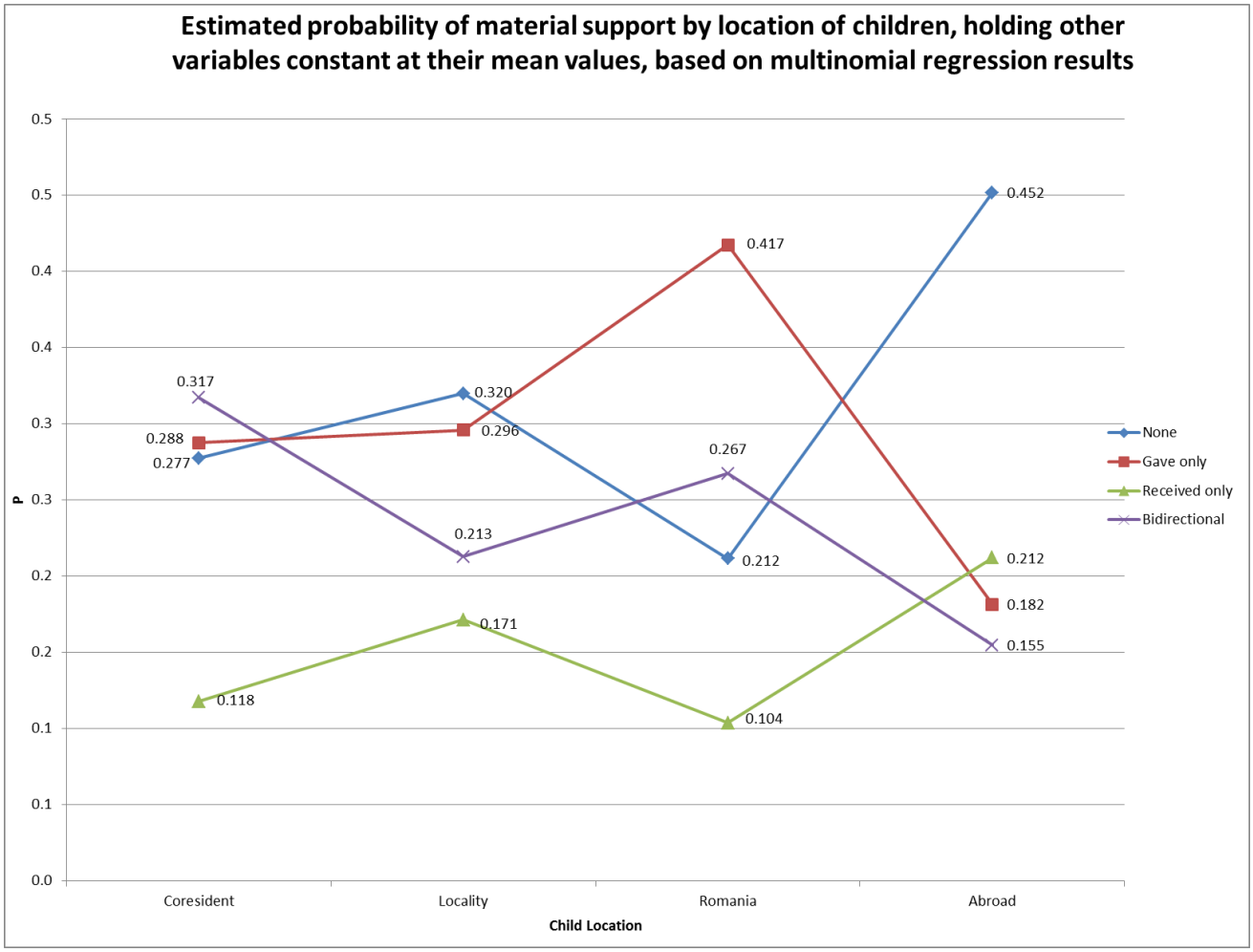

Estimated probability of material support by location of children, holding other variables constant at their mean values, based on multinomial regression results
0.5
0.5
0.4
0.4
0.3
0.3
0.2
0.2
0.1
0.1
0.0
P
0.452
0.417
0.317
0.320
0.288
0.296
0.277
0.267
0.213
0.212
0.212
0.182
0.171
0.155
0.118
0.104
Coresident
Locality
Romania
Abroad
Child Location
None
Gave only
Received only
Bidirectional

Chart 2.1.

