

INTERGENERATIONAL SUPPORT IN URBAN
LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN:
PERSPECTIVES OF OLDER ADULTS
AND THEIR CHILDREN

by

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ABSTRACT

Latin American and Caribbean countries are aging rapidly. The pace of this process along with the institutional and economic contexts varies across countries, but there are common regional norms. Across the region, the family unit continues to bear significant responsibility for the well-being of older adults and within the family, there are gender differentiated expectations for the provision and receipt of support. The stability of the family and the gender roles therein, with regard to support for older adults, takes on more significance in countries where mobility among younger adults is commonplace and fertility continues to decline.

Using data from the 2000 Survey of Health Well-Being and Aging of Older Adults in Latin America and the Caribbean (SABE), this study provides a comparative assessment of intergenerational residential proximity and transfers of financial and functional support in the region among 9,259 older adults. It assesses the extent to which upward flows of support are conditioned by the prevailing economic and institutional contexts of aging as well as the gender systems of household organization in seven cities across the region. The findings reveal that patterns of residential proximity and support transfers in these cities generally differ according to the respective stage of demographic transition and the strength of social welfare systems in countries. Older adults in Montevideo are more likely to live further away from their children and to receive less support compared to those in Mexico City. Whereas older adults in Montevideo, Uruguay and Bridgetown, Barbados are less likely to receive financial support from children at

further distances, older adults in Havana are not. Regarding gender, in all cities, except Buenos Aires, older women are more likely than men to receive support. Regional gender norms of sons being primarily responsible for economic support were not consistent across the cities. Altogether, findings reveal geographic proximity, gender systems, and macro level socioeconomic contexts shape intergenerational support.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Like other developing countries around the globe, Latin America and the Caribbean countries are undergoing rapid population aging due to declines in mortality and fertility rates since the mid-20th century (Guzmán et al. 2006). This demographic shift is also happening within a context of globalization, which is accompanied by shifts in political, economic, and social organization within countries. An increasing proportion of older adults, combined with rapid and volatile socioeconomic changes, place pressure on societies to determine the most efficient mix of support systems for those who will need care, older cohorts, and those who will provide such care, younger cohorts. Support and caregiving can be provided by the state, markets, families, or communities. The first two are recognized as formal support systems, while the latter two, informal support systems. While this study is focused on the informal support system of family care for older adults within seven cities of Latin America and the Caribbean, discussion of the institutional settings of the countries serves as a backdrop to understand the role of institutional support in creating opportunities for, or limits to, family support.

To date, research related to population aging and intergenerational support within Latin America and the Caribbean has mostly focused on the consequences of population aging for social welfare systems (Kalache and Coombes 1995; Cruz-Saco and Mesa-Lago 1998; Muller 2000; Calvo and Williamson 2008), and mortality and morbidity (Palloni,

Pinto-Aguirre, and Peláez 2002; Palloni et al. 2006; Reyes-Ortiz et al. 2006). While several studies have examined the living conditions, including living arrangements, of older adults within Latin America (Saad 1998; Varley and Blasco 2000; 2003; Andrade and De Vos 2002; Peláez and Ribotta 2008; Castellón 2008; Formiga and Belén Prieto 2008; Redondo and Garay 2012), which do have implications for formal and informal support, these studies have mainly focused on one country. Cross-national or cross-cultural studies of family-based intergenerational support within the region have been limited, with the exceptions of DeVos (1990, 2000), Saad (2006), Ferreira and Wong (2008), Carvalho and Wong (2008), and Cloos et al. (2010).

The lack of comparative research on intergenerational family support in Latin America and the Caribbean presents a shortcoming for two reasons. First, the family unit is critical to the well-being of older adults and is even more important in countries where welfare systems are underdeveloped. Compared to more developed countries, Latin American and Caribbean countries have weaker welfare systems for older adults (Palloni et al. 2006). Moreover, Latin American and Caribbean countries are aging in contexts of stagnant or widening social inequalities (Hoffman and Centeno 2003; De Ferranti 2004), which creates vulnerability and reliance on family support among older adults. At the same time countries within the region differ in their levels of socioeconomic development and social policies to address social inequality (Mesa-Lago 2007), which implicates differences in the experience of vulnerability and subsequently, the nature of family support across contexts. Thus, even though the region shares a similarity of relatively weak institutional support, there is an opportunity to explore differences.

Secondarily, political, economic, cultural, and demographic changes in Latin

America and the Caribbean have created important changes in family structure and composition (Arriagada 2002). Although the pace of transformations have not been uniform across countries, there are regional similarities in their impact such as the increased participation of women in the labor force and the increasing geographic mobility among younger cohorts, factors which impinge on older adults' reliance on children for support. The central thesis of this study is that the extent to which geographic mobility and gender impacts older adults' receipt, and children's provision, of support will differ according to the broader socioeconomic conditions in which parents and children live.

This study contributes to the existing scholarship on intergenerational relations, especially within Latin America and the Caribbean, through a comparative assessment of the circumstances of both the elderly and their adult children that influence financial and functional support transfers across seven urban cities in the region. These cities, found in some of the more developed countries of the region, include Buenos Aires, Argentina; Montevideo, Uruguay; Santiago, Chile; São Paulo, Brazil; Mexico City, Mexico; Havana Cuba; and Bridgetown, Barbados.

Comparative study can be useful for disentangling how family-based intergenerational support operates within distinct cultural, demographic, and socioeconomic contexts (Frankenberg and Kuhn 2004; Kohli 2004; Lowenstein and Daatland 2006; Albertini, Kohli, and Vogel 2007; Kalmijn and Saraceno 2008). As pointed out by Lowenstein and Daatland (2006), countries worldwide face a similar challenge of population aging, but each country, and family therein, addresses this challenge differently. Furthermore, responses to population and individual aging are

formed within the nexus of family composition and structure, the salience of family values regarding intergenerational support, and the institutional contexts of support for older adults through the state or market (Kalmijn and Saraceno 2004).

On one hand, Latin American and Caribbean countries differ in their pace of population aging and by extension, the demography of informal support. For instance, in 2008, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, and Uruguay were classified as being at an advanced stage of demographic transition, while Cuba and Barbados were classified as being at a very advanced stage (Saad 2011). Among the advanced demographic transition countries, Argentina and Uruguay experienced fertility and mortality declines much earlier in the 20th century relative to the other countries. As will be discussed in subsequent chapters, differences in the pace of the demographic transition create differences in family size and structure across these countries. Countries also differ in the strength of their welfare states, particularly with regard to income and health security for older adults. As will be discussed in Chapter 2, Mexico and Cuba have the weakest systems of formal support, whereas Uruguay and Barbados have the most developed systems. On the other hand, Latin American and Caribbean countries share similarities in the salience of family support and gender divisions of labor regarding family care.

For these reasons of similarity and difference, the cross-city comparisons in this study provide a snapshot of the range of family relations within Latin America and the Caribbean at the beginning of the 21st century. The analyses also present some indications of the overarching demographic and socioeconomic conditions within countries that can shape future intergenerational relations. In this study, attention is given to the role of parent-child proximity, that is, the relative closeness in residential

location between parents and their children and the social constructions of gender in shaping patterns of informal intergenerational transfers across these cities.

In the following sections, I provide a general overview of the significance of informal support and the gendered dimensions of support within the context of Latin America and the Caribbean. The chapter closes by outlining the organization of the dissertation.

1.1 The Significance of Informal Support

Early modernization theorists such as Cowgill (1986) have argued that as societies develop, aspects of the process such as urbanization, industrialization, and increasing education and geographic separation work to reduce the importance of older adults as adult children are urged to maximize their full potential and take advantage of new opportunities, thereby significantly reducing the support to older adults. Modernization theory has been critiqued (Laslett 1965; Quandango 1982; Stearns 1982) on the grounds that it romanticizes the status of the elderly during 19th- and 20th-century pre-industrial societies in the West when, in fact, life for the elderly was unpleasant (Quandango and Street 1993).

The theory, nonetheless, has provided an important point of reference for assessing family relations and the social welfare of the elderly. The notions of individualism and loss of power by the elderly to enforce custom helps us assess the extent to which intergenerational support is maintained in societies experiencing rapid development. Modernization theory predicts a decline in informal support due to changing attitudes of filial piety or obligation. Empirical evidence challenges this

position as in both developed and developing societies, older adults are still highly respected and their needs are still met by families (Chappell 1990; Domingo and Asis 1995; Knodel 2007; Lowenstein and Katz 2010; Frankenberg and Thomas 2011). Informal support systems for older adults are a resolute feature of all countries.

Informal support is more prevalent and/or critical, however, in societies where formal support systems, as provided by states and/or markets, are not established or if so, very poorly (Palloni 2001). For instance, in Latin America and Caribbean, roughly one-third of the region's elderly is covered by social security (Kidd and Whitehouse 2009). Nevertheless, the lack of formal support is a consequence of weakly managed pension systems and underdeveloped capital markets in the region. As a result, many older adults in the region are unable to depend on the state or market for income protection in their later years of life, a period when their independent income earning capacities become diminished. Moreover, in many countries, social welfare services such as health and domestic care for children and the elderly are not well-developed by the state. (Huenchuan 2010). Where available, these services are usually provided by the market and thus tied to an individual's income earning capacity. It must be emphasized, however, that countries within the region do show some variation in their income and health protection systems, but overall acute economic vulnerability to market forces, for both older and younger cohorts, threads through the region. This vulnerability will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.

Support for the elderly in Latin America and the Caribbean continues to operate predominantly in the private sphere of the family or community (Rawlins 1999; Calvo et al. 2008). This support includes financial, functional, emotional, and other material

support. Formal support interacts with informal support. Older adults' access to state or market-based support and the reliability of these systems can render family support negligible. For instance, cross-national research on filial norms and preferences for support among families in Germany, Norway, Spain, the United Kingdom, and Israel (Katz et al 2003) has shown that in countries with well-developed social welfare services, such as Norway, older adults prefer welfare over family care. Within Latin America older adults are still highly valued by family members, despite rapid urbanization and other aspects of modernization within the past 50 years, but countries differ in the relative responsibility of the state, family, or individuals for the well-being of older adults. Table 1.1 shows the results of the 2006 Latinobarometer public opinion poll responses to the question, who has the responsibility for the living conditions of the elderly?

Country differences were evident as 54% of respondents in Argentina held the State responsible as opposed to only 16% of Mexicans (Latinobarometer 2014). Moreover, Mexico showed the highest proportion of individuals indicating the family as primarily responsible for the elderly. These results may be reflective of the differences in the relative security of formal support in Argentina compared to Mexico. To reiterate, country differences in formal support systems will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 2.

Within the family, however, older adults' receipt and children's provision of informal transfers are conditioned, primarily, by the availability of individuals to provide support, which is represented by family size and geographic location of family members (Agree and Glaser 2009). Secondly, family support is governed by systems of gender ideology that influence who receives and who gives different types of support within

families and households (Salles and Tuirán 1997). The following two sections provide a brief overview of the importance of informal support and gender for intergenerational relations in contemporary Latin America and the Caribbean.

1.2 Availability of Informal Support

A consistent finding in the literature on intergenerational support is that larger family size is associated with an increased likelihood that older adults will have children in close proximity by which to receive support (Kivett and Atkinson 1984; Eggebeen 1992; Spitze, Logan, and Robinson 1992; Lin and Rogerson 1995; Hank 2007). In highly mobile countries, however, close proximity across generations is not always guaranteed as migration of one or more family members is often necessary for the welfare of households. Both Latin America and the Caribbean have experienced increased internal and international migration (especially following World War II) due to the forces of economic globalization and the differences in development strategies within countries that structure access to labor markets and opportunities for individual mobility in the form of employment and/or education (Vignoli 2008; Thomas-Hope 2009; da Cunha and Vignoli 2009).

Internal rural-to-urban migration has reduced since the 1990s in more economically developed countries such as Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Mexico because these countries have relatively small rural populations compared to poorer countries in the region (Cerrutti and Bertonecello 2003). Intra-urban migration has emerged since the 1980s as the new form of internal migration. Outward population movement from large cities to medium-sized cities and from city centers toward the periphery (Cerrutti et al

2003; Rodríguez and Castellón 2003; Brea 2003; Nam 2009) is more characteristic of contemporary Latin American and Caribbean countries. Among the cities in the current study, only Mexico City stands apart as it has witnessed increased outmigration to other metropolitan areas or other parts of the country (Izzazola 2004; da Cunha et al 2009).

The rise of urban-to-urban migration is due to the mounting social ills associated with urban living such as pollution, violence and other health and economic insecurities, and shifts in economic development strategies that are export and tourism oriented (which allow urban, and in some cases, rural expansion and investment), all of which combine to create new forms of migration (Roberts 1995; Villa and Rodriguez 1996; Aguilar and Vieyra 2008; Durand 2009). As noted by Roberts (2002), these new internal movements can be beneficial as it may mean more affordable and spacious housing on the periphery, but these movements can also entail spatial distancing of family members.

As discussed by Saad (2011), patterns of immigration and emigration have a significant impact on the aging process within a country as migration alters the age structure and gender composition of populations. Few studies have examined the role of migration in relation to the pace of population aging within countries in the region (Serow and Cowart 1998). Even less research has been conducted on examining migration's role in support to older adults (DeVos, Solis, and Montes de Oca 2004; Gomes 2007; Quashie and Zimmer 2013). Although migration can fragment families, both internal and international migration flows are rooted in family and kin networks such that migration is often a family-based economic strategy (Jelin and Diaz Muñoz 2003). International and internal migration is important for the region because of its economic impact through remittances (Durand 2009).

Remittances are likely to be important to older adults, whose capacities to earn independent income are diminished as they transition out of the formal labor market. This is especially true in settings where social welfare systems for older adults are underdeveloped or in jeopardy. Migration of family members and the remittances that follow may be a form of social protection for families in these contexts, generally, and especially for households with older adults (Benjamin, Brandt, and Rozelle 2000; Orzoco 2009). Economic implications of migration aside, geographic separation of household members also implicates the availability of household members to provide other forms of immediate or daily support.

Nevertheless, there is increasing support for the conjecture that intergenerational exchanges between family members withstand the double bind of modernization-opportunity for individual autonomy and the challenge to fulfill that autonomy. In the current study, it is anticipated that children living outside of the household will continue to support their older parents especially those in vulnerable positions, such as those in poor health or who are economically insecure.

1.3 The Social Significance of Gender

Within the family unit there are often inequalities, along the lines of gender and generation that challenge the idealized notion of family support. Research on gender differences in intergenerational support consistently shows that older women are more likely than their male counterparts to be in need of and receive support (Arber and Ginn 1991; Estes 2005; Cotlear 2011). Older women's greater support needs may be understood within the context of the cumulative advantage/disadvantage perspective.

This perspective asserts that economic and social constraints that are inextricably tied to one's gender, class, ethnicity, marital status, and other social indicators of inequality accumulate over the life course, which leads to exacerbated inequalities in later life (Dannefer 2003; O'Rand 2006). This study focuses on gender and marital status of older adults as prime sociodemographic indicators of informal support transfers.

Women have higher risks of economic vulnerability in older ages due to lower labor force participation over the working life course, which is typically a consequence of women's higher participation in unpaid caregiving. As such, women tend to have lower retirement income profiles or none at all in some cases as pensions are generally contingent on labor income. Gender differences in life expectancy position women to be more likely to experience widowhood, which affects their economic security. Older women are also more likely than men to experience chronic conditions and disabilities (World Health Organization [WHO] 1995; United Nations [UN] 2005). Social welfare policies can augment or mitigate gender differences in vulnerability, especially in the later years of life. Taken together, demographic and economic factors are associated with increased likelihood that women will be more likely to need and receive support relative to older men.

In addition, gender role specialization over the life course influences gender differences in the receipt and provision of support in later life. Gender role specialization in caregiving is a consequence of both social structures of gender-based inequality that create gender differences in material resources *and* cultural scripts that dictate socially approved behaviors for men and women (Sarkisian and Gerstel 2012). Within Latin America, the traditional division of labor in households stem from the patriarchal

organization of society. This patriarchal system positions men to work in wage employment and women within the informal economy of the household (Chant and Brydon 1989; Chant 2003). As such, female family members, in their roles as wives and daughters, have traditionally been the main caregivers of older and younger members.

Research in more developed countries has shown that women are consistently more likely than men to engage in personal caregiving, such as household chores (Matthews and Rosner 1988; Arber and Ginn 1995; Campbell and Martin-Matthews 2000, 2003). Similarly, in Mexico, daughters are expected to provide emotional and personal caregiving support, whereas sons provide economic assistance to parents (Bialik 1992). Likewise, research in Puerto Rico, Argentina, and Brazil shows that mothers receive most of their personal daily support from daughters, if their spouse is not available to provide, or they may prefer to coreside with daughters rather than sons (Kaplan and Redondo 1992; Garcia-Preto 1996; Andrade and DeVos 2002). This is not to say that sons do not provide such support, but that gender role expectations stress that daughters provide such care.

In contrast to Latin America, within the English, Dutch, and Spanish speaking Caribbean countries particularly, a paradox exists where families and household units are matrifocal/matrilocal yet function within a larger patriarchal system (Chant and Brydon 1989). This matrifocal/matrilocal distinction means that in the household, Caribbean women, more so than their Latin American counterparts, have a central role in economic and noneconomic organization and decision making. This role does not, however, translate into gender egalitarianism or matriarchy in the public sphere of the economic and political systems.

As discussed and reviewed by several scholars (Chant and Brydon 1989; Momsen 1993; Safa 1986, 1995, 2004), the matrifocal form of household organization has deep historical roots within family systems during slavery¹ in which men and women were separated, thereby introducing women to economic and domestic responsibilities. Caribbean women's economic autonomy was maintained postemancipation and in contemporary society through a confluence of demographic and structural processes. These include male outmigration (which leads to an increase of female-headed households), increased female labor force participation due to the growth of manufacturing and later tertiary sectors, and growing instability of male employment (Trotz 2005).

In both Latin America and the Caribbean, as observed in other regions, gender differences in the responsibility for family support extend beyond the boundaries of the household. Chant (2003) notes that among internal rural-to-urban migrants in Latin America, there is a higher expectation for young women to support their families relative to men. Among internal migrants, Latin American women are in fact more likely than men to send financial and material remittances to their homes in their origins. This support is attributed to women being more likely than men to retain social ties with their families and communities of origin. Among international migrants, however, recent analysis of remittance behavior for Latin America and the Caribbean immigrants to the

¹ As detailed by Safa (1995), the matrifocal family is often associated with the Black lower class due to its connection to slavery, but the origins are less a reflection of ethnic preferences and more a result of structured differences in access to the institution of marriage. During colonialism in the Caribbean, marriage was restricted to the White elite, and the remainder of the population lived in consensual unions, which were more unstable relative to institutionalized marriages. As such women grew to rely more on kin, especially female kin, than on spouses for support.

United States between 1986 and 2000 shows that the share of female migrants, which is measured as the percentage of migrants women of Latin American and Caribbean origins, is negatively associated with remittances (Niimi and Ozden 2008). This does not deny women's critical roles in the migration process. Christine Ho's (1993, 1999) research on West Indian migration describes women as central to international migration and the maintenance of transnational family relations. The household unit is, therefore extended across space and gender relations within the household and can be maintained despite the physical separation of members (Momsen 1992; Chant 2003; Chamberlain 2006; Forsythe-Brown 2007).

Thus gender is an organizing feature of informal support within the region. Latin American and Caribbean countries share similar gender norms whereby women take more responsibility than men for caregiving, while men focus on economic support. In the Caribbean, unlike Latin America, women are arguably socialized to provide economic support in the same regard as men, if not more so. These differences and similarities in gender systems provide a basis for gender differences in parents' receipt and children's provision of support across the seven cities. Aligned with previous research (Kosberg 1992; Silverstein, Gans, and Yang 2006), one can expect that in all cities, women's central role in the home as home makers and caretakers will position older women to form closer bonds with their children and thus receive more support than men in later life. Gender socialization, however, will likely produce differences in sons' and daughters' provision of support. In all cities, daughters are likely to be more involved than sons in the provision of functional support. In the Caribbean, more so than Latin America, daughters will be as likely as sons to provide financial support.

1.4 The Current Study

An explicit investigation into the association between geographic proximity, gender (of both the parent and child), and the relative needs and resources of older adults and their adult children that structure intergenerational support within families in the region, has yet to be conducted. Differences in the pace of population aging, economic development, and welfare systems across countries suggest distinct implications for older adults' welfare and family based intergenerational support. I argue that cross-national variation in parents' and children's sociodemographic and economic situations may produce different strategies of intergenerational support. In an effort to achieve these objectives, the study is organized as follows.

Chapter 2 provides an overview of the demographic, socioeconomic and social policy contexts of the countries, whose major cities are the subject of this study. Chapter 3 discusses the theoretical frameworks and a review of empirical research on intergenerational support. Chapter 4 describes the SABE dataset and the construction of the measures used in the analytical chapters of this dissertation. Then using the SABE data, Chapter 5 examines the characteristics of older adults that are associated with parents' proximity to their nearest child. Chapter 6 extends the investigation of intergenerational proximity by assessing how parents' proximity to their nearest child, who can be at varying degrees of proximity, influences parents' receipts of financial and functional informal support transfers in the seven cities. This chapter introduces the role of gender and parental need in shaping support exchanges. It will be in Chapter 6 where I examine how parental needs, which are gendered, and the gender of the nearest child, condition the support that parents receive across the cities.

The final empirical study, presented in Chapter 7, extends the analyses in the previous chapter by examining the importance of residential proximity to support exchanges from the perspective of non-coresident adult children. This study shifts the focus to the children to examine the implications of the location of siblings as a moderator of upward flows of support. This chapter takes a closer examination of household needs, using household wealth as a proxy, for moderating the likelihood of financial support provided by children across these cities. Another major contribution is the examination of the gender composition of siblings for influencing the likelihood of support provided by children outside of the household. One of the main contributions of this chapter will be that it allows assessment of support both within and between generations and across different contexts. Chapter 8 presents an overall discussion and concludes the study.

Table 1.1: Who has responsibility for the lives of the elderly? Percentage distribution among respondents 18 years and over by country, 2006

	Argentina	Brazil	Chile	Mexico	Uruguay
% State	53.9	36	39.7	15.9	32.4
% Family	31.8	56	43.8	61.3	49.6
% Individuals	10.2	7.1	14.6	21.3	14.2
% No answer	2.7	0.9	1.9	1.5	3.8
% Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	1200	1204	1200	1200	1200

¹ In Brazil, only, the target population was 16 years and over

CHAPTER 2

DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIOECONOMIC CONTEXTS OF AGING IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

Population aging describes the demographic process of countries showing an increasing median age along with increasing numbers and proportions of elderly persons in its overall age structure (Shrestha 2000; Zimmer and Martin, 2007). Countries in the more developed regions currently have higher proportions of older adults, but those in the less developed regions are ageing at a faster rate than that experienced by the former (UN 2009).

The Latin America and Caribbean (LAC) region, the focus of this study, is a subregion of the less developed regions² that has been experiencing a rapid transformation of its age structure since 1950. In 2000, older adults 60 years and over accounted for 8.4% of the total population of the region. Population projections suggest that by 2050 25% of the population of Latin America and the Caribbean will be 60 years and over, similar to other major regions, including the more developed, with the exception of Africa (UN 2010). Table 2.1 provides a summary of changes in the population 60 years and over between 1950 and 2050 for major world regions.

² According to the UN (2010) report, “World Population Ageing 2009,” the regions are summarized for statistical convenience as more developed or less developed based on demographic and socioeconomic characteristics. The less developed region included all regions of Africa, Asia (excluding Japan), Latin America and the Caribbean, and Oceania (excluding Australia and New Zealand).

Between-country differences in population aging trajectories are quite evident in Latin America and the Caribbean. The forerunners of the demographic transition in the region, those completing their transitions before 1960 (in this study, Argentina, Uruguay, Barbados, and Cuba) are classified as experiencing advanced stages of population aging (Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean [ECLAC] 2004). These countries have the largest elderly populations, with older adults 60 years and over accounting for more than 10% of their respective populations in 2000. The early onset and rapid fertility decline in these countries has been attributed to a complex interaction of economic downturns, modernization, family planning programs, and sterilization policies (Diaz Briquets and Perez 1982; Guzmán et al., 2006). As shown in Table 2.2, the total fertility rate in each of these countries is now at or below replacement level. The higher fertility rates in Argentina and Uruguay, relative to Cuba and Barbados, may be attributed to the increase in adolescent fertility rates since the 1990s. The increased adolescent fertility is also evident in Chile (Arrigada 2002). Nevertheless, in all countries during 1995–2000, total fertility rates were below the regional average.

Another group of countries, Chile, Mexico, and Brazil, began their fertility and mortality declines in the 1960s and are considered to be experiencing moderate to advanced stages of population aging (ECLAC 2004). The proportion of older adults, 60 years and over, in these three countries was more similar to the regional average relative to those in the advanced aging category.

Latin American and Caribbean countries also show differences in the living arrangements of older adults. This may be attributed to differences in fertility transitions as well as the age of children leaving the parental home. Generally, solitary living is

lower in Latin America and the Caribbean relative to more developed regions of Europe and North America (UN 2005). Intergenerational coresidence is the most common living arrangement in Latin America and the Caribbean (Peláez and Martínez 2002). Despite this regional similarity, countries differ in the proportion of older adults living alone. As shown in Table 2.2, among countries for which data are available, Argentina showed the highest proportion of older adults living alone, surpassing the regional average. In contrast, Mexico and Barbados showed the lowest proportion of older adults, 60 years and over, living alone circa 2004 or earlier.

Furthermore, countries differ in the prevalence of intergenerational coresidence. Drawing from analyses of census data from 15 developing countries, eight of which were within Latin America, Ruggles and Heggeness (2008) show that over the course of 1970 to 2000, intergenerational coresidence declined in Argentina but increased in Mexico. Upon closer examinations of residence based on the age of the household head and after accounting for country differences in levels of economic development, the findings further indicate that in Mexico, Chile, and Brazil, persons between 30 and 39 years were more likely to reside with an older household head. In contrast, in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, persons 65 years and older were shown to have lower odds of residing with a younger household head. These differences suggest that in Mexico, Chile, and Brazil, children may live with their parents for longer periods of adulthood possibly to receive financial and other forms of support. Moreover, the presence of a coresident child can also increase the likelihood of support received by parents, especially as they age.

A distinct feature of population aging in the region is its feminization. Table 2.2 shows the gender imbalance in sex ratios at age 60 for each of the focal countries in this

study. Barbados, Argentina, and Uruguay show the widest gap in the sex ratio. Although not shown, this gender imbalance extends to the oldest old, those 80 years and over (UN 2010). As discussed earlier, one can expect that there may be greater demand for support among women and, given social norms, older women may be more likely to receive such support.

Another important sociodemographic feature of Latin America and the Caribbean is the degree of urbanization within the region. Latin America and the Caribbean is the most urbanized region in the developing world with over 80% of the region's population living in urban areas (da Cunha and Vignoli 2009). Country differences withstand. In 2000, Uruguay was the most urbanized, with 91% of its population living in urban areas. Brazil, Mexico, and Argentina followed closely behind with between 75 and 80% of their respective populations in urban areas (see Table 2.2).

Although the data for this study are drawn from single urban centers in each country, these centers represent the capitals or main metropolitan areas of these countries. If we assume that the urban areas, for which data are available, are representative of all urban areas within the country, then the findings are applicable to the vast majority of the population in each country. At the very least, the findings provide a basis for comparison to other urban centers within these and other Latin American and Caribbean countries with different demographic and socioeconomic structures.

Urban environments are typically viewed as inimical to family support networks. Urbanization is couched within the narratives of development and modernization, which are expected to erode familial responsibility for the elderly in favor of increased institutional support (Sussman 1991). Arguably, older adults in urban areas have more

opportunities to access formal health and social services to allow independent, healthy, successful aging, thereby reducing the need for assistance from family members. This is, however, contingent on older adults' economic security, access to transportation, and other factors that can limit their ability to maximize independence in urban spaces (Guzmán and Saad 2008).

One of the limitations of modernization theory is that it assumes a linear, uniform process of development within and between countries. The reality is that in developing countries, development has historically been concentrated in particular regions depending on broader political and economic structures (Camarano 2004; Peng and Phillips 2004). On one hand, the urban primacy of Latin America and the Caribbean has meant that persons living in urban areas are more integrated in the economy and more likely to be covered by social infrastructure and services. On the other hand, urban areas are quite unequal such that those who are socially marginalized exist in close proximity to the socially integrated. Therefore, there is as much inequality within urban areas as there is between urban and rural areas. Referring to Table 2.2, among the countries for which data are available, income inequality in urban areas of Brazil and Chile exceeds that of rural inequality. This reifies the importance of examining the factors that are associated with patterns of family support to older adults in urban locations where social inequalities are likely to be more severe.

The World Bank estimates nearly 60% of the poor in Latin America live in urban areas (Fay 2005). Poor individuals and households are more likely to live in marginalized neighborhoods with relatively weaker access to jobs, educational opportunities, and other social services or infrastructure such as health care and sanitation

(Fay and Laderchi 2005). Even in Argentina, one of the wealthier countries in the region with the highest pension coverage, geographic differences in coverage within urban areas were evident in the early 1990s (Lloyd-Sherlock 1997). Fay and Laderchi's (2005) discussion of similar studies of the urban poor in Argentina and Montevideo, conducted by the World Bank, highlight their limited access to quality health care and sanitation services. Therefore, urban locations can be sites of contradiction. On one hand, urban living can encourage more independence and less reliance on informal support arrangements. On the other hand, family units may be indispensable for the overall well-being of their members depending on the extent to which members are excluded from formal support systems. The current study investigates family support in varying urban contexts and in so doing attempts to capture the extent to which there is greater or lesser reliance on family support in all cities and identify which factors contribute to these patterns.

2.1 Economic and Institutional Contexts

Overall, Latin American and Caribbean countries are aging at lower levels of economic development and greater economic volatility relative to that experienced by the more developed countries in North America and Europe (Eberstadt 2001; Weinberger 2007). Although the United Nations and World Bank categorize the region as a developing one, it is important to highlight that within the region, countries vary in their levels of socioeconomic development.

The majority of countries within this study are categorized as upper middle income countries by the World Bank. These include Argentina, Brazil, Cuba, and

Mexico, which are categorized as upper middle income countries (World Bank 2014). Barbados and Uruguay are currently classified by the World Bank as high income non-OECD countries, while Chile is classified as a high-income OECD country (World Bank 2014). Additionally, placing 29th out of 174 countries in 1999, Barbados was one of four countries in Latin America and the Caribbean³ ranked as having a very high level of human development according to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Index (UNDP 1999). Furthermore, Argentina's, Uruguay's, and Chile's were the highest in South America similar to that of the richest Eastern European countries such as Slovenia and Poland.

In 2000, the year in which the data used for this study were collected, some countries were also in relatively better economic positions than others. Referring to Table 2.2, Barbados had the highest GDP per capita at \$US 11,675, while Cuba had the lowest at \$US 2,744. Argentina was in the midst of an economic recession, but GDP per capita was still relatively high. Throughout the region, however, the distribution of income and resources has been historically and contemporaneously unequal across individuals, households, and geographic areas (DeFerranti et al. 2004). As shown in Table 2.2, among the countries for which comparisons can be made in 2009, Brazil had the highest Gini index of inequality in urban areas and Uruguay, the lowest. In all countries, with the exception of Mexico, income inequality is higher in urban than in rural areas and is equivalent to the national distribution of income. Income inequality in the Caribbean has historically been lower than that of Latin America (DeFerranti et al. 2004). This is supported by the relatively low levels of income inequality in Barbados,

³ The other three countries were Chile, ranked in 34th place, Argentina ranked in 39th place, and Uruguay, placed 40th.

both in 2000 and 2010, as shown in Table 2.2.

While the stagnation and/or increasing income inequality in Latin America and the Caribbean is of grave concern for individuals' well-being and patterns of family-based support, inequality in the ownership of household assets actually exceeds that of household income inequality (Torche and Spilerman 2008). This is documented in Table 2.2, where among countries for which data are available circa 2000 (Mexico, Chile, and Uruguay), the Gini coefficients of household wealth inequality exceed income inequality. Chile was the only country where household income and wealth inequality were similar.

As argued by Davies (2008), personal or household wealth is arguably more critical than income for overall well-being as assets provide storage of income that can be called upon during economic hardship. Moreover, assets can be used as collateral for loans or simply liquidated for cash. The ownership of assets is very important in countries where social safety nets and financial markets are not well developed. Thus, the distribution of wealth is of greater concern in countries such as Mexico, relative to Uruguay or Barbados, where individuals, and especially older adults, are not well protected by the state or market. Differences in social welfare will be discussed in the following section.

On one hand, when compared to older adults with high levels of wealth, older adults with little private wealth may be more dependent on their family members, particularly children, for financial support. Children from less wealthy backgrounds, however, may have less capacity to provide financial support. On the other hand, children from wealthier backgrounds may perceive that their parents have less need for financial support compared to less wealthy older adults. At the same time, there is likely

to be more reciprocity of support among wealthier households as parents have greater capacities to assist their children.

Latin American and Caribbean countries are aging in an era of globalization that simultaneously presents many opportunities and challenges regarding socioeconomic organization and planning for states, markets, and households, the impacts of which are not evenly distributed. The political economy of aging sheds some light here. The political economy perspective allows us to examine how older adults and family relationships can be differentially impacted by social, economic, and political changes depending on individuals' locations within certain social structures (Estes 2000). Similar to modernization theory, the political economy of aging argues that older adults lose power and influence as they age. Expanding on modernization theory, the political economy of aging argues that older adults also lose autonomy, and it attempts to examine the differential impacts of these losses among older adults based on their class, gender, race, and ethnicity.

Philipson's (2005) review of research utilizing this perspective shows that there are two main strains of research. One can examine the impacts of state action or inaction on the well-being of older adults through health care policies, pensions, and institutionalized long-term care, among other services that increasingly become market based and encourage profit. Another strain of research within this perspective is to examine lifelong inequalities and insecurity along the lines of gender, race, and class, which extend into old age. As such, some older adults, women, and ethnic minorities are at higher risk of deprivation relative to others based on their socioeconomic circumstances over the life course. In what follows, I discuss the gendered impact of

pension systems and the labor market situation for younger adults within the countries in this study. This provides some background on the institutional context of social welfare for older and younger cohorts, which can influence patterns of intergenerational support across the cities.

2.2 Social Welfare

2.2.1 Pensions

Pension systems in the region have been undergoing reform since the 1980s (Cruz-Saco and Mesa-Lago 1998). Estes and Phillipson (2002) argue that economic globalization is transforming government and familial/household institutions that support older people. The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank have encouraged many countries to privatize social security and other social welfare programs, thus reducing the role of the state to ensure the well-being of its citizens (Yeates 2001). This has happened within Latin America as a feature of structural adjustment programs following the debt crisis in the 1980s and the adoption of a neoliberal economic development agenda. A key distinction is necessary at this time; Latin American countries, unlike Caribbean countries, have undergone fundamental reforms in their pension systems (Barrientos 2004). Chile was the first to reform its pension system from completely state-managed to private organizations, and many Latin American countries have followed since but with some variations in the relative importance of state and market management (Cruz-Saco and Mesa-Lago 1998; Barrientos 2000).

Across the region, the retirement income of current cohorts of older adults is based on their participation and contributions in the formal labor market/paid work

during their economically active years prior to their age of entitlement to pension (Arza 2012). Coverage is largely limited to formal sector workers. Those employed in the informal sectors or at the lowest rungs of the income distribution may choose not to invest in retirement pension funds and as a result are not covered. It is widely acknowledged that under current pension system designs, older women in Latin America and other regions are at higher risks of being economically insecure relative to older men, based on pension income (Cotlear and Toranolli 2011; Arza 2012). This has been attributed to women being penalized for career breaks for child and elder care, differences in remuneration, part-time work, informal employment, and unemployment (Orloff 1993; Ginn and Arber 2005; Ginn 2008).

There are some important distinctions in the designs of pension systems and the coverage of older adults, which differentially influence gender differences in economic vulnerability across the countries examined in this current study. First, countries differ in their statutory retirement ages for men and women. In three countries, Uruguay, Mexico and Barbados, the pensionable age is the same for older men and women: 60 years in Uruguay and 65 years in both Mexico and Barbados. On the other hand, in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Cuba, older women are entitled to pensions 5 years prior to men. Thus, in these countries, women must stop working 5 years earlier than men, which reduces their contributions to retirement income. Differences in the age of retirement across countries present one dimension of gendered economic stratification in old age.

The second area of concern relates to the categories of workers that are covered by pensions. All countries studied provide coverage to salaried workers in the formal labor force. Among current cohorts of older adults, this largely favors men. Oliveira and

Roberts' (1998) review of changes in the urban social structures of the region acknowledges that there is little information on women's formal labor market participation prior to the 1950s, and even by 1950 urban women's labor force participation rates were very low. This is with the exception of Argentina and Chile as they were most urbanized. Throughout the region between 1920 and 1960, women's labor was largely concentrated within the household as domestic servants, seamstresses or housewives, or in rural agricultural work. Thus, today's cohorts of elderly women, particularly those above the age of 70, are likely to be more economically insecure than older men because their limited formal work life histories restrict the volume of their retirement incomes.

Some countries have introduced measures to reduce old-age poverty, which have been especially beneficial for improving pension coverage of older women. For instance, Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay provide pension coverage for those employed in domestic services. All countries, with the exception of Mexico,⁴ have implemented noncontributory pension programs or social assistance pensions in an effort to mitigate poverty among older adults, especially older women, who are either not receiving a pension or whose retirement income is not sufficient (International Social Security Administration [ISSA] 2011).

Differences in pension coverage for women and men in different countries are also worth mentioning for the assessment of gender inequality in economic vulnerability across countries. Uruguay has the highest pension coverage and is the most gender egalitarian as it relates to receipt of pension (Filgueira, Gutiérrez, and Papadópulos 2011; Arza 2012), while Mexico has the lowest pension coverage and has the highest gender

⁴ Mexico's social assistance program is targeted to older adults aged 70 and over in rural areas.

inequality (Rofman and Luchetti 2006). At the same time, pension coverage in Mexico tends to be higher among older widowed women as they have access to their husband's pensions or other widowers' benefits (Parker and Wong 2001). Older women in Brazil, Chile, and Argentina have higher rates of pension coverage due to the combination of contributory and noncontributory pension systems and the increased coverage of widowed pensioners (Gomes da Conceicao 2001; Bertranou 2006). In Barbados, over 92% of older adults 65 years and over receive a pension due to the combination of contributory and noncontributory pension systems (Pettinato and Diaz-Cassou 2005). More importantly, in Barbados, pensions are also price-indexed to adjust for inflation so the real value of income is maintained.

Among the countries in this study, Cuba presents a unique political and economic situation. In 2000, Cuba was in a period of significant economic instability following the collapse of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s. Reviews of the socioeconomic context of Cuba during the 1990s (Garfield and Holtz 2000; Brundenius 2002) identify that the elderly were among the social groups that became more vulnerable during this time as pensions were reduced from 100% to 80% of their last salary and a 15 year minimum years of work was introduced for entitlement. More importantly, however, the value of pensions was significantly reduced due to the devaluation of the peso. Older women are likely to be more economically insecure due to their lower labor force participation rates coupled with the gender differences in statutory age of entitlement to pensions.

At the same time, the Cuban government's social expenditure increased over the decade of the 1990s in an effort to maintain elements of the former socialist economy. There have been efforts to protect vulnerable groups, including the elderly, women, and

children, through targeted distribution of food, clothing, and basic supplies, but taxes and service fees for some social services such as day care facilities were introduced. On the individual level, elderly persons were more economically vulnerable, especially if they were primarily dependent on pensions, following the crisis. In addition, family incomes contracted due to the rising cost of living and new taxes. There were other government initiatives that were introduced to boost economic recovery, such as the introduction of the US dollar, which have implications for intergenerational support. These will be discussed in more detail in subsequent chapters.

In Latin America and the Caribbean, the labor market remains very important for older adults even after reaching formal retirement ages. Furthermore, income from work remains an important source of financial security to older adults postretirement, especially in countries with low pension coverage such as Mexico (Cotlear and Toranolli 2011). Gender differences in labor force participation, however, are maintained even after retirement. Returning to Table 2.2, in 2000, older men 65 years and over were, in all countries, more likely than older women to participate in the labor force. The gender differences may be attributed to increasing morbidity as women age and/or the inability to work depending on their care responsibilities as grandmothers, mothers, or spouses. Gender differences in labor force participation rates may also reflect different strategies adopted by the respective states to address issues of pension coverage and relatedly national differences in the creation of employment opportunities for the elderly.

2.2.2 Labor Market Contexts for Younger Cohorts

Globalization also impacts the employment trajectories of younger cohorts and has contributed to reinforcing gender inequality in the labor market amongst the current generation of the economically active population, who are caregivers to the older population. Overall, urban unemployment increased significantly in most Latin American countries during the 1990s with Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay among the countries with the most dramatic increases. In Mexico and Caribbean countries, unemployment declined (Sáinz 2006).

Trade liberalization policies accompanying restructuring have contributed to shifts in the structure of labor markets by opening the doors for multinational export manufacturing jobs and low skill service sector jobs. These jobs are highly feminized, and the opportunities for women are growing at a rapid pace alongside a reduction in traditional male job opportunities such as those employed in the industry or mining (Abramo and Valenzuela 2005). Women's increased labor force participation in Latin America and the Caribbean has also been attributed to declines in men's labor force participation and increasing employment instability (Cerrutti 2000; Safa 2009).

In 2000, formal labor was most likely in Barbados, which showed the highest labor force participation rates among men and women, 15 to 64 years, across all the countries in this study. Notably, women's labor force participation rates are lower than men's in all countries. Barbados had the highest female labor force participation while Chile showed the lowest (see Table 2.2). Despite the increased participation in formal work, women are still more likely to be unemployed relative to men in all countries (Table 2.2). Moreover, with the exceptions of Brazil and Barbados, unemployment

protection systems for the formally employed population are underdeveloped (Mazza 2000; Ribe et al. 2010). Compounding gender differences in participation in the formal labor market are the gender differences in remuneration, whereby women are generally paid less than men (Braunstein 2012). Women's employment instability may constrict their financial support to their parents relative to young men and reinforce gender differences in caregiving. Across the region, men continue to spend significantly less time than women in unpaid work regardless of income (ECLAC 2009).

In summary, women's increased labor force participation is one of the most important changes that has occurred in the region and is likely to continue in the coming decades. Women, however, have the additional burden of performing the majority of unpaid household work, in the form of caregiving and other domestic duties. Women have always played a pivotal role in the household economies of Latin America and the Caribbean, but since the 1980s their roles have become more visible. Women's economic contributions in the labor market remain undervalued relative to men over their working life course, which influences their economic insecurity in old age. Based on the review of pension systems within the countries under study, this economic insecurity among older women is most severe in Mexico and least austere in Uruguay.

Globalization further increases the precariousness of economic and other securities for both older and younger women in the region. I argue that the reduction in or complete absence of state support for women's unpaid caregiving responsibilities combined with ineffective social policies that allow women to obtain formal employment as well as those that regulate gender discrimination in pay, all work together to encourage family based support transfers and gender differences therein, within Latin America and

the Caribbean.

2.2.3 Health Care

Health care in the region is typically available through three systems: 1) the public sector, which provides primary, secondary (specialized care such as cardiologists), and some tertiary care (consultative care such as cancer treatment or management) for the uninsured; 2) social insurance, which covers maternity and sickness; and 3) the private sector, which includes for-profit and nonprofit service providers.

Similar to the pension system, social health insurance programs do not cover workers in the informal sector. Haggard and colleagues' (2008) review of changes in the health care system in Latin America during the 1980s and 1990s reinforces some key differences in institutional support across the countries. Chile and Argentina expanded their privatization of health care facilities such that the private sector plays a major role in the current health care system. Mexico increased privatization and similar to Uruguay, different social security programs covered the employed population. Brazil made modest increases in privatization but instead expended more resources on increasing the geographic reach of health care access, especially for primary health care in poorer regions.

In Argentina, Chile, Brazil, and Mexico, care systems are more strictly divided between the public and private sectors. Private health care systems have become increasingly significant and tied to employment in the formal labor market. Coverage

tends to be higher in Argentina, Chile, and Brazil⁵ due to private insurance plans relative to Mexico (Mesa-Lago 2008). Public services are usually associated with small user fees, but quality of care remains a critical issue.

Health security across the countries ranges from near universal coverage in Barbados, Cuba, and Brazil to highly unequal coverage in countries such as Mexico. Although Cuba's system is characterized by universal coverage, the weakening of social infrastructure during the 1990s is likely to increase older adults' reliance on informal systems of care. Circa 2000, 40% of the Mexican population, 13% of Uruguayans, and 4% of Chileans did not have access to health care in 2000 (Interamerican Conference on Social Security [CISS] 2003).

Primary health care is widely available in all Caribbean countries, and in most cases primary health care services are free of charge. Differential access to primary health care services, however, both geographically and economically, remains one of the foremost challenges of health care systems in the Caribbean subregion. Geographic inequalities in health care access and quality are still prevalent in Latin American countries but smallest in Cuba and Uruguay (Mesa-Lago 2008). Expectedly, private health insurance coverage increases with income in all countries where it is available.

Long-term care facilities for older adults are available in the region, but in Latin America they are typically market-based residential facilities in that access to the facilities is tied to social insurance or health insurance, whilst in the Caribbean there are

⁵ In Brazil, the South and South-East regions account for the highest clientele in the private system with considerable growth during the second half of the 1990s (PAHO 2007). Although specific proportions are not given for each state, one can assume that in São Paulo, a South-Eastern state, the majority of families and families with elderly have access to health plans and their accompanying services.

more home care services provided by the state (PAHO 2007; Huenchuan 2013). Uruguay and Barbados have the most developed formal systems of care, specifically for older adults, which run the gamut of geriatric hospitals with inpatient care to home based care for older adults with disabilities. In Uruguay, services are market-based, via insurance, although at a low cost (Filgueira et al. 2011), while in Barbados, they are state-based (Ministry of Social Transformation 2011).

Although parents may not necessarily rely on or expect children to provide support that will substitute for that provided by the health care system in their respective countries, the national context of health security provided by the state or market provides some indication of the extent to which older adults will rely on children for support that is contingent on their health. In this study, this is measured by older adults' receipt of functional support, which represents older adults receiving support with household chores or transportation. For instance, the greater availability of long-term care facilities and home care services in Uruguay and Barbados may render older adults' reliance of children for functional support negligible relative to those in Mexico where such services are not available.

2.3 Summary

Existing comparative research on intergenerational support has adopted three broad categories of explanatory factors that correlate with support transfers: structural, cultural, and institutional mechanisms (Albertini et al. 2007; Kalmijn and Saraceno 2008). Structural mechanisms refer to demographic factors such as family or household size and composition, labor force structure, and income and wealth distribution, among

other factors. Cultural mechanisms encompass traditions and norms regarding kinship and gender norms of family and household organization. Institutional mechanisms run the gamut of legal obligations regarding intergenerational support to institutional arrangements of social welfare such as pensions and family policies. Of particular importance to this study is how countries cluster along these dimensions and assessing the extent to which patterns of intergenerational proximity and support, within the main cities of the respective countries, are similar among countries in the respective clusters. The cities in this study can be grouped along all three dimensions. The primary focus of the empirical studies, however, is the intersection of demographic and institutional mechanisms for shaping patterns of intergenerational proximity and support in the respective cities.

Based on the demographic structure of the countries, cities can be grouped as those belonging to advanced aging countries (Argentina, Uruguay, Barbados, and Cuba) and less advanced aging (Chile, Brazil, and Mexico). The stage of population aging of these respective countries implies differences in the number of children available to older adults, which have implications for their proximity to their nearest child, and the support they will likely receive. Older adults in Buenos Aires, Montevideo, Bridgetown, and Havana are likely to have smaller families than older adults in Santiago, São Paulo, and Mexico City. While having fewer children may pose a disadvantage to parents' receipt of support, this potential disadvantage is argued to be contingent on the wider socioeconomic conditions within their countries.

Following from the earlier review of the economic and institutional contexts of the countries within the current study, the respective cities are grouped according to the

overall strength of the welfare systems pertaining to income and health security for older adults during the period of the study. The countries are grouped as those with strong welfare systems versus weak welfare systems. Older adults in Montevideo, Buenos Aires, São Paulo, Bridgetown, and Santiago are categorized as residing in countries with strong welfare systems. In contrast, older adults in Havana and Mexico City reside in countries with weak formal support. As shown in Table 2.3, older adults in some of the more advanced aging countries as well as those in less advanced aging countries also live in countries with strong welfare systems. These include Uruguay, Barbados, Argentina, Chile, and Brazil. On the other hand, older adults in Cuba, a country experiencing advanced aging, and those in Mexico, a less advanced aging country, are aging within weak welfare systems.

Differences in national levels of welfare are argued to relate to differences in family support across the cities. Regardless of the stage of population aging, older adults in countries with relatively stronger welfare systems are expected to be less reliant on their children for support relative to those in countries with weaker welfare systems. Thus, patterns of intergenerational proximity and support are expected to be similar among São Paulo, Chile, Uruguay, Buenos Aires, and Bridgetown. Likewise, Havana and Mexico City are expected to show greater reliance on children for support relative to the other five cities.

Countries can also be grouped on their similarities and differences in cultural factors that influence intergenerational proximity and support. Latin American and Caribbean countries are generally familialistic and as such, the family unit is central to the well-being of older adults (Rawlins 1999; Camarano et al., 2005). However, as

shown in Chapter 1, there may be some shifts in this social norm within Argentina where approximately 50% of respondents in the 2006 Latinobarometer public opinion poll in 2006, held the state responsible for the lives of the elderly.

The cultural differences between Latin America and the Caribbean countries under study lie within the gender norms regarding the organization of household. The matrifocal organization of Caribbean households, represented by Bridgetown and Havana in this study, is argued to socialize women to be more involved in economic and noneconomic support relative to their Latin American counterparts, which are more patrifocal (Buenos Aires, São Paulo, Santiago, Montevideo, and Mexico City). There is more similarity in men's roles, however, in that men are more likely to be involved in economic support only. The primacy of women in the household within all countries is argued to grant mothers more favor for support from their children relative to fathers.

The following chapter provides an overview of theoretical and empirical research that guides the current study. In so doing, it places the demographic, institutional, and cultural contexts, which I posit will differentially shape patterns of intergenerational support in the Latin America and Caribbean, into the broader existing literature on intergenerational support globally.

Table 2.1: Percentage of the population 60 years and over by major region over 1950 to 2050.

Major Areas and Regions	1950	1970	2000	2010	2050
World	8.0	8.3	10.0	11.1	21.2
Europe	11.8	15.5	20.3	21.9	33.6
North America	12.4	13.8	16.3	18.6	27.4
Africa	5.2	5.1	5.2	5.3	8.9
Asia	6.7	6.3	8.6	10.1	24.0
Latin America and Caribbean	5.6	6.3	8.2	9.8	25.1
Oceania	11.2	10.5	13.4	15.2	22.9

United Nations. 2014. World Population Prospects: The 2012 Revision

Table 2.2 Demographic and Socioeconomic Indicators for the Latin American and Caribbean region and select countries.

Demographic Indicators	Argentina	Uruguay	Barbados	Cuba	Chile	Brazil	Mexico	LAC
Total Population 2000 (,000) ¹	36,931	3,319	268	11,104	15,420	174,425	99,960	521,429
% Population 60 and over (2000) ¹	13.6	17.4	15.1	13.8	10.2	8.1	7	8.2
% Urban Population (2000) ¹	90.1	91.3	38.3	75.6	85.9	81.2	74.7	75.5
% Population in Main Metropolitan areas (2000) ²	33.2	47.4	50.7	19.7	35.7	10.1	18	na
Total Fertility Rate (1995–2000) ¹	2.63	2.3	1.74	1.61	2.21	2.45	2.8	2.76
Life Expectancy at Birth (1995–2000) ¹	73.2	74.2	75	75.9	75.9	69.3	73.7	70.6
Urban Femininity Index 60 years + (women per 100 men) 2000 ⁴	143.5	147.7	na	na	135.6	132	122.3	na
Net Migration Rates (1995–2000) ¹	0	-1	-1	-3	1	0	-4	-2
% 60 years and over living alone or with spouse only ³								
Men	45	na	24.9	30	32	32	26	30
Women	42	na	21.2	22	27	29	24	27
Sex ratio, 60 years + (men per 100 women), 2009 ³	72	69	67	91	79	80	87	82

Table 2.2 continued.

Socioeconomic Indicators	Argentina	Uruguay	Barbados	Cuba	Chile	Brazil	Mexico	LAC
Human Development Index (2000) ⁹	0.83	0.83	0.86	0.77	0.84	0.74	0.79	0.68
Gini coefficient, urban and national (2000) ⁸	0.5	0.46	0.39	0.41	0.56	0.57	0.55	na
Gini Index of wealth inequality (2000) ⁷	Na	0.56	Na	na	0.6	na	0.7	na
Gini Index, urban and national (2009/2010) ²	0.54	0.44	0.47	na	0.56	0.63	0.48	
GDP per capita (2000 current \$US) ⁵	7701.4	6,872	11,675	2,744	5133	3,694.50	6,663	4,308
Labor Force Participation Rate, 15–64 yrs (2000) ⁶								
Men	80.7	85.6	85.8	77.8	79.4	85.4	85.3	
Women	49	63.2	75.7	43.3	39.3	58.6	41.2	
Labor Force Participation Rate, 65 yrs + (2000) ⁶								
Men	36.8	21.5	9.5	12.3	24.4	37.3	48.5	
Women	13.7	8.9	3	1.7	6	13.4	14.2	
Pension Coverage (2000–2005) ¹⁰								
% 65 and over covered by pension	68.3	87.1	92	na	76	85.9	19.2	
Unemployment Rate (2000) ⁵								
% of male labor force, Men	13.7	7	7.3	4.8	8.7	7.7	2.2	7.3
% female labor force, Women	17.1	13.3	11.6	6.4	10.1	12	3.2	10.9

¹⁾ United Nations. 2013. *World Population Prospects: The 2010 Revision and World Urbanization Prospects: The 2011 Revision*. Retrieved, April 04, 2013

²⁾ Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean. 2010. *Statistical Yearbook of Latin America and the Caribbean 2010*.

Main Metropolitan areas: Mexico City, Santiago, Greater Buenos Aires, São Paulo, Montevideo, Havana and Bridgetown, respectively.

³⁾ United Nations. 2010. *World Population Ageing*. Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat, World Population Ageing

⁴⁾ Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean. 2014. CEPALSTAT: Databases and Statistical Publications. Retrieved March 10, 2014. <http://celade.cepal.org/redatam/ryesp/madrid/>

- 5) World Bank. 2014. World Databank. Retrieved January 6, 2014. <http://databank.worldbank.org/data/home.aspx>
- 6) International Labour Organization. 2012. Key Indicators of the Labour Market, 8th edition. Geneva, Switzerland.
- 7) Torche, Florencia and Seymour Spilerman. 2008. "Household Wealth in Latin America." Pp. 150 - 76 in *Personal Wealth from a Global Perspective*, edited by J. B. Davies. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 8) De Ferranti, David, Guillermo E. Perry, Francisco H.G. Ferreria, Michael Walton, David Coady, Wendy Cunningham, Leonardo Gasparini, Joyce Jacobsen, Yasuhiko Matsuda, James Robinson, Kenneth Sokoloff and Quentin Wodon. "*Inequality in Latin America and the Caribbean: Breaking with History?*" Washington, DC: The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/The World Bank.
- 9) United Nations Development Programme. 1999. Human Development Report 1999.
- 10) Mesa-Lago, Carmelo. 2008. "Social Insurance (Pensions and Health), Labour Markets and Coverage in Latin America." Geneva, Switzerland: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development
- a) Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean. 2013. Caribbean Development Report. Macroeconomic Policy for Structural Transformation and Social Protection in Small States." Port-of-Spain, Trinidad and Tobago: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean.
- na: data not available

Table 2.3: Typology of countries based on their stage of population aging and the strength of their welfare systems for older adults

Demographic Mechanisms	Institutional Mechanisms	
	Strong Welfare	Weak Welfare
Stage of Population Aging		
Advanced Aging	Uruguay (Montevideo) Argentina (Buenos Aires) Barbados (Bridgetown)	Cuba (Havana)
Less Advanced Aging	Chile (Santiago) Brazil (São Paulo)	Mexico (Mexico City)

CHAPTER 3

REVIEW OF THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS AND EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

In the two preceding chapters, I outlined the research topic for the current study, that is, to examine the role of residential proximity between older adults and their children, and gender systems within countries, in shaping patterns of intergenerational support across seven different cities within Latin America and the Caribbean. I have also provided an overview of the demographic, economic, and institutional contexts facing current cohorts of older adults, 60 years and over, in the region and with particular emphasis on the seven countries in the study. The variations in socioeconomic contexts have implications for different patterns of living arrangements, which is measured by geographic proximity and family-based financial and functional support transfers across the seven cities.

In this chapter, I outline and review relevant theoretical frameworks within social gerontology and sociology of gender that are useful for conceptualizing the interplay of intergenerational proximity, gender, and support transfers. First, I outline theory and existing empirical research that is specifically associated with the living arrangements of older adults and motivations for intergenerational support transfers. This is followed by an assessment of general theories on gender and the role of gender in intergenerational

relations.

3.1 Intergenerational Solidarity

Demographic, political, economic, and social transitions as previously discussed unequivocally highlight processes that can bring changes in the nature and expression of family relationships. The Intergenerational Solidarity Model developed by Vern Bengston and colleagues in the 1960s and 1970s, which was designed to examine the changes and stability in cohesiveness among grandparents, parents, and children across the individual and family life courses, is commonly used in research on aging and family relations (Cruz-Saco and Zelenev 2010). Intergenerational solidarity is recognized as an important component of family well-being and more so the psychosocial well-being of elders (Silverstein and Bengsotn 1991).

The Intergenerational Solidarity Model views intergenerational solidarity as a multifaceted process that can be examined through six key dimensions: structural, affectual, consensual, functional, associational, and normative solidarity. Functional solidarity refers to aid given by parents to children and the reciprocity of aid from children; normative solidarity is conceptualized as social norms that emphasize the principality of family relations and obligations; structural solidarity refers to the opportunity structure for family relations based on geography proximity; affectual solidarity references the strength of emotional bonds; associational is the intensity of contact; and consensual refers to the extent to which the family members agree on values across generations (Bengston and Roberts 1991). Studies utilizing this framework have consistently shown that family members are highly involved in providing care for each

other across the life course on any of the dimensions studied (Lowenstein 2005).

There has been increasing assessment of the intersection between structural and functional solidarity, which refers to geographic proximity including coresidence and non-coresidence and support transfers between elders and their children in the developing world. Thus far, much of this research has been conducted within East and South East Asia, especially with regard to support relations with children outside of the household (Knodel et al 2000; Kreager 2006, Guo, Aranda, and Silverstein 2009; Giles, Wang, and Zhao 2010; Cong and Silverstein 2011). Similar research on the intersection of structural and functional solidarity between older adults and their children within Latin America and the Caribbean has focused on coresidence. Research examining support relations among non-coresident children is limited but gaining momentum (DeVos et al. 2004; Saad 2005; Gomes 2007).

The extent to which strong familial networks remain unchanged in the context of rapid socioeconomic changes, especially in developing countries, has been a topic of concern in the literature. Several hypotheses have been advanced to explain changes or continuity in familial solidarity and intergenerational support transfers across individual and family life courses. These theories include altruism, mutual aid and reciprocity, new home economics of migration, and the modified extended family. They are related to dimensions of the intergenerational solidarity model of interest to this study—structural solidarity (geographic propinquity), functional solidarity (support transfers), and normative solidarity (filial obligations).

3.1.1 Altruism and Vulnerability

One of the most frequently addressed hypotheses to explain motivations for intergenerational support is Gary Becker's (1974, 1991) altruism hypothesis, which is based in an economic approach to family behavior (Kohli 2004). Altruistic models of intergenerational support posit that family members assist those in the most vulnerable positions without any explicit requirements for repayment (Lillard and Willis 1997). Support transfers of time, money, and space (in the form of coresidence) flow between generations as a form of social protection and insurance against expected or unforeseen difficulties. Empirical support for the altruism model of intergenerational support is evident in both developing and developed countries, but the direction of the support flows is generally contingent on the vulnerability, experienced or perceived, at both the individual and country level.

Globally, upward flows of support from children to older adults are more commonplace within developing countries where social welfare systems are less developed and older adults are less affluent (Lloyd-Sherlock 2004). Therefore, the family becomes the main welfare system for older adults, and children are more likely to support parents in vulnerable circumstances (Lee, Parish, and Willis 1994). Cultural norms of collectivism also regulate altruistic family support (Katz et al. 2003; Thang 2010). For instance, in Asia and Southern European countries such as Spain, traditions of filial piety mediate this explicit repayment as children are expected to continue the implicit social contract of caring for their older parents. As normative solidarity will propose, social norms over generations dictate the expression of intergenerational support.

In contrast, in more developed societies such as the United States and Western European countries, older adults have stronger welfare systems and are relatively wealthier so downward flows of support to adult children in vulnerable situations are more commonplace (McGary and Schoeni 1997; Kohli 1999; Fritzell and Lennartsson 2005). Downward flows are also evident in Africa where more grandparents support children and grandchildren in the form of money, housing, and time (Zimmer and Dayton 2005). These patterns suggest that altruistic orientations of support transfers are motivated by wider contexts of vulnerability.

An older adult's vulnerability is typically measured by their access to independent income, health status, social support (in form of social networks and family structure), and other factors that are related to security (Kreager 2006; Schröder-Butterfill and Marianti 2006). Older adults in vulnerable circumstances, such as being widowed or experiencing poor health, are likely to receive more support from children, either in the form of coresidence, money, or assistance with daily tasks, relative to older persons who are married, in better health, or without physical limitations.

According to the vulnerabilities framework advanced by Schröder-Butterfill and Marianti (2006), the vulnerability typically associated with poor health may not be experienced similarly across contexts. Older adults' vulnerability is embedded within structural inequalities related to gender, ethnicity, and class as well as temporal contexts of economic stability and the security provided by welfare systems. Therefore, older women widowed and in low economic standing are not always vulnerable. Their relative deprivation is contingent on their ability to cope within their given locations based on their access to resources that may be provided by the state or family besides their

children.

Borrowing from Aboderin (2005) and Zimmer et al. (2008), this study argues that demographic and socioeconomic circumstances that are typically associated with vulnerability in older ages and altruistic related support will differ across cities based on the wider context of vulnerability. The city of residence is argued to reflect wider demographic, socioeconomic, and institutional contexts that influence the association between vulnerability, proximity, and support.

3.1.2 Altruism and Sociodemographic Factors Associated With Vulnerability

Declining fertility, the main demographic driver of population aging, reduces the number of children and hence siblings that are available to share in the support of older adults. It is commonly observed that the greater the supply of available kin and children, the more likely older adults are to live with or near children or other family members (Palloni 2000; Zimmer and Korinek 2008). The majority of Latin American and Caribbean countries have been undergoing demographic transitions from high to low fertility and mortality following World War II. This directly affects family structures and can influence intergenerational living arrangements and support transfers in the region. As discussed in the introduction, countries within the region differ in the timing and pace of their demographic transitions, thereby providing between-country variations in family structures and living arrangements.

In the more advanced aging countries such as Argentina and Uruguay, about 50% of older adults live alone, whereas in the younger countries of Central America only 10 to

23% of older adults live alone (Cotlear and Tornarolli 2011). Similarly, using data from the Survey of Health, Well-Being, and Aging in Latin America and the Caribbean (SABE), Glaser et al. (2006) show that older adults in Uruguay and Argentina were more likely than those in countries that experienced later transitions (Chile, Cuba, Brazil, and Mexico) to have fewer and older children and to live alone. Moreover older adults in Argentina and Uruguay were more likely than those in Chile, Cuba,⁶ Brazil, and Mexico to indicate their child lived outside of the household.

Apart from coresidence, family size has implications for other forms of intergenerational transfers, such as financial or functional support. Generally, larger family sizes, measured by the number of living children, increases the likelihood that older adults receive support (Knodel et al. 2000; Zimmer and Kwong 2003), but there are some exceptions. For instance, Chou's research in Hong Kong (2010) suggests there can be a ceiling effect in the relationship between child supply and parents' receipt of support. Thus, from the parents' perspective, larger family size does not always guarantee more support. When examining support from the perspective of the child, some research has shown having more siblings lowers the likelihoods of children supporting their parents (Stuifbergen, Vaan Delden, and Dykstra 2008) while in others having fewer siblings can translate into more intense and frequent provision of social support (Spitze and Logan 1990). Given the variation in fertility transitions across countries and the existing empirical research, there is potential for mixed results regarding the associations between the number of living children, sibship size, and

⁶ In this study Cuba was categorized as being at an advanced staged of demographic transition, while Buenos Aires and Argentina were categorized as being at a very advanced stage of demographic transition.

upward transfers of support across cities in the current study.

Age is a marker of one's stage in the life course that is associated with varying degrees of support needs, thereby influencing altruistic motives for support either in the form of coresidence with children or the receipt of financial and functional support. Closer proximity to children is shown to be more likely among the older old, relative to younger old adults (Clark and Wolf 1992; Hank 2007) because health needs, disability, and frailty tend to increase with age.

Estimates of living arrangements among older adults in 18 Latin American countries⁷ based on national household surveys over the period of 2005–2007 showed that solitary living is most likely to occur between the ages of 50 and 80 but declines after age 80 (Cotlear and Toranolli 2011).. The authors also identify gender differences in the relationship between age and living arrangements. Compared to older women 60 years over and those 80 years and over, a higher percentage of older men in the same age groups were shown to continue living alone or with a spouse. The authors attribute this to gender differences in longevity and the greater ease of women to live with kin following widowhood.

In the English-speaking Caribbean, analyses of the living arrangements of the elderly based on the 2000 round of censuses in 18 countries⁸ (Nam 2009) showed that approximately 18% of older adults 60 years and over were reported to live alone. Gender

⁷ These countries include Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and República Bolivariana de Venezuela

⁸ The countries included were Anguilla, Antigua and Barbuda, Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Bermuda, British Virgin Islands, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, Montserrat, St. Kitts Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Suriname, Trinidad and Tobago, and Turks and Caicos Islands.

differences were also evident with men being more likely than women to live alone, 20 versus 16%. Among the oldest old, however, there were near equal proportions of older men and women living alone.

Generally, older adults' declining health conditions and/or experiences with disabilities are positively associated with closer proximity to their children or other family members (Da Vanzo and Chan 1994; Lin and Rogerson 1995; Glaser and Tomassini 2000) but this relationship is also gendered. Research on older adults' living arrangements in China has shown older women in poor health are usually more likely to live with children or other kin compared to men in poor health and women in good health (Zimmer 2005). Similarly, research conducted in Puerto Rico and Mexico (Garcia-Preto 1996; Varley and Blasco 2003) has shown children take their parents, mothers especially, to live with them or move in with parents when parents can no longer care for themselves due to health and economic needs.

Marital status of parents is also associated with vulnerability and altruistic family support. Both cross-sectional and longitudinal studies have shown positive associations between parental widowhood and coresidence with children (Lee and Dwyer 1996; Roan and Raley 1996; Korinek, Zimmer, and Gu 2011). Parents may move closer to children or vice versa, particularly in the immediate period of the event or shortly after, to receive emotional, financial, and instrumental support as they transition out of a partnership. The current study is, however, limited to assessing the association between being in a current marital situation and proximity rather than the transitions between marital states and proximity transitions.

The associations between parents' health and marital status and support are

expected to differ by the city of residence based on the relative access to social services provided by the state and/or market. On one hand, in cities represented by countries with strong welfare systems, Montevideo, Bridgetown, Buenos Aires, Santiago, and São Paulo, older adults may be able or choose to access these services independently by the market or state. Therefore, there will be a lower likelihood of altruism-related support in these cities relative to older adults in Mexico City and Havana, where formal options are not available. Thus, even if parents are experiencing disabling conditions or poor health, they may be less likely to live with children or depend on children for support. This does not mean the supply of such support by family or household members is less valued. On the other hand, older adults in these cities may prefer to depend on children for such support. For instance, research on the living arrangements of Brazilian elderly (Andrade and DeVos 2002) shows that older adults with disabling conditions are more likely to live with their children. Closer proximity and informal support from children may be even more necessary and valued for those in low-income positions who cannot afford market based health or health-related services.

3.1.3 Altruism and Socioeconomic Factors Related to Vulnerability

Economic circumstances of older adults have also been shown to be associated with altruistic support. Indicators of socioeconomic status such as education,⁹ occupational status, and income are recognized as being negatively associated with closer intergenerational proximity, as measured by parental coresidence with adult children (Lin

⁹ It is important to acknowledge, however, that some studies have found education to be unrelated to older adults' coresidence with children or their likelihood of living alone (Martin 1989; DaVanzo and Chan 1994).

and Rogerson 1995; Hank 2007; Zimmer et al. 2007). These attributes of older adults are often explained as being indicative of higher material well-being. In turn, higher economic standing can accommodate independent living and correlate with lower needs or preference for support from children. Research on older adults' living arrangements in China and among Latinos in the United States has shown that older adults with higher socioeconomic status do prefer to live alone as opposed to living with children (Zsembik 1996; Sereny 2011). Older adults' economic independence, which may be facilitated by their higher education and income, provides an opportunity to fulfill privacy needs. Other areas of research show that this relationship between economic status and independent living is contingent on the gender and marital status of parents.

Gender and marital status feature in the relationship between economic independence and proximity as women are generally more economically vulnerable than their male counterparts in later life due to earlier life disadvantages in income-earning capacity, which limits their savings and retirement incomes (Arber and Ginn 1995; Calasanti 2010). This economic vulnerability tends to be exacerbated when women become widows (Holden and Smock 1991; Angel, Jiménez, and Angel 2007). This partly explains the higher likelihood of intergenerational coresidence among widows and women.

Formal systems of income protection can, however, mitigate some of this economic vulnerability among widows and women more broadly, as discussed in Chapter 2, thereby reducing the need for support from children or encouraging downward flows of support. For instance, DaVanzo and Chan (1994) show that older, unmarried Malaysians (many of whom were widowed in this study) with higher incomes (from

investments, savings, pensions) were less likely to coreside with their adult children. In this study, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, Brazil, and Barbados are categorized as countries with strong welfare systems. Pension systems are much stronger than in Cuba and Mexico. Moreover, women are more likely to be covered in countries with strong welfare systems relative to those in weak welfare systems. Thus, one can expect that women in Buenos Aires, Santiago, Montevideo, São Paulo, and Bridgetown will be less economically vulnerable and reliant on their children relative to women in Mexico City and Havana.

Population based studies comparing living arrangements in Mexico and Brazil, utilizing national surveys on income and expenditure over the period 1994/1995, show that in both Brazil and Mexico intergenerational coresidence between older and younger cohorts was more likely among older adults with low levels of education and those whose individual incomes were higher than the household income (Gomes da Conceicao 2002). In Mexico, however, older adults with access to independent income through work, rents or investments, and international remittances were less likely to coreside. In contrast, in Brazil, parents with access to independent income were more likely to coreside with younger cohorts.

The findings for Brazil are aligned with Camarano's (2004) review of the impact of changes in pension policies on living arrangements in Brazil. Camarano identifies that intergenerational coresidence increased in the urban North-east region of Brazil as pension coverage increased. Likewise, analyses of Brazilian Census data for the year 2000 showed that in 2000 approximately 40% of adult children living in families with elderly people were neither working nor studying (Camarano et al. 2005). Thus, in Brazil

more so than Mexico, older adults' with independent income are more likely to coreside with younger generations than live independently. In Brazil, older adults are more likely to engage in downward flows of support as observed in more developed countries.

Government housing policies, the costs of housing and their availability in urban locations, particularly for young adults, also matter for intergenerational coresidence (Bian, Logan, and Bian 1998; Frankenberg, Chan, and Ofstedal 2002). Fay and Wellenstein's (2005) review of homeownership in urban Latin America documents that homeownership rates average 73%, which is much higher than other developing regions and high-income countries. Homeownership, however, does not have a linear relationship with income. In some countries, rates of homeownership are higher in the poorest quintile than in the second or third. This is partly reflective of the relative accessibility of informal housing, which is more commonly referred to as squatting settlements, as well as effective government housing programs in countries such as Chile and Costa Rica (Torche and Spilerman 2008).

Nevertheless, some authors (Chant 1991; Gonzalez de la Rocha 1994) highlight that the economic crises of the 1980s and 1990s across the region further reduced the possibilities of young adults to secure independent living. In the ideal setting, intergenerational coresidence offers the opportunity to share housing expenses in contexts of high and/or increasing costs of living. Adult children may also contribute to the home, financially or otherwise. Thus they may also be considered owners of the home. Therefore, parents may be likely to indicate their nearest child is coresident if they move in with their children or if children move in with them. The data for the current study do not allow an assessment of who moves nor is it possible to specify who owns the house.

Consequently, the analysis is limited to assessing whether parents' residence in an owned home is associated with closer proximity or not.

3.1.4 Geographic Proximity and Support

Early scholarship on intergenerational relations argued that the geographic proximity of children and parents is crucial to the well-being of older adults as it provides the more or less immediate opportunity for all forms of support to be exchanged in times of need (Bengston and Roberts 1991; Lawton, Silverstein, and Bengston 1994). Thus, coresidence or having a child live near the older parent is often conceived as the ideal situation. More recent scholarship has shown that non-coresidence with children is not necessarily detrimental to older adults' overall well-being as parents continue to receive support from their children (Silverstein, Cong, and Li 2006). Coresidence is the most common living arrangement in Latin America and the Caribbean (Peláez and Martinez 2002). As previously discussed, there are variations among countries where coresidence is generally more common in the less advanced aging countries relative to the advanced aging countries.

Regardless of the specific mechanisms that encourage intergenerational coresidential living arrangements, coresidence is arguably the most critical form of intergenerational support. Sharing a living space provides the most immediate opportunity for other forms of support exchanges across generations (Glaser and Tomassini 2000; Choi 2003; Takagi and Silverstein 2006; Smits, Van Gaalen, and Mulder 2010). This may reflect the dependency of the parent and/or child rather than their preferences. Non-coresidence, however, does not necessarily inhibit support

exchanges.

It is well-established that parents continue to receive support despite their distance from children (Chamberlain 1999; DeVos, Solis, and DeOca 2004; Burholt and Wenger 2004; Quashie and Zimmer 2013). The new home economics of migration (Stark and Bloom 1985) and the modified extended family (Litwak 1960) theses both argue that geographic separation does not terminate the flow of support across family members. While the former is more focused on the relationship between geographic separation and financial support, the latter encompasses a wider range of support arrangements.

The new home economics of migration argues that geographic separation may be vital to the overall well-being of family and household members. Migration is arguably a risk diversification option in countries that do not have adequate systems for income-smoothing over the life course. Economic migration can generate income, part or all of which can then be remitted to the household for consumption or investment expenditure (Stark and Lucas 1988). If a household is placed in a situation where the steady flow of income is jeopardized, one or more family members may migrate, either within the country or abroad, to offset the risks of the family or the household unit's economic vulnerability.

Moreover, the new home economics perspective assumes that migrants behave altruistically in maintaining their support across space. That is, migrant remittances are inextricably tied to household and community needs. Financial support is used for consumption activities, such as purchasing food, or they may be used for household investment as savings or purchases of assets to ensure financial security, especially for households that cannot depend on or are excluded from formal systems of social

protection (Durand et al. 1996; Massey 1997). These propositions are well supported by research on remittances and remittance behavior by rural and urban migrants of low to middle income households in Latin America and the Caribbean (Itzigsohn 1995; Agarwal and Horowitz 2002; Blue 2004).

Although old age pension systems were not included in the original theoretical formulation, I argue that a lack of income security for older adults may encourage both migration and remittances to households with older adults. Due to both the cross-sectional nature of the data and the lack of availability of survey questions regarding children's reasons for their current residential location at the time of the survey, I am limited to assessing the likelihood that a parent has indicated their child living abroad has provided financial support.

Given the deep roots of wealth inequality in Latin America and particularly in Mexico, as described in Chapter 2, it is expected that the household's location in the wealth distribution will moderate patterns of financial support provided by children. Household wealth is likely to moderate support provision by children for the following reasons. It is plausible that parents with greater access to wealth will be more likely than those with less wealth to support their offspring, including facilitating their migration. Children repay such assistance via financial support. On the contrary, children of parents in the upper tiers of the wealth distribution may perceive their parents have less need for financial support and will therefore be less likely to provide support even if they receive support. Financial support is likely to be provided regardless of the child's geographic location in order to improve or maintain the wealth of the household as this affects the well-being of its members within and across generations (Heady and Wooden 2004;

Torche and Spilerman 2009).

3.1.5 Modified Extended Family

Although financial support is critical to older adults' well-being and such support is not inhibited by distance, other dimensions of support such as assistance with household chores, transportation, or providing food require propinquity. The modified extended family thesis (Litwak 1960) suggests that family members adapt their support to reflect their circumstances, and advances in technology allow families to maintain cohesion despite geographic mobility. The central argument is that although the forms of support may change based on geographic location, all together they fulfill goals of upholding family members' well-being. Even though one or more children may leave the household for far away destinations, they may still provide financial and/or emotional support while the children in closer proximity provide instrumental support when such needs arise. This has been supported by research in Asia and some Latin American countries whereby family members, particularly children, at further distances were more likely to provide financial and emotional support relative to instrumental support (DeVos, Solis and Montes de Oca 2004; Knodel et al. 2010). Therefore, the modified extended family perspective suggests an examination of parents' receipt of various forms of support based on different degrees of proximity to their children. Thus, parents will be more likely to receive financial support from children living further away but have higher likelihoods of receiving functional support from children in closer proximity.

On the basis that Latin American and Caribbean family or household members cooperate as a unit and migration is often a collective undertaking, it is conceivable that

the location of siblings in relation to their parents can moderate the support provided by children living outside of the household. Siblings may work together to support their parents by strategically splitting support to reflect their circumstances such that those further away provide financial support while those in closer proximity provide everyday functional support that requires immediacy and greater time investment.

On one hand, parents' coresidence with one or more of their children may dampen support provided by non-coresident children as the latter may perceive fewer needs of parents or the household. For instance, Matthews (2002) showed that children living away from the parental home provided support less often than siblings in closer proximity. On the other hand, unmeasured variables that influence a sibling's coresidence with their parents, for instance parent-child relationship quality or the economic or marital stability of the child, can also influence whether the coresident child is able to provide support and the form it may take. These factors implicate the likelihood of support provided by non-coresident children. Thus, coresiding and non-coresiding siblings may substitute their support based on the comparative advantage implied by their location.

3.1.6 The Significance of Place for Geographic Proximity and Support

Transfers

City differences in parents' reliance on migrant children for financial support are expected to emerge due to the fact that older adults have different degrees of income protection in the form of pension. As discussed in Chapter 2, older adults in Mexico and Cuba are the least well protected, while at the other extreme those in Uruguay and

Barbados have the highest coverage. Gomes (2007) has identified that remittances are a valuable source of economic support to older adults in Mexico. In contrast, in Barbados remittances are expected to be less critical as older adults are well supported by pensions. In fact, according to the Barbados 2000 census, older adults were least dependent on remittances as a source of income (Nam 2009). The relative lack of dependence on remittances due to the strength of the pension systems is also expected for older adults in Argentina (Buenos Aires), Uruguay (Montevideo), Chile (Santiago), and Brazil (São Paulo).

Cuba presents a special case regarding migration and the impact of remittances in that the Cuban government during the 1990s actively encouraged migration to the United States. Eckstein (2004) explains several active measures by the state including but not limited to, removing prior restrictions on entry visas for emigrants in the US and working with the US government in 1994 to allow an annual quota of economic migrants for the purpose of remitting money to families and households in need and for individuals to work abroad within a designated time period.

Differences across cities are further expected due to the relative importance of assets to older adults in each of these countries. Recent research on intergenerational transfers within Latin America (Rosero-Bixby 2011) shows that in Mexico, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay older adults are more dependent on assets for economic security, but the dependence on asset income is particularly high in Brazil and Mexico (Rosero-Bixby 2011). This suggests wealth is more critical than labor income or transfers from family for older adults' consumption. In the case of Mexico, the accumulation of wealth can be attributed to the migration and remittance history of older adults who returned to Mexico

(Wong, Palloni, and Soldo 2007) or the past and current migration and remittances of their children.

Therefore, drawing from the new home economics of migration perspective, older adults in Havana and Mexico City are more likely than those in other cities to receive financial support from children farthest away from the household. In Mexico City, household wealth quintile, which is used as a proxy for relative deprivation, is expected to moderate the likelihood of financial support from children living abroad to parents in the origin.

Related to the modified extended family thesis, the division of support provision based on the geographical location of children and their siblings is likely to differ across cities due to differences in welfare systems. Parent-child proximity and the negotiation of care among siblings may be less critical in cities with stronger support systems. In contrast in Havana and Mexico City, where older adults are more reliant on family rather than the state or market, the location of children and siblings for support is likely to be of greater significance.

3.1.7. Mutual Aid and Reciprocity Models

Related to the altruism hypothesis are the mutual aid and reciprocity hypotheses, which argue that intergenerational support is motivated more by an exchange of resources. Unlike altruistic motives, reciprocity and mutual aid assumes that the recipient will repay the support that is provided in some form (Kohli 2003). Children's support to their parents may stem from a generalized reciprocity for parental investments taking place earlier in the life course of the child (Silverstein et al. 2002). Parents' investment in children is typically assessed with generally positive associations between adult

children's education levels and their transfer behavior (Lee et al. 1994; Cunningham, Yount, and Agree 2013).

Reciprocity and mutual aid may also influence the relationship between geographic proximity and support. As migration is embedded in a household rather than individual context, parents and other household members often support the migrant before and during their sojourn, and migrants support their parents in return (Root and De Jong, 1991). This is aligned with the mutual aid model of intergenerational relations, which proposes that families operate as close-knit networks to maximize the well-being of members. Thus, parents and children provide support according to each other's needs and capacities (Lee et al. 1994). The migration of children is often made possible by the willingness and/or ability of parents and other family members to provide immediate support in the form of money, goods, household assistance, social networks, and/or childcare (Soto 1987; Ho 1999; Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila 2003). Following from this, non-coresident children may support their parents if they receive economic or other support prior to, during, and in their current residence outside of the household (Lillard and Willis 1997; Menjivar 1997; Cong and Silverstein 2011).

3.2 Gender and Intergenerational Support

In addition to demographic and political economic factors, cross-national research has shown that intergenerational transfers are also structured by social and cultural characteristics related to systems of family organization within countries (Mason 1992). This includes social norms regarding attitudes toward family life, the respect shown toward elders, as well as gender ideologies that influence male and female family

members assuming different support roles.

The gendered organization of family-based intergenerational support is one of the prime contributions of this study. Thus, the gendered division of household labor and gender role socialization serve as the conceptual basis for assessing gender differences in the receipt and provision of support among older adults and their children in this study. This division of labor will be assessed within the overarching theoretical frameworks of patriarchy.

Patriarchy refers to a sociopolitical system in which women are viewed as inferior to men in every institution. This system of gender dominance, which structures every aspect of social relations, results from state politics, cultural ideas of men's and women's roles that may be emphasized with traditions, rituals or other social norms, and the distribution of rewards for paid and unpaid labor, among other factors (Johnson 2005; Bennett 2006).

Similar to other patriarchal societies such as Egypt and China (Yount 2005; Xie and Zhu 2009), Latin American and Caribbean societies are described as authoritarian patriarchal (Chant 2003; Trotz 2005). There are some key distinctions, however, between Latin American and Caribbean family systems that may produce unique gender differences in intergenerational support among the countries studied.

Within Latin American societies, specifically those of Central and South America, there is historically and contemporaneously a clear segregation of men's and women's roles in the private and public spheres, which is strongly rooted in Catholicism (Dore 2000; Molyneaux 2000) and further legitimated by state policies such as patrilineal inheritance and only recognizing men as heads of households (Chant 2003). Latin

American countries are traditionally organized along a male breadwinner model (Pedraza 1991; Chant 2003; Filgueira et al. 2011) with women's place traditionally being limited to the domestic sphere of reproduction and caretaking, whilst men's predominant space was on the streets or the workplace. Despite the increases in women's labor force participation during the 1980s and 1990s as a result of neoliberal development policies, women are still expected to fulfill domestic duties more so than men and men generally do not share in domestic work (Pearson 1997; Chant 2003).

In contrast, Caribbean feminist scholars describe Caribbean households as matrifocal or matrilocal whereby women take a central role in the kinship system, both in terms of domestic and economic activity¹⁰ (Barrow 1998; Rowley 2002; Momsen 2002; Safa 2005). Gender norms typically present women as central to household support both in terms of economic and noneconomic provision. Men, when involved in the household, typically take on economic roles (Smith 1996; Roopnarine 2004). Similar to Latin American men, Caribbean men are more likely to be involved in economic support rather than unpaid domestic work.

This distinctive feature of household organization in the Caribbean is a consequence of several historical and contemporary social and economic developments. These include historical gender equality in access to land ownership, pre-World War II male led migration, post-World War II female led and family based migration, and

¹⁰ This typology also extends to Afro-Caribbean women in the Spanish speaking Caribbean countries of Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico. Women's central roles in economic activity mean that in many cases women are breadwinners of the home, particularly among lower classes. Matrifocality within the household does not translate into women's centrality in political and economic institutions. In the latter, men maintain their dominance as they continue to have more privileges through income earning capacity and leadership positions.

structural adjustment policies of the 1980s and 1990s that have been associated with women's increased participation in the domestic sphere as states withdrew social services. Similar to Latin American women, women's labor force participation also increased in order to contribute to household income (Momsen 1993, 2002; Trotz 2005). Therefore, gender relations in English-speaking and Spanish-speaking Caribbean households, in particular, do not restrict women to household reproduction as is found within Latin American societies. Overall, women are socialized to have a greater sense of attachment and responsibility to their households relative to men. Gender role differentiation in household labor is central to this study as it directs gendered patterns of intergenerational support transfers.

On one hand, the family, as a social institution, and the gendered division of household labor are a prime arena for socialization and embedding social constructs of male and female. On the other hand, gender relations within the family can change as family structures change due to marriage or the migration of family members. The question of how gender structures patterns of intergenerational support, in different countries within Latin America and the Caribbean, according to the proximity of parents and children is a key focus of this dissertation.

3.2.1 Gender and Intergenerational Relations

Some scholars have argued women's traditional roles as homemakers can be beneficial in creating stronger emotional bonds with children over the life course, thus increasing the potential for women to receive support in times of need (Silverstein et al. 2006). This does not necessarily suggest that older men do not receive such support but

rather with lower likelihood relative to women. The explicit gendered division of labor within Latin American households and the matrifocal nature of Caribbean families create an opportunity structure for stronger bonds to be established between mothers and their children relative to fathers. Existing research confirms the strength of mother-child bonds in Latin America and Caribbean families, regardless of proximity (Barrow 1996; Plaza 2000; Miner 2003).

Women are also argued to take the primary role in kin-keeping. This runs the gamut of maintaining communication with parents to the assignment of tasks or kin work between family members. The latter is termed kin-scription (Stack and Burton 2003). These assignments often follow socialized gendered expectations. Quantitative and qualitative research consistently shows that daughters are the main kin-keepers, that is, they maintain and fulfill a wide range of the obligations regarding parental care and also in maintaining interactions among siblings (Rosenthal 1985; White and Riedman 1992; Matthews 1995; Campbell, Connidis, and Davies 1999).