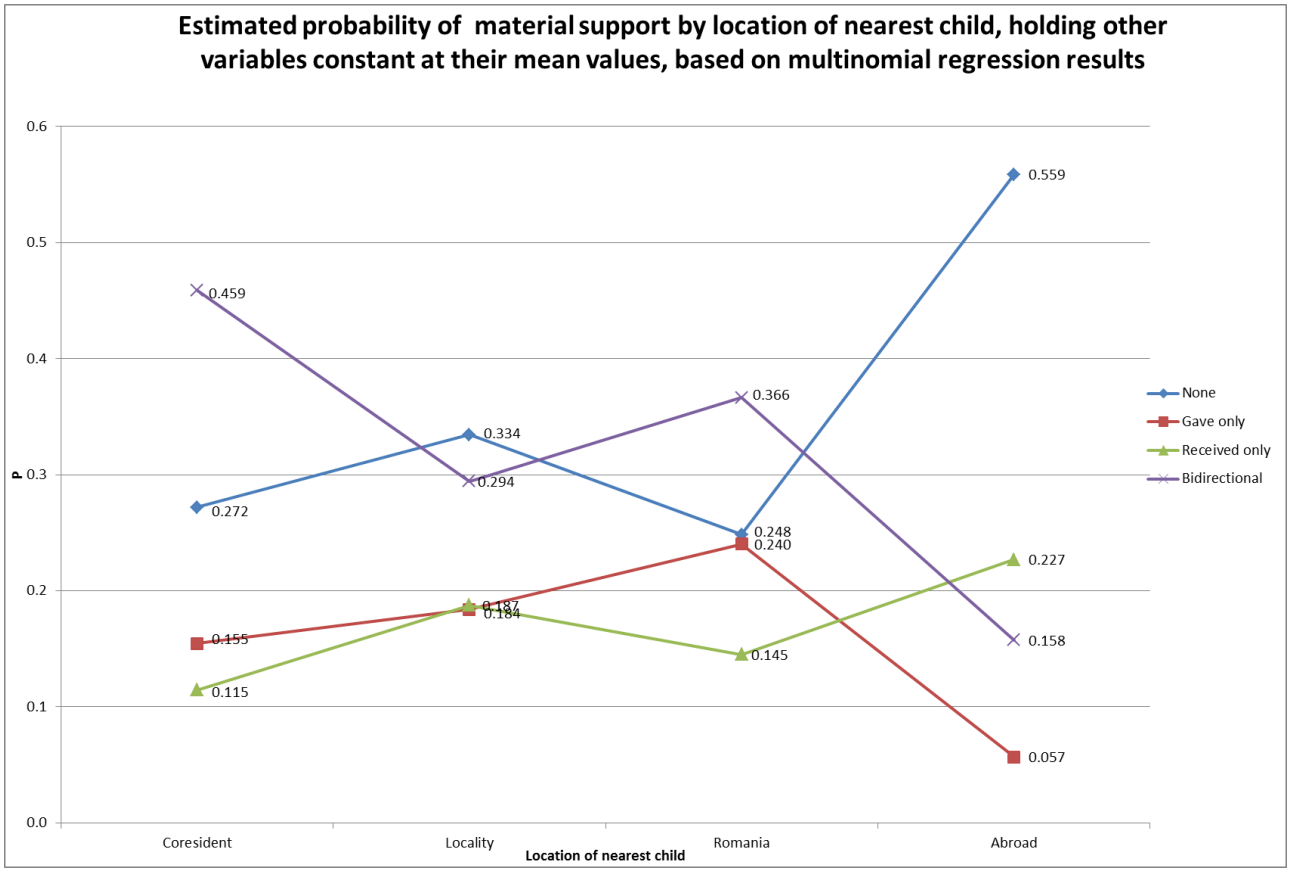

Estimated probability of material support by location of nearest child, holding other variables constant at their mean values, based on multinomial regression results
0.6
0.5
0.4
0.3
0.2
0.1
0.0
P
0.559
0.459
0.366
0.334
0.294
0.272
0.248
0.240
0.227
0.187
0.184
0.155
0.145
0.158
0.115
0.057
Coresident
Locality
Romania
Abroad
Location of nearest child
None
Gave only
Received only
Bidirectional

Chart 3.