As such, the Latin American and Caribbean cities in this study are expected to show similar patterns of support among mothers and fathers. In all cities, mothers will be more likely to receive support than fathers. The city differences lie in gender differences in support among children. Whereas Caribbean women are socialized to engage in both economic and noneconomic support, Latin American women are socialized to provide caregiving more so than economic support. In all cities, sons are socialized to engage in economic support, primarily.

Gendered patterns of support become embedded through socialization over generations (Ross 1987). Studies in the United States and some Asian countries such as

Taiwan, Japan, South Korea, and Singapore have shown gendered patterns of support among children, patterns which are attributed to social norms and expectations (Lee et al. 1994; Moen, Erickson, and Dempster-McClain 1997; Knodel and Ofstedal 2002; Lee 2010). In research conducted in Argentina and Brazil, mothers receive most of their personal daily support from daughters if their spouse is not available to provide, or they may prefer to coreside with daughters rather than sons (Kaplan and Redondo 1992; Andrade and DeVos 2002; Camarano et al. 2005). Similarly in Mexico and Cuba, there are clear expectations for sons to provide economic support, while daughters are to fulfill other caregiving duties (Varley 1996; Rosendahl 1997).

In Cuba, the economic crisis of the 1990s further enhanced this gender division of labor. Pearson's (1997) investigation of the gendered responses to the crisis notes that within the household women's responsibilities increased, at the expense of their economic independence, while men increased their responsibility for economic provision. For instance, women were responsible for collecting state rations and providing child and elder care in the home as these services were no longer provided by the state. The findings from these studies do not necessarily suggest that daughters do not provide financial support but that gender roles stress that sons take the helm of this responsibility.

Gendered patterns of support have also been shown to remain stable even across distances and reflect gender socialization in family systems (Frankenburg and Kuhn 2004; VanWey 2004). Among internal migrants in Latin America, women have been shown to retain more social contact with their natal households and provide financial and nonmonetary remittances relative to men (Chant 2003). Among Caribbean families, much of the work is focused on transnational kin relations and has involved both

quantitative and qualitative research methods (Goulborne 1999; Ho 1993, 1999; Forsythe-Brown 2007). There is a consensus that among immigrants from countries such as Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and Barbados, women are central to kin-keeping in that they often take primary responsibility for supporting their aging parents or assigning responsibilities for care, even if male siblings are available. Sana and Massey (2005) argue that the greater likelihood of remittances to Mexico from men and to the Dominican Republic from daughters who are abroad reflect the former's traditional patriarchal structure relative to the latter. Findings such as these suggest that older adults' receipt of support will not only be contingent on the gender composition of children but also the gender of the most proximate child. Therefore, differences in support are expected to emerge among sons and daughters, regardless of their proximity, due to socialization of gender norms regarding family support.

Gender has also been found to influence the division of labor among siblings in their support arrangements for older parents with women/daughters/sisters being more likely than men/sons/brothers to engage in care work that involves practical or emotional support (Wolf and Soldo 1988; Spitze and Logan 1990; Hogan, Eggebeen, and Clogg 1993; Hequembourg and Brailer 2005). Furthermore, children's provisions of support tend to decrease if they have more available sisters (Coward and Dwyer 1990; Matthews 1995; Wolf, Freedman, and Soldo 1997; Tolkacheva, van Groneou, and van Tilburg 2010). This is not to say that sons do not provide such support but that their provision of support is significantly dependent on the availability of a female sibling.

Scholars have raised concern that the increased labor force participation of younger cohorts of women can pose some threat to daughters' traditional support roles

(Jelin et al. 2003). While it is possible that women's entries into paid labor may jeopardize their ability to maintain their traditional caregiving duties in the household or encourage men to increase their share of unpaid labor, in Latin American and the Caribbean women's total workloads have increased as there has not been a parallel increase in men's participation in domestic work combined with limited family care services provided by the state (ECLAC 2009). Moreover, research in the United States has shown that men's employment more so than women's negatively affects their support provision (Spitze and Logan 1990).

3.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have presented several theoretical frameworks and an overview of empirical research most relevant to the current study: altruism and vulnerabilities, mutual aid and reciprocity, new home economics of migration, modified extended family thesis, and gender roles as they shape intergenerational support. Given the differences in institutional support for older adults, proximity may be more or less important for family-based support in some cities. For instance, older adults in cities such as Bridgetown and Montevideo, where there is higher income and health security for older adults are expected to be less reliant on children for support relative to older adults in Mexico City and Havana, where formal support systems are much weaker.

Institutional support systems also influence the relative distance between parents and children. In some countries such as Cuba and Mexico, further distance may be necessary for the well-being of household members. This will be explored through the new home economics of migration theory. This perspective is limited to assessing

financial support. While further distance may be necessary for financial support, distance implicates the provision of other forms of support that require propinquity such as functional support. The modified extended family perspective allows one to assess how different forms of support are associated with geographic proximity. This perspective argues that children provide support according to the comparative advantage provided by their location. Thus, those further away will be more likely to provide financial support, while those in closer proximity provide functional support that typically requires more immediacy.

Research has also shown that intergenerational relations are further complicated by gender systems within countries. Systems of patriarchy influence gender divisions of labor in the household, which in turn ascribe women and men to different caregiving activities. As the discussion in this chapter shows, Latin American and Caribbean countries share a similarity of women taking a primary role in caregiving, whilst men's roles are predominantly tied to economic support. In the Caribbean, unlike Latin America, women have also been more involved, historically, in economic provision for households. This economic and noneconomic involvement of women in Caribbean households is explained by the matrifocal/matrilocal household organization. This suggests differences and similarities in support provision between Latin American and Caribbean cities.

It is against this research background that the current study is situated. I believe these findings will add to the growing literature on intergenerational support in developing countries to reflect contemporary challenges faced by aging countries and families therein.

CHAPTER 4

DATA AND METHODS

Data for this study are drawn from the Survey on Health, Well-Being and Aging (SABE) in Latin America and the Caribbean, conducted between 1999 and 2000 (Peláez et al. 2000). The SABE was a multicenter study designed with the aim of examining health conditions and functional limitations of persons 60 years and over, with special focus on those 80 years and over, in seven urban cities of the region. These cities included Buenos Aires, Argentina; Montevideo, Uruguay; Santiago, Chile; São Paulo, Brazil; Mexico City, Mexico; Havana, Cuba; and Bridgetown, Barbados. Data were collected via personal interviews and self-enumerated questionnaires in the language of each country: Portuguese in São Paulo, English in Bridgetown, and Spanish in the remaining five cities. The target universe included persons aged 60 and older residing in private households, occupied by permanent dwellers in each city. In all cities, with the exceptions of Barbados and Chile, the most recent national employment or household surveys were used. The sampling frame for Barbados was the national electoral registry and for Chile, the 1992 census.

According to the report (Palloni and Peláez 2000), the final samples were all derived from multistage stratified clustered sampling. There were three stages of sample selection in five countries. Brazil and Barbados were the only two countries where only

two stages were used. The primary sampling units represented clusters of households grouped by geography or socioeconomic status. In Buenos Aires, populations within the urban periphery but outside of the city limits were included, as the urban periphery was considered an integral part of the city. The distribution of the sample in this first stage was proportional to the size of the elderly population. The secondary stage of sampling consisted of smaller numbers of independent households within the primary units. The final stage of sampling involved the households (if more than one person was interviewed) or random selection of the target individual if only one person was interviewed from that household. These stages of the sample design allowed the possibility to calculate the selection probabilities for each target.

There are noteworthy differences across cities. First in two cities, São Paulo and Mexico City, all individuals 60 and over in the household were interviewed but in the former, women 50 to 59 were also included if present in the household (Wong, Peláez, Palloni, Markides 2006; Palloni and Peláez 2000). To ensure consistency across the countries, the Mexico City sample of women 50 to 59 was not included in the current study (33.1%). Second is the oversampling of persons 80 years and over in Montevideo and Havana and those 75 years and older in São Paulo. The oversampled individuals were chosen with equal probability in all three cities. In Santiago, if a person 80 years and over was not chosen by the random process and was present in the household, they were also interviewed. Third, the composition of those interviewed varied across the cities. If spouses were present they were interviewed in Bridgetown and Havana. The sample for Bridgetown did not have a spouse identifier. In Havana as in the other cities, sample weights were created based on one individual being interviewed in each

household; thus it was not deemed necessary to separate the spouses. In Montevideo, Buenos Aires, Bridgetown, Santiago, and Havana, the target was a randomly selected person 60 years and over. It must be noted that it is not possible to identify exact households in any of these cities because the addresses of the households are not available.

The use of proxies was determined by the target individual's cognitive abilities, which were assessed via a cognition instrument, the Folstein Mini Mental State Examination. Montevideo, Buenos Aires, and Bridgetown showed the lowest use of proxies, 1.4%, 3.7%, and 3.9%, respectively. São Paulo had the highest use of proxies at 13% and the other three cities, around 9%. This variation is attributed to countries' differences in institutionalized care for persons with dementia (Wong et al. 2006). Overall response rates, however, were highest in Havana at 95%, lowest in Montevideo and Buenos Aires at 65%, and between 80 to 85% in Bridgetown, São Paulo, Santiago, and Mexico City.

The questionnaire was designed to capture information that would allow comparability across the countries and to more developed countries like the United States. The survey was modeled after the United States' Health and Retirement Survey (HRS 1990) and other surveys conducted in Asia (Wong et al 2006). The survey was also adapted in some countries to reflect social, cultural, health, and economic nuances of the given urban setting. The content covered in all surveys, however, includes the following modules:

- 1) Basic demographic, social, and economic characteristics of the interviewee;
- 2) Household membership and characteristics of the dwelling;

- 3) Self-reported health and chronic conditions;
- 4) Access to and utilization of health care services;
- 5) Medications;
- 6) Mental health: Cognition and Depression;
- 7) Nutritional Assessment;
- 8) Disability: Activities of Daily Living (ADLs) and Instrumental Activities of Daily Living (IADLs);
- 9) Work History and Sources of Income;
- 10) Property and Asset Ownership;
- 11) Transfers—familial and institutional.

Anthropometrical, mobility and flexibility measures were also collected in all cities but Buenos Aires.

The data used in this study are the final-public-release versions obtained via the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR). The codebooks provided for each country are in English. The English questionnaire used for the Bridgetown site was utilized to aid in translation of the Spanish and Portuguese questionnaires to ensure accuracy and consistency.

4.1 Methods for the Current Study

All cities are used in this study. The initial samples for all cities included a total of 11,226 cases for both sexes. For the purposes of this study, each city's sample is restricted to older adults who have at least one living child aged 15 and over. Based on the sample restrictions, the resulting analytical sample totals 9,259 cases. In each city,

descriptive and multivariate analyses based on the parents' perspectives are weighted to assure representativeness of the population of older adults 60 years and over in each city. Table 4.1 provides a breakdown of the original and current study samples of older adult by their city of residence. All variables used in the study were constructed in the same manner across all the cities.

4.1.1 Measures

In this section, I describe the dependent and independent variables that are used in the following empirical chapters, 5 to 7. There are two main dependent variables in this study: parents' proximity to their nearest child and parents' receipts of informal transfers. These variables are also used as independent variables and covariates in different multivariate analyses. In Chapter 6, older adults' proximity to their nearest child is used as an independent variable in assessing the extent to which parent-child proximity influences older adults' receipt of informal support. In Chapter 7, the child's residential location in relation to their parents at the time of the survey is used as an independent variable to examine the association between parent-child proximity and non-coresident children's likelihood of providing informal transfers assessed in Chapter 6. Thus, I first discuss the construction of the dependent variables and the covariates related to the parents' characteristics that are associated with their proximity to their nearest child and their receipt of support. Following this, I discuss the covariates of the children's characteristics that can influence the support they provide to their older parents.

4.1.2 Older Adults

4.1.2.1 Dependent Variables: Parent as the Unit of Analysis

The *dependent variables, receipt of financial and functional support*, were derived from respondents' answers to the following question of each child: "I would like to ask if (NAME) helps you in any way with (a) money, (b) services like transportation and housework, (c) giving you things you need like food, clothes and other items?" The response is dichotomized as either yes they receive money from at least one child or not. It is important to note that there is no indication of the time frame in which parents received support from their children. That is, older adults were not asked to identify the most recent time period of assistance with any form of support, whether within a week, month, or year of the time of data collection. Parents were, however, questioned about the frequency with which they receive support from their children, whether weekly, monthly, or yearly, but the analyses in this study do not include these measures of support. Nevertheless, in Chapter 6, these outcomes of support are interpreted as parents' receipts of support. In Chapter 7, these are interpreted as children's provisions of support. The differences in interpretation are based on the units of analysis in each chapter.

Table 4.2 shows the distribution of support received by older adults in each city of residence and according to the strength of institutional support in their respective countries. The results show that in cities within countries with relatively strong systems of formal support for older adults, older adults are less likely to receive both financial and functional support compared to those in cities within countries with relatively weaker systems of formal support. Remarkably, older adults in Mexico City were most likely to

receive financial support while those in Havana were the most likely to report receiving functional support.

4.1.2.1.1 Correlations Between the Dimensions of Support

In order to assess whether older adults who receive one form of support, for instance financial, are likely to receive functional support, correlation matrices were calculated for each city and presented in Table 4.3. The high correlations between all financial and functional support in Bridgetown suggests that older adults in this city are most likely to receive both forms of support from children. That is those who receive money are also likely to receive help with housework or transportation. In all other cities there are positive correlations between both forms of support but of a lower intensity relative to Bridgetown. This implies that in Mexico City, Havana, Buenos Aires, São Paulo, Santiago, and Montevideo, older adults are likely to receive one form of support rather than two. This may be a function of differences in parents' preferences for support from their children, differences in children's abilities to provide support, or a combination.

4.1.2.2 Independent Variable

Proximity of the nearest child is measured by using information on the location of each child recorded at time of interview. Four categories of proximity are considered: the nearest child is coresident, in the neighborhood, outside the neighborhood but in the country, and abroad. In all cities, the category outside the neighborhood combines older adults who indicate their nearest child is in the same city but a different neighborhood

and those whose nearest child is in a different city within the country. In all cities, this category, outside the neighborhood, is dominated by older adults who indicate their nearest child is in the same city. In five cities, however, the category outside the neighborhood also includes a relatively small proportion of older adults who indicate their nearest child is abroad.¹¹ This was done to avoid the loss of observations. Although the proportion of older adults indicating their nearest child was abroad is larger in Montevideo relative to the other cities, the category was combined with those outside of the neighborhood to improve model estimation in Chapter 5.

Given the differences in the size of the cities under study, I acknowledge that the categories for proximity outside of the household can convey different meanings and by extension, implications for intergenerational support across the cities. For instance, a child living in the same neighborhood in Bridgetown may actually be within a relatively shorter distance from their parents compared to those in the same category in São Paulo. Similarly, being outside of the neighborhood, in the same city, or another city within the country is likely to be qualitatively different in Havana compared to Mexico City. Barring precise measures of distance or the actual location of children outside of the household, these categories form the best means of comparability across the cities. At the same time, the categories capture some basic understanding of what may actually be different or similar for support transfers in different contexts if the nearest child lives outside of the neighborhood in a geographically smaller city versus a larger one.

Parents can have children in multiple locations, but the primary interest in

¹¹ The proportion of older adults indicating their nearest child lived abroad in each of the four cities was as follows: Montevideo 4.08%, São Paulo 0.04%, Buenos Aires 0.84%, Santiago 0.58%, and Mexico City 0.55%.

Chapter 5 is to understand how parental needs or resources can influence distance between the generations. Based on the altruism theory of intergenerational support, it is assumed that closer proximity will be related to support needs while further distance is a function of resources conducive to independent living. The cross-sectional nature of the data limits the types of conclusions that can be drawn regarding the associations between parental needs or resources and their proximity to their children in several ways. The primary limitation is that I can neither tell the direction of movement that is whether parents or children have actually moved, nor the length of time they have lived at such distances. For instance, parents' declining health may induce children to move closer to parents or parents may move closer to children, if their children's circumstances are not conducive to their moving closer to their parents.

Relatedly, the associations between need or resources and proximity are limited by our lack of knowledge regarding the timing of the onset of needs or acquisition of resources. If parents with deteriorating health are more likely to live in closer proximity to their children, I do not know for sure that parents and children were in close proximity prior to the onset of declining health or whether the declining health was in fact the catalyst for reducing distance between parents and their children. Moreover, the analyses of parent-child proximity in Chapter 5 do not examine proximity from the perspectives of children and their needs. The needs and resources of adult children can be equally, if not more, important factors in explaining geographical distance between the generations.

The focus of Chapter 6 is to examine the probability of receiving financial, functional, and material support based on the location of the nearest child rather than on the receipt of support from specific children. The analyses in both chapters use older

adults whose nearest child is coresident as the reference category. Arguably, coresidence provides greater ease, frequency, and immediacy of transfers relative to transfers from non-coresident children. It is also likely that transfers, both financial and nonfinancial, from coresident children may be a function of a shared living arrangement and not always labeled as support due to a need by either parent or child. Even further, it is likely that among older adults whose nearest child is not coresident, this child may return home or move closer to the parent when parents' needs increase. The data do not allow an assessment of transfers under these differing circumstances, but I can at least assess whether there are differences in the propensity for parents to receive support from children at incremental distances.

The analyses in Chapter 7 explore the propensity for non-coresident children to support their parents according to the location of their siblings. This gives further insight to the differences in parents' reliance on children for support and siblings' negotiations of support for their older parents, based on their relative proximity to parents.

4.1.3 Covariates: Parents' Characteristics

Demographic characteristics of the older respondents that are considered as covariates include *age*, coded as a categorical variable with the middle age group, 70 to 74 years as the reference group. *Gender* is dichotomous with women as the reference group. The gender composition of children is categorical. They represent older adults with exactly one son (reference), exactly one daughter, exactly two sons, exactly two daughters, one son and one daughter, and those with three or more sons or daughters. This measure is intended to capture the effect of gender socialization and the potential

impact of declining fertility on older adults' likelihood of receiving support from children. *Marital status* of the older adult is categorical, and elderly persons in a union (married or cohabiting) are the reference group.

Residual household size is included as a measure of other persons in the household, other than the respondent's spouse and/or coresident child who are already accounted for in other measures. These include parents, parents-in-law, children-in-law, grandchildren, domestic workers, and other extended kin. *Residual household assistance* is a measure of the respondent's receipt of transfers from residual household members. It represents elderly persons who indicate receiving at least one form of financial, material, or functional assistance from at least one other household member, who is neither spouse nor child, regardless of the relationship to the respondent. Residual household size and residual household assistance are likely to be associated with intergenerational proximity and support as in Latin American and Caribbean societies; multigenerational households are still common though more frequently among the poor (Cotlear and Tornarolli 2011). The availability of alternative support in the household may on one hand encourage further distance proximity, if for instance grandchildren live with older adults to facilitate the adult child's migration, which is a common among households in the region (Soto 1987). On the other hand the lack of assistance from residual household members can be associated with closer proximity and greater support from children if there are other persons in the household who need support such as those with disabilities.

Health status of the older adult is examined through three measures. *Self-rated health* is a categorical variable based upon the following question: "Would you say that your health is excellent, very good, good, fair, or poor?" The initial categories of

excellent health and very good health were collapsed into one category because of the small numbers of respondents indicating excellent health, and this is chosen as the reference category. Respondents' *disabilities* were assessed with dichotomous variables that indicate their having difficulty with at least one Activity of Daily Living (ADL) and Instrumental Activity of Daily Living (IADL). The former include bathing, dressing, eating, getting in and out of bed, walking across a room, and using the bathroom. IADLs include preparing a hot meal, shopping, doing light housework, doing heavy housework, managing finances, and taking medication (Katz et al. 1970; McDowell 2006).

Socioeconomic status of the parent included the employment or pension status of the parent, their relative position in the income distribution, and their educational attainment. Parents' *work and pension status* are based on respondents' self-reports of being employed or receiving a pension at the time of the interview. Older adults who were not working and not receiving a pension at the time of the survey were chosen as the reference group. Also included is a measure of personal *yearly income* from the following nonfamily sources: job, pension, bank or rental, welfare, and other sources. Within each source, weekly, biweekly, and monthly income values were converted to yearly income. Yearly income was then converted into purchasing power parity (PPP) using the conversion rates for the year 2000¹² as provided by the Pennsylvania World Trade Tables, version 7.1 (Heston, Summers, and Aten 2012). These values were then categorised into quintiles to represent an individual's position in the income distribution in their respective cities. Older adults in the lowest income quintile are chosen as the reference group. Highest level of *education attained* is categorical with individuals

¹² PPP conversions are based on average prices and consumption patterns for countries as a whole. Since this study focuses on cities, PPP rates have problems, as cities generally have much higher prices and very different consumption patterns than rural areas.

receiving no education as the reference group. Other categories of education include those with primary, high school, and above high school (include college and university). Parents' home ownership was also included as a measure of assets. This measure, *lives in owned home*, is dichotomous and represents those who live in a home that is completely paid or currently being paid. The data do not allow determination of who owns the home, whether it is a child, another household member, or the older adult.

Household wealth and overall living standards were measured by a wealth index derived through principal component analysis based on respondents' indications of the quality of housing based on the type of flooring, the number of rooms, having a separate kitchen, and toilets; their access to utilities such as electricity and running water; and their possession of consumer durables such as a washing machine, fan, vehicles, bicycles, television, microwave, telephone, radio, water heater, air conditioning, and other similar items (Vogel and Korinek 2012). The resulting wealth index is a combination of all assets weighted by the first principal component scores. These values were then categorized into quintiles (Zimmer 2008).

4.1.3.1. Adult Children's Characteristics

Elderly respondents were also asked detailed information on the characteristics of coresident and non-coresident household members, including their children. This included their children's marital, residential, education, and employment status and their age, gender, and parents' provisions of support to said children. In the present study, the analysis is focused on items relating to these characteristics of children, the information for which is all provided by the parent. Additionally, for non-coresident children only,

older adults were asked to provide information on the number of children of their adult children (grandchildren). No further information was given on either the age of grandchildren or their location at the time of the survey, that is, whether they lived with their parents (the adult child) or in the household with the grandparents or elsewhere. Although grandchildren can be identified as living with older adults, I am not able to directly identify whether a given child belongs to their adult child, coresident or non-coresident, or some other household member.

The sample sizes for children in each city are larger than that of parents because parents can have more than one child. In Chapter 7, where only the non-coresident children are examined, the sample of children totals 22,620 adult children for all cities combined. Unlike the weighted analyses in Chapters 5 and 6 where the parent is the unit of analysis, descriptive and multivariate analyses in Chapter 7, where the adult child is the unit of analysis, are not weighted because the sample weights were created to reflect the population of older adults in each city but not adult children. The analyses for the adult children do, however, account for the clustering of observations within households by use of the cluster command in STATA 11.

4.1.4. Covariates: Adult Children's Characteristics

First, it is important to keep in mind that the characteristics of the adult children are all based on information provided by the parent at the time of the survey. The children were not interviewed. Thus the data are subject to measurement errors based on their current information about their children. Parents may also be biased in their recollections of support from their children.

The *location of the adult child* is used as an independent variable in Chapter 7, which examines the provision of support by non-coresident children only. This variable is based on information provided by older adults (parents) on the location of the child at the time of the survey. This is a categorical variable, and children living in the same neighborhood as their parents serve as the reference group in the multivariate analyses in Chapter 7. The other categories include, living in the same city, living in another city but within the country, and those who live abroad.

Sibship structure is measured on the basis of the gender of the child as well as the number and gender composition of living siblings available to any given child. Children with three or more siblings, brothers or sisters, were chosen as the reference group. This is compared to those with no siblings, exactly one brother, exactly one sister, exactly two brothers, and exactly two sisters.

Given parents can have a child in more than one location, a dummy variable, *closest non-coresident child*, was created to identify whether any given non-coresident child is in fact the closest child to the parent. As one of the aims of this chapter is to assess whether the association between a non-coresident child's location and the support they provide is contingent on the location of their siblings, it is useful to account for whether the non-coresident child potentially has another non-coresident sibling in closer proximity to their parents to which they can diffuse responsibility for providing support.

Siblings' living arrangements are measured by dummy variables, which represent whether any child has at least one sibling in each location, coresident, same neighborhood, same city, another city, or another country.

Age of the adult child is measured as a categorical variable and to the extent

possible, accounts for life-course stages of children that can be correlated with their likelihoods of providing and receiving support (Cooney and Uhlenberg 1992; Sun 2002; Fingerman et al. 2011). Younger children are likely to be more reliant on parents as they are likely to be in school or otherwise unemployed compared to older children. Those in midlife stages are more likely to have stable employment and have potentially started their own families, which could limit their availability to provide support as they support their own families. In the later years of life, children are most likely to provide support to their parents as they may have fewer commitments in their own families and their own parents may need support too, although they could also require support from their parents or still continue to support their own children. Therefore, children aged 35 to 44 years are chosen as the reference group.

Children's employment status is based on their most recent employment status within a week of the survey. It is measured by a dichotomous variable with those employed as the reference group. The *number of employed siblings* available to a child was also included as a measure of a child's economic resources. Siblings may pool incomes or negotiate work schedules in order to support their parents, if and when it is deemed necessary. *Educational attainment* is also categorical, and children with elementary education are chosen as the reference group. Other categories of education include children with high school education and those who completed tertiary education. The latter category combines those completing a university and/or professional degree. *Marital status of the child* is assessed by a categorical variable, and those married or in some form of partnership were chosen as the reference group.

Finally, to examine and account for the role of mutual aid in motivating children's

proximity to their parents and their upward transfers, *parents' provisions of support to their children* were examined by four forms of informal support parents reported providing to their children: 1) financial (money), 2) functional (help with housework or transportation), 3) material support (giving food or clothing), and 4) help with child care. Parents were asked if they provided each of these forms of support to each coresident and non-coresident member. Similar to parents' receipt of support from children, the question related to the parents' provision of support to their children does not specify a particular time frame of assistance. Responses were identified for each child and dichotomized to reflect that parents either provided or did not provide the respective support regardless of the location of the child. In all cities, parents are more likely to report upward flows of support relative to downward flows. On one hand, this suggests that parents rely on their children for support in all cities despite differences in formal support systems. On the other hand, social norms of children's responsibility to care for parents may be dictating intergenerational support relations regardless of parents' needs or preferences.

In each chapter, I describe the distribution of the samples of each city based on the measures discussed above. The multivariate analytical strategies are also discussed as they pertain to the research questions addressed in each chapter.

Table 4.1: Distribution of sample of older adults by city of residence in the original and current studies.

City	Original Case Count ¹	Current Case Count	% Omitted
Buenos Aires	1043	898	13.9
Bridgetown	1508	1242	17.6
São Paulo	2143	1921	10.4
Santiago	1301	1179	9.4
Havana	1905	1665	12.6
Mexico City	1876	1126	7.0
Montevideo	1450	1228	15.3

¹Source: Peláez et al. (2000). Survey on Health, Well-Being and Aging in Latin America and the Caribbean, 2000: SABE Protocol.

Table 4.2: Percentage distribution of older adults' receipt of financial and functional support from at least one child, by the city of residence and institutional context.

Types of Support	Strong Welfare				Weak Welfare		
	Montevideo (N = 1228)	Bridgetown (N = 1242)	Buenos Aires (N = 898)	São Paulo (N = 1921)	Santiago (N = 1179)	Mexico City (N = 1126)	Havana (N = 1665)
Receipt of Support							
% Financial	32.9	49.6	42.5	46.3	53.7	67.2	60.6
% Functional	31.1	40.0	37.9	49.3	44.0	40.1	61.9

Table 4.3: Pearson correlation coefficients between financial and functional Support received by older adults, by city of residence.

Types of Support	Financial	Functional
Bridgetown		
Financial	1.00	
Functional	0.5225*	1.00
Buenos Aires		
Financial	1.00	
Functional	0.2647*	1.00
São Paulo		
Financial	1.00	
Functional	0.3448*	1.00
Santiago		
Financial	1.00	
Functional	0.2491*	1.00
Havana		
Financial	1.00	
Functional	0.2709*	1.00
Mexico City		
Financial	1.00	
Functional	0.1862*	1.00
Montevideo		
Financial	1.00	
Functional	0.4413*	1.00

*p < .05

CHAPTER 5

CORRELATES OF INTERGENERATIONAL PROXIMITY IN URBAN LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

In advanced industrial societies, such as those of Northern and Western Europe and North America, older adults are more likely to live alone or as a couple than to coreside with their children. In developing countries of Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean and Africa, however, coresidence between older adults and their adult children and/or multigenerational coresidence remains commonplace (Bongaarts and Zimmer 2002; United Nations [UN] 2005). In fact, recent estimates show that in Latin America and the Caribbean 30% of men and 27% of women 60 years and older live alone or with a spouse (UN 2012). As previously discussed in Chapter 2, this trend does not negate between-country differences in intergenerational coresidence in the region (Ruggles and Heggeness 2008).

Although closer residential proximity is an important factor in determining intergenerational exchanges (Bengtson and Roberts 1991; Rogerson, Weng, and Lin 1993), studies have also shown that support exchanges can also be conducted at a distance (Baldock 2000; Mazzucato 2008). In Latin America, the Caribbean and other regions where migration is normative, families have likely adapted to distant living arrangements while retaining their primary support functions. Thus, it is important to assess what factors are associated with varying degrees of residential proximity between

older adults and their children as such analyses provide a more holistic understanding of a) how the context of one's family or household can influence spatial proximity and b) which individual needs and/or resources are more influential for intergenerational residential proximity in different settings.

Existing research on intergenerational proximity has been conducted primarily in the United States (Lin and Rogerson 1995), Europe (Glaser and Tomassini 2000; Mulder and Klamijn 2006), and Asia (Bian, Logan, and Bian 1998). Research on older parent-adult child proximity within Latin America and the Caribbean has focused on coresidence mostly based on the characteristics of the parents (Andrade and DeVos 2002; Camarano et al. 2005) and in few instances the circumstances of children have been examined (DeVos 1989; VanWey and Cebulko 2007, Ciganda and Gagnon 2009). Where non-coresidence has been considered, the analysis has been descriptive (Glaser et al. 2006). Therefore, we know little about what sociodemographic factors are associated with proximity between older adults and their adult children in Latin America and the Caribbean. Furthermore, we know even less about the extent of similarity in older adults' sociodemographic conditions that are associated with intergenerational proximity in different countries within the region. Assessing the correlates of residential proximity across the region provides some insight on how economic and institutional contexts, demographic structure, and cultural factors may differentially shape patterns of living arrangements within the region.

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a comparative assessment of the sociodemographic correlates of residential proximity between older adults and their adult children. At the outset, I must specify that this chapter focuses only on parents'

characteristics in explaining their likelihoods of proximity to their adult children. Examination of children's characteristics in relation to closer or further distance to their parents will be the subject of future research. The following section provides a brief overview of the theoretical framing and hypotheses that guide the analyses in this chapter.

5.1 Theoretical Background

Existing research has shown that life course events, such as changes in family structure, health status, or economic status influence parent-child proximity (Smith 1998). Due to the cross-sectional nature of the data available for this study, the current analyses do not account for the timing of life course events such as the age at which a parent becomes widowed or how recently a parent has experienced health difficulties. The analyses do, however, identify the associations between being in a particular life state and its influence on the parent's residential location in relation to their children at the time of data collection. This, I argue, gives a profile of factors that are related with intergenerational residential proximity.

The theoretical framing for this chapter is based on the altruism and vulnerabilities framework described in Chapter 3, which emphasize parents' relative needs for support and their relative abilities to live independently as important determinants in intergenerational residential proximity. The altruism perspective argues that family members support those in the most need without any explanation for support or expectation of repayment (Kohli 2004). Children are assumed to support their parents based on implicit or explicit social norms that emphasize obligation or moral duty as the

basis for supporting parents when vulnerabilities arise. The vulnerabilities framework takes a more nuanced approach to need. According to the vulnerabilities framework, an individual's exposure to a life event that can indicate vulnerability, such as the loss of a spouse or income, may not pose the same threats to overall well-being and needs for support in all contexts. Older adults' capacities to cope, based on their differential access to material and social resources to protect themselves from negative outcomes, can allow them to maintain independence. These coping capacities are contingent on specific social, cultural, economic, and policy contexts (Schröder-Butterfill 2006 and Marianti 2006).

The main concept explored in this chapter is that support needs are associated with closer or further distance between older adults and their adult children. Support needs are measured by circumstances that are typically associated with vulnerability such as older adults' marital, economic, and health status, disability, and access to independent income. Closer or further distance between generations is argued to be contingent on older adults' economic and/or demographic constraints and resources as well as social norms regarding the importance of family ties and how such ties may be expressed. Although coresidence does not guarantee the exchange of support, sharing a living space does create greater ease and immediacy of providing support.

The associations between an individual's social and economic circumstances and his/her proximity to family members are also likely to depend on the broader socioeconomic conditions of a given setting. These can influence parents' and children's access to resources, which can hinge on their relative sense of vulnerability or independence and the likelihood of living with or near a child. For instance, parents

experiencing some disabling condition may still be able to live independently of their children depending on the availability of state or market services and their ability to access such services. Similarly, older adults' financial independence, which may typically allow them to choose privacy, may not necessarily translate to a higher likelihood of further distance from their children, if the actual value of income is not sufficient for their needs. Alternatively, parents may prefer to live with children for emotional support regardless of their economic capacity to live independently.

Cross-national differences in intergenerational residential proximity can also be attributed to the demographic structure of countries. As discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, in countries at very advanced stages of population aging, older adults are more likely to have fewer and older children as a result of completing their fertility transitions much earlier. Glaser et al. (2006) show that in Argentina and Uruguay, countries at very advanced stages of population aging, older adults were in fact less likely to have a child in household compared to older adults in countries at later stages of population aging such as Mexico and Chile. Moreover, as shown in Chapter 2, of the countries examined in this study, older adults in Argentina were most likely to live alone circa 2004 or earlier. Coresidence with children may also be a function of children's needs or their transitions to adulthood. For instance, Arriagada (2002) notes that in more socially developed countries such as Argentina, Uruguay, and Chile, some demographic behaviors have begun to mirror those of world's more developed countries. Arriagada (2002) references patterns such as later marriage and childbearing among younger cohorts with more years of education and higher rates of divorce. Although this chapter does not assess children's circumstances as correlates of residential proximity, it is

important to acknowledge these variations in the demographic structure of countries that can account for differences in residential proximity across the cities.

I hypothesize that *sociodemographic factors associated with parental need will be differentially associated with closer or further intergenerational proximity according to the parents' city of residence*. Specifically, sociodemographic conditions associated with vulnerability will be negatively associated with distance to the nearest child among older adults in cities represented by countries with weak welfare structure, i.e., Mexico City and Havana. Alternatively, older adults in relatively vulnerable states in cities represented by countries with high levels of socioeconomic development *and/or* social welfare provisions such as Montevideo, Bridgetown, Buenos Aires, São Paulo, and Santiago will be more likely to have children living at further distances.

Apart from support needs and resources to live independently to fulfill privacy needs, closer or further distance from children is influenced by other factors. Globally, older women have a higher likelihood of living alone relative to their male counterparts (UN 2007). In Latin America and the Caribbean, older women are more likely than their male counterparts to coreside with children or extended family (Bongaarts and Zimmer 2002; UN 2005). Comparing Latin America to the Caribbean, however, a higher proportion of older women live alone in Central and South America relative to the Caribbean (UN 2005, 2012). The supply of children is also shown to be associated with proximity. Generally, older adults with more children are more likely to have children in close proximity. In addition to the number of children, the gender composition of children also influences coresidence or distance. Although there is no explicit gender preference for coresidence with children within Latin American and Caribbean countries

(Bongaarts and Zimmer 2002), existing research has shown that parents' are more likely to reside with daughters when they can no longer live independently (Garcia-Preto 1996; Camarano et al. 2005). Apart from coresidence with children and other family members, it is also common for households in Latin America to be composed of nonfamily individuals especially among older adults (DeVos 1987, 1995). Furthermore, access to home ownership by younger cohorts is likely to influence residential proximity (Fay and Wellenstein 2005).

5.2 Methods

Presented first are descriptive summaries of older adults' proximity to their nearest child according to their city of residence. Chi-square tests of association between each of the key measures of vulnerability and covariates with the dependent variable, proximity to the nearest child, are also presented for each city. Following this, separate multinomial logistic regression models are estimated for each city to determine the net effect of the measures of vulnerability that are associated with older adults' likelihood of living further away rather than coresiding with their children.

5.2.1. Descriptive Statistics

Table 5.1 presents a summary description of older adults' proximity to their nearest child in each city at the time of the survey. Mexico City had the highest proportion of older adults, indicating their nearest child was coresident, 72%, while Montevideo had the lowest proportion of older adults with their nearest child in the same household, 31%. This supports existing findings on intergenerational coresidence in the

region, which is attributed to differences in the pace of demographic transitions (Glaser et al. 2006; Ruggles and Heggeness 2008).

Although Cuba is at an advanced stage of population aging, the economic crisis of the 1990s is likely to have encouraged a higher prevalence of intergenerational coresidence. Among these cities, Montevideo and Bridgetown show the highest proportions of older adults indicating their nearest child was at the farthest distance, outside of the neighborhood and/or abroad. Moreover, Bridgetown had the highest proportion of older adults reporting their nearest child lived abroad at the time of the survey, 12%. This can be attributed to the relatively high levels of international migration from Barbados. According to U.S. Census data, 30% of the population of Barbados lived in the United States in the year 2000, as opposed to 10% of the population of Mexico and Cuba, and approximately 6% for South American countries (Niimi and Ozden 2008).

Table 5.2 shows Pearson's Chi-square tests of association between selected sociodemographic characteristics of older adults and their proximity to their nearest child. The results provide preliminary indications of which sociodemographic factors are most likely to be correlated with parents' residential proximity to their nearest child in each city of residence.

In all cities, older age is associated with a higher likelihood that the nearest child lives outside of the household as opposed to being coresident, but being unmarried is associated with a lower likelihood of further distance from the nearest child. In all cities, with the exception of Bridgetown, poor health is associated with a lower likelihood of the nearest child being non-coresident. In Bridgetown, older adults with poor health are

more likely to have their nearest child in the same neighborhood. Similarly, in Montevideo, older adults experiencing difficulties with activities of daily living are more likely to indicate the nearest child lived outside of the household. Older adults' access to independent income was generally associated with proximity. Among those receiving a pension in Santiago, Mexico City and Buenos Aires, parents and children were likely to be further apart. In Bridgetown and Santiago, older adults in higher income quintiles were more likely to indicate their nearest child lived outside of the neighborhood.

Although the bivariate tests of association between the dependent variable, proximity to nearest child, and the respective independent variables in Table 5.2 give some indication of direction and significance of the association, they do not account for other factors that may affect residential proximity between parents and their children. The multivariate regression analyses that follow model the relationship between proximity to the nearest child and a series of independent variables to arrive at the net effect of factors that are significantly associated with different degrees of proximity between parents and their adult children. In the following, I present and discuss multinomial logistic regression results for the factors associated with parents' proximity to their nearest child in each city.

5.3 Results

Tables 5.3 to 5.9 present the results of the multinomial logistic regression models for the likelihood of parents' proximity to their nearest child in each city. The tables are presented in order of Buenos Aires (Table 5.3), Santiago (Table 5.4), São Paulo (Table 5.5), Mexico City (Table 5.6), Montevideo (Table 5.7), Havana (Table 5.8), and

Bridgetown (Table 5.9). The results will be discussed in relation to the conditions of parents that are related to vulnerability and the extent to which the associations between vulnerability and residential proximity are similar across the cities. The results are presented as exponentiated coefficients or relative risk ratios, which are obtained by specifying the `rrr` option in multinomial logistic regression models in Stata 11. These exponentiated coefficients are typically interpreted as odds ratios.

5.3.1 Altruism-Vulnerabilities in Context

The main hypothesis proposed that the association between vulnerability and proximity to children will differ across cities based on the broader contexts of living standards and social welfare provision within the nation. Specifically, older adults in vulnerable circumstances in Buenos Aires, São Paulo, Santiago, Montevideo, and Bridgetown will be more likely to indicate their nearest child was further away relative to vulnerable older adults in Mexico City and Havana. The findings provide partial support for this hypothesis.

In Havana (Table 5.8), São Paulo (Table 5.5), and Santiago (Table 5.4), older adults in less than very good health or those experiencing at least one disability had lower odds of indicating their nearest child was in the same neighborhood and outside of the neighborhood, respectively, rather than sharing the same household. In contrast, in Bridgetown, older adults in fair health had higher odds of indicating their nearest child was in the same neighborhood rather than coresident (Table 5.9). Therefore, in São Paulo, Santiago, and Havana, net of other sociodemographic and economic circumstances, older adults experiencing relatively poor health conditions are more likely

to indicate their nearest child is coresident. In Bridgetown, however, parents in less than good health were more likely to have a child nearby. The health and disability status of parents were unrelated to their proximity to their children in Buenos Aires, Mexico City, and Montevideo.

Marital status was associated with parents' proximity to their nearest child in most cities. In a pattern consistent with my hypothesis, in Santiago, São Paulo, and Montevideo, parents who were widowed (Montevideo only), separated, divorced, or never married at the time of the survey were more likely to indicate their nearest child was outside of the household, in the same neighborhood, or outside of neighborhood as opposed to coresident (see Tables 5.4, 5.5, and 5.7, respectively). In contrast, widowed older adults in Mexico City and Havana had lower odds of indicating their nearest child was in the same neighborhood as opposed to coresident (Tables 5.6 and 5.8). Marital status was unrelated to residential proximity in Buenos Aires and Bridgetown.

Apart from health, disability, and marital status, older adults' access to independent income also influences their abilities to live independently. Parents' economic resources can also encourage coresidence with younger cohorts if children are unable to live independently. City differences were evident. In Santiago (Table 5.4), older adults currently working and receiving a pension showed lower odds of having their nearest child outside of the household as opposed to coresident. In contrast, in Mexico City (Table 5.6) and Montevideo (Table 5.7), older adults receiving a pension and those currently working, respectively, had higher odds of indicating their nearest child was further away from the household. Related to this, in Santiago, parents in higher income quintiles were less likely to have their nearest child in the same neighborhood versus

coresident. In Buenos Aires (Table 5.3), however, older adults in higher income quintiles showed higher odds of their nearest child being outside of the neighborhood versus coresident. In Montevideo, Havana, and Mexico City, however, parents' location in the income distribution was not associated with their proximity to their children.

5.3.2 Other Covariates

In contrast to patterns observed in advanced industrial societies, parents' educational attainment was negatively associated with distance to their children in most cities. In Buenos Aires, São Paulo, Santiago, and Havana, higher levels of educational attainment, high school completion or above were negatively associated with further distance from their children. In Mexico City only was there a positive association between parents' educational attainment and further distance from their nearest child. Education was not related to residential proximity in Bridgetown and Montevideo. Finally, in Buenos Aires (Table 5.3), homeownership was positively associated with parents' nearest child being outside of the household, whilst in São Paulo (Table 5.5) and Havana (Table 5.8) the association was negative. In all other cities, parents' residence in an owned home was not associated with their proximity to their children.

Net of parents' demographic, economic, and health circumstances, which affect men and women differently, gender differences in parents' proximity to their nearest child emerged in four cities, Santiago, Montevideo, Havana, and Bridgetown, where fathers were more likely than mothers to indicate their nearest child was outside of the household (see Tables 5.3, 5.7, 5.8, and 5.9). In all other cities there was no net gender difference in proximity to the nearest child. As shown in existing research, family size is

negatively associated with distance. Likewise, in all cities, with the exception of Montevideo, greater residual household size is negatively associated with distance to the nearest child. Residual household members include relatives and nonrelatives of older adults such as children-in-law, cousins, parents, grandchildren, and domestic workers.

The strong negative association between the number of family and nonfamily household members and older adults' nearest child being outside of the household implies that children with family units may live with their parents. This may be due to cultural expectations for living arrangements upon marriage or child-rearing, economic circumstances of children, which do not facilitate independent living, or both may also operate in conjunction. Nevertheless, the findings support existing research that older adults in Latin America and the Caribbean are more likely to coreside with children and other kin.

The negative association between residual household size and residential proximity to children in Montevideo may be attributed to the increase in single-person households and intragenerational coresidential arrangements among younger cohorts in Uruguay more broadly (Ciganda and Gagnon 2009). Older adults' receipt of support from household members is, however, positively associated with further distance to the nearest child in all cities except Montevideo. This result likely reflects that children may be more inclined to leave the parental home if their parents have access to other sources of social support.

To assess the degree to which the association between measures of vulnerability and proximity to the nearest child is sensitive to the presence of additional household members, separate analyses, not shown, were estimated for older adults' proximity to

their nearest child without measures of residual household size and parents' receipt of assistance from other household members. In three cities, Montevideo, Havana, and Bridgetown, the direction and significance of the associations between parental need (marital status, health status, income quintile, and work/pension status) are similar with and without covariates for residual household members.

In Buenos Aires, Santiago, and São Paulo, widowhood was negatively associated with proximity (and significant) in the models without residual household characteristics. In the full model, the direction remains the same but is no longer significant. In Mexico City, parents' experiencing difficulties with IADL's was negatively associated with distance (and significant) in the reduced model, but in the full model the direction is the same but no longer significant.

The patterns in Buenos Aires, Santiago, São Paulo, and Mexico City suggest that other household members are likely a source of support for parents, so closer proximity between parents and children may not be as critical for parents in certain vulnerable positions.

5.3.3 Summary of Multivariate Analyses of Parents' Proximity to their

Nearest Child

In summary, the multivariate analyses of the correlates of older adults' proximity to their nearest child show that the associations between proximity and parental need differ by social context. It was expected that in cities within more economically developed countries that also have strong social welfare systems (Buenos Aires, São Paulo, Montevideo, Bridgetown, and Santiago), older adults in circumstances typically

associated with vulnerability will be more likely to indicate their nearest child lived outside of the household because they will have greater access to formal support and be less dependent children. In contrast, in cities within less economically developed countries with weaker social welfare provision, such as Mexico City and Havana, parental vulnerability will be associated with closer proximity to children. Overall, the hypothesis is partially supported. Table 5.10 provides a summary of the direction of the associations between measures of parental need and resources, only for significant variables, according to the parents' city of residence.

In cities representing countries with weak welfare infrastructure, Havana and Mexico City, parental vulnerability measured as being in poor health (Havana only) and widowed is associated with closer proximity to children. Thus there is support for the hypothesis that older adults in vulnerable life states in cities with less formal support will be more likely to live in closer proximity to their children rather than further away.

Among cities that represent countries with stronger welfare systems for older adults, the findings are mixed. Older adults in Santiago and São Paulo experiencing less than good health or disabling conditions had lower odds of indicating their nearest child lived outside of the household. In contrast, older adults in Bridgetown in less than very good health showed higher odds of having their nearest child outside of the household, though nearby in the same neighborhood. In Santiago and São Paulo, being in some form of union dissolution was associated with increased odds of the nearest child living outside of the household.

City differences in the associations between proximity and parents' relatively poor health status and their unpartnered status (life states that are known to present with

vulnerability for older adults and hence induce closer proximity to their children) suggest that differences in economic and institutional contexts may differently influence the quality of life for older adults. These contexts may influence children's perceptions of their parents' vulnerability. These findings may also capture unmeasured city differences in older adults' preferences for distance from their children.

Parents' relative economic independence is also associated with proximity to their children, but the direction is also contingent on context. In Santiago, parents' higher levels of education, higher personal income, and access to independent income were associated with lower odds of their nearest child being outside of the household. In contrast, in Buenos Aires and Montevideo, higher income and access to independent income was positively associated with spatial separation from children. In Mexico City, parents with high school education were more likely than those with no education to live further away from their children. These city differences in the relationship between proximity and economic factors that are argued to allow individuals to fulfill their preferences for independent living might reflect differences in values or attitudes toward family ties in some cities or the fact that older adults and children exercise their preferences for independent living when they can afford to do so.

5.4 Discussion

This chapter investigated similarities and differences in the circumstances of older adults, those associated with either the need for support or the ability to live independently, which influence their proximity to their adult children in cities within Latin America and the Caribbean. Although the cross-sectional data do not allow an

assessment of causality, thereby limiting conclusions that can be drawn about whether closer proximity is instigated by need or further proximity is a consequence of resources, the results do provide some indication of the economic, social, and demographic factors that correlate with propinquity between parents and their children. The main economic factors assessed in this chapter are parents' access to independent income based on their employment and receipt of pension and their location in the income distribution. The main social and demographic circumstances that are associated with needs are marital, health, and disability status of parents. City differences in the economic and demographic conditions of older adults that shape the relative experience of vulnerability are a function of macrolevel socioeconomic conditions, social policies for the welfare of the elderly, and differences in the demographic structure of societies, which were previously discussed in Chapter 2. Older adults are argued to experience vulnerability differently across cities based on the combination of the overarching economic, institutional, and demographic environments. Therefore, the comparative analyses provide nuanced understanding of the role of social context in shaping patterns of geographic distance between older adults and their children based on parents' relative needs for support or their ability to live independently.

The preceding cross-sectional analyses show that life states associated with support needs of older adults and their adult children were important contributors to the patterns of proximity. This association was, however, contingent on the city of residence, highlighting that life states typically associated with vulnerability are not likely to be experienced similarly across the region.

In Havana and Mexico City widowed older adults were more likely to indicate

their nearest child was coresident. In Santiago and São Paulo, however, older adults unmarried/divorced or separated were more likely to live further away from their nearest child. Older adults in poor health in Havana were less likely to indicate their nearest child was outside of the household, whereas those in relatively poor health in Bridgetown were more likely to indicate their nearest child was outside of the household, although nearby. On one hand these findings suggest that life states that are expected to bring generations closer, at least geographically, may not be necessary in environments where parents can access and rely on alternative sources of support, whether formal or informal. On the other hand, even in cities with better access to formal support, such as São Paulo, older adults in relatively poor health were less likely to indicate their nearest child was outside of the household. It is also plausible that among older adults in vulnerable states in Havana and São Paulo, whose nearest child lived in the household at the time of data collection, the adult child may have been coresident prior to the onset of parental vulnerabilities. In the other cities, where the nearest child was likely to be outside of the household, it is possible that the child may have been away for an extended period of time and not be aware of their parents' needs or have had the ability to move closer. Nevertheless, the findings show the potential for older adults in settings with more developed formal support systems to live further away from their children when they are in some vulnerable life states.

The analyses also support the hypothesis that further distance between older adults and their children will be more likely when the older generation can, due to formal welfare support, be less dependent on the younger. Evidence from the parents' perspectives pertains to their economic positions, but the associations between parents'

economic independence and proximity were also context-specific. Whereas older adults in Buenos Aires in higher income quintiles and those in Montevideo with access to independent income were more likely to indicate their nearest child lived at further distances, in Santiago older adults in higher economic standing and access to independent income through work and/or pension were less likely to have their nearest child at further distances. These findings suggest that even among the most socially and economically developed countries in the region where older adults may be able to live independently, there is variation in the extent to which independent living is fulfilled by parents. Thus economic circumstances play a role in intergenerational proximity, but the effect varies according to other unmeasured sociocultural conditions in these settings.

The differences across cities may also reflect circumstances of children across these cities that are delaying their transitions out of the parental home such as increased years of schooling, delayed marriage and childbearing, and higher rates of divorce (Arriagada 2002). Thus in Santiago, more so than in Buenos Aires and Montevideo, the favorable economic profile of parents, relative to children, may encourage longer coresidence among adult children. This has been referred to as the feathered nest hypothesis (Avery, Goldscheider, and Speare 1992). Confirmation of this hypothesis is beyond the scope of this chapter as it requires assessment of the circumstances of adult children.

Relatedly, other findings of import to the relative proximity between generations pertain to the availability of support providers and parents' receipt of support from alternative sources in the household. From the parents' perspectives, net of their economic and demographic resources and constraints, closer proximity was more likely if

there were more additional persons in the household but less likely if parents received assistance with money, services, or things from other household members. This supports existing research that older adults in Latin America and the Caribbean are more likely to coreside with children and other kin. Parents' access to support from extended family members can also allow children more flexibility to pursue independent living within or outside of the country. Unfortunately, the data do not allow a thorough investigation of whether changes in support provision by alternative support providers are associated with changes in intergenerational proximity.

The gender of the parents also influences proximity, but gender differences in geographic closeness to children were also apparent in only four cities, Santiago, Montevideo, Havana, and Bridgetown, net of parents' economic, demographic, and health conditions. This may reflect cultural nuances in women's roles in the family, differences in mother-child bonds over the life course, or gender norms regarding mothers' and fathers' receipt of support that dictate which parent is more or less likely to live closer to or further from their children.

Based on the male breadwinner model of household organization in Latin American societies and the matrifocal character of households in Caribbean societies, social norms regarding the significance of mothers to children's lives outweigh parental needs in determining parent-child proximity. This does not negate that vulnerability in older ages and across the life course is a gendered experience, and intergenerational solidarity between mothers and their children can be maintained despite distance. Family solidarity across distance may in fact be reinforced by parental vulnerability. As women are more likely than men to experience economic and health vulnerabilities in later life,

children living outside of the household may be more likely to support mothers relative to fathers.

This chapter has made several contributions to the literature on intergenerational proximity. The primary contribution is that proximity is conditioned by sociodemographic and economic circumstances associated with the needs and resources of parents. The direction of proximity based on these situations or life states is contingent on the social context in which parents live. The macro-economic conditions of cities structure the extent to which parents can access resources in periods of vulnerability or maximize their given resources to fulfill a desire for independent living, should it exist. Economic and institutional contexts, however, only partially explain the cross-city differences in intergenerational proximity. Support provided by parents and children along with cultural values and expectations of children regarding the decision to leave the parental home can also influence proximity.

The following chapter provides further examination of some of the associations presented in this chapter. It examines the relationship between proximity and parents' receipt of support across the seven urban centers with closer attention to how this relationship is conditioned by the gender of the child, the gender of the parents, and parental needs.

Table 5.1 Descriptive summary of older adults' proximity to their nearest child according to parents' city of residence.

Parents' Characteristics	Strong Welfare					Weak Welfare	
	Montevideo (N = 1228)	Bridgetown (N = 1242)	Buenos Aires (N = 898)	São Paulo (N = 1921)	Santiago (N = 1179)	Mexico City (N = 1126)	Havana (N = 1665)
Proximity of Nearest Child							
% Coresident	31.2	50.0	45.4	57.6	65.2	71.6	65.6
% In the same Neighborhood	36.8	11.3	29.7	25.6	14.3	15.5	14.2
% Outside the Neighborhood	32.0	27.3	24.8	16.8	20.4	12.9	17.6
% Abroad	na	11.5	na	na	na	na	2.6

na: no cases

Table 5.2: Pearson Chi-square tests of association between older adults' proximity to their nearest child and main independent variables, by city of residence.

% Parents' Characteristics	Montevideo				Buenos Aires				Bridgetown					
	N = 454		N = 397		N = 433		N = 259		N = 211		N = 142		N = 342	
	CR	NB	ONB	CR	NB	ONB	CR	NB	ONB	CR	NB	ONB	AB	AB
Age (70–74)	20.9	25.4	23.4	20.8	25.1	28.4*	18.5	23.9	19.9	23.8	19.9	23.8	23.8	23.8
60–64	29.9	20.9**	14.7***	30	18.2**	19.4**	24.6	11.3**	18.7**	11.6**	18.7**	11.6**	11.6**	11.6**
65–69	25.4	23.1	29.2	27	22.8	22.3	23.5	26.1**	22.2	25.2**	22.2	25.2**	25.2**	25.2**
75–79	13.8	16.2	19.3*	12.5	19.3*	14.2	16.4	19.7**	16.7	19.7**	16.7	19.7**	19.7**	19.7**
80–84	5.8	9.7*	8.6	5.5	9.7**	10.4***	9.1	9.9	14.3	10.2	14.3	10.2	10.2	10.2
85 and older	4.2	4.7	4.8	4.2	5	5.2	7.9	9.2	8.2	9.5	8.2	9.5	9.5	9.5
Marital Status (married)	50.5	51.9	51	45	48.3	47.9	43.8	44.3	51.8	57.1	51.8	57.1	57.1	57.1
Widowed	35.7	38.8	35.5	44.6	42.5	40.8	39.8	33.9	30.6	42.9	30.6	42.9	42.9	42.9
separate/divorced/unmarried	13.8	9.3*	13.5	10.4	9.3	11.4	16.4	21.8	17.6	0	17.6	0	0	0
Self-Rated Health (very good)	14.02	16.2	22.6**	17.1	20.1	18	14.8	11.3	18.4	17.7	18.4	17.7	17.7	17.7
Good	47.1	42.7	45.7*	46.2	47.1	53.1	36.5	28.2*	36.0	38.8	36.0	38.8	38.8	38.8
Poor	38.9	41.2	31.7*	36.7	32.8	28.9*	48.8	60.6**	45.6	43.5	45.6	43.5	43.5	43.5
Difficulty with at least 1 ADL	79.6	82.3	86.8*	80.4	81.9	82.9	85.57	86.6	86.8	87.8	86.8	87.8	87.8	87.8
Difficulty with at least 1 IADL	80.7	81.7	86.6	69.3	71.8	75.4	77.8	71.8	78.7	76.9	78.7	76.9	76.9	76.9
Work/Pension Status (No Work/No Pension)	15.1	9.9*	4.6*	18	18.2	10.9	20.3	18.3	18.1	23.8	18.1	23.8	23.8	23.8
Pension only	59.3	65.5	67.8	46	53.3	55.5**	54.9	64.1	61.1	57.8	61.1	57.8	57.8	57.8
Work and Pension	8.7	7.8	11.7**	8.3	9.3	9.5	6.2	9.9	6.4	6.8	6.4	6.8	6.8	6.8
Work only	6.9	7.8	6.6	17.8	9.7**	15.6	11.7	4.2**	8.8	7.5	8.8	7.5	7.5	7.5
No info on work or pension	10.1	9.1	9.4	9.9	9.7	8.5	7	3.5	5.6	4.1	5.6	4.1	4.1	4.1

Table 5.2 continued.

% Parents' Characteristics	Montevideo				Buenos Aires				Bridgetown					
	CR		ONB		CR		ONB		CR		ONB		AB	
	N = 385	N = 454	N = 397	N = 433	N = 259	N = 211	N = 617	N = 142	N = 342	N = 147				
Income Quintile (I)	25.4	19.2	14.2	26.1	23.9	15.2	25	16.2	25.2	26.5				
II	21.7	20.5	18.3**	15.1	13.5	15.2	14.4	12	11.7	13.6				
III	16.1	18.5	18.5	18.9	14.7	22.3	19	21	15.2	16.3				
IV	15.6	19.2	19	18.7	22	19.9	17.8	26.1	21.1	14.3				
V	19.6	20.3	26.9	16.2	19.7	21.8	17.8	19	19	18.4				
Income not reported	1.6	2.4	3.1	4.5	6.2	5.7	6	5.6	7.9	10.9				
<hr/>														
Parents' Characteristics	Santiago				São Paulo				Havana					
	CR		ONB		CR		ONB		CR		ONB		AB	
	N = 776	N = 174	N = 229	N = 1042	N = 546	N = 334	N = 1093	N = 226	N = 298	N = 48				
Age (70-74)	18.2	23	19.2	15.8	17.8	13.5	17.2	16.4	17.8	25				
60-64	25.9	15.5**	18.3	23.8	13.4***	18.9	24.8	31.4*	31.5**	14.6				
65-69	25.9	23	24.9	18.6	16.1	17.4	22.6	22.6	22.2	25				
75-79	13.4	20.7**	20.1**	18.2	25.1***	27.3***	14.5	10.6	10.7	12.5				
80-84	8.6	9.8	10.9	13.0	16.7	13.2	9.5	10.2	9.4	12.5				
85 and older	8	8.1	6.6	10.6*	11.0	9.9	11.8	8.9	8.4	10.4				

Table 5.2 continued.

Parents' Characteristics	Santiago				São Paulo				Havana					
	NB		ONB		NB		ONB		NB		ONB		AB	
	CR	N	CR	N	CR	N	CR	N	CR	N	CR	N	CR	N
	776	174	229	1042	546	334	1093	226	298	48				
Marital Status (married)	43.8	44.2	52*	52.4	58.4*	58.68*	35	54.9	47.7	37.5				
Widowed	39.8	33.9	31**	40.4	35.5*	31.7*	40.7	23.5**	27.5**	25*				
separate/divorced/unmarried	16.4	21.8	17	7	6.2	9.6	24.3	21.7*	24.8	37.5				
Self-Rated Health (very good)	5.9	7.5	5.2	8	10.8	15.9**	3.8	6.6*	5.7	4.2				
Good	29.3	29.9	31.9	33.8	33.3	36.2	27.9	27.9	30.5	35.4				
Poor	64.8	62.6	62.9	58.3	55.9	47.9***	57.1	61.1	58.7***	50				
Proxy							11.3	4.4	5***	10.4				
Difficulty with at least 1 ADL (no difficulty)	26.8	23.6	20.5*	26.2	24.2	18*	23.2	14.2***	14.4***	18.8				
Difficulty with at least 1 IADL (no difficulty)	32.5	29.9	28.4	42.9	42.9	31***	31.11	18.58***	20.81***	25				
Work/Pension Status (No Work/No Pension)	12.5	9.8	10.5	11.7	15.4*	10.8	na	na	na	na				
Pension only	52.3	56.3	60.7*	60.6	60.8	57.5	65.8	63.3	65.8	64.6				
Work and Pension	16.5	13.8	10.5*	14.9	12.5	17.4	10.3	11.5	11.7	12.5				
Work only	9.5	9.8	7.9	5.5	5.3	7.8	na	Na	na	Na				
No info on work or pension	9.2	10.3	10.5	7.4	6	6.6	23.9	25.2	22.5	22.9				
Income Quintile (I)	19.9	25.3	16.2	15.4	18.5	15.9	24.25	19.9	16.8	16.8				
II	21.4	13.2**	19.2	13.3	24**	13.8**	20.9	21.7	17.1	25				
III	21.6	31	30.6	20.7	24	20.7	20.3	15	24.2**	20.8				
IV	18.4	21.3*	20.1	18.4	19.1	21.3	18	20.4	19.5	18.8				
V	15.7	9.2*	14	15.2	14.7	28.4	16.6	23	22.5	18.8				

Table 5.2 continued.

% Parents' Characteristics	Mexico City		
	CR N = 815	NB N = 180	ONB N = 144
Age (70–74)	16.7	18.9	25**
60–64	34.9	22.2***	22.2***
65–69	25.4	30*	20.1
75–79	11.8	13.9	17.4
80–84	6.5	11.1*	10.4
85 and older	4.8	3.9	4.9
Marital Status (married)	53.9	62.2*	57.6*
Widowed	34.2	27.8	25.7*
separate/divorced/unmarried	11.9	10	16.7
Self-Rated Health (very good)	5.8	7.8	10.4*
Good	22.7	25.6	31.9*
Poor	71.5	66.7	57.6*
Difficulty with at least 1 ADL (no difficulty)	80	82.8	84
Difficulty with at least 1 IADL (no difficulty)	70.6	77.2*	76.4
Work/Pension Status (No Work/No Pension)	36.2	30	25**
Pension only	19.4	16.7	28.58**
Work and Pension	6.9	8.3	4.9
Work only	21.8	25.6	25.7
No info on work or pension	15.7	19.4	16

Table 5.2 continued.

% Parents' Characteristics	Mexico City		
	CR N = 815	NB N = 180	ONB N = 144
Income Quintile (I)	49.1	46.7	42.4
II			
III	9.6	10	11
IV	20	24	22
V	20	17	24
Income not reported	1	2	1
Lives in Owned Home (no)	13	12.2	14.6

*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001

CR- coresident, NB- same neighborhood, ONB- outside of the neighborhood, AB- abroad

Table 5.3: Multinomial logistic regression relative risk ratios for older adults' proximity to their nearest child, Buenos Aires.

Parents' Characteristics	Same Neighborhood vs Coresident R.R.R. (s.e.)	Outside Neighborhood vs Coresident R.R.R. (s.e.)
Age (70–74)		
60–64	0.32 (0.09)*	0.26 (0.08)***
65–69	0.47 (0.13)*	0.48 (0.14)**
75–79	1.64 (0.52)	1.05 (0.36)
80–84	1.48 (0.61)	1.33 (0.56)
85 and older	1.16 (0.58)	1.09 (0.56)
Marital Status (married)		
Widowed	0.80 (0.20)	0.69 (0.18)
separated/divorced/never married	1.22 (0.47)	1.26 (0.50)
Self-Rated Health (very good)		
Fair	0.91 (0.23)	1.15 (0.31)
poor	0.83 (0.23)	0.89 (0.27)
Disability		
Difficulty with at least 1 ADL	1.05 (0.32)	0.95 (0.31)
Difficulty with at least 1 IADL	0.82 (0.22)	0.71 (0.20)
Work/Pension Status (No Work/No pension)		
Pension only	0.56 (0.25)	0.48 (0.24)
Work and Pension	0.88 (0.47)	0.50 (0.29)
Work only	0.67 (0.32)	0.90 (0.45)
No info on work or pension	0.31 (0.12)**	0.36 (0.17)*
Income Quintile (I)		
II	1.21 (0.55)	2.93 (1.41)*
III	0.81 (0.37)	3.75 (1.80)**
IV	1.24 (0.54)	2.88 (1.33)*
V	1.18 (0.52)	2.82 (1.33)*
Income not reported	1.34 (0.69)	2.51 (1.41)
Covariates		
Gender (women)		
Men	0.66 (0.15)	0.69 (0.17)

Table 5.3 continued.

Parents' Characteristics	Same Neighborhood vs Coresident R.R.R. (s.e.)	Outside Neighborhood vs Coresident R.R.R. (s.e.)
Children (one son)		
one daughter	0.68 (0.26)	0.93 (0.34)
two sons	1.03 (0.27)	0.89 (0.32)
two daughters	1.16 (0.39)	0.86 (0.30)
one son and one daughter	1.06 (0.35)	0.85 (0.39)
3 or more sons or daughters	0.77 (0.26)	0.43 (0.15)*
Residual HH Size	0.23 (0.05)***	0.19 (0.04)***
Residual Household Assistance (No assistance)		
Assistance from auxiliary household members	2.03 (0.82)	3.88 (1.67)**
Educational Attainment (none)		
Primary	0.46 (0.19)	1.16 (0.59)
high school	0.39 (0.18)*	1.62 (0.89)
above high school	0.62 (0.32)	2.53 (1.51)
Home ownership (does not live in owned home)		
Lives in owned home	2.45 (0.91)*	0.08 (0.33)
Constant	4.01 (2.61)*	1.07 (0.35)
Pseudo R ²	0.2	0.2
Wald Chi ²	382.09***	382.09***
N	898	898

Standard errors in parentheses

*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

Table 5.4: Multinomial logistic regression relative risk ratios for older adults' proximity to their nearest child, Santiago.

Parents' Characteristics	Same Neighborhood vs Coresident R.R.R (s.e.)	Outside Neighborhood vs Coresident R.R.R (s.e.)
Age (70–74)		
60–64	0.38 (0.12)***	0.95 (0.26)
65–69	0.75 (0.22)	1.71 (0.47)*
75–79	0.90 (0.28)	2.05 (0.61)*
80–84	0.71 (0.31)	1.67 (0.60)
85 and older	0.52 (0.27)	0.82 (0.39)
Marital Status (married)		
Widowed	1.07 (0.28)	0.77 (0.18)
separated/divorced/unmarried	1.92 (0.56)*	0.96 (0.26)
Self-Rated Health (very good)		
Fair	0.62 (0.24)	1.19 (0.46)
poor	0.64 (0.25)	1.31 (0.50)
Disability		
Difficulty with at least 1 ADL	0.80 (0.24)	0.47 (0.13)**
Difficulty with at least 1 IADL	0.90 (0.25)	1.12 (0.29)
Work/Pension Status (No Work/No pension)		
Pension only	1.04 (0.36)	0.83 (0.25)
Work and Pension	0.80 (0.33)	0.36 (0.13)**
Work only	0.72 (0.29)	0.47 (0.17)*
No info on work or pension	0.74 (0.11)	0.86 (0.33)
Income Quintile (I)		
II	0.30 (0.10)***	1.14 (0.36)
III	0.45 (0.15)*	1.12 (0.36)
IV	0.43 (0.15)*	1.58 (0.49)
V	0.33 (0.12)*	1.08 (0.34)
Income not reported	na	Na
Covariates		
Gender (women)		
Men	0.97 (0.23)	1.54 (0.32)*

Table 5.4 continued.

Parents' Characteristics	Same Neighborhood vs Coresident R.R.R (s.e.)	Outside Neighborhood vs Coresident R.R.R. (s.e.)
Children (one son)		
one daughter	0.81 (0.51)	0.78 (0.36)
two sons	0.66 (0.36)	0.20 (0.09)***
two daughters	0.65 (0.35)	0.29 (0.12)**
one son and one daughter	1.03 (0.59)	0.37 (0.17)*
3 or more sons or daughters	0.55 (0.28)	0.17 (0.07)***
Residual HH Size	0.36 (0.04)***	0.52 (0.04)***
Residual Household Assistance (No assistance)		
Assistance from auxiliary household members	2.08 (0.60)*	1.34 (0.33)
Educational Attainment (none)		
Primary	1.03 (0.27)	0.90 (0.21)
high school	0.74 (0.25)	1.20 (0.34)
above high school	0.59 (0.24)	0.36 (0.14)**
Home Ownership (no)		
Lives in owned home	1.15 (0.39)	0.57 (0.15)*
Constant	4.51 (3.64)	3.84 (2.70)
Pseudo R ²	0.1986	0.1986
Wald Chi ²	412.21***	412.21***
N	1179	1179

Standard errors in parentheses

*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

Table 5.5: Multinomial logistic regression relative risk ratios for older adults' proximity to their nearest child, São Paulo.

Parents' Characteristics	Same neighborhood vs Coresident R.R.R. (s.e.)	Outside Neighborhood vs Coresident R.R.R. (s.e.)
Age (70–74)		
60–64	0.48 (0.09)***	0.72 (0.16)
65–69	0.69 (0.12)*	0.85 (0.19)
75–79	1.06 (0.23)	1.81 (0.47)*
80–84	1.13 (0.30)	1.38 (0.48)
85 and older	1.07 (0.34)	1.73 (0.66)
Marital Status (married)		
Widowed	0.77 (0.13)	0.77 (0.15)
separated/divorced/unmarried	1.14 (0.28)	1.70 (0.42)*
Self-Rated Health (very good)		
Fair	0.81 (0.17)	0.63 (0.14)*
poor	0.79 (0.17)	0.50 (0.11)**
Disability		
Difficulty with at least 1 ADL	0.92 (0.16)	0.88 (0.19)
Difficulty with at least 1 IADL	1.01 (0.16)	0.69 (0.14)
Work/Pension Status (No Work/No pension)		
Pension only	0.85 (0.24)	1.00 (0.34)
Work and Pension	0.81 (0.26)	0.89 (0.33)
Work only	1.04 (0.32)	1.46 (0.51)
No info on work or pension	0.68 (0.20)	1.30 (0.45)
Income Quintile (I)		
II	0.75 (0.22)	0.53 (0.19)
III	1.07 (0.30)	0.88 (0.29)
IV	0.80 (0.23)	1.04 (0.34)
V	0.70 (0.21)	1.31 (0.42)
Income not reported	na	na
Covariates		
Gender (women)		
Men	0.97 (0.16)	1.17 (0.21)

Table 5.5 continued.

Parents' Characteristics	Same Neighborhood vs Coresident R.R.R. (s.e.)	Outside Neighborhood vs Coresident R.R.R. (s.e.)
Children (one son)		
one daughter	0.68 (0.24)	0.42 (0.13)*
two sons	0.46 (0.14)*	0.29 (0.08)***
two daughters	1.07 (0.31)	0.27 (0.07)***
one son and one daughter	0.95 (0.29)	0.22 (0.07)***
3 or more sons or daughters	0.71 (0.20)	0.13 (0.04)***
Residual Household Size	0.26 (0.03)***	0.56 (0.05)***
Residual Household Assistance (No assistance)		
Assistance from auxiliary household members	2.76 (0.63)***	1.70 (0.39)*
Educational Attainment (none)		
Primary	0.85 (0.13)	0.79 (0.15)
high school	1.52 (0.48)	0.36 (0.15)*
above high school	0.84 (0.30)	1.66 (0.53)
Home ownership (does not live in owned home)		
Lives in owned home	0.86 (0.15)	0.55 (0.10)**
Constant	3.66 (1.59)**	6.81 (3.14)***
Pseudo R ²	0.167	0.167
Wald Chi ²	619.91***	619.91***
N	1921	1921

Standard errors in parentheses

*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

Table 5.6: Multinomial logistic regression relative risk ratios for older adults' proximity to their nearest child, Mexico City.

Parents' Characteristics	Same Neighborhood vs Coresident R.R.R. (s.e.)	Outside Neighborhood vs Coresident R.R.R. (s.e.)
Age (70–74)		
60–64	0.58 (0.17)	0.43 (0.13)**
65–69	1.03 (0.28)	0.62 (0.19)
75–79	1.17 (0.41)	1.43 (0.50)
80–84	1.10 (0.44)	0.85 (0.36)
85 and older	0.74 (0.39)	0.87 (0.45)
Marital Status (married)		
Widowed	0.68 (0.17)	0.54 (0.15)*
separated/divorced/unmarried	0.85 (0.29)	1.40 (0.45)
Self-Rated Health (very good)		
Fair	0.66 (0.25)	0.80 (0.33)
poor	0.77 (0.27)	0.76 (0.30)
Disability		
Difficulty with at least 1 ADL	1.39 (0.42)	1.19 (0.40)
Difficulty with at least 1 IADL	0.60 (0.17)	0.65 (0.20)
Work/Pension Status (No Work/No pension)		
Pension only	0.94 (0.37)	2.29 (0.05)*
Work and Pension	1.13 (0.54)	0.80 (0.46)
Work only	1.42 (0.50)	1.69 (0.65)
No info on work or pension	1.32 (0.38)	1.37 (0.45)
Income Quintile (I)		
II	na	Na
III	0.91 (0.36)	0.92 (0.39)
IV	1.15 (0.38)	0.68 (0.26)
V	0.95 (0.33)	0.83 (0.31)
Income not reported	2.27 (1.57)	0.18 (0.22)
Covariates		
Gender (women)		
Men	0.79 (0.19)	0.91 (0.22)

Table 5.6 continued.

Characteristics of Parents	Same Neighborhood vs Coresident R.R.R. (s.e.)	Outside Neighborhood vs Coresident R.R.R. (s.e.)
Children (one son)		
one daughter	1.30 (1.1.4)	0.55 (0.34)
two sons	2.52 (1.69)	0.46 (0.23)
two daughters	1.69 (1.07)	0.16 (0.07)***
one son and one daughter	1.68 (1.21)	0.40 (0.21)
3 or more sons or daughters	1.49 (0.90)	0.15 (0.06)***
Residual Household Size	0.34 (0.04)***	0.50 (0.05)***
Residual Household Assistance (No assistance)		
Assistance from auxiliary household members	2.07 (0.66)*	2.15 (0.67)*
Educational Attainment (none)		
Primary	0.82 (0.18)	0.85 (0.23)
high school	0.80 (0.26)	2.37 (0.78)*
above high school	0.72 (0.30)	1.51 (0.66)
Home ownership (does not live in owned home)		
Lives in owned home	1.11 (0.33)	1.00 (0.31)
Constant	0.72 (0.57)	2.89 (1.96)
Pseudo R ²	0.1803	0.1803
Wald Chi ²	309.44***	309.44***
N	1126	1126

Standard errors in parentheses

na: no cases

*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

Table 5.7: Multinomial logistic regression relative risk ratios for older adults' proximity to their nearest child, Montevideo.

Parents' Characteristics	Same Neighborhood vs Coresident R.R.R.(s.e.)	Outside Neighborhood vs Coresident R.R.R. (s.e.)
Age (70–74)		
60–64	0.51 (0.12)**	0.42 (0.11)***
65–69	0.74 (0.16)	0.97 (0.22)
75–79	1.02 (0.27)	1.47 (0.39)
80–84	0.96 (0.31)	0.92 (0.32)
85 and older	1.07 (0.47)	1.26 (0.58)
Marital Status (married)		
Widowed	1.46 (0.28)*	1.45 (0.30)
Separated/divorced/unmarried	1.00 (0.26)	1.53 (0.40)
Self-Rated Health (very good)		
Good	0.77 (0.18)	0.68 (0.16)
Poor	1.05 (0.26)	0.64 (0.16)
Disability		
Difficulty with at least 1 ADL	0.79 (0.19)	0.69 (0.17)
Difficulty with at least 1 IADL	1.24 (0.30)	1.24 (0.32)
Work/Pension Status (No Work/No pension)		
Pension only	0.92 (0.30)	1.68 (0.67)
Work and Pension	0.96 (0.40)	2.23 (1.06)
Work only	1.43 (0.60)	2.84 (1.40)*
No info on work or pension	1.04 (0.38)	2.01 (0.89)
Income Quintile (I)		
II	1.22 (0.36)	1.51 (0.49)
III	1.27 (0.38)	1.35 (0.45)
IV	1.02 (0.31)	1.10 (0.36)
V	1.08 (0.34)	1.21 (0.40)
Income not reported	1.38 (0.76)	1.78 (1.02)
Covariates		
Gender (women)		
Men	1.80 (0.36)**	2.80 (0.57)***

Table 5.7 continued.

Characteristics of Parents	Same Neighborhood vs Coresident R.R.R. (s.e.)	Outside Neighborhood vs Coresident R.R.R. (s.e.)
Children (one son)		
one daughter	0.80 (0.30)	0.54 (0.18)
two sons	0.88 (0.30)	0.48 (0.15)*
two daughters	1.04 (0.33)	0.24 (0.07)***
one son and one daughter	1.35 (0.45)	0.42 (0.13)**
3 or more sons or daughters	1.19 (0.37)	0.25 (0.07)***
Residual HH Size	0.89 (0.04)**	1.00 (0.04)
Residual Household Assistance (No assistance)		
Assistance from auxiliary household members	0.13 (0.03)***	0.15 (0.04)***
Educational Attainment (none)		
Primary	1.33 (0.38)	1.31 (0.42)
high school	0.63 (0.22)	1.06 (0.39)
above high school	0.88 (0.33)	1.21 (0.48)
Home ownership (does not live in owned home)		
Lives in an owned home	1.37 (0.28)	0.92 (0.19)
Constant	1.24 (0.66)	1.46 (0.84)
Pseudo R ²	0.1375	0.1375
Wald Chi ²	370.81***	370.81***
N	1228	1228

Standard errors in parentheses

*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

Table 5.8: Multinomial logistic regression relative risk ratios for older adults' proximity to their nearest child, Havana.

Parents' Characteristics	Same Neighborhood	Outside	Abroad vs
	vs Coresident R.R. (s.e.)	Neighborhood vs Coresident R.R. (s.e.)	Coresident R.R. (s.e.)
Age (70–74)			
60–64	1.08 (0.25)	1.14 (0.24)	0.48 (0.27)
65–69	1.09 (0.27)	1.05 (0.23)	0.97 (0.47)
75–79	0.83 (0.25)	0.60 (0.16)	0.42 (0.25)
80–84	1.56 (0.54)	1.11 (0.35)	1.04 (0.68)
85 and older	1.56 (0.54)	0.95 (0.33)	0.59 (0.46)
Marital Status (married)			
Widowed	0.51 (0.12)**	0.82 (0.16)	0.68 (0.34)
separated/divorced/unmarried	0.80 (0.17)	1.05 (0.19)	1.55 (0.66)
Self-Rated Health (very good)			
Fair	0.43 (0.15)*	0.79 (0.27)	1.45 (1.25)
poor	0.53 (0.18)*	0.79 (0.26)	0.78 (0.68)
used proxy	0.25 (0.14)**	0.37 (0.19)*	1.19 (1.35)
Disability			
Difficulty with at least 1 ADL	0.75 (0.19)	0.81 (0.18)	0.90 (0.49)
Difficulty with at least 1 IADL	0.64 (0.16)	0.85 (0.18)	0.63 (0.38)

Table 5.8 continued.

Parents' Characteristics	Same Neighborhood vs Coresident	Outside Neighborhood vs Coresident	Abroad vs Coresident
	R.R.R. (s.e.)	R.R.R. (s.e.)	R.R.R. (s.e.)
Work/Pension Status (No Work/No pension)			
Pension only	na	na	Na
Work and Pension	0.71 (0.22)	0.73 (0.21)	1.20 (0.80)
Work only	na	na	Na
No info on work or pension	0.83 (0.21)	0.93 (0.21)	1.49 (0.87)
Income Quintile (I)			
II	1.00 (0.30)	0.94 (0.27)	2.63 (1.84)
III	0.66 (0.21)	1.05 (0.30)	1.17 (0.89)
IV	0.85 (0.27)	0.79 (0.24)	1.28 (0.96)
V	0.93 (0.32)	0.79 (0.25)	0.92 (0.73)
Income not reported	na	na	Na
	Covariates		
Gender (women)			
Men	1.70 (0.38)*	2.25(0.43)***	2.39 (1.06)*
Children (one son)			
one daughter	0.64 (0.26)	0.86(0.26)	0.32 (0.15)*
two sons	0.90 (0.31)	0.63 (0.18)	0.04 (0.03)***
two daughters	0.76 (0.26)	0.44 (0.13)**	0.11 (0.06)***
one son and one daughter	1.17 (0.40)	0.72 (0.20)	0.09 (0.05)***
3 or more sons or daughters	1.09 (0.34)	0.53 (0.14)**	0.01 (0.01)***
Residual HH Size	0.42 (0.04)***	0.55 (0.04)***	0.58 (0.12)***

Table 5.8 continued.

Parents' Characteristics	Same Neighborhood vs Coresident	Outside Neighborhood vs Coresident	Abroad vs Coresident
	R.R.R. (s.e.)	R.R.R. (s.e.)	R.R.R. (s.e.)
Residual Household Assistance (No assistance)			
Assistance from auxiliary household members	2.48 (0.55)***	2.02 (0.39)**	1.35 (0.67)
Educational Attainment (none)			
Primary	0.47 (0.17)*	0.49 (0.17)*	0.25 (0.19)
high school	0.30 (0.12)**	0.52 (0.19)	0.19 (0.14)**
above high school	0.39 (0.19)*	0.71 (0.31)	0.33 (0.31)
Home ownership (does not live in owned home)			
Lives in owned home	0.78 (0.20)	0.50 (0.11)**	0.43 (0.21)
Constant	3.61 (2.54)	3.11 (2.02)	2.98 (4.26)
Pseudo R ²	0.1412	0.1412	0.1412
Wald Chi ²	448.68***	448.68***	448.68***
N	1665	1665	1665

na: no cases; standard errors in parentheses

*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

Table 5.9: Multinomial logistic regression relative risk ratios for older adults' proximity to their nearest child, Bridgetown.

Parents' Characteristics	Same Neighborhood vs Coresident	Outside Neighborhood vs Coresident	Abroad vs Coresident
	R.R.R. (s.e.)	R.R.R. (s.e.)	R.R.R. (s.e.)
Age (70–74)			
60–64	0.65 (0.25)	0.83 (0.22)	0.29 (0.11)**
65–69	0.92 (0.28)	0.96 (0.23)	0.90 (0.27)
75–79	0.71 (0.24)	0.84 (0.22)	0.94 (0.32)
80–84	0.71 (0.28)	1.39 (0.39)	0.81 (0.31)
85 and older	0.63 (0.26)	0.86 (0.27)	0.96 (0.38)
Marital Status (married)			
Widowed	0.87 (0.24)	0.86 (0.18)	0.91 (0.26)
separated/divorced/unmarried	0.97 (0.24)	1.00 (0.18)	0.94 (0.24)
Self-Rated Health (very good)			
Fair	1.05 (0.36)	0.84 (0.18)	0.90 (0.27)
poor	1.97 (0.64)*	0.98 (0.21)	0.95 (0.28)
Disability			
Difficulty with at least 1 ADL	0.58 (0.19)	0.78 (0.20)	0.69 (0.24)
Difficulty with at least 1 IADL	1.70 (0.47)*	0.98 (0.21)	1.07 (0.31)

Table 5.9 continued.

Parents' Characteristics	Same Neighborhood vs Coresident	Outside Neighborhood vs Coresident	Abroad vs Coresident
	R.R.R. (s.e.)	R.R.R. (s.e.)	R.R.R. (s.e.)
Work/Pension Status (No Work/No pension)			
Pension only	1.01 (0.29)	1.18 (0.26)	0.73 (0.21)
Work and Pension	1.37 (0.61)	1.02 (0.37)	0.63 (0.30)
Work only	0.54 (0.27)	0.89 (0.27)	0.89 (0.40)
No info on work or pension	0.53 (0.29)	0.93 (0.34)	0.46 (0.24)
Income Quintile (I)			
II	1.15 (0.45)	0.72 (0.20)	0.83 (0.30)
III	1.26 (0.45)	0.69 (0.18)	0.71 (0.24)
IV	1.54 (0.52)	0.85 (0.21)	0.56 (0.24)
V	0.98 (0.34)	0.69 (0.17)	0.71 (0.23)
Income not reported	0.76 (0.38)	0.78 (0.26)	1.15 (0.47)
Covariates			
Gender (women)			
Men	1.95 (0.43)**	1.89 (0.31)**	1.53 (0.35)
Children (one son)			
one daughter	0.97 (0.73)	1.20 (0.48)	1.15 (0.49)
two sons	2.12 (1.21)	0.73 (0.25)	0.36 (0.15)*
two daughters	1.51 (0.85)	0.81 (0.26)	0.34 (0.13)**
one son and one daughter	1.41 (0.87)	0.93 (0.33)	0.60 (0.24)
3 or more sons or daughters	2.17 (1.11)	0.55 (0.16)*	0.18 (0.06)**
Residual Household Size	0.37 (0.05)**	0.45 (0.04)**	0.52 (0.07)**

Table 5.9 continued.

Parents' Characteristics	Same Neighborhood vs Coresident		Outside Neighborhood vs Coresident		Abroad vs Coresident	
	R.R.R. (s.e.)		R.R.R. (s.e.)		R.R.R. (s.e.)	
Residual Household Assistance (No assistance)						
Assistance from auxiliary household members	2.24 (0.75)*		1.71 (0.42)*		1.38 (0.47)	
Educational Attainment (none)						
Primary	0.50 (0.25)		0.59 (0.23)		1.94 (1.56)	
high school	0.59 (0.33)		0.64 (0.28)		1.50 (1.28)	
above high school	0.45 (0.33)		0.50 (0.27)		4.09 (3.67)	
Home ownership (does not live in owned home)						
Lives in owned home	1.15 (0.30)		0.72 (0.13)		0.69 (0.18)	
Constant	0.26 (0.23)		3.48 (2.14)*		1.69 (1.69)	
Pseudo R ²	0.1413		0.1413		0.1413	
Wald Chi ²	419.19***		419.19***		419.19***	
N	1242		1242		1242	

Standard errors in parentheses

*p < .05, ** p < .01, ***p < .001

Table 5.10: Summary of Multivariate Analyses for Older Adults' Proximity to their Nearest Child showing the direction of the association^a between the dependent variable and significant independent variables, according to Older Adults' City of Residence.