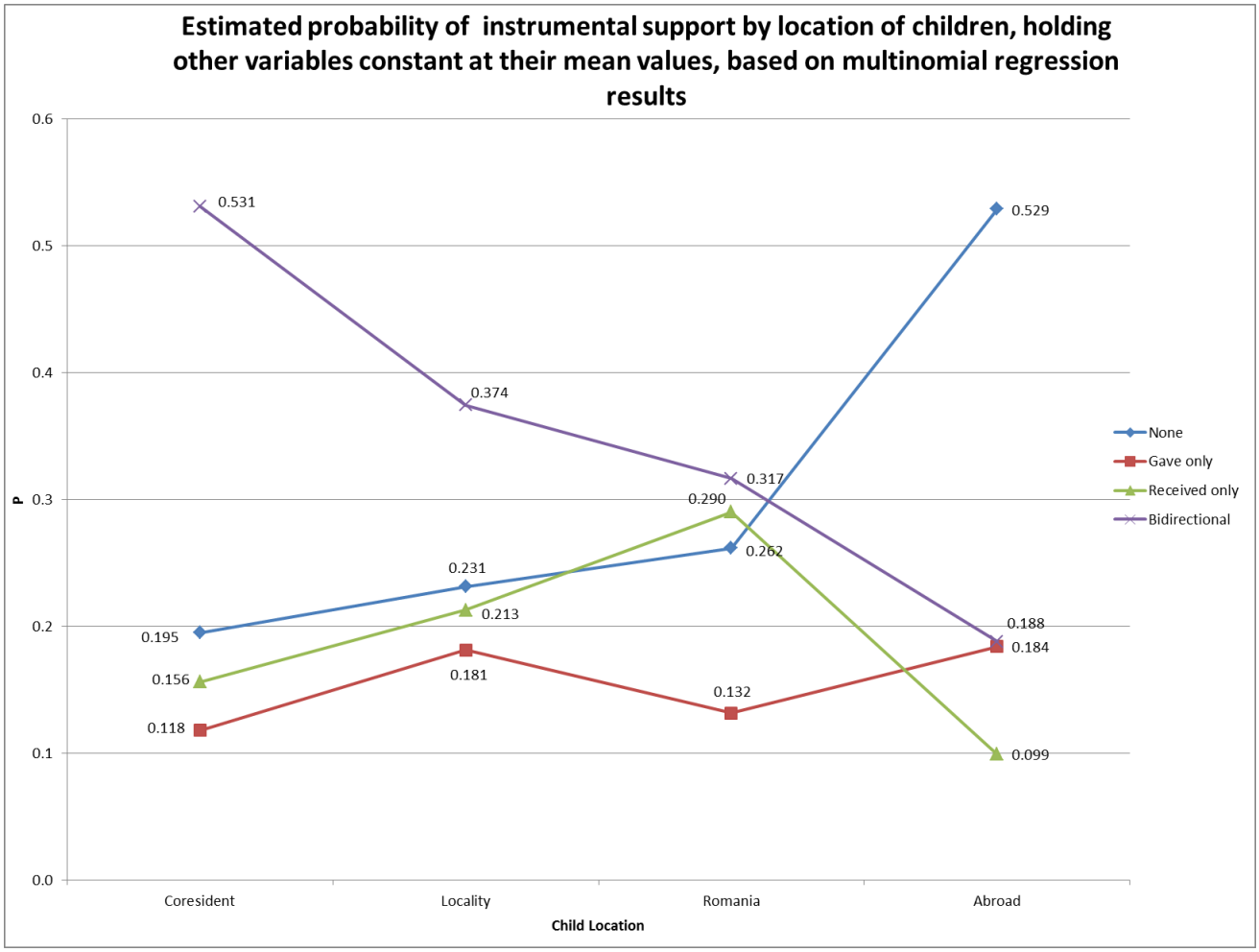
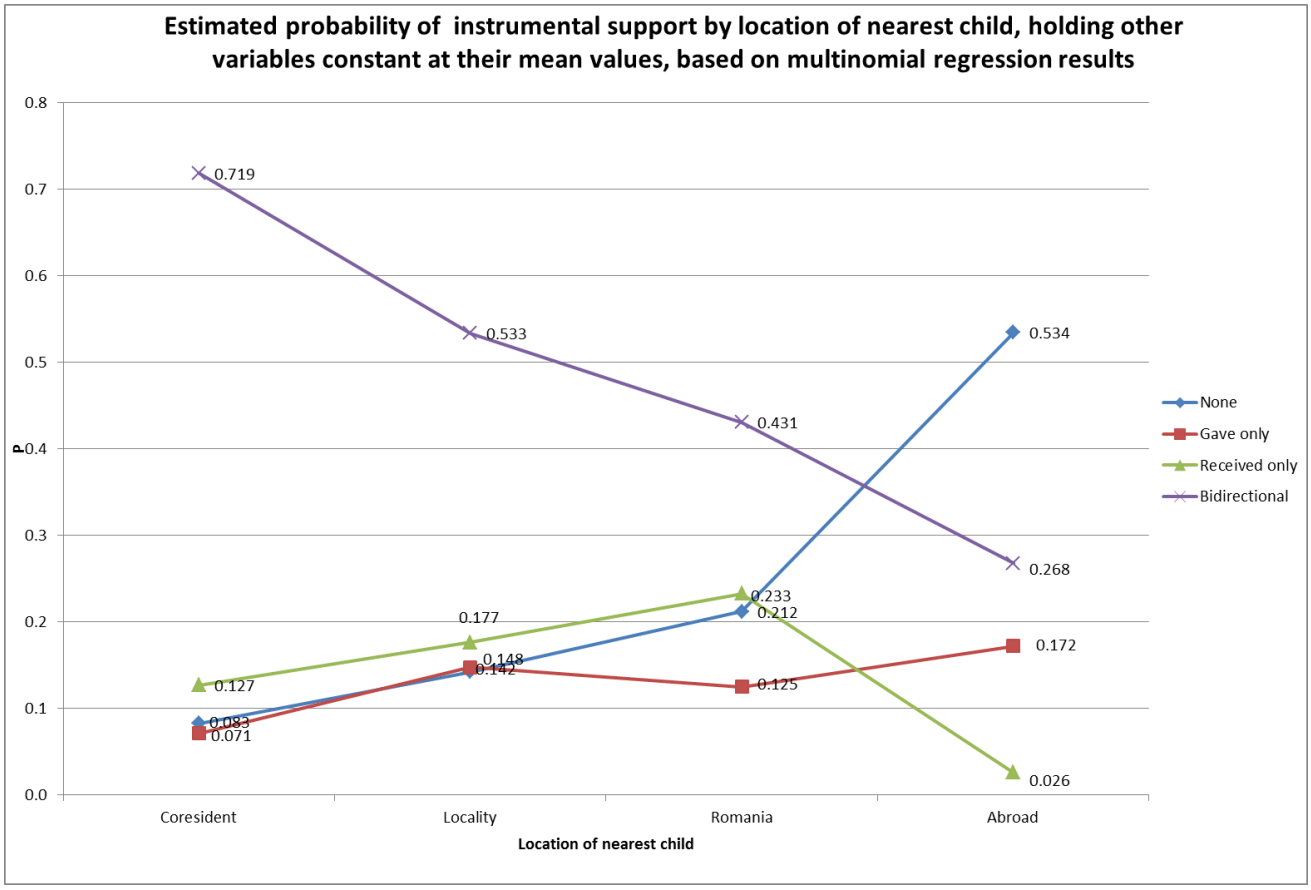

Estimated probability of instrumental support by location of children, holding other variables constant at their mean values, based on multinomial regression results
0.6
0.5
0.4
0.3
0.2
0.1
0.0
P
0.531
0.374
0.317
0.529
0.290
0.262
0.231
0.213
0.195
0.188
0.184
0.156
0.181
0.132
0.118
0.099
Coresident
Locality
Romania
Abroad
Child Location
None
Gave only
Received only
Bidirectional

Chart 3.1.


Estimated probability of instrumental support by location of nearest child, holding other variables constant at their mean values, based on multinomial regression results
0.8
0.7
0.6
0.5
0.4
0.3
0.2
0.1
0.0
P
0.719
0.533
0.431
0.268
0.534
0.233
0.212
0.177
0.148
0.142
0.127
0.172
0.125
0.083
0.071
0.026
Coresident
Locality
Romania
Abroad
Location of nearest child
None
Gave only
Received only
Bidirectional