Parents' Characteristics	Strong Welfare					Weak Welfare	
	Monte-video	Bridge-town	Buenos Aires	São Paulo	San-tiago	Mexico City	Hav-ana
	Same Neighborhood versus Coresident						
Marital Status	+			+			-
Self-Rated Health		+					-
Income Quintile					-		
	Outside of the Neighborhood versus Coresident						
Marital Status				+		-	
Self-Rated Health		+		-			
Difficulty with Adl's					-		
Employment/ Pension Status	+				-	+	
Income Quintile			+				

^a + positive association, - negative association

CHAPTER 6

PROXIMITY, GENDER, AND OLDER ADULTS' RECEIPT OF INFORMAL TRANSFERS IN URBAN LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

The previous chapter presented results related to the demographic, health, and economic circumstances of parents that are associated with their likelihood of living at varying distances from their children. The findings show that geographic proximity is differentially associated with parents' support needs and resources for independent living depending on their city of residence. Although closer proximity, particularly coresidence, is an important setting for intergenerational support, further distance does not necessarily constrain support. Thus, it is important to examine different forms of support as they vary by degree proximity to arrive at a more holistic understanding of family support in the region.

A considerable body of research has examined both the associations between proximity and social support for older adults and the importance of parent and child gender in structuring support. Much of this research has focused on the United States, Europe, and Asia (Lin and Rogerson 1995; Ofstedal, Reidy and Knodel 2004; Hank 2007; Zimmer et al. 2008; Xie and Zhu 2009), and these studies reify the importance of social context in shaping patterns of intergenerational support. Collectively, they call attention to the need for more comparative research. Research on family-based intergenerational support and the gendered dimensions of such within Latin America and

the Caribbean is rapidly increasing; however, the existing research has mostly covered Mexico and Brazil (Saad 1998; Camarano et al. 2005; Gomes 2007; Wong and Higgins 2007), focused on coresidence (DeVos 1995, 2000; Andrade and DeVos 2002; VanWey and Cebulko 2007), and with few exceptions (Saad 2005; Glaser et al. 2006; Cloos et al. 2010) has used comparative assessments of other dimensions of support besides coresidence.

While these comparative studies within Latin America and the Caribbean have documented the characteristics of older adults that are associated with intergenerational support exchanges between older adults and their children, the studies have been descriptive (Glaser et al. 2006) and qualitative (Cloos et al. 2010). Saad's (2005) comparison of intergenerational support among four South American cities that are also included in the current study, São Paulo, Montevideo, Mexico City, and Buenos Aires, examined the determinants of upward and downward flows of financial support between older adults and their children as well as the determinants of older adults' receipt of instrumental support. The study highlights the importance of coresidence and gender for intergenerational support exchanges.

This chapter builds upon Saad's (2005) research on intergenerational support in the region through a comparative assessment of the relationship between older adults' geographic proximity to their children and their receipt of financial and functional support in seven cities across the region. The importance of this topic is reflected in the rapid but varied pace of population aging among these countries (Guzmán et al. 2006; UN 2009), the increasing proportion of older adults in urban locales throughout the region (Huenchuan 2010), the disproportionate representation of women among older

adults in all countries (UN 2009), the gendered dimensions of familial support and gender differences in paid and unpaid work across the region (Salles and Tuirán 1997; Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean [ECLAC] 2009), the common trend of migration amongst younger cohorts (Brea 2003), and the differences in social policies for old age support across these countries (Mesa-Lago 2008; Arza 2012).

Against this background, the primary purpose of this chapter is to explore the extent to which informal transfers are affected by varying degrees of proximity between older adults and their children and by the gender of both the parent and the child. The analyses conducted in this chapter are based on the parents' circumstances. The comparability of the data provides a valuable opportunity to understand how the intersections of gender, parental need, and geographic proximity shape informal support transfers across different urban settings in Latin America and the Caribbean. The hypotheses and analyses in this chapter are drawn from the theoretical and empirical background on altruism and vulnerabilities, geographic proximity, and support with specific focus on the modified extended family and gender and intergenerational relations. These were reviewed in Chapter 3 but I provide a brief review below.

6.1 Theoretical Framing and Hypotheses

The hypotheses and subsequent analyses in this chapter are derived from theories related to geographic proximity and family support, specifically, the new home economics of migration and the modified extended family perspectives. The modified extended family hypothesis (Litwak 1960) suggests that family members adapt their support according to their circumstances and furthermore, advances in communication

allow families to maintain cohesion despite geographic mobility. Thus, family members at further distances are still likely to provide support, but the forms of support provided by family members will differ based on the implications of their location (DeVos et al. 2004; Knodel et al. 2010; Quashie and Zimmer 2013). Thus children living at farther distances are more likely to engage in economic support, given that money can be exchanged from a distance, while those in closer proximity provide functional support, which requires hands on assistance. Drawing from the modified extended family thesis, my first hypothesis is that *older adults whose nearest child is in another city or country will have higher probabilities of receiving financial support relative to functional support from that child.*

As a continuation of the analyses presented in Chapter 5, this chapter examines the extent to which the association between proximity and parents' receipt of support is contingent on their needs for support. Altruistic models of intergenerational support posit that family members assist those in the most vulnerable positions without any explicit requirements for repayment (Lillard and Willis 1997). Parents are likely to receive more support from their children as they grow older and they begin to experience declines in their abilities to live independently. Older men and women, however, experience these declines differently. Gender differences in life expectancy are inextricably tied to gender differences in morbidity and widowhood. Older women have greater risks of experiencing worse health conditions due to gender differences in morbidity. In Latin America and the Caribbean, chronic diseases and disability are more prevalent among older women compared to older men, regardless of their socioeconomic status (Casas, Dachs, and Bambas 2001). Moreover, relative to men, widowed older women are more

likely to experience economic strain (Carr and Bodnar-Deren 2009). Generally, widowhood and poor health are positively associated with closer proximity between older adults and their children. Research by Zimmer and Knodel (2010) also shows that migrant children return to the parental home when their parent's health is in jeopardy. Furthermore, in some cases the initial decision to move is contingent on the parent's health status (Giles and Mu 2007). Economic vulnerability is also gendered due to women's lower labor force participation over the life course relative to men's (Arber and Ginn 1995).

According to the new home economics of migration thesis (Stark and Bloom 1985; Stark and Lucas 1988), migration is sometimes necessary for the welfare of all household members as migrants can provide financial support even at a distance. This framework assumes that migrants behave altruistically such that household needs influence the likelihood of financial or other material support from migrants. This is well supported by research in Latin America, the Caribbean, and Asia, where migrants are more likely to remit money to households in low income positions (Agarwal and Horowitz 2002; Silverstein et al. 2006; Knodel et al 2010).

Countries in this study, however, differ markedly in their social policies regarding income protection for older adults and the gender differences in pension coverage. For instance, Brazil, Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay have much higher pension coverage for women relative to Mexico. Whereas Barbados has high pension coverage and older adults do not heavily rely on remittances, in Cuba older adults' pension coverage and the value of their pensions were severely reduced during the recession of the 1990s. Thus, older adults' relative economic vulnerability and needs for financial support are expected

to differ across the cities based on the strength of welfare support. Similarly, the differences in state and market based services for health-related support needs across the countries can also mitigate or intensify the vulnerability associated with less than favorable health status. For instance, findings from Chapter 5 showed that older adults in Mexico City and Havana who were widowed or in poor health were more likely to indicate their nearest child was in the household. In contrast, in Bridgetown, older adults in poor health were more likely to indicate their nearest child was outside of the household though within the same neighborhood.

In extending the modified extended family perspective, children are expected to not only provide support in a pattern that is consistent with their location but also in a way that responds to parents' needs. Drawing from the new home economics of migration, further distance is likely to be associated with greater support among older adults in vulnerable circumstances. The intersection of proximity, vulnerability, and support received by older adults is further expected to differ by the gender of the parent and their city of residence. In Hypothesis 2a I propose that a) *older adults in vulnerable circumstances (such as widowed, low income, poor health) in Mexico City and Havana will have higher likelihoods of receiving both financial and functional support from children outside of the household compared to similarly vulnerable older adults in Bridgetown, Montevideo, São Paulo, Buenos Aires, and Santiago.* I further expect the association between vulnerability and the receipt of support from children will differ for women across the cities. Specifically, for hypothesis 2b I propose that *older women in Havana and Mexico City in vulnerable positions will have higher likelihoods of receiving both forms of support from children, regardless of their proximity, relative to similarly*

vulnerable older women in Bridgetown, Santiago, São Paulo, Buenos Aires, and Montevideo.

Moreover, within family and household units, gender relations often dictate the form of support exchanges that are observed among sons, daughters, mothers, and fathers. Hispanic, Dutch, and English Caribbean family systems are described as matrifocal, which means that women are central to kin-keeping, economic support, and unpaid domestic work such as elder and child care. Men, when involved, in the household are primarily engaged in economic support (Safa 1995; Momsen 2002; Roopnarine 2004; Trotz 2005). In Latin America, there is a clearer distinction in women's and men's roles in the household relative to the Caribbean. Unlike the long-standing economic autonomy of Caribbean women, Latin American women's roles have been primarily relegated to the domestic sphere and men's within the public sphere of the workplace or the streets (Chant 2003). In Latin America, more so than in the Caribbean, men are more explicitly expected to be the primary breadwinners and decision makers of resources within the home, while women are responsible for managing the domestic domain.

The family is a prime arena for early socialization of gender norms and embedding patterns of support across generations (Ross 1987; Lee et al 1994; Moen et al. 1997; Knodel and Ofstedal 2002). Therefore, differences in gender norms across the Caribbean and Latin America are expected to produce gender differences in parents' receipt of support from sons and daughters across the cities. Hypothesis 3 proposes *only in Bridgetown and Havana will older adults have higher likelihoods of receiving financial and functional support from daughters, relative to sons, due to matrifocal*

socialization. In all other cities, parents will have higher likelihoods of receiving financial support from sons and higher likelihoods of receiving functional support from daughters.

6.2 Methods

6.2.1 Analytic Strategy

Presented first are descriptive summaries of the analytic samples. Multivariate analyses follow in three stages. In the first stage, models for older adults' likelihood of receiving financial and functional support are estimated using data from all of the cities in a pooled sample. A covariate for the city of residence is included to determine cross-city differences in older adults' likelihood of receiving support from their children, net of the selected demographic and socioeconomic factors.

The second stage of the analysis involves the estimation of separate logistic regression models for each city to predict the likelihood of older adults' receipt of financial and functional support. Separate models are estimated for each city to assess the extent to which proximity and measures of vulnerability are similarly associated with older adults' receipt of financial and functional support across contexts.

As proposed by Long (2009), group comparisons in regression models with binary outcomes are best addressed using predicted probabilities because "traditional tests for the equality of regression coefficients across groups confound the magnitude of the regression coefficients with residual variation" (Long 2009, p. 11). It is possible that the amount of residual variation and effects of some variables differs across groups. Thus, traditional tests for the equality of coefficients can create misleading conclusions

about group differences. According to Long (2009), predicted probabilities are not affected by residual variation. Predicted probabilities also allow the researcher to examine group differences according to different values of other predictors that can affect the outcomes of interest. In essence, predicted probabilities show whether there are significant differences in parents' receipt of financial and functional support, based on the proximity of their nearest child and whether these differences in children's location are contingent on the level of the other sociodemographic and economic covariates.

Predicted probabilities of parents' receipt of financial and functional support according to the proximity of the nearest child are presented for each city for older adults in some relatively vulnerable life circumstances. To better illustrate the extent to which gender mediates the relationship between proximity, parental need, and the receipt of support, predicted probabilities of the receipt of financial and functional support based on the proximity of the nearest child are calculated according to the gender of the parent for older adults in relatively vulnerable circumstances. These predicted values facilitate comparison of relatively vulnerable older mothers' receipt of support across cities based on their proximity to their children and their needs.

6.3 Results

6.3.1 Description of the Sample

Table 6.1 presents a summary description of the demographic, social, health, and economic characteristics of the sample of older adults in each city. Consistent with global trends in population aging, older women outnumber men in each city. Older adults in Mexico City are most likely to receive financial transfers from children, 67% of

respondents. Older adults in Havana have the highest likelihood of receiving functional support, 62% of respondents. In contrast, older adults in Montevideo are the least likely to receive all three forms of support, roughly 30% of respondents. In all other cities, 40 to 50% of respondents reported receipt of financial and functional transfers from at least one child. Detailed descriptive results, not shown in Table 6.1, indicate that across all cities, women are more likely to report receiving all forms of support from children relative to men.

Country differences in the timing and pace of the demographic transition are reflected in the number of children available to older adults across these cities. Among the countries, Mexico was the last to complete the demographic transition, whilst Argentina and Uruguay were forerunners. Consequently, older adults in Mexico City are least likely to have exactly one son or daughter and most likely to have three or more children. In contrast, older adults in Buenos Aires and Montevideo are most likely to report having exactly one son or daughter. In line with past research on living arrangements within Latin America and the Caribbean (UN 2005), the majority of older adults indicate their nearest child is coresident, but country differences withstand.

Relative to older adults in late transition countries (Mexico, Brazil, and Chile), a higher proportion of older adults living in cities of early transition countries, particularly those in Buenos Aires and Montevideo, report their nearest child is at a further distance but within the country. Despite the predominance of emigration from Latin America and the Caribbean, a minority of older adults in these cities indicate their nearest child is abroad. Bridgetown, however, has the largest share of older adults who indicated their nearest child is in another country, with approximately 12% of older adults indicating

their nearest child is abroad.

Older adults in Buenos Aires, Montevideo, and Bridgetown are most likely to experience favorable health compared to those in Mexico City, Santiago, São Paulo, and Havana, who are more likely to report fair or poor health status. Regarding economic standing, Mexico City has the greatest proportion of older adults within the lowest income quintile, based on their access to income from nonfamily sources. Likewise, Mexico City has the lowest proportion of older adults receiving a pension and the highest proportion of older adults who are neither receiving a pension nor employed. On the other hand, Montevideo and Havana have the highest proportion of older adults receiving a pension. Furthermore these two cities have the most even distribution of older adults in each income quintile, thereby indicating that older adults have relatively equal access to independent income. The actual value of income differs across the cities, however, due to the macro-economic conditions at the time of the survey. For instance, the average income of individuals in the lowest income quintile in Havana was \$258, whereas the average income of those in the lowest income quintile in Montevideo was \$395. These differences are expected to influence different patterns of intergenerational support in Montevideo and Havana.

6.3.2 Informal Transfers by the Residential Proximity of the Nearest Child

Table 6.2 shows for older adults in each city, the proportion of older adults receiving support transfers based on the residential proximity of the nearest child. Panel A shows the proportion receiving financial support and panel B shows the proportion receiving functional support. In all cities, older adults whose nearest child is coresident

are most likely to receive all forms of support. Increasing distance is associated with decreasing likelihoods of parents' receipt of transfers from their children.

Regarding financial support, in cities represented by countries with relatively strong welfare systems, a smaller proportion of older adults receive financial support as distance from their nearest child increases compared to cities within countries with weaker welfare structures. Older adults in Montevideo experience the most dramatic decline in the receipt of support associated with distance. In contrast, in Mexico City and Havana, older adults appear to be the least affected by increasing distance. Over 50% of older adults in each city continue to receive money even if their nearest child is at the farthest distance. Havana is unique in that older adults have diminishing likelihoods of receiving money as distance increases within the country, but the situation is reversed if the nearest child is abroad.

The associations with the receipt of functional support and proximity of the nearest child are more consistent across the cities as increasing distance is associated with lower proportion of older adults receiving support. As observed with financial support, older adults in Havana have the highest likelihoods of receiving functional support regardless of the proximity of their children. Although the data do not indicate the precise location of children, for instance their country of residence if abroad, the pattern of financial support likely reflects the unique feature of the Cuban state legalizing remittances from the United States. Similarly, the patterns of functional support in Havana also likely reflect the weakening of state social services and the limits of rationed items within Cuba during the 1990s.

These bivariate associations suggest that proximity to the nearest child confers a

different meaning for support in different cities. This may be a combination of the precise distance between parents and children being relatively shorter or longer in some places, thereby facilitating differences in the ease of support provision among those whose nearest child is non-coresident. It may also be the case that economic need and other social circumstances differentially drive coresidence or mobility and their respective associations with support transfers. For instance, as observed in Chapter 5's analyses of the correlates of residential proximity, older adults in Montevideo and Buenos Aires with greater access to independent income were more likely to indicate their nearest child lived further away. Older adults' health and marital status was not related to their proximity to their children in Montevideo and Buenos Aires. In contrast, in Havana and Mexico City, older adults' needs as measured by widowhood and poor health were negatively associated with further distance from their nearest child. The bivariate associations presented thus far, combined with the findings from the previous chapter, suggest that parents' relative vulnerability differentially influences the relationship between proximity and support transfers according to context.

In all cities, coresidence appears to be the most beneficial arrangement for parents' receipt of support.¹³ In Mexico City and Havana, however, older adults whose most proximate child is not in the household appear to be less disadvantaged with regard to the receipt of financial support relative to older adults in the other cities. Overall, the descriptive results indicate that older adults' likelihoods of receiving support are contingent on the proximity between them and their children and the wider socioeconomic contexts in their city of residence.

¹³ In fact, intergenerational coresidence may be mutually beneficial as parents provide housing and other economic and/or nonmonetary assistance.

6.3.3 Multivariate Analyses

Table 6.3 presents the odds ratios for older adults' receipt of financial and functional support from their children using data from all the cities in a pooled sample. The main purpose is to a) examine the overall net effect of proximity to the nearest child in all cities and b) to assess the extent of similarity in the odds of parents' receipt of support based on their city of residence.

6.3.3.1 Between-City Analysis of Parents' Receipt of Financial and Functional Support

According to the results presented in Table 6.3, older adults in all cities, with the exception of São Paulo, have higher odds of receiving financial support from their children relative to older adults in Montevideo, even after controlling for demographic and socioeconomic covariates. Of note is that older adults in Mexico City and Havana have three times the odds and 2.3 times the odds, respectively, of those in Montevideo to receive financial support from their children. Regarding functional support, older adults in Bridgetown, São Paulo, and Havana have higher odds of receiving functional support from their children relative to those in Montevideo. Unexpectedly, older adults in Mexico City, however, have significantly lower odds than those in Montevideo to receive functional support. These findings suggest that social norms and expectations of intergenerational support may exert more influence on children's motivations to support their parents than the strength of welfare systems. Alternatively, the city differences may reflect differences in parents' preferences for different forms of support from their children.

The net effects of covariates of interest to this study, proximity, parents' vulnerability, and gender are also worthy of discussion. In all cities, increasing distance is associated with lower odds of parents receiving both forms of support. Older men have significantly lower odds than older women of receiving both forms of support. Older adults with more children have higher odds of receiving financial and functional support. The gender composition of children also significantly influences support transfers. Whereas older adults with two sons have higher odds of receiving financial support compared to those with one son, older adults with two sons are as likely as those with one son to receive functional support. In contrast, older adults with two daughters have higher odds of receiving both financial and functional support relative to those with one son. This suggests that daughters, in all cities, are more likely to be engaged in both economic and noneconomic support, whereas sons are more likely to retain their main role in the provision of financial support.

Parents' vulnerability as measured by older ages, poor health, experiencing disabling conditions, in lower or middle income quintiles and being unmarried are all positively associated with their receipt of financial and functional support. Older adults with access to independent income through work or the receipt of a pension and those in higher income quintiles are less likely to receive support from their children.

The main interest of this chapter is to assess the extent to which parental vulnerability moderates the relationship between residential proximity and parents' receipt of support differently across these cities based on the institutional support for older adults. In lieu of testing a series of interactions using the pooled sample, separate logistic models for financial and functional support were estimated in each city. This

allows an examination of the net effects of different measures of vulnerability, as well as their interactions with proximity, on older adults' likelihood of receiving support.

6.3.3.2 Proximity and Support

Hypothesis 1 proposed that older adults with their nearest child lived in another city or abroad will have higher probabilities of receiving financial support relative to functional support. The results for the pooled sample, shown in Table 6.3, provide support for this first hypothesis. Overall, parents' odds of receiving both forms of support decline with increasing distance, controlling for other factors. The decline in support received, however, is more pronounced with regard to parents' receipt of functional support relative to financial support. Older adults whose nearest child is coresident, the comparison group, were more likely to receive all forms of support relative to those with a nearest child anywhere else. The models for the individual cities, presented in Appendix A and Appendix B, also confirm this. Notably, in Havana only, parents' odds of receiving financial support declined with increasing distance if their nearest child lived in the country but then increased among those whose nearest child lived abroad. Furthermore, older adults whose nearest child lived abroad did not show any statistically significant difference in their odds of receiving financial support compared to those whose nearest child lived in the household.

Hypothesis 2a proposed that the association between proximity and informal support received by parents will be contingent on parental needs and their gender. Therefore, children outside of the household will not only provide support that is best suited to their location, but they will also be responsive to their parents' needs. This

association was expected to differ by the city of residence due to differences in the strength of welfare support for older adults. Specifically, *older adults in vulnerable circumstances (such as widowed, low income, poor health) in Mexico City and Havana will have higher likelihoods of receiving both financial and functional support from children outside of the household compared to similarly vulnerable older adults in Bridgetown, Montevideo, São Paulo, Buenos Aires, and Santiago.*

To facilitate comparison of the effect of parent-child proximity on the likelihood of receiving support based on parental need across the cities, predicted probabilities for parents' receipt of financial and functional support are shown in Figures 6.1 to 6.6 based on the gender of the parent.¹⁴ These predicted probabilities of support are based on older adults in relatively vulnerable circumstances. Vulnerability is conceptualized as one who is 80–84 years old, has three or more children, is widowed, in poor health, is experiencing at least one difficulty with ADLs and IADLs, has no education, does not work nor receive a pension,¹⁵ is in the lowest income and wealth quintiles, lives with no other persons in the household beside the spouse and coresident child, does receive assistance from other persons in the household, and does not support their children with money, services, material things, or child care.

The main effects of parental need do differ by city of residence as informed by the

¹⁴ Probabilities of support were also calculated for all vulnerable older adults, regardless of gender. The city differences mirror the patterns with gender differentiation. Therefore, I decided to only present the findings showing gender differences in the receipt of support.

¹⁵ In Havana only, unlike the other cities, there are no cases for older adults who are neither receiving a pension nor employed. Thus, older adults who did not provide any information on either their work or pension status are considered vulnerable. Older adults not providing information on either work or pension were in lower income quintiles relative to those who received a pension only or who worked and received a pension.

individual city analyses. Older adults in Buenos Aires, São Paulo, Santiago, and Havana who were widowed or in some form of union dissolution were more likely than their married counterparts to receive financial and/or functional support from their children, net of demographic and socioeconomic factors. Similarly, older adults in Montevideo, São Paulo, Santiago, and Havana who were experiencing disabilities were more likely to receive functional support from their children. These patterns are unexpected in that the association between parental need and the receipt of support from children is more apparent in cities characterized by stronger institutional support for older adults, which is expected to be associated with a lower reliance on children compared to those cities with weaker formal support systems.

Hypothesis 2a proposed city differences in older adults' probabilities of receiving financial and functional support based on parental vulnerabilities. The data provide partial support for this hypothesis. Predicted probabilities of vulnerable older adults' receipt of support based on the proximity of their nearest child indicate that in all cities, with the exception of São Paulo, vulnerable older adults whose nearest child lived outside of the household had higher probabilities of receiving financial support relative to functional support. In São Paulo, older adults whose nearest child lived in the same neighborhood and those whose nearest child lived outside of the neighborhood (either within the same city or in another city within the country or abroad) showed higher probabilities of receiving functional support compared to financial support.

Older adults in relatively vulnerable circumstances in Mexico City and Havana showed higher probabilities of receiving financial support from children outside of the household, compared to similarly vulnerable older adults in most cities with relatively

stronger welfare. The exception is in Buenos Aires where relatively vulnerable older adults whose nearest child lived in the same neighborhood and those with a nearest child outside of the neighborhood had higher probabilities of receiving financial support compared to those in Mexico City and Havana. Older adults in vulnerable circumstances in Montevideo and Santiago and whose nearest child lived outside of the household showed the lowest probabilities of receiving financial support. The findings for older adults whose nearest child lived abroad indicate that vulnerable older adults in Havana had a higher probability of receiving financial support (0.74) compared to those in Bridgetown (0.44). Moreover, older Cubans' whose nearest child lived abroad had higher probabilities of receiving financial support compared to those whose nearest child lived outside of the household but within the country. This finding provides some support for the new home economics of migration thesis that migration is sometimes necessary to support family members in vulnerable circumstances. This would be particularly true in a setting such as Cuba where the economy was in the midst of a deep recession, and migration was actually encouraged by the state as a form of social insurance for households.

The findings pertaining to functional support are more mixed. Relatively vulnerable older adults in cities with weaker welfare support, Mexico City and Havana, and whose nearest child lived outside of the household had lower probabilities of receiving functional support than similarly vulnerable older adults in some cities with stronger welfare, namely, São Paulo. Older adults in Havana and Bridgetown, whose nearest child lived outside of the neighborhood, had similar probabilities of receiving functional support (0.40 and 0.42, respectively). Similar to the patterns observed with

financial support, vulnerable older adults in Montevideo and Santiago with their nearest child outside of the household were the least likely to receive functional support.

The main effects of parents' gender showed that net of demographic and socioeconomic conditions, older men in Montevideo, Bridgetown, Santiago, Mexico City, and Havana have lower odds of receiving financial support from children relative to older women (Appendix A). In contrast, in Buenos Aires and São Paulo, there were no significant differences between older men's and women's odds of receiving financial support. In terms of functional support, gender differences were only apparent in Bridgetown, where men were less likely to receive support relative to women. Thus, there is some initial support for this hypothesis that the effect of gender is contingent on context.

Hypothesis 2b proposed that the association between parental vulnerability, proximity and parents' receipt support will also differ by the gender of the parent across the cities. Specifically, *older women in Havana and Mexico City in vulnerable positions will have higher likelihoods of receiving both forms of support from children regardless of their proximity, relative to similarly vulnerable older women in Bridgetown, Santiago, São Paulo, Buenos Aires and Montevideo.*

To assess the extent to which vulnerable women are more or less likely to receive support from their children in different cities, regardless of their proximity, predicted probabilities of financial and functional support were also calculated based on the models presented in Appendix A and Appendix B. Figures 6.1, 6.2, and 6.3 present the results for parents' receipt of financial support in each city, according to the gender of the parent and the location of the nearest child, i.e., whether being in the same household, same

neighborhood, or outside of the neighborhood, respectively. Figures 6.4, 6.5, and 6.6 show the results for parents' receipt of functional support in each city, according to the gender of the parent if the nearest child is in the same household, same neighborhood, or outside of the neighborhood, respectively. The predicted probabilities for the nearest child living abroad are not shown because there were no cases for older adults in Havana receiving functional support if their nearest child lived abroad. Thus, comparison of parents' receipt of financial and functional support among parents whose nearest child is abroad in each of Havana and Bridgetown is not possible.

6.3.3.3 Gender Differences in Support Received

The findings in Figures 6.1 to 6.6 provide partial support for hypothesis 2b regarding city differences in vulnerable older women's receipt of financial and functional support. Regarding financial support, in most cities older women were more likely than men to receive money from their children regardless of their proximity to their nearest child. The exceptions were found in Buenos Aires and São Paulo where vulnerable older women and men had similar probabilities of receiving money, regardless of their proximity to their nearest child. More importantly, older women and men in Buenos Aires had the highest probabilities of receiving financial support from their children regardless of their proximity. Older women in Montevideo and Santiago showed the lowest probabilities of receiving support from children at all distances but particularly among older adults whose nearest child lived outside of the household.

Among older adults whose nearest child lived further away from the household, outside of the neighborhood, vulnerable older women in Mexico City and Havana had

higher probabilities of receiving financial support than similarly vulnerable older women in cities with stronger welfare, except Buenos Aires and Bridgetown. Unexpectedly, vulnerable older women in Bridgetown showed similar probabilities of receiving money as those in Havana, 0.63 and 0.66, respectively. Vulnerable fathers in Havana and Mexico City showed higher probabilities of receiving financial support than similarly vulnerable fathers in Bridgetown if the nearest child lived outside of the neighborhood. These patterns suggest that children living outside of the neighborhood (in the same city or another city) are similarly responsive to parental needs, particularly mothers, in some cities with stronger welfare as those in some cities with weaker welfare.

The predicted probabilities for functional support show gender differences in the receipt of support between vulnerable older women and men only in Bridgetown. Whereas older women in Bridgetown were more likely than their male counterparts to receive assistance from their children, in the other cities mothers and fathers had similar probabilities of receiving functional support from their children regardless of their proximity.

Differences across cities also produced unexpected results. First, vulnerable older women and men in São Paulo showed the highest probabilities of receiving functional support whether the nearest child was coresident or lived outside of the household. Second, older women and men in Montevideo and Santiago showed the lowest probabilities of receiving functional support at all levels of proximity to the nearest child. Third, older women in Havana and Bridgetown had similar probabilities of receiving functional support from their children if their nearest child lived outside of the neighborhood.

Hypothesis 3 posits that support transfers will be contingent on the gender of the child. Moreover, the effect of gender differs by context. As suggested by hypothesis 3, the salience of the number and sex composition of children also differ across cities. The estimated odds ratios for financial support, shown in Appendix A, indicate that in all cities, with the exception of Mexico City and Montevideo, older adults with three or more sons or daughters had higher odds of receiving financial support relative to those with exactly one son. In Montevideo, Bridgetown, and São Paulo, having two sons was associated with higher odds of parents receiving money, whilst in Bridgetown, Havana, and São Paulo, older adults with two daughters had higher odds than those with one son of receiving money. Regarding functional support, estimated odds ratios in Appendix B show that the number and sex composition of children appear to be important determinants of functional support only in São Paulo and Bridgetown. In both cities, older adults with one daughter have 2.6 and 3 times the odds, respectively, of those with one son to receive functional support. Likewise those with two daughters have higher odds of receiving functional support compared to those with one son. Similar to patterns observed for financial support, older adults with three or more children showed higher odds of receiving support relative to those with one son.

These results partially support the third hypothesis. As expected, older adults in Bridgetown were more likely to receive both forms of support from their daughters. In Havana having more daughters was associated with higher odds of receiving financial support than having more sons. Thus, the salience of matrifocal socialization is more evident in Bridgetown relative to Havana. Unexpectedly, gender norms of sons being primarily involved in financial support and daughters primarily involved in functional

support were not consistent across the Latin American cities. São Paulo was the only city where the gender composition of children showed significant differences in the likelihood of parents receiving functional support. The significance of sons' involvement in financial support was most evident in Montevideo and São Paulo. Notably in Mexico City, older adults with one daughter had lower odds of receiving financial support relative to those with one son.

6.4 Summary of Multivariate Analyses

The preceding multivariate analyses show that closer geographic proximity is indeed positively associated with increased likelihoods of older adults receiving support. In all cities, older adults whose nearest child lived in the household were the most likely to receive both forms of support. Moreover, among older adults whose nearest child lived outside of the household, older adults whose nearest child lived further away were more likely to receive financial support relative to functional support.

It was hypothesized that children outside of the household will not only provide the type of support that best suits their location but that support will be further contingent on parental needs. The association between proximity and support based on parental need was expected to differ across cities due to the strength of institutional support for older adults in their respective countries. Specifically, older adults in cities within countries with weaker welfare were expected to have higher likelihoods of receiving support from children, even if further away, relative to those in cities within countries with stronger systems. Table 6.4 shows a summary of the direction of the predicted probabilities for older adults' receipt of financial and functional support based on the

proximity of their nearest child being outside of the household and parental needs. The summary is presented according to the stage of population aging and the strength of welfare support.

The patterns shown in Table 6.4 provide partial support for the hypothesized differences across cities. As expected in cities with weaker systems of welfare support for older adults, parents in relatively vulnerable circumstances were more likely than those in cities with stronger welfare support to receive support from their children outside of the household. Vulnerable older adults in Havana, more so than those in Mexico City, however, had higher probabilities of receiving both forms of support. In Mexico City, vulnerable older adults had higher probabilities of receiving financial versus functional support.

Among cities with stronger welfare support, the results were more mixed. Unexpectedly, vulnerable older adults in Buenos Aires had the highest probabilities of receiving financial support of all cities, regardless of their proximity to their nearest child. Vulnerable older adults in São Paulo had the highest probabilities of receiving functional support of all cities, regardless of the location of their nearest child. Thus, the patterns of support in Buenos Aires and São Paulo are more aligned with the expected patterns for older adults in cities with weaker welfare systems. As expected, vulnerable older adults in Montevideo, Santiago, and Bridgetown showed lower odds of receiving both forms of support from children outside of the household, relative to similarly vulnerable older adults in cities with weaker welfare structures. It must be noted, however, that vulnerable older adults, particularly women, in Bridgetown and Havana whose nearest child lived outside of the neighborhood showed similar probabilities of

receiving financial and functional support.

Gender differences in support also emerge. Overall, women were more likely to receive all forms of support, but there are noteworthy differences across the cities. In Montevideo, Bridgetown, Santiago, Mexico City, and Havana, older men were less likely than women to receive financial support. In Buenos Aires and São Paulo, older men and women appear to have equal odds of receiving financial support from children, after controlling for demographic and socioeconomic conditions. Regarding functional support, Bridgetown was the only city where a net gender difference was evident such that older men had lower odds of receiving functional support from their children. Thus, fathers in Bridgetown were less likely to receive both forms of support from their children. Older mothers and fathers in Buenos Aires and São Paulo have similar likelihoods of receiving both forms of support from their children.

Vulnerable older women in cities with weaker welfare support generally had higher probabilities of receiving financial and functional support than similarly vulnerable women in cities with stronger welfare systems. The exceptions are in Buenos Aires where women had the highest probabilities of receiving financial support and in São Paulo where women were most likely to receive functional support. Vulnerable older women in Montevideo and Santiago showed the lowest probabilities of receiving both forms of support from children, especially those whose nearest child lived outside of the household. Notably, vulnerable older women in Bridgetown (strong welfare) had similar probabilities of receiving financial and functional support as those in and Havana (weak welfare) if their nearest child lived outside of the neighborhood.

Consistent with existing literature (Zimmer and Kwong 2003), in most cities

having more children is associated with higher odds of receiving support, but the importance of children's gender composition varies by the city of residence and the type of support. For instance, in Montevideo, older adults with two sons appeared most advantaged with the receipt of financial support, but there were no significant associations with the number and sex composition of children for functional support. In contrast in São Paulo and Bridgetown, older adults with daughters appeared to benefit most with the receipt of both forms of support.

6.5 Discussion

Latin American and Caribbean countries are undergoing dramatic shifts in their population structures due to population aging. One of the main areas of concern for social policy is that the region is rapidly aging within contexts of weak institutional infrastructure and volatile economies (Palloni et al. 2005). This limits the extent to which older adults can depend on formal support and increases their potential reliance on informal systems such as the family or community. Within the family, children typically provide the bulk of support, especially in the absence of a spouse. There are also expectations for family-based support arrangements along the lines of gender and generation. Mothers are expected to receive more support relative to fathers due to gender differences in longevity, health and disability, and gender roles over the life course. Among younger cohorts, in Latin American countries sons are typically ascribed with the provision of economic support while daughters provide caregiving support, whereas in Caribbean societies, daughters are socialized to provide both economic support and personal caretaking.

Declining fertility along with constant mobility among younger cohorts can challenge older adults' reliance on children for support, especially when needs arise. This can be critical to older adults in countries where the family is the mainstay of support (Peláez and Martínez 2002). Thus it is important to examine the roles of proximity, parental needs, parent's gender, and the sex composition of children in intergenerational support transfers within Latin America and Caribbean countries. The primary purpose of this chapter was to provide a comparative assessment of the relationship between spatial proximity and older adults' receipt of informal transfers in seven urban cities in Latin America and the Caribbean. Secondly, the paper examined whether regional gender norms shape upward flows of support across the cities.

Overall, spatial separation places some limitations on parents' receipt of support, assuming that parents need and expect such support from children. In all cities, older adults whose nearest child is coresident have the highest likelihoods of receiving all forms of support from children. As proposed by the modified extended family thesis, however, older adults' likelihood of receiving support varies with the proximity of their children. In all cities, parents are less likely to receive functional support if their nearest child is further away but have higher probabilities of receiving financial support. Thus, *the data support the first hypothesis.*

I acknowledge that apart from the immediacy of support exchange that is inherent with coresidence, the association between coresidence and support may reflect other unmeasured circumstances of both the older adult and their child. For instance, housing shortages in formal housing markets are a persistent problem in urban areas of the region (Fay and Wellenstein 2005). This can account for the high levels of

coresidence in the region. Coresident children may then contribute money and other forms of support to parents as repayment for accommodation. Coresident children, in all cities, are also most likely to receive economic, functional, and other support from parents compared to non-coresident children.¹⁶ Additionally, in descriptive analyses not shown, in all cities older adults whose nearest child is in the household also have, on average, more living children relative to those whose nearest child is not coresident. Thus, older adults whose nearest child is coresident may have unmeasured advantages regarding the overall supply of support from the child/children with whom they live.

The findings also show some systematic differences in the relationship between proximity and support across the cities. Older adults in Montevideo and Santiago whose nearest child is outside of the household have the lowest odds of receiving both forms of support. This may, in part, reflect the maturity of the welfare systems for older adults such that among older adults whose nearest child is out of the household, their children may have a lower perception of parental need. In contrast, in Havana, increasing spatial separation has the least net impact on parents' receipt of financial support. Older adults' whose nearest child is at the farthest distance, abroad, were not significantly different from those whose nearest child lived in the household with regard to their receipt of financial support. Despite this, the probability of receiving support is still lower than older adults whose nearest child is within the household.

My conjecture that parental vulnerabilities have a different impact on the relationship between proximity and informal transfers within these Latin American and Caribbean cities was partially supported. *Hypothesis 2a proposed that older adults in*

¹⁶ Descriptive tables available but not included in this chapter.

vulnerable positions in Havana and Mexico City will be more likely than those in Bridgetown, São Paulo, Montevideo, Buenos Aires, and Santiago to receive support even if their nearest child is not-coresident. The findings show that vulnerable older adults in Mexico City and Havana had higher probabilities of receiving both dimensions of support than most cities with strong welfare. At the same time, vulnerable older adults in Buenos Aires showed a higher probability of receiving financial support, and those in São Paulo showed a higher probability of receiving functional support than those in Mexico City and Havana.

Unanticipated differences also emerged among the cities when examining the main effects of parental vulnerability. Among the key measures of vulnerability assessed in this chapter, marital status, health status, and disability were shown to be positively associated with the receipt of support but predominantly among older adults in cities with stronger institutional support. These patterns may be derived from parents' preferences to receive certain forms of support from their children. Therefore, the stronger association between vulnerability and the receipt of financial and functional support from children at further distances in cities with relatively stronger welfare (Buenos Aires and São Paulo) relative to those with weaker welfare (Mexico City and Havana) may reflect cultural nuances regarding parents' preferences for support from their children. Furthermore, being in certain vulnerable situations, for instance widowed, may connote different expectations of support from children in cities such as Buenos Aires and São Paulo relative to Mexico City and Havana. In addition, the actual amount and recency of support provided is not available. Therefore, the support that parents receive may vary significantly across cities and differentially capture parents' vulnerability and reliance on

children for support at the time of the data collection.

The patterns can also reflect city differences in the residential location of children and parents. Children living in the same neighborhood or outside of the neighborhood (same city or another city) in Buenos Aires and São Paulo may live in relatively closer proximity to their parents when compared to children in Mexico City and Havana. Other structural conditions of the cities, at the time of the data collection, which are not accounted for in this study such as parents' actual access to social services and the socioeconomic circumstances of their children can also explain patterns of support in São Paulo and Buenos Aires relative to Havana and Mexico City. For instance, in 2000 Argentina was in the midst of an economic recession that began in 1998. The latter years of the 1990s were characterized by rising income inequality and poverty and a devaluation of household income (Altimir, Beccaria, and Rozada 2002). These macro-economic conditions may have increased the vulnerability experienced by older adults and their reliance on their children for financial support. Arguably, the economic recession of Cuba was more acute than that experienced in Argentina; thus one would expect vulnerable older adults in Havana to receive more support from their children. Older adults in Argentina, however, may have been able to rely on children more than those in Cuba because the economy was still performing better, overall, based on differences in GDP per capita, \$7,701 versus \$2,744 (World Bank 2014); labor force participation rates of men and women were higher in Argentina relative to Cuba (ILO 2012), and the real value of income is also likely to have been higher.

Neither data on parents' preferences of support providers nor the precise distance from their nearest child are available for this study. As such future data collection efforts

on intergenerational transfers should incorporate questions on parents' preferences for formal and informal support and under what type of circumstances.

The systematic differences in the association between gender and support across the cities imply several possible explanations for intergenerational relations in these cities. The matrifocal character of families in Spanish and English-speaking Caribbean countries (Safa 2004), here represented by Cuba (Havana) and Barbados (Bridgetown), may give older women more bargaining power for support from their children when needs arise. Notably, In Bridgetown, older women were more likely than their male counterparts to receive both forms of support. This pattern is maintained even when comparing vulnerable older women's and men's likelihood of receiving support at different degrees of proximity to their nearest child. Thus, patterns of family support in Bridgetown likely reflect motivations for support that are more driven by notions of filial obligation and less so with parents' access to formal support. The patterns in Havana likely mirror the unique declines in social and economic conditions in Cuba during the 1990s, which resulted in significant contractions of welfare support from the state including investments in public services; the negative effects of which were disproportionately felt by women (Toro-Morn 2001; Pearson 2008). Thus, I argue, Cuba's economic collapse combined with the gender roles in the family system heightened parents' reliance on children for support and children's attention to the needs of their mothers, especially for financial assistance to vulnerable older women.

The patterns in Mexico City suggest that economic support is most important to older adults relative to other forms of support. The lack of formal support for older adults, particularly women, has the most bearing on their economic well-being in later

life, thereby encouraging more financial support from children regardless of their proximity. In Montevideo and Santiago, vulnerable older adults showed the lowest probabilities of receiving financial and functional support. More importantly, vulnerable mothers and fathers had similar likelihoods of receiving functional support regardless of their proximity to their nearest child, but mothers were more likely than fathers to receive financial support. This is unlike patterns observed in Buenos Aires and São Paulo, where vulnerable mothers and fathers had similar likelihoods of receiving financial and functional support from their children.

Regarding the *third hypothesis*, regional gender norms of sons being primarily responsible for providing economic support were not consistent across all Latin American cities. There is *some support for the third hypothesis* among older adults with one or two daughters in Bridgetown. As expected, in Bridgetown, older adults with daughters were more likely to receive both forms of support relative to those with one son. Sons appear to fulfil gender expectations in Mexico City, Santiago, and Havana but contradict expectations in São Paulo and Montevideo with regard to financial support. Sons also contradict expectations regarding functional support in Bridgetown. Unexpectedly, older adults in São Paulo with only daughters have higher likelihoods of receiving both forms of support relative to those with one son.

Younger women's higher likelihoods of providing financial support in São Paulo and Bridgetown may be attributed to the higher female labor force participation rates, in the respective countries, relative to women in the other cities. In fact Barbados had the highest female labor force participation rate, 75% of women 15–64 years in 2000 and Chile and Mexico had the lowest, approximately 40%, among the countries studied

(International Labour Organization [ILO] 2012). Women nevertheless continue to have lower rates of labor force participation relative to men and more importantly bear the majority of the responsibility for unpaid labour, across all economic levels, despite their increased entries into paid labour (ECLAC 2009). This may help, to some extent, explain the unexpected patterns in São Paulo and Bridgetown but not the predicted patterns in Havana, Mexico City, and Santiago.

The findings suggest that the patriarchal structure of some Latin American and Caribbean societies may vary depending on other changes in society. The observed patterns of support based on the number and gender of children provide some indication of future patterns of support, provided there is minimal change in socioeconomic conditions and gender norms within these countries.

In some ways, these results may reflect changes in gender norms, especially in cities such as Buenos Aires that appear more gender egalitarian. In Buenos Aires older adults with one son and those with one daughter are equally likely to receive financial and functional support. This result may be associated with Argentina being the highest ranked South American country on the gender-related development index in 1998, followed closely by Uruguay (United Nations Development Programme [UNDP] 2000). Therefore, other social and economic changes can fuel movements toward gender equality, which may be reflected in support transfers to parents. These analyses, however, are limited in fully supporting such a conclusion as complete verification would require data on gender ideology, gender socialization regarding support within the family, and gender differences in work-family balance as it relates to parental support. The results essentially suggest that gender differences in informal transfers, both in terms of

the receiver and the provider, are highly conditioned by the social and political conditions in the society in addition to cultural nuances of family support.

Nevertheless, the sustenance of these gendered patterns of support among current and future cohorts presents some concern. Regional trends indicate that relatively high unemployment continues to threaten the economic security of younger adults. Although women's labor force participation rates have increased, women are still more likely to be unemployed or employed in the informal sectors and have lower wages relative to men (Arriagada 1998, Downes 2006). Men's labor force participation has become more unstable as labor markets have become more service oriented, thereby providing more opportunities for women, but men's employment tends to be more secure than women's (Chant 2003). In some countries, such as Barbados, since the period of data collection, younger women have been completing higher education at higher rates than men (Downes 2001). Thus, it is possible that future cohorts of women will have increased capacities to support their parents financially and otherwise, which can compensate for smaller family sizes. These cohorts of women may also be less vulnerable due to the financial autonomy and healthy lifestyles that accompany higher education.

At the same time, the combination of high unemployment rates and informal employment among younger persons may create situations for more downward flows of support due to unstable working lives as opposed to upward flows from children to parents. These downward flows are also likely to favour younger women. This is likely to continue in countries such as Brazil and Uruguay, where the governments have focused more attention on improving support for older adults (Goldani 2007; Filgueira et al. 2011).

Furthermore, pension reforms have placed more importance on workers' contributions over the working life course, thus tying retirement income more tightly to employment stability. Some have argued that this serves to increase gender inequality in economic status and overall quality of life in later years (Arenas and Montecinos 1999; Bertranou 2001). Moreover, socioeconomic differences are also evident with higher income groups having higher coverage than lower income groups (Turra and Queiroz 2005; Filguiera et al. 2011). Future cohorts of older adults, women more so, may be as vulnerable as present cohorts, if not more. Thus, family-based support is likely to continue unabated with Latin America and the Caribbean but with distinct patterns along the lines of gender and class.

The next chapter examines another aspect of family support that is understudied within the region, which is the role of siblings in intergenerational support transfers. The goal and primary contribution made by the following chapter is to examine the extent to which siblings negotiate their provision of care for their older parents, based on their residential proximity to their parents.

Table 6.1: Characteristics of older adults by city of residence,^a showing means for continuous variables and percentages for categorical variables.^b

	Strong Welfare					Weak Welfare	
	MV N =	BT N =	BA N =	SP N =	SO N =	MC N =	HV N =
Parents' Characteristics	1228	1242	898	1921	1179	1126	1665
Receipt of Support							
% received help with money from any child	32.9	49.7	42.5	46.3	53.7	67.5	60.6
% received help with services from any child	31.1	40.1	38.0	49.3	44.0	40.6	61.9
Proximity of Nearest Child							
% Coresident	31.2	50.0	45.4	57.6	65.2	71.6	65.6
% In the same Neighborhood	36.8	11.3	29.7	25.6	14.3	15.5	14.2
% Outside the Neighborhood	32.0	27.3	24.8	16.8	20.4	12.9	17.6
% Abroad	na	11.5	na	na	na	na	2.6
Gender							
% women	64.8	59.5	61.3	58.4	59.4	55.9	58.4
% men	35.2	40.5	38.7	41.7	40.6	44.1	41.6
Children							
% exactly one son	12.0	7.9	13.2	6.5	4.1	4.1	9.1
% exactly one daughter	10.4	6.2	11.9	7.2	6.3	2.4	9.0
% two sons	14.6	11.2	14.8	13.0	11.9	6.6	13.8
% two daughters	19.5	16.2	18.6	19.8	16.7	14.4	16.8
% one son and one daughter	16.9	9.3	19.6	13.0	9.0	4.6	14.1
% 3 or more children, any gender	26.7	49.2	21.9	40.6	52.0	67.9	37.2

Table 6.1 continued.

	Strong Welfare				Weak Welfare			
	MV N = 1228	BT N = 1242	BA N = 898	SP N = 1921	SO N = 1179	MC N = 1126	HV N = 1665	
Parents' Characteristics								
Residual Household Size, mean (sd)	1.36 (1.8)	1.08 (1.6)	0.79 (1.4)	1.04 (1.5)	1.77 (1.9)	1.88 (2.2)	1.61 (1.8)	
Residual Household Assistance (No assistance)								
% Receive assistance from at least 1 auxiliary hh member	17.4	17.6	20.4	22.2	32.9	25.4	41.1	
Age								
% 70–74	23.5	20.1	24.8	19.1	19.0	19.0	18.5	
% 60–64	20.9	23.4	22.9	32.7	30.3	32.9	29.1	
% 65–69	26.3	21.7	25.8	26.6	24.3	25.2	23.2	
% 75–79	16.9	14.5	14.7	10.9	13.9	11.7	13.4	
% 80–84	8.2	11.1	7.6	6.0	7.0	6.4	7.3	
% 85 and older	4.2	9.4	4.3	4.7	5.5	4.9	8.5	
Marital Status								
% married	51.3	37.1	59.7	60.4	59.6	57.3	42.8	
% widowed	36.1	28.0	32.5	31.0	26.8	30.9	32.8	
% separated/divorced/unmarried	12.6	35.0	7.8	8.6	13.6	11.8	24.4	
Self-Rated Health								
% very good	16.6	16.0	18.6	10.3	6.3	7.0	4.8	
% good	43.6	35.9	47.8	35.4	32.9	24.2	28.9	
% poor	39.8	48.1	33.5	54.3	60.8	68.8	58.6	
% used proxy	na	na	na	na	na	na	7.7	
Disability								
% Difficulty with at least 1 ADL	17.4	13.6	17.3	19.9	21.2	18.9	18.7	
% Difficulty with at least 1 IADL	17.7	22.6	26.7	32.0	27.2	27.3	25.1	

Table 6.1 continued.

	Strong Welfare				Weak Welfare			
	MV N = 1228	BT N = 1242	BA N = 898	SP N = 1921	SO N = 1179	MC N = 1126	HV N = 1665	
Parents' Characteristics								
Educational Attainment								
% none	7.9	3.5	6.1	26.9	18.8	25.2	5.5	
% primary	66.7	78.0	64.6	63.9	50.5	55.2	53.8	
% high school	15.4	14.2	19.0	4.4	21.3	12.7	33.9	
% above high school	10.1	4.3	10.4	4.8	9.5	6.9	6.8	
Work/Pension Status								
% not working and not receiving pension	10.6	20.0	18.2	15.3	14.7	32.1	na	
% Pension only	65.1	56.4	49.2	51.3	50.4	20.9	64.5	
% Work and Pension	9.6	6.6	9.2	17.5	15.0	7.1	12.1	
% Work only	6.2	11.2	14.1	9.2	11.2	24.4	na	
% No info on work or pension	8.5	5.8	9.3	6.6	8.7	15.6	23.4	
Income Quintile								
% I	19.3	25.1	26.0	20.0	21.5	45.8	20.6	
% II	19.9	13.1	14.0	21.4	19.1	na	19.5	
% III	19.0	17.6	17.3	18.8	20.2	9.5	20.3	
% IV	19.5	18.8	18.5	19.8	19.3	21.4	19.7	
% V	19.5	18.5	18.9	20.0	19.9	21.8	20.0	
% Income not reported	2.7	6.9	5.3	na	Na	1.5	na	
Parents Provide Support								
% provide money	29.8	25.8	24.5	28.6	33.5	22.3	23.5	
% provide services	17.4	13.6	24.8	29.2	23.7	24.9	35.5	
% provide things	23.8	27.2	24.9	36.2	36.5	26.4	35.9	

Table 6.1 continued.

Parents' Characteristics	Strong Welfare					Weak Welfare	
	MV N = 1228	BT N = 1242	BA N = 898	SP N = 1921	SO N = 1179	MC N = 1126	HV N = 1665
Parents provide support							
% provide child care	23.1	13.5	24.6	22.5	22.1	17.6	19.6
Wealth Quintile							
% I	20.1	20.1	20.0	20.6	20.3	20.1	20.1
% II	19.9	20.0	20.0	19.6	19.7	20.4	20.1
% III	20.0	20.3	23.3	19.9	20.0	19.6	25.6
% IV	20.0	19.6	17.5	20.3	20.3	20.2	14.4
% V	20.0	20.0	19.2	19.6	19.6	19.7	19.9

^a MC- Mexico City; SO- Santiago; BA- Buenos Aires; SP- São Paulo; MV- Montevideo; HV- Havana; BT- Bridgetown

^b Percentages do not all add to 100% due to rounding.

Table 6.2: Percentage distribution of older adults' receipt of informal transfers by the type of Support and the proximity of the nearest child in each city of residence.

Panel A: Older Adults' Receipts of Financial Support By the Location of the Nearest Child in each city									
Proximity of Nearest Child	Strong Welfare					Weak Welfare			
	Montevideo	Bridgetown	Buenos Aires	São Paulo	Santiago	Mexico City	Havana		
Coresident	65.3	69.6	58.5	58.2	64.3	73.1	70.3		
Same Neighborhood	20.6	31.6	32.2	35.0	36.2	54.6	44.0		
Outside Neighborhood	15.7	32.2	25.5	22.9	31.9	51.5	39.3		
Abroad	na	21.9	Na	na	na	na	50.7		

Panel B: Older Adults' Receipts of Functional Support By the Location of the Nearest Child in each city									
Proximity of Nearest Child	Strong Welfare					Weak Welfare			
	Montevideo	Bridgetown	Buenos Aires	São Paulo	Santiago	Mexico City	Havana		
Coresident	65.2	61.8	58.5	65.6	58.8	51.8	79.8		
Same Neighborhood	22.5	27.4	28.0	36.3	30.2	15.5	37.4		
Outside Neighborhood	7.9	20.4	12.7	12.9	6.4	8.2	24.2		
Abroad	na	4.8	Na	na	na	na	0.0		

na: no cases

Table 6.3: Logistic regression odds ratios for older adults' receipt of financial and functional transfers, pooled sample.

Parents' Characteristics	Support Received	
	Financial	Functional
Location of Nearest Child (Coresident)		
In the same Neighborhood	0.35 (0.02)***	0.28 (0.02)***
In the same City	0.34 (0.03)***	0.14 (0.01)***
Outside of the City (another city &/or abroad)	0.29 (0.03)***	0.06 (0.01)***
Gender (women)		
Men	0.62 (0.04)***	0.87 (0.06)*
Children (one son)		
one daughter	0.83 (0.10)	1.62 (0.22)***
two sons	1.61 (0.18)***	1.21 (0.15)
two daughters	1.47 (0.15)***	1.63 (0.19)***
one son and one daughter	1.31 (0.14)*	1.35 (0.16)*
3 or more sons or daughters	1.92 (0.19)***	1.61 (0.17)***
Age (70–74)		
60–64	0.90 (0.07)	0.71 (0.06)***
65–69	1.03 (0.08)	0.79 (0.06)**
75–79	1.13 (0.09)	1.06 (0.09)
80–84	1.24 (0.12)*	1.53 (0.16)***
85 and older	1.06 (0.11)	1.77 (0.21)***
Marital Status (married)		
Widowed	1.17 (0.07)**	1.54 (0.10)***
separated/divorced/unmarried	1.10 (0.08)	1.27 (0.10)**

Table 6.3 continued.

Parents' Characteristics	Support Received	
	Financial	Functional
Self-Rated Health (very good)		
Good	1.18 (0.10)**	1.10 (0.10)
poor	1.28 (0.11)**	1.07 (0.10)
used proxy	1.54 (0.35)*	1.42 (0.38)
Disability		
Difficulty with at least 1 ADL	1.07 (0.07)	1.23 (0.10)**
Difficulty with at least 1 IADL	1.02 (0.07)	1.84 (0.13)***
Residual HH Size	0.94 (0.02)**	0.98 (0.02)
Residual Household Assistance (No assistance)	1.23 (0.08)**	1.29 (0.09)**
Assistance from auxiliary household members		
Work/Pension Status (No Work/No pension)		
Pension only	0.68 (0.06)**	0.96 (0.10)
Work and Pension	0.59 (0.07)**	0.92 (0.11)
Work only	0.67 (0.08)**	1.07 (0.13)
No info on work or pension	0.76 (0.08)**	1.14 (0.12)
Income Quintile (I)		
II	1.30 (0.12)**	1.14 (0.11)
III	1.22 (0.11)*	1.09 (0.10)
IV	0.93 (0.08)	0.99 (0.09)
V	0.58 (0.05)**	0.78 (0.08)*
Income not reported	0.92 (0.17)	0.95 (0.20)

Table 6.3 continued.

Parents' Characteristics	Support Received	
	Financial	Functional
Educational Attainment (none)		
Primary	0.95 (0.06)	1.05 (0.08)
high school	0.86 (0.08)	1.11 (0.11)
above high school	0.56 (0.07)**	0.77 (0.10)*
Parent's Support to Children		
provide help with money	1.06 (0.06)	1.60 (0.10)***
provide help with services	1.82 (0.12)***	2.03 (0.13)***
provide help with things	1.21 (0.07)**	1.38 (0.08)***
provide help with child care	1.38 (0.09)***	1.49 (0.10)***
Wealth Quintile (1)		
II	1.28 (0.09)***	1.20 (0.09)*
III	1.37 (0.10)***	1.16 (0.09)
IV	1.33 (0.11)***	0.94 (0.08)
V	1.03 (0.08)	1.07 (0.09)

Table 6.3 continued.

Parents' Characteristics	Support Received	
	Financial	Functional
City of Residence (Montevideo)		
Bridgetown	1.82 (0.18)***	1.48 (0.16)***
Buenos Aires	1.50 (0.15)***	1.20 (0.13)
São Paulo	1.18 (0.11)	1.67 (0.16)***
Santiago	1.58 (0.15)***	0.99 (0.10)
Mexico City	3.06 (0.33)**	0.80 (0.09)*
Havana	2.31 (0.22)***	2.43 (0.25)***
Constant	0.62 (0.12)**	0.33 (0.06)***
Pseudo R ²	0.1722	0.2537
Wald Chi ²	2214.26***	3245.00***
N	9259	9259

*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001, standard errors in parentheses

Table 6.4: Summary of associations between older adults' nearest child being outside of the household and parents' receipt of support according to the strength of the welfare system in the city of residence and the stage of population aging.

	Strong Welfare		Weak Welfare	
	Financial	Functional	Financial	Functional
Advanced Aging			Advanced Aging	
Uruguay (Montevideo)	low	Low	Cuba (Havana)	high
Argentina (Buenos Aires)	high	Low		
Barbados (Bridgetown)	low	Low		
Less Advanced Aging			Less Advanced Aging	
Chile (Santiago)	low	Low	Mexico (Mexico City)	high
Brazil (São Paulo)	low	High		low

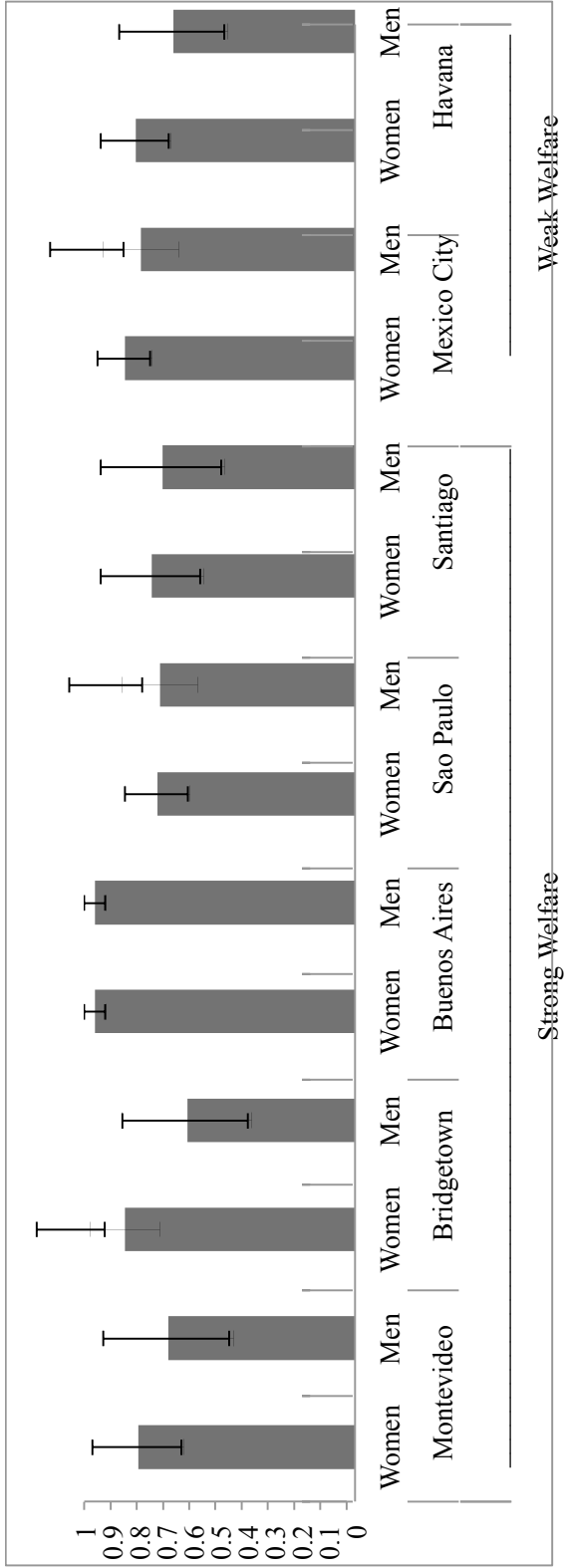


Figure 6.1: Predicted Probabilities for Vulnerable Parents' Receipt of **Financial Support** if the nearest child lives in the **Same Household** by the city of residence and gender of the parent, showing the 95% Confidence Intervals.

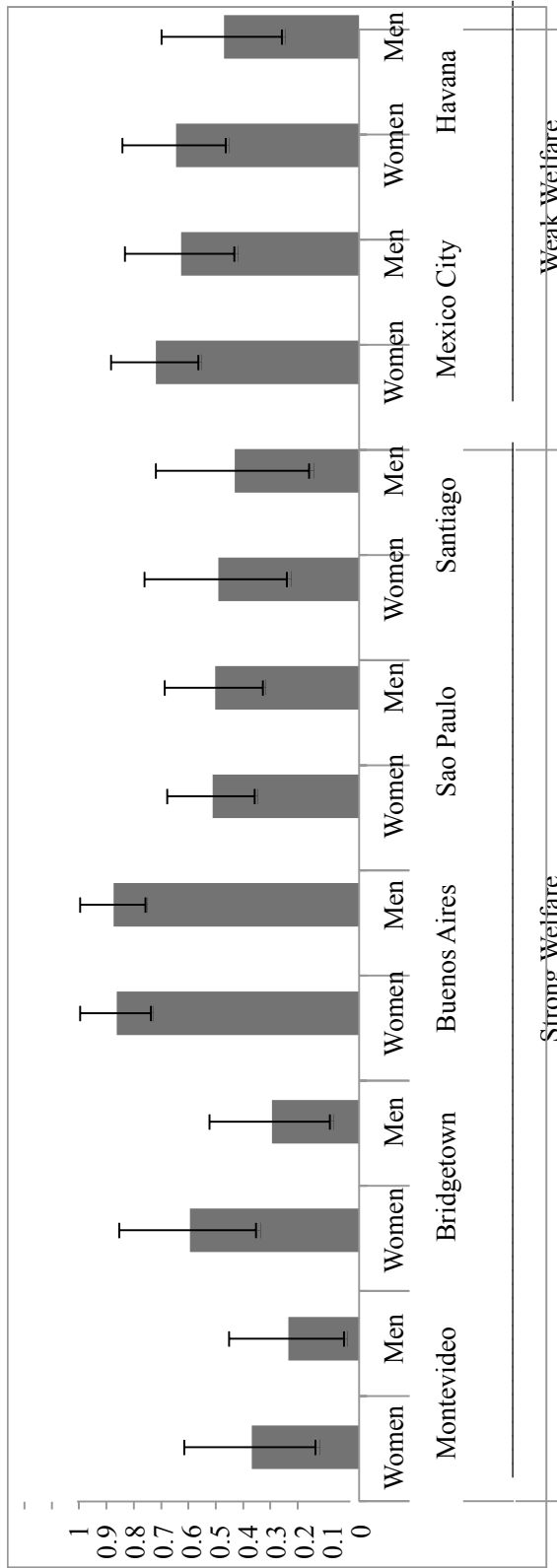


Figure 6.2: Predicted Probabilities for Vulnerable Parents' Receipt of **Financial Support** if the nearest child lives in the **Same Neighborhood** by the city of residence and gender of the parent, showing the 95% Confidence Intervals.

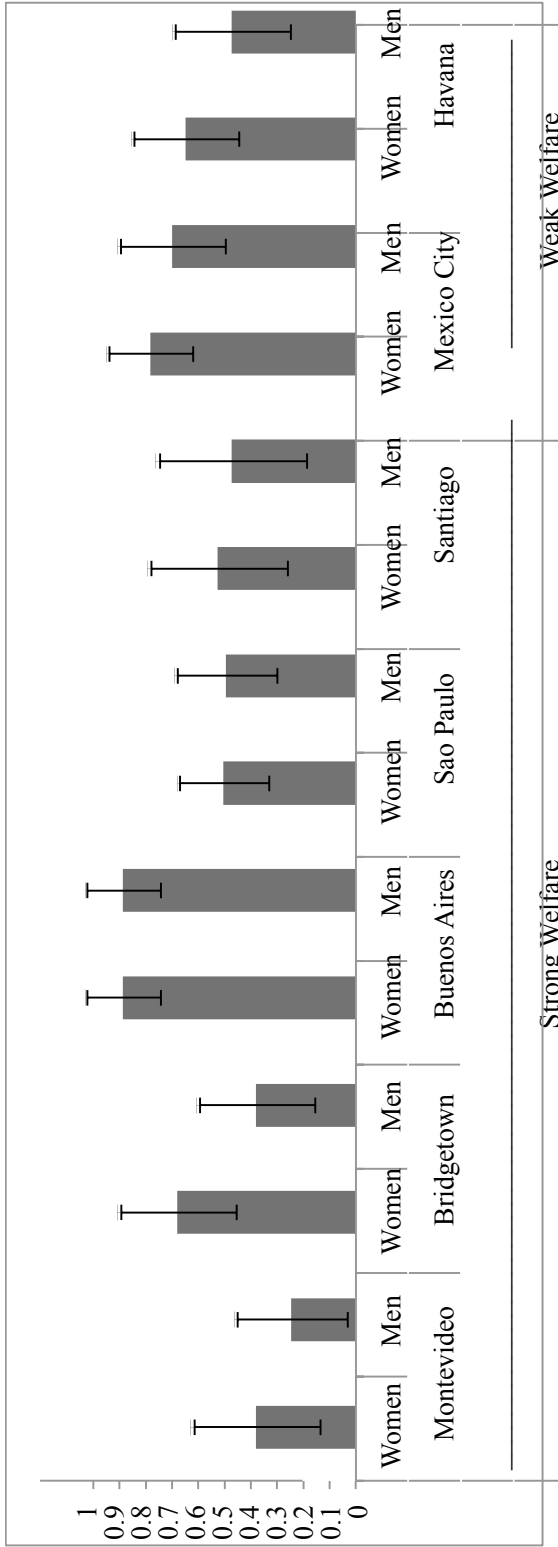


Figure 6.3: Predicted Probabilities for Vulnerable Parents' Receipt of **Financial Support** if the nearest child lives **Outside of the Neighborhood** by the city of residence and gender of the parent, showing the 95% Confidence Intervals.

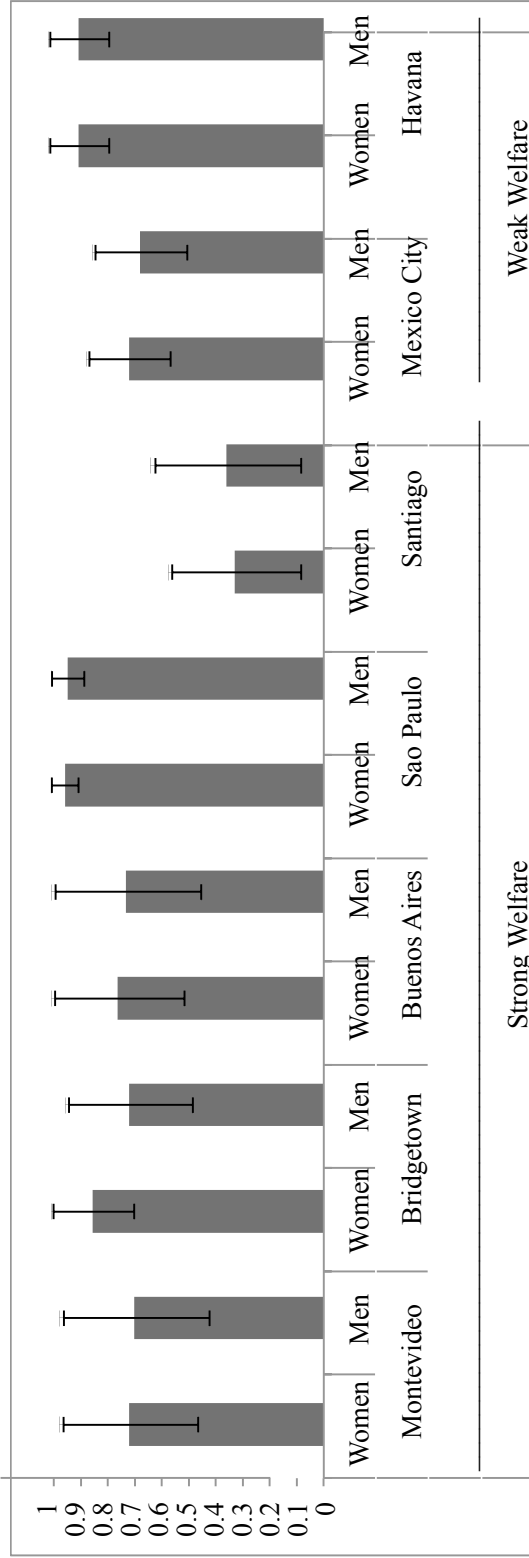


Figure 6.4: Predicted Probabilities for Vulnerable Parents' Receipt of **Functional Support** if the nearest child lives in the **Same Household** by the city of residence and gender of the parent, showing the 95% Confidence Intervals.

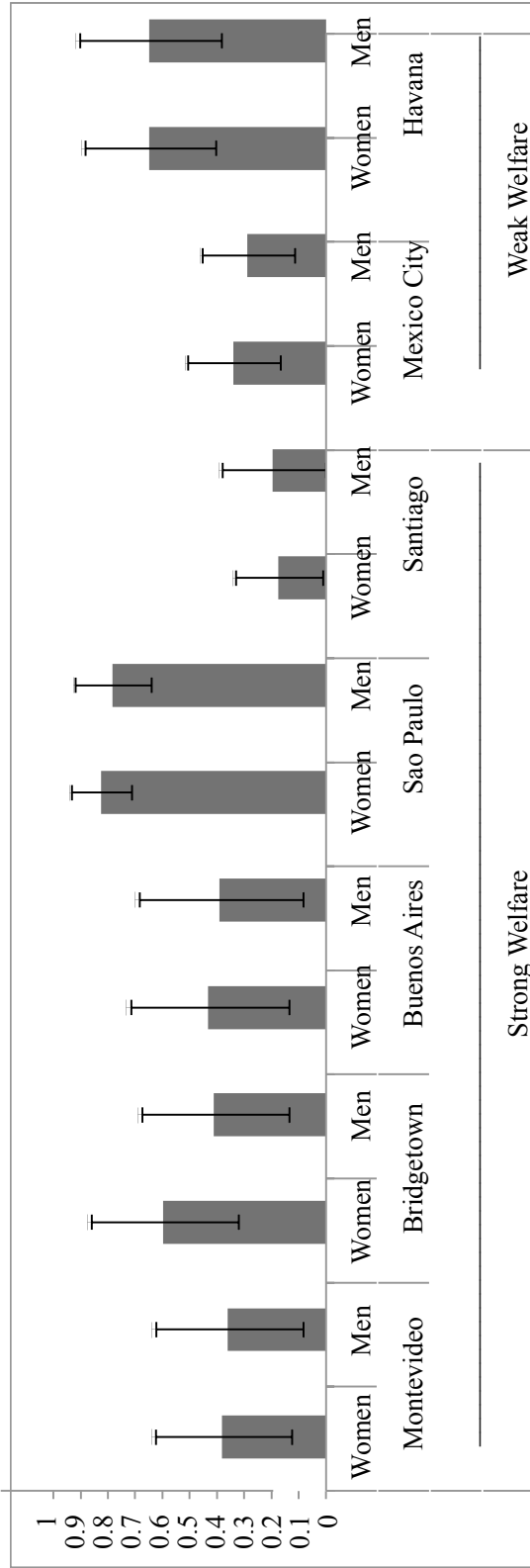


Figure 6.5: Predicted Probabilities for Vulnerable Parents' Receipt of **Functional Support** if the nearest child lives in the **Same Neighborhood**, by the city of residence and gender of the parent, showing the 95% Confidence Intervals.

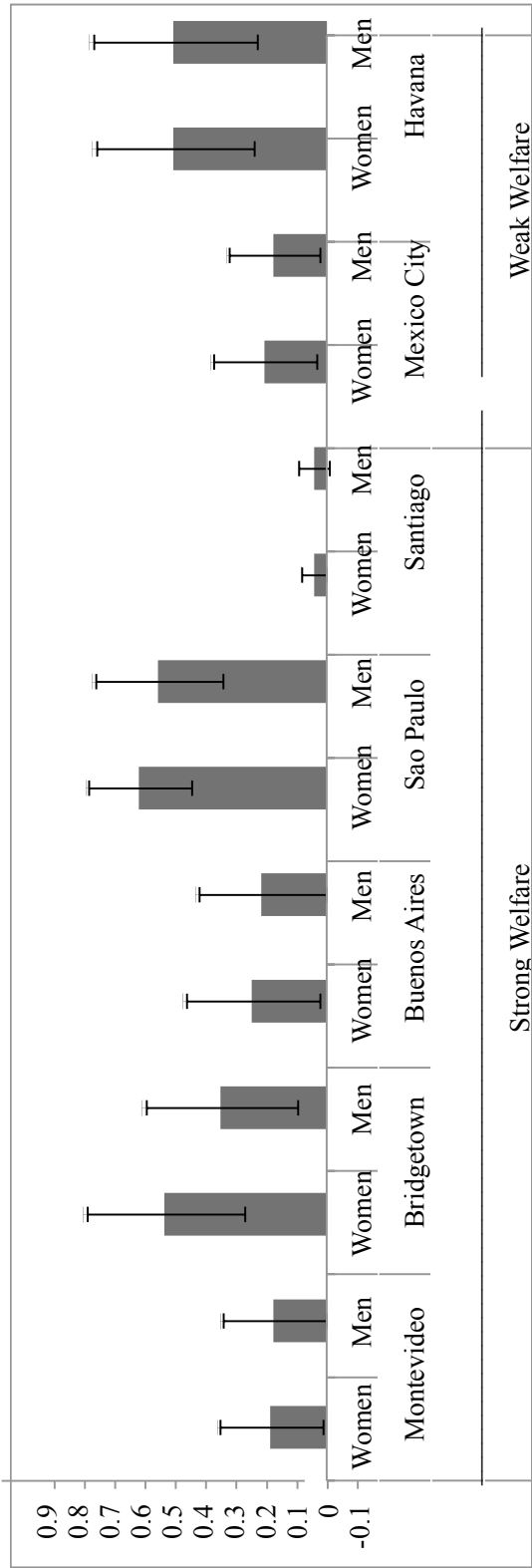


Figure 6.6: Predicted Probabilities for Vulnerable Parents' Receipt of **Functional Support** if the nearest child lives **Outside of the Neighborhood** by the city of residence and gender of the parent, showing the 95% Confidence Intervals.

CHAPTER 7

ADULT CHILDREN'S SUPPORT TO THEIR PARENTS:

A CLOSER LOOK AT PROXIMITY

In the previous chapter we learned that parents' likelihood of receiving support is conditioned by the proximity of their children such that increasing distance is generally associated with lower probabilities of receiving support. At the same time, the combination of parental needs, the social context as measured by the city of residence, and the gender of both parent and child further influence this relationship between proximity and support. Corresponding with most existing research on intergenerational support in Latin America and the Caribbean with the exception of Saad (2005), the conclusions reflect the perspective of the parents as opposed to that of the children.

This chapter adds to the existing empirical literature by examining how the circumstances of children in urban cities of Latin America and the Caribbean influence their provision of financial and functional support to their older parents. This chapter takes a closer look at the role of residential proximity in shaping support flows by examining both the child's residential location and their siblings' proximity to their older parents.

Geographic proximity provides the opportunity structure for support (Bengston and Roberts 1991). While closer proximity provides the immediacy of support exchanges in times of need, family members may also separate in order to better meet the

needs of family members. Research in other developing countries such as China, Brazil, and Barbados (Bian, Logan, and Bian 1998; Sun 2002; Saad 2005; Quashie and Zimmer 2013) shows that children living away from the parental home support their parents regardless of their precise location. It is unclear, however, whether the availability of siblings in closer proximity to parents influences any given non-coresident child's provision of support.

The issue of geographic separation and its implications for undermining or reinforcing family support is particularly relevant in Latin America and the Caribbean given the vast differences in institutional support for older adults along with the salience of relying on family for support. As shown in Chapters 5 and 6, in cities such as Mexico City and Havana where social welfare systems are relatively weak, older adults in vulnerable life states are more likely to live in closer proximity to adult children, and parents in vulnerable circumstances are, generally, more likely to receive support from children regardless of their proximity to their nearest child, relative to older adults in most cities with stronger welfare states.

Migration is an enduring feature of Latin American and Caribbean societies, and existing research shows that family support is maintained despite distance (Durand, Parrado, and Massey 1996; Chamberlain 1999; Massey, Durand, and Malone 2003; daCunha and Vignoli 2008). Moreover, country differences in the onset of fertility declines imply differences in family sizes for current cohorts of older adults, for example, larger families in Mexico relative to Argentina and Uruguay (Glaser et al., 2006). Thus, older adults are more likely to have children living in closer proximity to provide support in some places relative to others. Yet we know little about how children negotiate

parental care responsibilities within Latin America and the Caribbean.

Overall, the extent to which siblings cooperate to support their parents has received little attention in research on intergenerational support in developing countries (Piotrowski, 2008). Currently, the majority of existing research on shared caregiving among siblings to older adult parents has been conducted primarily within the United States (Horowitz 1985; Matthews and Rosner 1988; Keith 1995; Piercy 1998; Checkovich and Stern 2002), with a few exceptions in the developing countries such as Taiwan (Lin et al. 2003), Thailand (Piotrowski 2008), and Egypt (Sinunu, Yount, and Afify 2009). Research on siblings' negotiation of support within Latin America and the Caribbean is limited. Forsythe-Brown's (2007) mixed-method study of Afro-Caribbean immigrants, however, examined the extent of cooperation among children to maintain kinship and support their parents across international borders. Altogether, these studies identify the importance of family size and their gender composition, gender norms regarding caregiving, and children's abilities to provide support due to their marital status, occupation, or competing commitments as they each influence the negotiation of caregiving for older parents among children.

This chapter builds on existing research on children's support to parents by exploring how patterns of caregiving to older parents are structured by the location of children outside of the household and the availability of siblings in closer proximity to their parents across different cities within the region. The study seeks to answer the following question: Are non-coresident children more or less likely to provide financial, functional or both forms of support to their parents if they have siblings in closer proximity to their parents? The answer to this question will provide some insight into

how children cooperate with each other or diffuse responsibility to ensure the well-being of their parents in different countries within the region that differ according to social welfare systems for older adults and gendered expectations of support provision. The next section provides a brief overview of main theoretical frameworks and hypotheses related to geographic proximity and gender in shaping siblings' negotiation of support for their older parents.

7.1 Theory and Hypotheses

7.1.1. Proximity and Support

This study acknowledges that Latin American and Caribbean families are often strong, stable units such that propinquity is not always necessary for intergenerational support exchanges. Moreover, in some instances the support provided by the parent generation facilitates geographic separation between parents and their children (Chamberlain 1999; Schmalzbauer 2004; Sana and Massey 2005; Zontini 2007). This chapter draws from literature on migration and family support to examine the ways in which non-coreident children may organize support for their older parents.

This chapter draws on literature within the fields of migration, social gerontology, and gender roles within the family. Within the literature on migration, the New Home Economics of Migration is applied to this study, as it views migration as a household-based strategy. Geographic separation may be vital to the overall well-being of household members in countries that do not have adequate systems for income-smoothing over the life course (Stark and Bloom 1985). One or more family members may migrate, either within the country or abroad, to offset the household's economic

vulnerability. Economic migration can generate income, part or all of which can then be remitted to the household for consumption or investment expenditure (Stark and Lucas 1988).

As migration is embedded in a household context rather than driven by individual atomistic thinking, parents and other household members often support the migrant before and during their sojourn, and migrants support their parents in return (Root and De Jong 1991). This is aligned with the mutual aid model of intergenerational relations, which proposes that families operate as close-knit networks to maximize the well-being of members. Thus, parents and children provide support according to each other's needs and capacities (Lee et al. 1994). Following from this, non-coresident children may support their parents if they receive economic or other support prior to migration, during their move, and in their current residence outside of the household (Lillard and Willis 1997; Menjivar 1997; Cong and Silverstein 2011).

Moreover, the new home economics perspective assumes migrants behave altruistically in maintaining their support across space. That is, migrant remittances are inextricably tied to household needs. Financial support is used for consumption, such as purchasing food, or may be used for household investments, such as savings or purchases of assets, to ensure future financial security. This is especially important for households that cannot depend on or are excluded from formal systems of social protection (Durand et al. 1996; Massey and Espinosa 1997). These propositions are supported by research on remittances and remittance behavior by rural and urban migrants of low to middle income households in Latin America and the Caribbean (Itzigsohn, 1995; Agarwal and Horowitz, 2002).

Remittances are likely to be particularly important to older adults, whose capacities to earn independent income are diminished as they transition out of the formal labor market, especially in settings where social welfare systems for older adults are underdeveloped or in jeopardy. Migration of family members and the remittances that follow may be a form of social protection for families in these contexts, generally and especially for households with older adults (Benjamin et al. 2000; Orzoco, 2009). For instance, due to a lack of disability insurance in many such settings, as well as weakly developed pension schemes, older adults who encounter functional limitations that inhibit their productive employment may need to rely upon family members' contributions to income, as well as other forms of material and instrumental support. Migrant children may be particularly well situated to provide the financial support such parents require. By comparison, older adults in societies with well-developed systems of social protection may be less dependent on remittances and children's support more broadly for their daily livelihoods.

For instance, in Barbados remittances are commonplace (Chamberlain 2006), but remittances accounted for 2% of the country's Gross Domestic Product in 1990 and increased to 3% by 1999. Moreover, remittances are not a significant source of income for older Barbadians. According to the 2000 Barbados Census, the majority of Barbadians identified local pensions as their main source of income, followed by employment (Nam 2009). In contrast, in Cuba, following the collapse of the Soviet Union, remittances to Cuba increased from 0.5% to 4.5% of GDP, between 1990 and 1999 (Eckstein 2004). Older adults in Cuba are likely to have been amongst the primary recipients of remittances. Likewise, research in Mexico identifies that remittances are an

important source of income for older adults, especially older women (Gomes 2007, Aguila et al. 2011). The significance of remittances, from family members to the well-being of older adults in Mexico and Cuba is attributed to the weak income security provided by the market and the state.

Therefore, drawing from the new home economics of migration perspective, *Hypothesis 1* proposes that international migrant children originating from Havana and Mexico City will be more likely than children within Cuba and Mexico, respectively, to provide financial support. Furthermore, international migration will be unrelated to or negatively associated with the provision of financial support to older adults in cities within countries where institutional support for older adults is stronger.

While geographic separation may be instrumental for parents' receipt of financial support, physical distance can impinge on older adults' receipt of different types of support that require closer proximity such as assistance with household chores or transportation. The modified extended family thesis (Litwak 1960) suggests that the type of support children provide will be contingent on their residential location. Children living further away from parents may provide financial support or maintain communication via telephone, while children in closer proximity are more likely to fulfill daily caregiving responsibilities such as housework or related support needs (DeVos et al. 2004; Knodel et al. 2010). This perspective is used in this study to examine the negotiation of support arrangements among children depending on their location and that of their siblings in relation to their parents.

On the basis that Latin America and Caribbean families or household members cooperate as a unit and migration is seen as a collective undertaking, it is conceivable that

the location of siblings, in relation to their parents, can moderate the support provided by children living outside of the household. Siblings may work together to support their parents by strategically splitting support to reflect their circumstances such that those further away provide money, while those in closer proximity provide everyday functional support that requires more time.

Drawing from the modified extended family perspective, *Hypothesis 2* proposes that children living outside of the household will be more likely to provide financial support and less likely to provide functional support if they have a sibling within the parental household. Non-coresident children without a sibling within the parental household, however, will be more likely to provide both forms of support. Coresidence provides the most immediate opportunity for support exchanges across generations (Choi 2003; Quashie and Zimmer 2013). In Latin America and the Caribbean, intergenerational coresidence is the most common living arrangement but is declining in some places (Peláez and Martínez 2002; Ruggles and Heggeness 2008).

On one hand, the availability of a sibling within the same household as parents may dampen support provided by non-coresident children as they may perceive fewer needs of parents or the household if the sibling is providing support. On the other hand, unmeasured variables that influence a sibling's coresidence with their parents, for instance parent-child relationship quality or the economic or marital stability of the child, can also influence whether the coresident child is able to provide support and the form it may take. These factors influence the likelihood of support provided by non-coresident children. Thus, coresiding and non-coresiding siblings may substitute their support based on the comparative advantage implied by their location.

The analyses in this chapter are restricted to non-coresident children in order to arrive at a better understanding of how the relative proximity of children and their siblings influence the support they provide to their parents. Preliminary analyses comparing the likelihoods of support provision between children living away from the parental home to those living with parents revealed across all cities that increasing distance was negatively associated with providing support. This is likely due to the possibility that the shared living arrangement dampens support from children outside of the household when compared to those who live with their parents. This finding restricts our understanding of how non-coresident children's support to their parents might differ based on their specific location outside of the household.

The positive association between closer proximity and likelihoods of intergenerational exchanges was documented in Chapter 6. As shown in Chapter 6, however, even if the nearest child is outside of the household, parents are still likely to receive support. At the same time, relative to coresident children, transfers between non-coresident children and parents are likely to be more calculated or premeditated due to the fact that distance removes the possibility of immediate support provision.

Coresident children ideally have more first-hand knowledge of household needs and may be able to act more immediately to address these situations. In contrast, those outside of the household are more reliant on the communication of household needs either directly from their parents or indirectly from coresident household members or those in close proximity to the household in order to initiate support provision. Moreover, the social or economic circumstances of children outside of the household may enhance or constrain their provision of support and the forms of support they can

provide. Thus we gain better understanding of the relative effort that non-coresident children may put forth in an effort to maintain family solidarity across distance.

7.1.2. Gender and Support

Against the background of gender being an organizing principle of family support within the region, I compare the helping behaviors of sons and daughters and examine whether the gender composition of siblings influences support provided by children. By doing this, I am able to provide a broader examination of men's roles, both as sons and brothers, in support arrangements within the family. This is an important addition to the literature on gender and family relations more generally because as Morgan (2004) points out, when men are considered in research on kin relations, they are often seen as being less involved. Quantitative and qualitative research, particularly within the United States, consistently shows that daughters are the main kin-keepers; that is, they maintain and fulfill a wide range of the obligations regarding parental care and also in maintaining interactions among siblings (Rosenthal 1985; White and Reidman 1992; Matthews 1995; Campbell et al. 1999).

As discussed in the preceding chapters, within Latin America and the Caribbean, men's roles are typically limited to providing financial support, while women take the bulk of responsibility for fulfilling kinship obligations. Kinship obligations run the gamut of engaging in personal caregiving to assigning tasks to their siblings regarding the care of parents and maintaining communication among family members (Stack and Burton 2003). In addition, in the English and Spanish speaking Caribbean countries, women also have an active role in economic support for the household (Safa 1995).

These socialized gendered assignments of household support also transcend space.

Among internal migrants within Latin American countries, women are often more likely than men to remit money and other material goods to their households (Chant 2003). Recent analysis of remittance behavior for Latin America and the Caribbean immigrants to the United States between 1986 and 2000 shows that the share of female migrants, that is the percentage of women in the Latin American and Caribbean migrant population within the United States, is negatively associated with remittances (Niimi and Ozden 2008). The authors attribute this negative association to the increased likelihood of family-based migration combined with women's employment in low wage jobs, which reduce their propensity to remit. The lower likelihood of remittances from international migrant women of Latin American and Caribbean origins, however, depends on the national context and the associated gender norms regarding family cohesion and migration histories.

Sana and Massey's (2005) comparative assessment of the determinants of remittances to Mexico and the Dominican Republic argue that Mexico's traditional patriarchal structure of families is associated with an increased likelihood of remittances from males who are abroad. A similar association was not present for the Dominican Republic because family life is relatively less patriarchal. In the latter, female householders who migrate abroad were less likely to remit because they were more likely to be permanent migrants and therefore had less incentive to invest in the origin. At the same time, migrant daughters from the Dominican Republic were more likely than sons to remit. Similarly, research on transnational kinship ties among migrants from English-speaking Caribbean countries has shown that women are more likely than men to remit to

households in the region of their origins (Olwig 1993). Thus, there is some prior evidence that the matrifocal systems of English- and Spanish-speaking Caribbean societies reinforce international migrant women's maintenance of social and economic ties to their households of origin. This does not negate that migrant Caribbean men continue to support their families in the origin.

The form of support provided by migrant Caribbean men in their roles as sons or brothers, however, is more limited to their roles of financial provider compared to daughters and sisters. Forsythe-Brown's (2007) study of transnational kinship among Caribbean immigrant groups from Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and Barbados showed that women, as daughters and sisters, take more responsibility for supporting their aging parents or assigning responsibilities for care, even if male siblings are available. Sons or brothers, however, did engage in emotional and other noneconomic support if there were no available sisters within the family. This finding suggests that the gender of the child and the gender composition of siblings are critical to adult children's helping behavior. More importantly, children diffuse responsibility for caregiving along the lines of socialized gender scripts.

Thus, *Hypothesis 3a* proposes that in Latin American cities, non-coresident women in their roles as daughters will be more likely to provide functional support, while non-coresident sons will be more likely to provide financial support. This is due to the patrifocal organization of households within Latin America that clearly segregates the economic and domestic spheres of men and women, respectively. In Caribbean cities, specifically Havana and Bridgetown, non-coresident daughters will be more likely than sons to provide both financial and functional support. Regarding the gender composition

of siblings, *Hypothesis 3b* proposes that in all cities, the availability of brothers will be positively associated with children's provision of financial support, while the availability of sisters will be positively associated with children's provision of functional support.

In sum, by comparing the likelihoods of support provisions across non-coresident children at different ranges of proximity to parents, we capture more of the nuanced relationship between geographic separation, gender, and family support. Although adult children serve as the unit of analysis in this chapter, I also examine which demographic and economic characteristics of older adults influence non-coresident children's likelihoods of providing support within these families.

7.2 Methods

Presented first is a descriptive summary of the characteristics of adult children according to the city in which their parents' reside. Following this, separate logistic regression models are estimated for children's provisions of financial and functional to their parents, according to their parents' city of residence. The focus is on the location of the adult child, the residential proximity of siblings to parents, and the gender composition of siblings, as these variables form the basis of the theories and hypotheses proposed earlier.

As the children are the unit of analysis and the analyses account for some aspects of their siblings' characteristics, it is likely that any child's provisions of support will be correlated with the siblings' provisions of support or their parents' assessment of the support received from their children. Therefore, observations within a household may be more similar than different. This violates the assumptions of independence among

observations for the purpose of regression analyses. To address this issue, all analyses are adjusted for clustering to produce clustered robust standard errors of the estimated coefficients.

To assess the extent to which non-coresident children's provision of financial and functional support is contingent on the availability of siblings in closer proximity to the parents and parental needs across contexts, predicted probabilities of children's financial and functional support are calculated. Specifically, the probabilities presented are based on older adult parents in relatively vulnerable circumstances in each city and children who have at least one sibling living with their parents.

A vulnerable older adult is described as one who is 80–84 years old, is widowed, in poor health, experiencing at least one difficulty with ADL's and IADL's, has no education, is in the lowest income and wealth quintiles, lives with no other persons in the household beside the spouse and coresident child, does receive assistance from other persons in the household, and does not support their children with money, services, material things, or child care. The non-coresident child and their siblings are described as follows: the child has three or more siblings, has at least one sibling living with their parents, does not have any siblings in either the same neighborhood as their parents, the same city as their parents, another city within the country or abroad, identifies as the closest non-coresident child, is between 35 and 44 years of age, has completed high school, is currently working, has one employed sibling, is married, and has two children. As explained in Chapter 6, these predicted values facilitate comparability of the relative significance of a child's location and their siblings' proximity to their parents for influencing children's provision of support to their parents in vulnerable circumstances in

each city.

Although the analyses are based on the child as the unit of analysis, I also incorporate parental characteristics that reflect their access to resources and their needs, such as their age, gender, and marital, health, and economic status. As shown and discussed in the previous chapter, these parental characteristics often influence support transfers.

7.3 Results

7.3.1 Description of the Sample

As shown in Table 7.1, there are some noteworthy distinctions across the cities. Foremost, children in Montevideo were the least likely to provide both financial and functional support to their parents, approximately 30%, whereas in Havana children were most likely to provide both forms of support, approximately 60%. Mexico City had the highest proportion of children providing financial support, 70%, followed closely by children in Havana, where 62% reported giving financial support. More importantly, of all the cities, children in Mexico City were the most likely to provide financial support. These patterns reflect those of parents' receipts of support, which were discussed in the previous chapter. As such, the city differences in patterns of support provision are likely due to differences in the social and economic conditions and differences in formal support available to their parents in these households.

Regarding family size and the gender composition of siblings, differences in the timing and pace of demographic transitions across the countries are evident. Children in Mexico City were most likely to have three or more siblings, 33%, and least likely to

have exactly one brother or sister. In contrast, those in Buenos Aires and Montevideo were least likely to have three or more siblings, approximately 12%, and most likely to have either one brother or one sister. Regarding the location of children, in all cities, with the exception of Bridgetown, non-coresident children were most likely to live in the same city as their parent, ranging from 65% in Santiago to 33% in Bridgetown. In Bridgetown, however, non-coresident children were most likely to live abroad, 37%. Children in Mexico City were the most likely to have at least one sibling coresiding with their parents, nearly 70%, while those in Montevideo were the least likely, 24%. In all other cities, with the exception of Bridgetown, children were most likely to have at least one sibling within the same city as their parents. Santiago and Mexico City had the highest proportions of children with at least one sibling in the same city, 81% and 76%, respectively. In Bridgetown, children were most likely to have at least one sibling either within the same city, 54%, or abroad, 60%.

The majority of children in each city were within the 35 to 54 age groups. São Paulo and Havana had the highest proportion of children aged 55 and over, approximately 13%. Bridgetown and Montevideo have the highest reported employment among children, 90% and 83%, respectively. On the other hand, Mexico City, Santiago and São Paulo have the highest proportions of children not currently working, at near 30% in each city.

Havana's older adults had the highest proportion of children with tertiary education, 46%, followed closely by Mexico City with 35% of non-coresident children completing college, university, or professional education. In Santiago, Buenos Aires, and Bridgetown, the majority of children have completed high school education. In contrast,

São Paulo and Montevideo had the highest proportions of children with elementary education as their highest level of attainment. The distribution of marital status across the cities showed children were most likely married or in some form of union. Only in Buenos Aires were children most likely to be in some form of union dissolution, 81%. Regarding children's receipt of support from parents in all cities, 20 to 30% of non-coresident children indicated having had received assistance from parents with money, services such as transport or household chores, material support such as food or clothing, or assistance with child care.

7.3.2 Multivariate Analytical Strategy

In each city, separate logistic regression models are estimated for children's provision of each form of support-financial and functional. These models, presented in Appendix C and Appendix D, respectively, show the odds ratios for children's likelihood of providing support. The focus is on the residential location of the child, the residential proximity of siblings to parents, and the gender composition of siblings, as these variables form the basis of the hypotheses proposed earlier.

To assess the relative significance of the child's residential location for the provision of support to parents across different contexts, predicted probabilities of children's provision of financial and functional support are calculated in each city based on the models presented in Appendix C and Appendix D, respectively.

Figures 7.1, 7.2, 7.3, and 7.4 present the results for parents' receipt of financial and functional support in each city, according to the location of the non-coresident child being in the same household, same neighborhood or outside of the neighborhood,

respectively. These probabilities of support are based on older parents in relatively vulnerable circumstances, as defined in section 6.3.3.2 of this dissertation, and children who have at least one sibling in the same household as their parents.

7.3.2.1 Location of Child, Location of Siblings, and Support

Prior to discussing the results presented in Figures 7.1 to 7.4, I will discuss the main effects of non-coresident children's location and that of their siblings as they are associated with their provision of support to their parents. Consistent with the results presented in the previous chapter on parents' receipt of informal transfers, increasing distance is generally negatively associated with non-coresident children's provision of financial and functional support. Nevertheless, city differences withstand.

As shown in Appendix C, Havana is the only city where children living abroad at the time of the data collection were significantly more likely than children living in the same neighborhood as their parents to provide financial support. This finding provides *partial support* for the first hypothesis, which proposed that international migrant children originating from Havana and Mexico City, cities with weak welfare support for older adults, will be more likely to provide support to parents than international children from cities with stronger welfare systems. Non-coresident children living further from their parents were significantly less likely than those living in the same neighborhood to provide financial support to their parents in Montevideo. Regarding the provision of functional support, the models in Appendix D show that increasing distance is generally negatively associated with children's provision of support in all cities. This provides initial support for Hypothesis 2, which proposed that children living further away will be

less likely to provide functional support relative to those in closer proximity.

The salience of closer residential proximity is also observed in the associations between the siblings' residential location and a non-coresident child's likelihood of providing each form of support to their parents. In all cities, children with at least one sibling living with their parents had higher odds of providing both forms of support compared to those without a coresident sibling. Nevertheless, in some cities having at least one sibling outside of the household is also positively associated with the provision of support. Appendix C shows that in both Havana and Bridgetown, children with at least one sibling abroad were also more likely to provide financial support compared to those without a sibling abroad. As shown in Appendix D, children with at least one sibling outside of the household were more likely to provide functional support to their parents residing in Mexico City and Santiago. In Mexico City, children with at least one sibling in the same city as their parents and in Santiago those with at least one sibling in the same neighborhood and those with at least one sibling in the same city as their parents were more likely to provide functional support relative to those without siblings in each of these locations.

While it may seem surprising that having a sibling with one's parents is positively associated with a child's likelihood of providing both forms of support to parents, I argue the findings imply potential cooperation among siblings to ensure their parents' well-being. Non-coresident children are more likely to not only support their parents but also support their siblings who are in closer proximity to their parents. It may be the case that the coresident sibling is not always able to provide support that parents need and thus, they solicit help from their non-coresident siblings. On the other hand, the coresident

sibling may be providing other forms of support, not addressed in this study, and call on their siblings outside of the household to provide financial and functional support. Alternatively, children living outside of the household may be pressured by their parents and siblings living with their parents to provide support in order to show family solidarity.

To further investigate the possibilities of cooperation among siblings, predicted probabilities of support were calculated to determine whether a non-coresident child's support is conditional upon their respective location, their siblings being in closer proximity to their parents and their parents' needs. These results are presented in Figures 7.1 to 7.4.

Hypothesis 2 proposed that, according to the modified extend family thesis, children negotiate their care arrangements to match their abilities, which will be conditioned by their location and that of their siblings. Thus children who live further away, for instance in another city or country and have a sibling in closer proximity to their parents will be more likely to provide financial support and less likely to provide functional support. The findings show *partial support* for this hypothesis. Non-coresident children whose parents live in Buenos Aires, Santiago, and Mexico City are most likely to cooperate in the expected patterns. In each of these cities, children living further away from the household, in another city within the country or abroad, have higher probabilities of providing financial support relative to functional support to their parents if they have a sibling within the same household as their parents. In contrast, in Montevideo, Bridgetown, São Paulo, and Havana, children living outside of the household are more likely to provide functional support rather than financial support if

they have a sibling living with their parents and their parents are experiencing some vulnerability.

There are other noteworthy distinctions across the cities. Non-coresident children whose parents live in Buenos Aires show the highest probability of providing financial support, while children of older adults in São Paulo show the highest probability of providing functional support. Among children living outside of the household but within the country, either in the same neighborhood as parents, same city as parents, or another city within the country and with a sibling within the same household as their parents, children within Havana showed the lowest probability of providing financial support to their parents. Among children living abroad with a sibling in the same household as their parents, those originating from Montevideo had the lowest probability of providing financial support while those originating from Buenos Aires had the highest probability to providing financial support. International migrant children originating from Bridgetown were more likely than those from Havana but less likely than those from Mexico City to provide financial support to parents in vulnerable circumstances.

These city differences in support provided by non-coresident children, particularly financial support, may reflect differences in the structural conditions experienced by children within the country as well as within their destinations for international migrant children combined with differences in the length of stay abroad. For instance, international migrant children originating from Argentina and Barbados may have better access to employment or hold better paying jobs and have been more settled in their destinations relative to children from Cuba.

Overall, the findings reveal that non-coresident children and children living with

their parents do work together to support their parents when needs arise. Siblings' negotiations of financial and functional support follow expected patterns in some cities. In cities within countries with a relatively weak welfare structure, specifically Mexico City and Havana, non-coresident children within the country are less likely to support their parents, financially, compared to those living abroad. This provides some support for the conjecture that migration is sometimes necessary to ensure family well-being. At the same time, international migrant children from some cities within countries with stronger welfare systems for older adults (Bridgetown, Buenos Aires, and São Paulo) were more likely than those from Havana, a city with a weak welfare system, to financially support their parents in vulnerable circumstances.

7.3.2.2 Gender and Support Provision

My *third hypothesis* suggested that in Latin America and the Caribbean where there is a clear gender division in the expectations of support provision, the gender of the child and the gender composition of siblings will also influence support provided by non-coresident children. Contrary to existing research on gender and intergenerational support transfers, the preceding analyses do not show any statistically significant differences in the likelihood of sons' and daughters' provision of financial, functional, or material support.

The gender composition of siblings, however, is differentially associated with support provision across the cities. In most cities, the gender composition of siblings was not significantly associated with children's provision of support. Elsewhere, the results were significant, but mixed. In Havana, children with exactly one sister, those with

exactly two sisters, and those with exactly two brothers had twice the odds of those with three or more brothers or sisters to provide financial support. In Buenos Aires, children with sisters, exactly one or two sisters, were less likely than those with three or more siblings to provide financial support. Regarding functional support, Mexico City was the only city to show significant differences in children's likelihood of providing support based on the size and gender composition of their siblings. The findings show that children with fewer than three siblings are less likely to provide functional support.

7.4 Discussion

Currently, most existing research on shared caregiving among siblings to older adult parents has been conducted primarily within the United States (Horowitz 1985; Matthews and Rosner 1988; Keith 1995; Piercy 1998; Checkovich and Stern 2002), with a few exceptions in the developing countries such as Taiwan (Lin et al. 2003), Thailand (Piotrowski 2008), and Egypt (Sinunu, Yount, and Afify 2009). Latin America and the Caribbean are interesting settings for this area of research as it differs from developed regions and is similar to other developing regions on some critical dimensions that can create distinct patterns of family support. First, some countries in the current study such as Argentina and Uruguay experienced early fertility transitions while others, Mexico and Brazil for instance, had a later onset of fertility decline. Thus, there is variation in the supply of children and, by extension, siblings to negotiate care responsibilities. Second, similar to other developing countries within and outside of Latin America and the Caribbean, the family or household unit is a critical source of support for older adults (Rawlins 1999; Varley and Blasco 2000). The extent to which older adults rely on

children for support may differ across countries, however, depending on the strength of formal support as provided by the state or market as well as social expectations regarding children's provision of support. Finally, family members, especially children, maintain ties across space and continue to provide support regardless of distance to their parents. Yet, we know little about how children negotiate care arrangements among each other once they have left the parental home.

The current study contributes to this gap in the literature by examining patterns of financial and functional support provided by children to their older parents according to the geographic location of children and their siblings in seven different cities across the region. Moreover, unlike prior research on family-based intergenerational support in Latin America and the Caribbean where upward flows of support are assessed from the perspectives of parents (De Vos et al. 2004; Wong and Higgins 2007; Quashie and Zimmer 2013), this study assesses support from the perspective of the children. Thus far the examination of children's characteristics and their association with parental support within the region has been conducted in Northern Brazil (Saad 2005). This study has built upon the work of Saad (2005) by examining support transfers to parents based on children's characteristics as well as those of their siblings in different urban locations within the region.

Although the likelihood of non-coresident children providing support generally declines with increasing distance, in some cities, such as Havana, further distance is positively associated with support, particularly financial support. This finding is similar to research in China and Northeastern Brazil (Bian et al. 1998; Saad 2005). In other cities within this study further distance is either negatively associated with support or

unrelated. Net of the child's location, the presence of a coresiding sibling is positively associated with non-coresident children providing both forms of support. In some cities, such as Mexico City, Santiago, Bridgetown, and Havana, having a sibling outside of the household in addition to coresident is associated with a greater likelihood of non-coresident children providing support.

The crucial role of geographic proximity is underscored by having a coresident sibling who may be more knowledgeable of parental needs and communicate these circumstances to their siblings, possibly more than the parent is willing to communicate to their non-coresident child. Furthermore, siblings are also likely to support each other to the end of fulfilling their caregiving responsibilities, or siblings living with their parents may place pressure on non-coresident children to provide as much or more support to achieve some balance in responsibilities. These findings lay the foundation for a promising line of future research, which is to examine from the parents' perspectives the likelihoods of receiving all forms of support if they have children in more than one location, for instance, the combination of a child living in the household and abroad. From the children's perspective, this combination is positively associated with the financial support provision as seen in Havana and Bridgetown and functional support in Mexico City and Santiago.

The results pertaining to financial support in Havana and Mexico City provide some support for the new home economics of migration thesis that migration is a household based strategy for diversifying risks as the migration of one or more household members can support the household via remittances. In Havana, children living abroad showed higher odds of providing financial support relative to children within the country.

More importantly, predicted probabilities of support provided by non-coresident children with a sibling living with parents experiencing vulnerable circumstances showed that children living outside of the household within Cuba had lower probabilities of providing financial support to parents relative to those who lived abroad. Similar findings were also presented for non-coresident children living in Mexico City as compared to international migrant children originating from Mexico City. Therefore, in cities within countries with weak welfare systems, especially regarding pension systems for older adults and economic security for younger cohorts, migration is associated with an increased likelihood that one provides support to older parents.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the economic vulnerability of Cuba following the collapse of communism in the 1990s and the vulnerability of formal support systems for the elderly provided a catalyst for migration to be used as a means for household support. In addition, children's economic opportunities within Cuba and the value of the Cuban peso were also diminished, thereby reducing their capacity to provide financial support. Moreover, the state's encouragement of foreign currency would have better facilitated migrant children's capacities to support their older parents. These results suggest that in countries such as Cuba that are undergoing fundamental socioeconomic transitions and where elderly are unable to rely on state- or market-based support, the family network takes prominence in old age security, and the migration of one or more children serves as a form of social insurance.

Another aspect of siblings negotiating care arrangements based on their geographic proximity to their parents can be drawn from the results testing the modified extended family hypothesis. In the present analysis, the findings from Mexico City,

Buenos Aires, and Santiago provide the most support, albeit limited, for this perspective of family support. In these cities, children living further away with a sibling in closer proximity to their parents, i.e., in the same household, have higher probabilities of providing financial support relative to functional support.

In Montevideo, Bridgetown, São Paulo, and Havana, however, the opposite was true. The predicted probabilities for these cities show that non-coresident children, including those living abroad, with a coresident sibling appeared most responsive to providing functional support. The findings for Montevideo, Bridgetown, and São Paulo may reflect older adults being less economically vulnerable due to the improvements in economic well-being for older adults. Thus, older adults in these cities may be less reliant on nonresident children for financial support compared to functional support. On one hand, the findings imply that the provision of daily services outweighs other support needs of parents in these cities. On the other hand, parents may communicate their preference for these forms of support from their children as opposed to financial support. In Havana, children may have been better able to provide assistance with household chores or transportation (functional support) as opposed to financial support given the economic downturn. Overall, it is important to bear in mind, however, that even though non-coresident children may be less likely to provide financial support if they have a sibling in closer proximity, these non-coresident children may still engage in social support via telecommunication and expressing interest in their parents' lives, which are not examined in this study.

Despite theoretical explanations regarding gender norms of Latin American and Caribbean societies, which propose sons and daughters will perform different support

roles, the findings reveal no statistically significant differences in non-coresident sons' and daughters' provisions of either financial or functional support. Likewise, the presence or absence of a brother or sister is, in most cities, shown to be unrelated to a non-coresident child's likelihood of providing monetary or functional assistance to their parents.

In Buenos Aires, children with exactly one or two sisters were less likely to provide financial support compared to those with three or more brothers or sisters. In Havana, however, children with one or two sisters and those with two brothers were more likely than those with three or more siblings to provide financial support. In Mexico City only, children with fewer than 3 siblings showed lower likelihoods of providing functional support regardless of the gender composition of their siblings. Importantly, in Mexico City, children with brothers were less likely to provide functional support. Thus, *there is partial support for my third hypothesis* regarding the gender composition of siblings for influencing the likelihood of non-coresident children providing support in these Latin American and Caribbean households.

These results suggest that in Buenos Aires and Mexico City, the gender composition of siblings does coincide with gendered expectations of kin-keeping roles. The negative association between sisters and financial support in Buenos Aires implies that women are less involved in the provision of economic support and by extension may be less inclined to ensure their siblings provide such support to their parents. Similarly, the negative association between the availability of brothers and children's provision of functional support in Mexico City implies that men are less inclined to navigate the provision of instrumental assistance to their parents, as this duty is more associated with

females in the patrifocal household. In Havana, the positive association between the availability of brothers and sisters and non-coresident children's provision of financial support may be attributed to women being socialized to provide both economic and noneconomic forms of support. Thus women ensure parents receive economic support along with men fulfilling their socially expected roles in providing financial support

In light of these findings, it is important to consider the potential impact of declining fertility and persistent mobility among younger cohorts within the region. The associations between sibship size and provision of support indicate that the current transitions to smaller families among the countries under study can lead to increased responsibility by children for some forms of support, even if the child does not live with their parents. For instance in Havana, non-coresident children with no siblings had twice the odds of those with three or more siblings to provide financial support. Although this is a small proportion of the current sample of families, declining fertility increases the likelihood of single child families. This has implications for the well-being of older adults, whose sole child may live at a great distance and not be able to provide support as needed. There are also implications for the well-being of the caregivers who are burdened with the sole responsibility of their parents' well-being.

Another major insight provided by this study is within the mutual aid and reciprocity that is expressed between older parents and their non-coresident children. Higher educated children in Havana, Montevideo, and São Paulo were more likely to provide support (both financial and functional in Montevideo and São Paulo). Non-coresident children who receive all forms of support from their parents, including assistance with grandchildren, were more likely to provide support in return. As

identified by research in other developed and developing countries (Burholt and Wenger 2004; Knodel 2007), despite social, economic, and demographic changes that can impose threats on family structure and cohesion, Latin American and Caribbean families continue to fulfill traditional expectations of familial support across the life course. The downward flows of support from parents to children may actually aid the child's ability to live outside of the household, which children then reciprocate to the extent that they are able.

One of the inherent limitations of the preceding analysis, however, is that there is no data on the children's actual income and amount of money parents provide, which would facilitate a fuller assessment of intergenerational reciprocity. Even further, the ability to account for the child's financial standing could be useful in understanding how siblings may bargain or negotiate their support provision based on their relative economic security. For instance, do children who earn more money or are employed in more stable occupations provide more support, financial and functional, or financial relative to functional, compared to those in more tenuous economic circumstances? Another limitation is that the findings do not account for more detailed information on grandchildren, such as their age and employment conditions of parents, for instance hours in paid work. Such data can offer insights into whether these factors are associated with limitations to the support that adult children provide as their own children and structure of work become competing commitments or provide flexibility to negotiate parental care arrangements among siblings. Related to this, the analyses do not explore the extent to which parents' provisions of support may be gendered, i.e., favor sons or daughters for different types of support and in return, condition sons' and daughters' provisions of

financial and functional support.

Limitations aside, this chapter provides three important insights for research on aging and intergenerational relations in Latin America and the Caribbean. First, the gendered nature of family care remains unchanged. Although the gender of the child may not be a determining factor in the provision of support among children living outside of the home, the gender composition of siblings is critical in some cities. Unlike research in other developed and developing countries, the findings in this study show women's traditional kin-keeping roles of providing or directing noneconomic support and men's roles of economic provision to their older parents are not evident in these Latin American and Caribbean households. This warrants further examination of the gendered nature of family care within the region to explore the circumstances under which sons, brothers, daughters, and sisters become involved in elder care.

Second, findings pertaining to the location of children and siblings reinforce that closer geographic proximity ensures greater likelihood of support, but children at further distances do not neglect their support roles, especially if there is a sibling in closer proximity. Thus, intragenerational support among adult children needs to be incorporated in future research, especially when examining support that is likely to require multiple children. Intergenerational support is also conditioned by the relative deprivation experienced by the household. Finally, bidirectional transfers are evident within Latin America and the Caribbean. Although parents are likely to be net recipients of support, their support to adult children, even those outside of the parental home, is associated with an increased likelihood of children providing support. This may reflect the sustainability of social norms regarding family support, which may be reinforced by

the insecurity of social protection systems for both younger and older cohorts both within and outside of these cities under study.

Table 7.1: Description of non-coresident children's characteristics by their parents' city of residence¹ showing percentages for categorical variables and means (standard deviations) for continuous variables.

Children's Characteristics	Strong Welfare				Weak Welfare		
	MV N = 2,776	BT N = 2,996	BA N = 1,723	SP N = 4,885	SO N = 3,142	MC N = 3,779	HV N = 3,319
Provision of Support							
% Provide Financial Support	30.2	53.3	48.8	50.3	58.4	71.2	61.8
% Provide Functional Support	28.8	43.2	40.3	55.5	47.2	41.3	59.0
Location of Child							
% Same Neighborhood	33.5	12.6	35.5	35.7	19.8	28.7	21.1
% Same City	41.3	32.8	54.3	41.2	64.6	51.4	51.6
% Another City	13.3	18.7	7.7	21.4	10.6	15.9	13.4
% Abroad	12.0	36.0	2.5	1.6	5.0	3.9	14.0
Location of Siblings							
% at least 1 sibling in household	23.5	48.5	39.6	48.8	62.8	69.2	58.0
% at least 1 sibling in neighborhood	47.3	28.4	43.9	57.7	36.6	53.3	31.6
% at least 1 sibling in same city	55.0	53.8	61.5	66.0	81.7	76.9	63.7
% at least 1 sibling in diff. city	24.0	37.4	17.5	44.7	25.1	38.8	25.0
% at least 1 sibling abroad	21.7	60.4	4.1	3.7	12.7	12.2	27.5
Gender							
% Son	50.8	47.5	51.1	49.9	49.6	52.0	50.9
% Daughter	49.2	52.5	48.9	50.1	50.4	48.0	49.1

Table 7.1 continued.

Children's Characteristics	Strong Welfare				Weak Welfare		
	MV N = 2,776	BT N = 2,996	BA N = 1,723	SP N = 4,885	SO N = 3,142	MC N = 3,779	HV N = 3,319
Sibship Structure							
3 or more siblings	11.6	17.5	11.6	17.1	18.9	33.2	12.9
No brothers or sisters	12.9	10.6	13.1	10.6	10.4	5.5	11.0
Exactly 1 brother	14.6	12.3	18.6	12.7	11.0	8.3	14.0
Exactly 1 sister	27.6	20.4	26.9	20.7	17.1	13.0	22.5
Exactly 2 brothers	14.1	17.7	14.1	17.8	19.2	17.1	18.3
Exactly 2 sisters	19.2	21.7	15.8	21.0	23.4	22.9	21.4
Age							
35-44	43.8	42.0	41.9	39.0	43.2	42.1	38.8
15-24	2.7	2.1	2.0	1.7	0.8	3.0	2.0
25-34	21.0	16.3	19.3	14.5	18.4	27.5	19.5
45-54	25.9	29.4	28.8	31.6	28.9	22.7	26.0
55 and over	6.6	10.2	8.1	13.2	8.8	4.8	13.7
Employment Status							
% Working	82.5	89.5	76.3	70.2	70.8	73.3	78.6
% Not working	17.5	10.6	23.7	29.8	29.3	26.8	21.4
Number of Working Siblings							
mean (sd)	2.57 (2.09)	3.67(2.38)	2.15(1.97)	2.82(2.02)	3.03(2.02)	4.12(2.18)	2.78(2.19)
Educational Attainment							
% Elementary/Middle School	41.9	13.8	47.0	55.4	30.0	34.1	15.2
% High School	32.2	75.3	52.2	20.2	56.3	30.9	39.4
% College/Univ/Professional	25.9	10.9	0.8	24.4	13.7	35.0	45.5

Table 7.1 continued.

Children's Characteristics	Strong Welfare				Weak Welfare	
	MV N = 2,776	BT N = 2,996	BA N = 1,723	SP N = 4,885	SO N = 3,142	HV N = 3,319
Marital Status						
% married	86.6	55.5	13.8	85.9	90.2	79.2
% single	5.9	35.6	3.8	4.6	3.9	6.8
% separated/divorced/widowed	7.5	8.9	82.4	9.5	6.0	14.0
Number of Own Children						
mean (sd)	2.24(1.68)	1.85 (1.57)	2.44 (1.89)	2.20(1.48)	2.53(1.31)	1.83(1.32)
Assistance from Parent						
% Parent Helps with Money	26.8	25.9	26.9	27.0	29.2	22.7
% Parent Helps with Services	15.2	14.1	25.2	24.1	19.9	31.2
% Parent Helps with Things	20.5	26.8	27.6	31.5	33.5	32.8
% Parent Helps with Child care	23.4	16.7	27.5	18.0	21.9	19.5

¹ MV-Montevideo, BT-Bridgetown, BA-Buenos Aires, SP-São Paulo, SO-Santiago, MC-Mexico City, HV-Havana

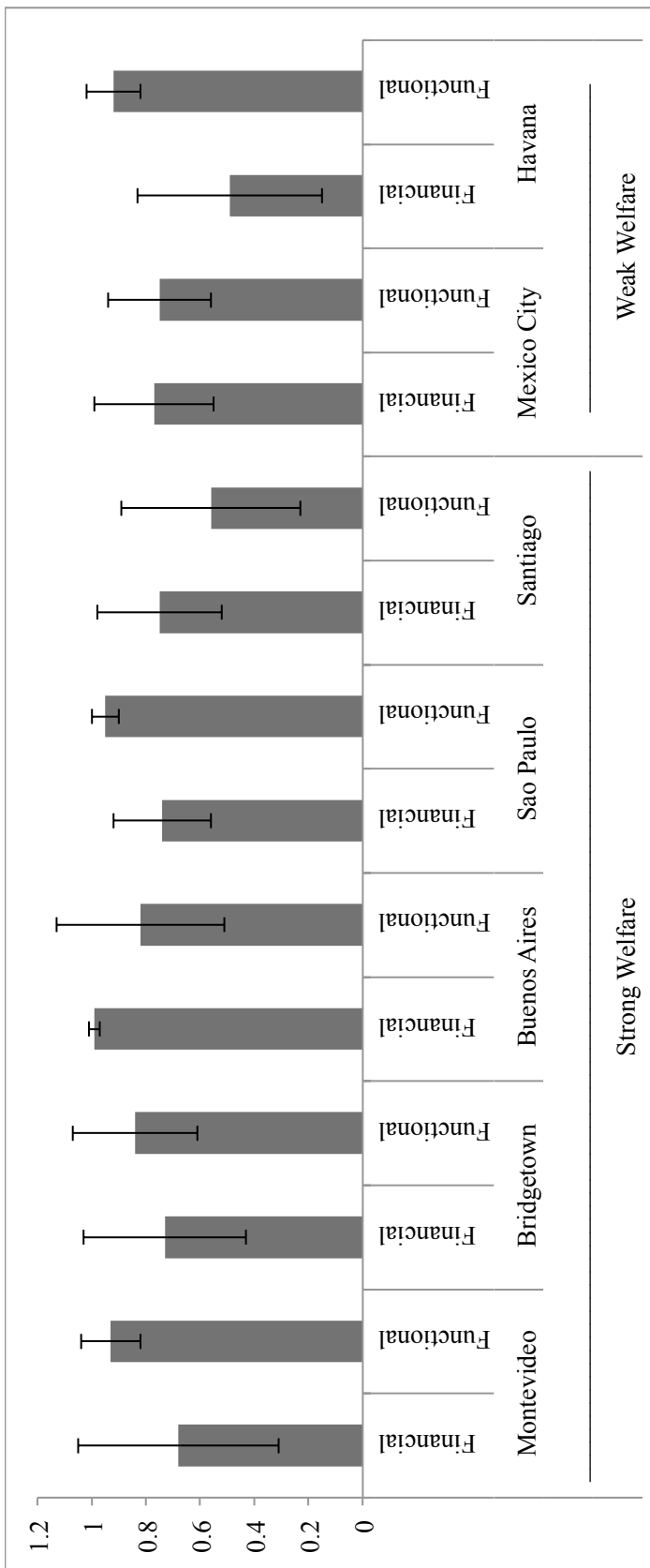


Figure 7.1: Predicted Probabilities for Children’s Provision of **Financial and Functional Support** to Vulnerable Parents, if the child lives in the **same neighborhood as their parents and has a sibling in the same household as their parents**, showing the 95% Confidence Intervals.

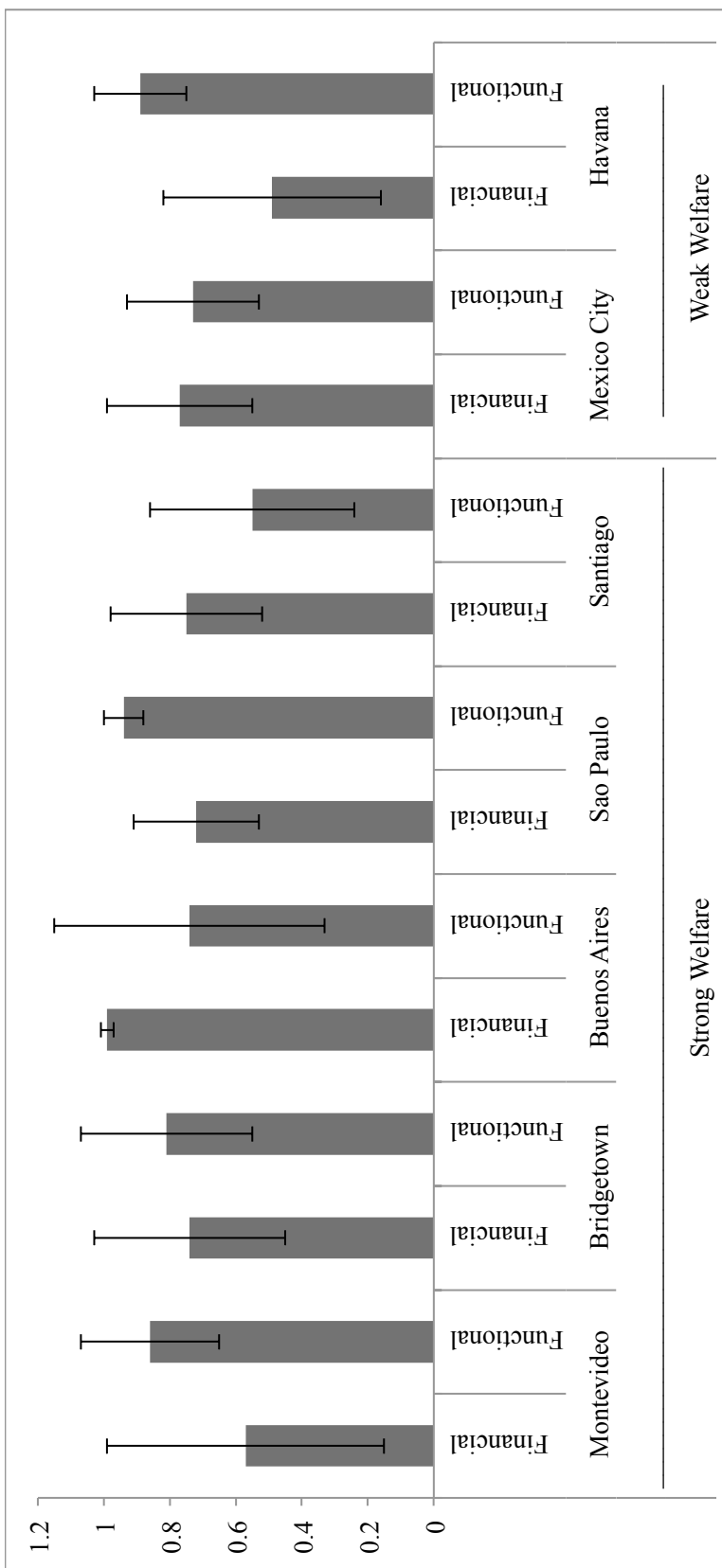


Figure 7.2: Predicted Probabilities of Children’s Provision of Financial and Functional Support to Vulnerable Parents if the child lives in the same city as their parents and has a sibling in the same household as their parents, showing the 95% Confidence Intervals.

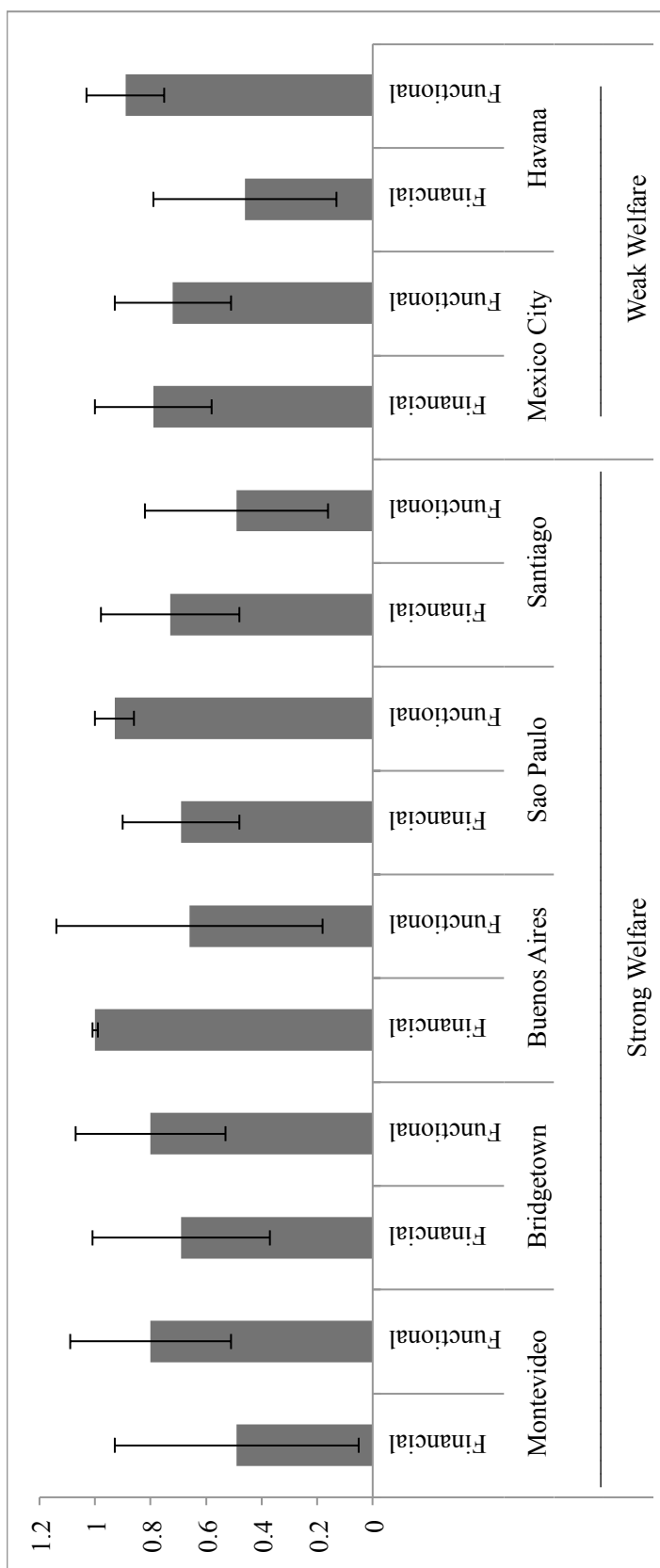


Figure 7.3: Predicted Probabilities of Children's Provision of **Financial and Functional Support** to Vulnerable Parents, if the child lives in **another city as their parents and has a sibling in the same household as their parents**, showing the 95% Confidence Intervals.

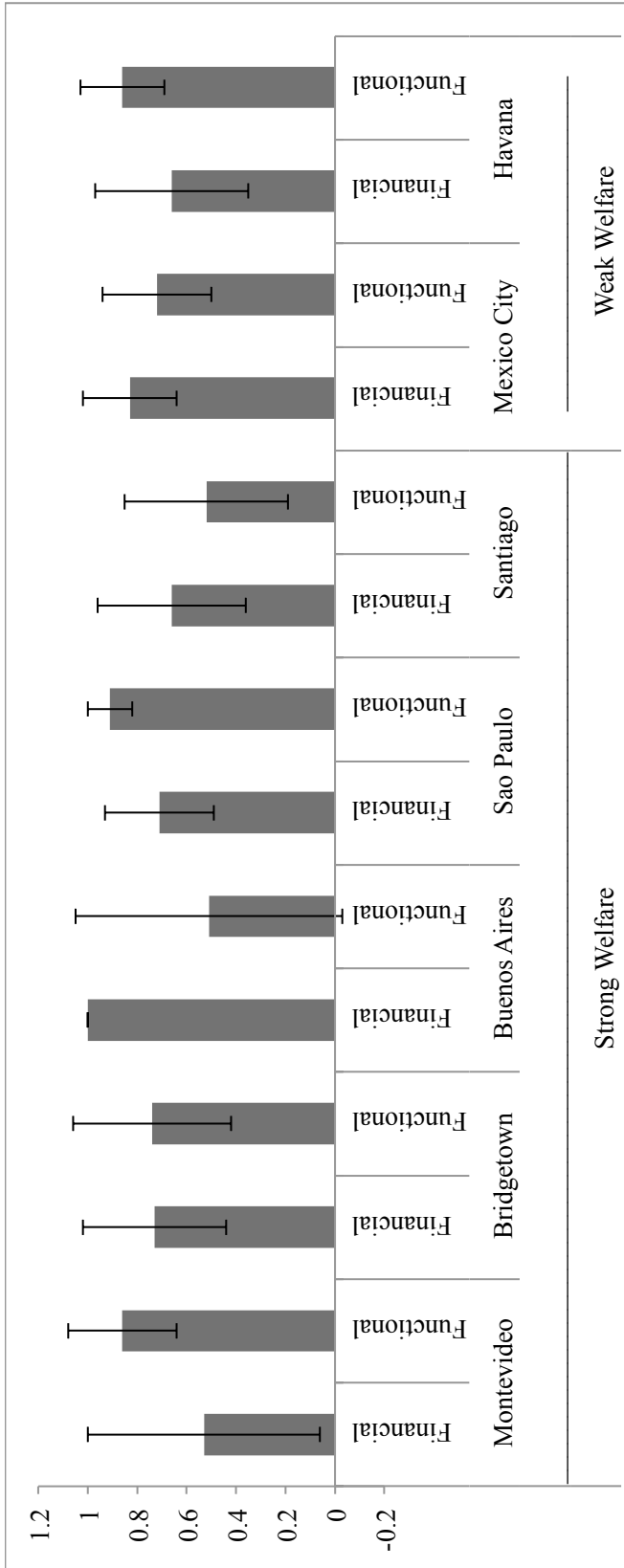


Figure 7.4: Predicted Probabilities of Children’s Provision of **Financial and Functional Support** to Vulnerable Parents, if the child lives **abroad and has a sibling in the same household as their parents**, showing the 95% Confidence Intervals.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

Similar to demographic patterns in other developing regions, Latin American and Caribbean countries are faced with two concurrent demographic phenomena: population aging and migration, which together significantly alter the age structure of the population and present challenges for formal and informal support systems. Although the migration of younger cohorts lowers the availability of informal support, geographic separation can enhance the support older adults receive from family members through the remittances of money and goods. Increasing spatial distance between parents and their children can also impinge on parents' receipt of nonmaterial support such as personal caregiving or other needs that may require regular assistance such as household chores. Children, however, even if they live outside of the household may negotiate support arrangements among each other to meet different care needs of their older parents.

The significance of intergenerational residential proximity to older adults' support arrangements and their subsequent well-being is, however, conditioned by countries' overall economic contexts, social policies for older adults' welfare, cultural expectations regarding familial support and the roles of men and women therein, and last but not least the actual supply of children within families.

Comparative assessments of intergenerational support and, even more, the intersection of gender and residential proximity in shaping upward flows of support

between parents and children are crucially understudied in Latin America and the Caribbean. The objectives of the current study were to 1) identify the demographic and economic circumstances of older adults that are associated with their propensities to live closer to or further away from their children, 2) assess the relationship between parent-child proximity and upward flows of support from the perspectives of the older adult and the adult child, 3) examine the extent to which the associations between proximity and support are gendered from both the parents' and children's perspectives, and 4) assess the extent to which the factors that influence parent-child proximity, informal support transfers, and the gendered dimensions therein were consistent across different urban settings in the region. From these aims I hope to inform scholarly discourse on the associations between social constructions of gender and intergenerational support, the role of migration in family/household support pertaining to older adults, and the importance of states as it relates to social policy context in structuring patterns of family-based support within Latin America and the Caribbean.

In this dissertation, three separate studies examined the different contexts of parent-child proximity and upward flows of informal support in urban Latin America and the Caribbean, primarily based on the institutional and cultural mechanisms that shape patterns of intergenerational support (Albertini et al. 2007; Kalmijn and Saraceno 2008). In summary, the findings show that across the seven cities that were studied, as is found in other parts of the world, family members continue to support older adults despite the higher levels of economic development and country differences in formal support for older adults (Rawlins 1999; Frankenberg and Thomas 2011). The comparative approach taken by this study shows that familial support is also embedded in the wider contexts of

state or market support for older adults, which influence the extent of intergenerational proximity and parents receipt of support from their children and sociocultural norms that define the roles of men and women (Mason 2001; Silverstein et al. 2006).

The results of the analyses show that the demographic and socioeconomic correlates of proximity and the associations between proximity, parental vulnerability and support, and the gendered dimensions of these associations varied greatly across contexts. Overall, further distance between generations is more likely in cities with stronger welfare support for older adults relative to those with weaker welfare systems. Family solidarity is, however, maintained despite distance as children living further away from the parental home do provide support to parents in vulnerable situations. At the same time, parental vulnerability is not experienced similarly across contexts. Thus, parents in vulnerable circumstances in some cities with stronger welfare systems such as Montevideo and Santiago were still less likely to receive support from their children relative to vulnerable parents in cities with weaker welfare systems such as Mexico City and Havana.

Moreover, the Havana case shows that further distance between parents and children is sometimes critical to families fulfilling their support functions, and migration serves as some insurance for families in weak welfare states. The findings for Havana support the new home economics of migration thesis in that children living abroad originating from Havana were more likely to provide financial support relative to those children within the country. This is arguably attributed to the economic hardship of Cuba during the 1990s that constrained the abilities of adult children within the country to provide financial support.

Mesa-Lago's (1998) review of the Cuban economy after the fall of the Soviet Union documents that wages of government jobs were very low and unstable, between \$7 and \$15 per month, which was not enough to meet household needs. Many people in the country turned toward micro-enterprise as a result of Fidel Castro's regularization of self-employment and other informal economic activity, as well as the use of the US dollar, but Castro eventually, in 1996, induced heavy taxes on self-employed individuals. Many entrepreneurs then decided to operate informally, especially to earn US dollars, which they could then use to purchase better quality food, medicine, and other everyday items in the dollar stores, which were also legalized by Castro (Ross and Fernández Mayo 2002). According to Eckstein (2004), other government initiatives to encourage remittances included the establishment of interest-earning dollar bank accounts to encourage savings and partnerships with international money transfer agencies.

The Buenos Aires and São Paulo findings, however, remind us that institutional support only partially accounts for city differences in patterns of family support. The unanticipated results that parents in these cities were most likely to receive financial and functional support respectively highlights that more specific structural constraints or incentives, within contexts, need to be taken into account to better understand family support.

Cultural differences pertaining to the gendered organization of households and the associated gendered expectations in the receipt and provision of support were not supported in all cities. In the majority of cities, women were more likely than men to receive at least one form of support from their children. The significance of matrifocal household organization for gender differences in parents' receipt of support was evident

only in Bridgetown and not both Bridgetown and Havana as expected. Bridgetown is the only city where mothers were more likely than fathers to receive both forms of support. Buenos Aires and São Paulo were the only cities without gender differentiation in parents' receipt of any form of support. In the other cities, women were more likely than men to receive financial support. Overall, vulnerable women were more likely to receive support from their children relative to vulnerable men, regardless of the strength of institutional support and gender differentiation in economic security. This supports the notion that social norms and gender roles over the life course supersede needs.

The findings also present implications for changes in gender role specialization regarding family support, among children, in some places such as Buenos Aires, São Paulo, and Bridgetown but stability in others such as Mexico City and Montevideo. For instance, the findings for Bridgetown, from the parents' perspective of the receipt of support, show that sons are involved in noneconomic support; in São Paulo, daughters provide both economic and noneconomic support, and in Buenos Aires the gender composition of children is generally unrelated to the parents' receipt of both forms of support. In Mexico City and Montevideo, patterns of support based on the gender composition of children follow more traditional social expectations of men's and women's roles. In sum, the results show that in some contexts there is some undermining of traditional beliefs of men's and women's roles within the household among younger cohorts, which may be tied to broader societal changes that are undermining cultural assumptions of a particular gender being more or less appropriate or competent to fulfil particular social tasks.

In the coming decades, the role of the family is expected to take on more

significance particularly in countries at very advanced stages of population aging (Cuba and Barbados) as well as those at advanced stages (Uruguay, Argentina, Chile, Brazil, and Mexico) where fertility rates are currently below or approaching replacement levels, older women outnumber men, internal and international migration among younger cohorts persists, and the economic stability of younger cohorts is questionable at best. At the same time in these seven countries, states differ in their macro-economic stability, commitments to strengthening social welfare systems for the elderly and younger cohorts, and improving gender equality in material circumstances. The combined state of these formal support systems produce different conditions for the quality of life and well-being of individuals and households and subsequently, distinct patterns in the conditions of both generations that are associated with intergenerational proximity, gender, and support transfers. As data on population aging becomes more available, there is greater possibility to continue exploring these topics among a wider range of countries or at least across multiple time periods to examine changes or stability of these patterns within the countries used in this study.

8.1 Limitations

The primary limitation of this study lies within the cross-sectional nature of the data. While the cross-city comparisons are advantageous for furthering our assessment of how intergenerational support can be conditioned by social policies for older adults, macro-economic contexts, and demographic conditions, the point-in-time estimates do not allow us to capture a wider range of factors that can be influencing the observed relationships. In the assessment of support transfers, past support behaviour from both

the parents' and children's perspectives is unaccounted for. In assessing the correlates of parent-child proximity, the timing of a move as well as potential changes in the circumstances of both generations are also not included in the analysis. For instance, from the current analysis, it is difficult to determine whether changes in parents' health status are associated with changes in proximity to their children. Relatedly, for children, prior or future changes in marital status or access to independent income as they relate to proximity cannot be assessed. In essence, the cross-sectional data limit the conclusions that can be drawn about whether closer parent-child proximity fulfil short-term support or whether further distance reflects established independence or a short-term effort to attain independence.

The current analyses also do not account for the magnitude, timing, or frequency of support received by older adults. This leaves open wider variations in parents' needs for support from their children across these cities at the time of data collection. It is possible that parents receive a substantial amount of support from their children a few times within a given time frame that is not captured by the data. Furthermore, the measurement of proximity between parents and their children is very crude. The data do not provide a precise measure of distance, within the same neighborhood or city. In relatively smaller geographic areas, for instance Bridgetown, parents living in the same city as their children can be in closer proximity to their children relative to parents living in the same city as their children in São Paulo, a significantly larger city.

Another data limitation is the focus on the capital cities or prime cities within the respective countries. Although the Latin American and Caribbean countries in this study are highly urbanized, rural areas still exist. Old-age poverty rates are generally higher in

rural areas (Cotlear et al. 2011). There are important country differences. In some of the high pension coverage countries such as Brazil and Uruguay, poverty amongst older adults 60 years and over is quite low, and this is largely attributed to their noncontributory pension systems, which target poorer older adults (Camarano 2004; Cotlear et al. 2011). Camarano (2004) shows that in the Northeastern areas of the Brazil, which are also among the poorer areas of the country, older adults in rural areas who receive social pensions actually contribute significantly to household economies, which help to lift these individuals and households out of poverty. The increased income protection by the state, however, does not necessarily mean that social services for older adults or the general population in the rural areas are well-developed or as developed as those in urban areas. Older adults' contributions to the household may encourage more support from their adult children when their parents begin to experience vulnerability.

In contrast, in low-pension-coverage countries, such as Mexico, rural poverty rates double that of urban rates, and gender differences are also evident with older men being more likely to have an own pension (Parker and Wong 2001, Cotlear et al 2011). Parker and Wong (2001) further discuss that labor income remains a key source of economic support to older adults in rural areas but men's labor force participation far exceeds older women's. Moreover, older men's income is more vital to the household well-being relative to older women's. This does not suggest that older women are less important to rural households as they continue to be actively involved in domestic responsibilities. The findings from these national studies do, however, imply that the difference in pension policies and pension coverage between and within countries directly impact differences in well-being for older adults, households with older adults,

patterns of informal support, and the gendered dimensions of these patterns of vulnerability and support.

Nevertheless, older adults' abilities to rely on informal support from children are likely to be threatened as there remains more migration from rural areas into the cities, despite the general regional decline in rural-to-urban migration. Furthermore, as women dominate internal migration flows, older adults may be less likely to receive assistance with instrumental support from their children, should these needs arise. Past research has shown that internal migrant women retain their ties to their natal households by providing financial and material support. While beneficial, this may not be enough to compensate for other aspects of older adults' well-being in rural areas. Thus, future research should be dedicated to examining the relationship between proximity, gender, parental needs, or resources and informal support in rural areas and with a comparative perspective. There should also be examination of support in different urban locations within countries as the structure of labor markets, housing availability, the availability of social services, and other economic conditions can differ both within and across urban locations.

The analyses in this study also do not account for ethnicity in any of these cities. This is a critical limitation, especially in countries where social policies have marginalized different ethnic groups, such as indigenous and Afro-descendant populations both historically and in contemporary society. For instance in Brazil, the inequality in wages among women is further complicated along the lines of ethnic heritage as Afro-Brazilian women are more represented amongst low wage workers relative to nonindigenous and White males (Duryea and Genoni 2004). Similarly in Mexico and other Central American countries, poverty and indigence is

disproportionately higher in municipalities in which indigenous people are concentrated (Patrinos 2000). Thus current and future cohorts of older adults have differential risks for vulnerability depending on their ethnicity in addition to their gender and social class.

Inequalities in access to public goods such as education and health care earlier in the life course are inextricably tied to an individual's participation in the labor market in terms of the type of occupation, its related wage structure and the availability and type of social protection in terms of pensions and health care. This has implications for formal and informal support of future cohorts. Marginalized populations are more likely to experience more economic and health insecurity in later life and thus demand more social services. In absence of such services or the ability to access these services, family members will be the primary providers of support. These patterns of social inequality call attention to future research endeavours to investigate ethnic differences in the patterns of family-based support within the region.

8.2 Future Directions

Future research could benefit from longitudinal data that can assess how changes in the availability of support, as measured by alternative persons in the household, exchanges of support between parents and children, and parents' access to formal or market based support are related to changes in parent-child proximity. There should also be a more thorough analysis of gender, for both the parent and adult children. Past research has shown that in Uruguay, higher incomes due to pension reforms were associated with an increased likelihood of solitary living among older women who were widowed or otherwise unmarried (Shinkai 2000). Further research should assess whether

changes in actual personal income and/or the access to independent income and parent-child proximity differs for men and women across the cities.

Regarding gender and intergenerational support, there needs to be more detailed and nuanced understanding on support provided to older men by children. Presently, we do not have a clear sense of how older men in vulnerable positions fare when they are also less likely to be supported by children. A more thorough analysis of the diffusion of filial responsibilities among siblings should also be conducted to examine the extent to which the diffusion is gendered. The question is raised, do sons and daughters who live at further distances differ in their likelihoods of providing financial, functional, and material support based on the availability of a brother or sister in closer proximity? Investigation into these patterns provides more elaboration on how and the extent to which intergenerational transfers are gendered in these settings.

Another promising direction for research on gender and intergenerational transfers is to unpack the mutual aid that is displayed among non-coresident children and their parents in these cities. For instance, given the increase in female labor force participation and the sustained gender differences in remuneration alongside women's higher risk of unemployment relative to men, parents may be more likely to support daughters financially and with child care in order for their daughters to fulfill their economic duties to their households and/or prevent their households from falling into poverty. In return, daughters may be more likely than sons to support their parents. On the other hand, gender differences in support may still be maintained based on employment status as men's employment, though increasingly insecure, is still more stable than women's. Therefore, sons may be more likely than daughters to provide

financial support and less likely to provide functional and material support. Structural changes may both reinforce and challenge traditional gender norms. Thus, answers to this question can enhance our current knowledge of gender and household relations within Latin America and the Caribbean in terms of the limits or deepening of matrifocality or patriarchy.

A related gendered dimension is to examine whether children's support to parents is conditioned by the gender of the parent and the child. That is, are sons more likely to support fathers and daughters more likely to support mothers or are sons and daughters equally likely to support mothers more than fathers? The matrifocal households of the Caribbean, which are also often identified with female-headed households and the patriarchal structure of Latin American families where women are still primarily responsible for domestic activity despite their increased economic activity, both provide ample opportunity for stronger mother-child bonds over the life course relative to father-child bonds. Related to this, in future data collection on intergenerational support, information on parent-child relationship quality should also be included.

Future research should investigate how changes in state policy and macro-economic context can influence support flows, not only in Cuba but throughout the region. For instance in poorer countries within the region where pension systems are generally underdeveloped and old age poverty is high, such as Central American countries, Ecuador, and in the Dominican Republic in the Caribbean, remittances are a vital source of income to older adults to the extent that it keeps them above the poverty (Cotlear et al. 2011).

Such studies will become increasingly important in Latin America and the

Caribbean as countries continue to advance in aging and governments restructure social policies regarding health and income protection for older and younger cohorts. Arguably, these studies will be most important among families in poorer societies where formal support systems are still underdeveloped and those in poorer segments of even the more developed societies who do not have adequate access to social safety nets or are excluded from eligibility due to unequal access to labor markets. If formal protection continues to disproportionately benefit those in higher socioeconomic classes and migration continues to serve as a means of ensuring household or family well-being, there needs to be consistent examination of the patterns of household/family-based transfers among the most marginalized populations. Such research not only contributes to informed social policy decision making to develop fairer income redistribution policies, but it adds to theoretical developments on how family cohesion is maintained or altered in rapidly aging developing countries that are simultaneously in the midst of uncertain political and socioeconomic changes.

APPENDIX A

LOGISTIC REGRESSION ODDS RATIOS FOR OLDER ADULTS'

RECEIPT OF FINANCIAL SUPPORT

BY CITY OF RESIDENCE

Table A.1: Logistic regression odds ratios for older adults' receipt of financial support by city of residence.

Parents' Characteristics	Strong Welfare				Weak Welfare		
	Montevideo (N = 1228)	Bridgetown (N = 1242)	Buenos Aires (N = 898)	Sao Paulo (N = 1921)	Santiago (N = 1179)	Mexico City (N = 1126)	Havana (N = 1665)
Location of Nearest Child (Coresident)							
In the same Neighborhood	0.16 (0.04)***	0.27 (0.06)***	0.24 (0.06)***	0.41 (0.06)***	0.33 (0.09)***	0.45 (0.10)***	0.45 (0.08)***
Outside the Neighborhood	0.15 (0.04)***	0.35 (0.06)***	0.24 (0.06)***	0.36 (0.07)***	0.34 (0.09)***	0.55 (0.13)**	0.41 (0.07)***
Abroad	na	(0.06)***	na	na	na	na	0.84 (0.30)
Gender (women)							
Men	0.55(0.12)*	0.30(0.05)*	1.08 (0.23)	0.95 (0.15)	0.80(0.16)*	0.65 (0.13)*	0.49(0.08)*
Children (one son)							
one daughter	2.02 (0.80)	1.71 (0.62)	0.94 (0.33)	1.33 (0.45)	0.62 (0.34)	0.23 (0.13)*	0.77 (0.21)
two sons	3.13(1.14)*	2.46(0.81)*	1.53 (0.51)	2.33(0.69)*	1.50 (0.70)	0.80 (0.36)	1.59 (0.41)
two daughters	1.71 (0.64)	2.11 (0.67)*	1.53 (0.48)	2.72(0.77)*	1.58 (0.69)	0.63 (0.27)	1.69 (0.43)*
one son and one daughter	1.79 (0.65)	1.69 (0.57)	1.37 (0.43)	2.49(0.74)*	2.70 (1.32)*	0.45 (0.23)	1.23 (0.31)
3 or more sons or daughters	1.84 (0.64)	2.89(0.83)*	2.57(0.77)*	2.76(0.74)*	2.54 (1.05)*	1.14 (0.45)	2.05(0.49)*
Age (70–74)							
60–64	0.57 (0.02)*	1.02 (0.28)	1.11 (0.30)	1.00 (0.19)	0.58 (0.16)	0.82 (0.19)	0.86 (0.17)
65–69	0.90 (0.23)	1.18 (0.26)	1.46 (0.35)	1.09 (0.20)	0.60 (0.16)	0.87 (0.20)	0.96 (0.18)
75–79	1.55 (0.43)	0.99 (0.24)	1.61 (0.46)	1.15 (0.20)	0.72 (0.21)	1.50 (0.42)	1.00 (0.22)
80–84	1.68 (0.58)	1.72 (0.45)*	2.40(0.83)*	1.07 (0.22)	0.39 (0.15)*	0.72 (0.24)	1.27 (0.34)
85 and older	0.93 (0.40)	1.54 (0.45)	1.17 (0.63)	1.06 (0.27)	0.82 (0.36)	0.64 (0.25)	0.85 (0.22)

Table A.1 continued.

Parents' Characteristics	Strong Welfare				Weak Welfare		
	Montevideo (N = 1228)	Bridgetown (N = 1242)	Buenos Aires (N = 898)	Sao Paulo (N = 1921)	Santiago (N = 1179)	Mexico City (N = 1126)	Havana (N = 1665)
Marital Status (married)							
Widowed	1.23 (0.26)	1.33 (0.27)	1.87(0.40)*	1.36 (0.22)*	1.13 (0.25)	1.30 (0.26)	1.04 (0.18)
separated/divorced/unmarried	1.64 (0.47)	1.09 (0.19)	1.90 (0.45)	0.65 (0.16)	0.93 (0.23)	0.78 (0.19)	1.13 (0.18)
Self-Rated Health (very good)							
Good	1.14 (0.30)	1.04 (0.21)	1.64 (0.39)*	0.83 (0.18)	1.37 (0.49)	1.36 (0.43)	0.95 (0.25)
poor	0.96 (0.27)	1.21 (0.26)	1.39 (0.37)	1.01 (0.22)	1.44 (0.50)	1.66 (0.52)	0.93 (0.24)
used proxy	na	Na	na	na	na	na	1.18 (0.42)
Disability							
Difficulty with at least 1 ADL	0.85 (0.22)	1.10 (0.27)	1.32 (0.37)	1.23 (0.21)	0.87 (0.21)	1.05 (0.24)	1.28 (0.23)
Difficulty with at least 1 IADL	1.38 (0.36)	1.14 (0.23)	1.13 (0.27)	0.96 (0.14)	1.09 (0.25)	0.91 (0.19)	1.08 (0.20)
Residual HH Size	0.88 (0.05)*	1.06 (0.06)	0.81 (0.07)*	1.05 (0.06)	0.95 (0.06)	0.95 (0.04)	0.94 (0.03)
Residual Household Assistance (No assistance)							
Assistance from auxiliary hh members	1.88(0.43)*	1.53 (0.32)*	1.74 (0.50)*	0.62(0.11)*	1.23 (0.27)	1.16 (0.22)	1.40 (0.20)*
Educational Attainment (none)							
Primary	0.88 (0.24)	0.64 (0.24)	0.49 (0.18)	0.97 (0.14)	1.09 (0.23)	0.71 (0.14)	1.03 (0.29)
high school	1.07 (0.37)	0.44 (0.18)*	0.47 (0.20)	1.31 (0.42)	1.05 (0.31)	0.84 (0.25)	1.03 (0.31)
above high school	0.62 (0.26)	0.38 (0.20)	0.25(0.13)*	0.44 (0.19)	0.38 (0.15)*	0.27(0.11)*	1.23 (0.45)
Work/Pension Status (No Work/No pension)							
Pension only	0.72 (0.24)	0.93 (0.19)	0.68 (0.28)	0.69 (0.20)	0.44 (0.14)*	0.44(0.13)*	na
Work and Pension	0.88 (0.41)	0.60 (0.21)	0.72 (0.37)	0.65 (0.20)	0.34(0.13)*	0.52 (0.19)	0.73 (0.18)
Work only	0.75 (0.35)	0.76 (0.22)	0.62 (0.26)	0.76 (0.23)	0.21(0.08)*	0.61 (0.17)	na
No info on work or pension	1.57 (0.59)	0.88 (0.29)	0.48 (0.19)	0.65 (0.20)	0.40 (0.16)*	0.60 (0.15)*	0.83 (0.16)

Table A.1 continued.

Parents' Characteristics	Strong Welfare					Weak Welfare		
	Buenos Aires					Santiago (N = 1179)	Mexico City (N = 1126)	Havana (N = 1665)
	Montevideo (N = 1228)	Bridgetown (N = 1242)	Aires (N = 898)	Sao Paulo (N = 1921)				
Income Quintile (I)								
II	0.85 (0.25)	1.77 (0.47)*	1.38 (0.56)	1.32 (0.36)	1.41 (0.43)	1.14 (0.36)	0.98 (0.22)	
III	1.44 (0.43)	1.06 (0.26)	0.97 (0.41)	1.28 (0.36)	1.33 (0.41)	1.10 (0.30)	0.83 (0.19)	
IV	0.82 (0.25)	1.09 (0.25)	1.23 (0.50)	0.68 (0.19)	0.77 (0.23)	0.55 (0.15)*	0.65 (0.16)	
V	0.34(0.11)**	1.00 (0.23)	0.65 (0.27)	0.31(0.09)**	1.03 (0.34)	0.49 (0.30)	0.44(0.12)**	
Income not reported	1.06 (0.69)	1.41 (0.43)	0.85 (0.49)	na	na	na	na	
Parent's Support to Children								
provide help with money	1.74(0.33)**	1.35 (0.27)	0.44(0.10)**	1.18 (0.17)	0.86 (0.17)	0.78 (0.15)	1.21 (0.20)	
parent help with services	2.65(0.65)**	1.23 (0.32)	2.42(0.49)**	1.88(0.27)**	2.74(0.65)**	2.43(0.53)**	1.36 (0.20)*	
provide help with things	1.01 (0.22)	2.09(0.42)**	1.29 (0.27)	0.88 (0.13)	1.19 (0.24)	1.20 (0.24)	1.26 (0.19)	
provide help with child care	1.32 (0.28)	1.94(0.45)**	1.75(0.34)**	0.99 (0.16)	1.12 (0.23)	2.48(0.60)**	1.13 (0.19)	
Wealth Quintile (I)								
II	1.43 (0.37)	1.54 (0.33)*	0.77 (0.20)	1.33 (0.25)	1.10 (0.26)	1.69 (0.41)*	1.22 (0.23)	
III	1.38 (0.37)	1.85(0.41)**	1.17 (0.29)	1.79(0.35)**	0.85 (0.22)	1.60 (0.41)	1.26 (0.23)	
IV	0.82 (0.23)	1.18 (0.28)	0.88 (0.26)	1.66(0.33)**	0.79 (0.22)	1.52 (0.38)	2.62(0.57)**	
V	0.54 (0.16)*	1.41 (0.35)	0.88 (0.27)	1.07 (0.23)	0.81 (0.24)	1.13 (0.31)	1.34 (0.27)	
Constant	0.92 (0.55)	0.62 (0.38)	1.04 (0.60)	0.57 (0.25)	1.97 (1.38)	3.48 (2.08)*	1.46 (0.77)	
Pseudo R ²	0.2895	0.2544	0.1934	0.1577	0.1806	0.1928	0.1433	
Wald Chi ²	281.54***	282.78***	166.94***	234.82***	165.01***	208.44***	244.99***	

*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001, standard errors in parentheses, na: no cases

APPENDIX B

LOGISTIC REGRESSION ODDS RATIOS FOR OLDER ADULTS'

RECEIPT OF FUNCTIONAL SUPPORT

BY CITY OF RESIDENCE

Table B.1: Logistic regression odds ratios for older adults' receipt of functional support by city of residence.

Parents' Characteristics	Strong Welfare				Weak Welfare		
	Montevideo (N = 1228)	Bridgetown (N = 1242)	Buenos Aires (N = 898)	Sao Paulo (N = 1921)	Santiago (N = 1179)	Mexico City (N = 1126)	Havana (N = 1617)
Location of Nearest Child (Coresident)							
In the same Neighborhood	0.25 (0.06)***	0.29 (0.07)***	0.25 (0.06)***	0.29 (0.05)***	0.44 (0.12)**	0.20 (0.05)***	0.23 (0.04)***
Outside the Neighborhood	0.09 (0.03)***	0.22 (0.04)***	0.11 (0.03)***	0.11 (0.02)***	0.08 (0.02)***	0.11 (0.04)**	0.13 (0.02)***
Abroad	na	0.04 (0.02)***	na	na	na	na	na
Gender (women)							
Men	0.93 (0.21)	0.49(0.08)*	0.83 (0.19)	0.79 (0.13)	1.14 (0.26)	0.81 (0.16)	1.00 (0.18)
Children (one son)							
one daughter	1.52 (0.61)	3.14(1.38)*	0.89 (0.31)	2.57(0.95)*	1.03 (0.69)	2.70 (1.86)	1.69 (0.53)
two sons	0.85 (0.35)	2.32 (0.95)*	1.26 (0.44)	1.56 (0.54)	1.31 (0.83)	0.71 (0.39)	1.03 (0.32)
two daughters	1.23 (0.47)	2.47 (0.96)*	1.17 (0.37)	2.34(0.77)*	1.10 (0.68)	1.65 (0.78)	1.37 (0.41)
one son and one daughter	0.68 (0.27)	2.09 (0.87)	0.61 (0.21)	2.02 (0.68)*	0.96 (0.60)	0.72 (0.41)	1.41 (0.41)
3 or more sons or daughters	1.15 (0.43)	3.01(1.10)*	0.97 (0.31)	2.41(0.75)*	1.00 (0.59)	1.49 (0.68)	1.32 (0.35)
Age (70-74)							
60-64	0.65 (0.18)	0.44(0.12)*	1.25 (0.37)	0.60(0.12)*	0.60 (0.18)	0.87 (0.20)	0.53(0.12)*
65-69	0.83 (0.23)	0.70 (0.15)	1.15 (0.32)	0.73 (0.15)	0.58 (0.17)	0.82 (0.19)	0.60 (0.13)*
75-79	0.96 (0.27)	1.07 (0.26)	1.43 (0.42)	1.39 (0.27)	0.76 (0.23)	0.61 (0.17)	0.81 (0.21)
80-84	1.43 (0.51)	1.09 (0.31)	2.65(0.99)*	2.23(0.52)*	0.44 (0.17)*	1.56 (0.49)	1.67 (0.51)
85 and older	1.23 (0.56)	1.32 (0.40)	4.29(2.00)*	2.89(0.76)*	1.16 (0.51)	2.30 (0.86)*	1.20 (0.34)

Table B.1 continued.

Parents' Characteristics	Strong Welfare				Weak Welfare		
	Montevideo (N = 1228)	Bridgetown (N = 1242)	Buenos Aires (N = 898)	Sao Paulo (N = 1921)	Santiago (N = 1179)	Mexico City (N = 1126)	Havana (N = 1617)
Marital Status (married)							
Widowed	1.46 (0.35)	1.50 (0.32)	1.60 (0.37)*	1.91(0.34)*	1.83(0.43)*	1.27 (0.24)	1.94(0.38)*
separated/divorced/unmarried	1.64 (0.49)	1.16 (0.22)	1.83 (0.52)*	1.11 (0.27)	1.16 (0.29)	0.99 (0.25)	1.38 (0.26)
Self-Rated Health (very good)							
Good	1.43 (0.43)	1.19 (0.27)	1.62 (0.42)	0.84 (0.20)	0.96 (0.38)	0.68 (0.24)	0.60 (0.18)
poor	1.64 (0.49)	1.40 (0.31)	1.57 (0.45)	0.92 (0.21)	0.90 (0.35)	0.60 (0.20)	0.68 (0.20)
used proxy	na	Na	na	na	na	na	1.17 (0.47)
Disability							
Difficulty with at least 1 ADL	0.71 (0.18)	1.50 (0.37)	0.94 (0.26)	1.62(0.30)*	1.20 (0.31)	1.28 (0.28)	1.63 (0.37)*
Difficulty with at least 1 IADL	1.78 (0.44)*	1.19 (0.25)	2.66 (0.66)	2.07(0.34)*	1.62 (0.39)*	1.43 (0.29)	1.29 (0.27)
Residual HH Size	0.90 (0.06)	1.03 (0.05)	0.83 (0.07)*	1.12 (0.06)*	1.10 (0.07)	0.96 (0.04)	0.96 (0.04)
Residual Household Assistance (No assistance)							
Assistance from auxiliary hh members	1.78 (0.45)*	1.53 (0.31)*	1.66 (0.49)	0.74 (0.14)	1.44 (0.32)	1.39 (0.24)	1.62(0.27)*
Educational Attainment (none)							
Primary	1.18 (0.42)	0.75 (0.28)	1.18 (0.44)	1.13 (0.18)	1.79 (0.43)*	0.92 (0.17)	1.74 (0.61)
high school	1.63 (0.68)	0.90 (0.38)	1.10 (0.49)	1.69 (0.59)	1.18 (0.36)	0.53 (0.15)*	1.94 (0.70)
above high school	0.86 (0.39)	0.64 (0.33)	0.82 (0.42)	0.63 (0.27)	0.73 (0.29)	0.52 (0.21)	2.01 (0.91)
Work/Pension Status (No Work/No pension)							
Pension only	0.75 (0.29)	0.81 (0.17)	0.83 (0.36)	1.06 (0.32)	2.39(0.80)*	0.86 (0.25)	na
Work and Pension	0.81 (0.41)	0.72 (0.25)	0.93 (0.48)	1.12 (0.38)	1.80 (0.70)	1.01 (0.36)	0.79 (0.22)
Work only	0.62 (0.29)	1.32 (0.41)	0.73 (0.30)	1.65 (0.55)	1.18 (0.48)	1.05 (0.28)	na
No info on work or pension	1.11 (0.50)	1.02 (0.32)	0.94 (0.40)	1.46 (0.50)	1.26 (0.53)	0.99 (0.22)	1.53 (0.33)*

Table B.1 continued.

Parents' Characteristics	Strong Welfare				Weak Welfare		
	Montevideo (N = 1228)	Bridgetown (N = 1242)	Buenos Aires (N = 898)	Sao Paulo (N = 1921)	Santiago (N = 1179)	Mexico City (N = 1126)	Havana (N = 1617)
Income Quintile (I)							
II	1.03 (0.34)	1.20 (0.34)	1.78 (0.71)	0.84 (0.26)	0.92 (0.29)	1.64 (0.49)	0.95 (0.26)
III	1.25 (0.41)	1.06 (0.27)	0.94 (0.38)	0.77 (0.23)	0.72 (0.23)	0.87 (0.24)	1.02 (0.27)
IV	0.45 (0.50)	1.04 (0.25)	1.21 (0.48)	0.68 (0.21)	0.74 (0.24)	0.95 (0.27)	0.87 (0.24)
V	0.88 (0.29) 0.07	0.84 (0.20)	1.07 (0.45)	0.47 (0.15)*	0.80 (0.26)	2.61 (1.86)	0.92 (0.27)
Income not reported	(0.08)**	1.42 (0.46)	0.86 (0.46)	na	na	na	na
Parent's Support to Children							
provide help with money	1.29 (0.27)	1.61 (0.32)*	2.07(0.46)**	1.54(0.24)**	1.62 (0.32)*	1.81(0.34)**	1.21 (0.22)
parent help with services	3.96(1.02)**	1.83 (0.47)*	2.95(0.66)**	1.54(0.25)**	2.07(0.46)**	1.67(0.29)**	2.93(0.51)**
provide help with things	1.93(0.42)**	1.20 (0.24)	1.62 (0.36)*	1.37 (0.21)*	1.10 (0.21)	1.23 (0.20)	1.59(0.28)**
provide help with child care	1.19 (0.26)	2.12(0.49)**	1.70 (0.37)*	1.57(0.27)**	1.70 (0.40)*	1.19 (0.22)	1.48 (0.28)*
Wealth Quintile (I)							
II	0.74 (0.23)	1.30 (0.31)	1.30 (0.36)	1.45 (0.30)	0.80 (0.22)	1.40 (0.32)	1.15 (0.25)
III	1.39 (0.40)	1.41 (0.33)	1.61 (0.44)	1.31 (0.28)	0.91 (0.25)	1.12 (0.27)	1.01 (0.21)
IV	0.78 (0.24)	1.17 (0.29)	0.87 (0.26)	0.92 (0.20)	0.58 (0.16)*	1.11 (0.25)	1.09 (0.27)
V	0.80 (0.27)	1.20 (0.30)	0.98 (0.31)	0.85 (0.20)	0.93 (0.27)	1.31 (0.34)	1.18 (0.28)
Constant	0.47 (0.32)	0.39 (0.26)	0.21 (0.12)	0.44 (0.21)	0.34 (0.29)	0.74 (0.46)	0.82 (0.50)
Pseudo R ²	0.3221	0.2682	0.2651	0.2543	0.2525	0.1796	0.275
Wald Chi ²	272.51***	279.82***	217.07***	340.27***	214.77***	186.71***	386.47***

*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001, standard errors in parentheses

APPENDIX C

LOGISTIC REGRESSION ODDS RATIOS FOR NON-CORESIDENT
CHILDREN'S PROVISION OF FINANCIAL SUPPORT BY
PARENTS' CITY OF RESIDENCE

Table C.1: Logistic regression odds ratios for non-resident children's provision of financial support by parents' city of residence.

	Strong Welfare				Weak Welfare					
	Montevideo N = 2,776	Bridgetown N = 2,996	Buenos Aires N = 1,723		Sao Paulo N = 4,885	Santiago N = 3,142	Mexico City N = 3,779		Havana N = 3,319	
Children's Characteristics										
Location of Child (Same Neighborhood)										
Same City	0.63(0.11)**	1.06 (0.18)	1.10 (0.23)	0.87 (0.10)	0.99 (0.14)	0.99 (0.18)	1.01 (0.13)			
Another City	0.47(0.13)**	0.84 (0.19)	1.13 (0.44)	0.78 (0.12)	0.91 (0.23)	1.12 (0.34)	0.87 (0.17)			
Abroad	0.54 (0.17)*	1.00 (0.24)	2.08 (1.26)	0.86 (0.24)	0.67 (0.21)	1.43 (0.48)	2.02(0.44)*			
Location of Siblings										
at least 1 sibling in household	5.74(1.66)**	3.93(0.87)*	6.81(2.02)*	2.39(0.40)*	3.87(0.84)*	1.80(0.43)*	1.95(0.37)*			
at least 1 sibling in neighborhood	0.68 (0.16)	0.74 (0.16)	1.14 (0.29)	1.02 (0.13)	1.08 (0.22)	0.84 (0.17)	1.00 (0.19)			
at least 1 sibling in same city	1.06 (0.20)	0.98 (0.18)	1.13 (0.25)	0.96 (0.12)	1.03 (0.18)	1.15 (0.24)	1.14 (0.17)			
at least 1 sibling in different city	0.63 (0.16)	0.89 (0.17)	0.91 (0.23)	0.93 (0.11)	0.84 (0.16)	1.23 (0.22)	1.03 (0.20)			
at least 1 sibling abroad	0.61 (0.17)	1.43 (0.26)*	0.97 (0.47)	0.77 (0.26)	0.80 (0.22)	1.07 (0.30)	1.93(0.37)*			
Closest Non-Coresident Child (no)										
Yes	0.61 (0.14)*	0.72 (0.14)	1.07 (0.34)	0.77 (0.11)	0.86 (0.19)	0.92 (0.21)	0.85 (0.15)			
Covariates										
Gender (Son)										
Daughter	1.00 (0.11)	1.00 (0.10)	0.98 (0.13)	1.12 (0.08)	1.04 (0.10)	0.91 (0.09)	0.92 (0.08)			

Table C.1 continued.

Children's Characteristics	Strong Welfare				Weak Welfare	
	Montevideo N = 2,776	Bridgetown N = 2,996	Buenos Aires N = 1,723		Mexico City N = 3,779	
			Sao Paulo N = 4,885	Santiago N = 3,142	Havana N = 3,319	
Sibship Structure (3 or more siblings)						
No brothers or sisters	1.44 (0.71)	0.96 (0.37)	0.30 (0.19)	0.94 (0.26)	0.70 (0.23)	2.10 (0.75)*
Exactly 1 brother	2.28 (1.12)	1.67 (0.59)	0.42 (0.26)	1.44 (0.38)	0.72 (0.24)	1.93 (0.69)
Exactly 1 sister	1.95 (0.92)	1.19 (0.40)	0.29 (0.17)*	0.99 (0.24)	0.72 (0.23)	2.11 (0.68)*
Exactly 2 brothers	1.39 (0.63)	1.03 (0.31)	0.34 (0.20)	1.19 (0.27)	0.95 (0.28)	2.10 (0.68)*
Exactly 2 sisters	1.37 (0.63)	0.96 (0.29)	0.34 (0.19)*	1.15 (0.26)	0.76 (0.23)	2.22(0.68)*
Age (35–44)						
15–24	1.14 (0.39)	0.42 (0.15)*	0.49 (0.24)	0.35(0.11)*	0.45 (0.24)	0.60 (0.21)
25–34	1.15 (0.19)	0.78 (0.11)	0.73 (0.15)	0.86 (0.10)	0.84 (0.11)	1.07 (0.13)
45–54	1.18 (0.18)	0.94 (0.13)	1.16 (0.21)	0.72(0.07)*	1.20 (0.15)	1.23 (0.16)
55 and over	2.74(0.83)*	0.90 (0.23)	1.32 (0.47)	0.74 (0.13)	1.50 (0.33)	1.42 (0.35)
Employment Status (Working)						
Not working	0.71 (0.10)*	0.92 (0.17)	1.04 (0.17)	0.97 (0.08)	1.01 (0.12)	0.86 (0.10)
Number of Working Siblings	1.28(0.10)*	1.15 (0.07)*	1.11 (0.09)*	1.25(0.06)*	1.12 (0.06)*	1.09 (0.06)
Educational Attainment (Primary)						
High School	0.97 (0.17)	1.04 (0.22)	0.91 (0.16)	1.14 (0.14)	0.84 (0.12)	1.25 (0.22)
College/Univ/Professional	1.71 (0.41)*	1.49 (0.41)	3.89 (3.13)	1.36 (0.18)*	0.64 (0.15)	1.62(0.31)*
Marital Status (married)						
Single	1.00 (0.25)	0.97 (0.12)	1.02 (0.41)	1.01 (0.18)	1.40 (0.41)	0.87 (0.16)
separated/divorced/widowed	0.96 (0.24)	0.86 (0.17)	0.85 (0.20)	0.94 (0.12)	1.03 (0.20)	0.97 (0.14)
Number of Children	1.02 (0.03)	0.97 (0.04)	0.87(0.03)*	0.98 (0.03)	0.94 (0.03)	0.93 (0.03)*

Table C.1 continued.

	Strong Welfare				Weak Welfare	
	Buenos Aires		Sao Paulo		Mexico City	
	Montevideo N = 2,776	Bridgetown N = 2,996	Aires N = 1,723	Sao Paulo N = 4,885	Santiago N = 3,142	Havana N = 3,319
Children's Characteristics						
Assistance from Parent						
Parent Helps with Money	1.98(0.48)*	1.56 (0.42)	0.39(0.11)*	1.26 (0.22)	0.78 (0.16)	1.30 (0.32)
Parent Helps with Services	1.91 (0.51)*	1.49 (0.49)	1.83 (0.52)*	1.68(0.29)*	1.98(0.46)*	2.96(0.84)*
Parent Helps with Things	0.96 (0.24)	1.92(0.52)*	1.46 (0.39)	0.79 (0.13)	1.39 (0.28)	1.16 (0.29)
Parent Helps with Child care	1.64 (0.44)	2.59(0.80)*	2.57(0.59)*	1.14 (0.20)	1.07 (0.24)	2.19(0.64)*
Parents' Characteristics						
Age (70–74)						
60–64	0.61 (0.19)	1.87 (0.67)	0.69 (0.24)	0.87 (0.21)	0.95 (0.27)	0.91 (0.26)
65–69	0.71 (0.22)	1.66 (0.47)	1.24 (0.37)	1.26 (0.28)	0.94 (0.25)	1.14 (0.33)
75–79	1.45 (0.43)	1.17 (0.36)	1.31 (0.44)	1.45 (0.31)	0.93 (0.26)	3.30(1.18)*
80–84	1.42 (0.66)	2.57(0.97)*	1.71 (0.88)	1.42 (0.36)	0.72 (0.27)	0.91 (0.35)
85 and older	1.12 (0.66)	1.83 (0.76)	1.19 (0.77)	1.23 (0.37)	0.84 (0.35)	0.46 (0.24)
Gender (Women)						
Men	0.60 (0.15)*	0.36(0.08)*	0.99 (0.24)	0.93 (0.17)	0.61 (0.13)*	0.84 (0.21)
Marital Status (married)						
Widowed	1.27 (0.30)	1.44 (0.36)	2.58(0.69)*	1.23 (0.23)	0.94 (0.21)	1.06 (0.27)
Never Married	3.05(0.91)*	1.48 (0.33)	2.04 (0.76)*	0.60 (0.15)*	0.94 (0.25)	0.95 (0.33)
Residual Household Size	0.87 (0.06)*	1.02 (0.08)	0.79 (0.11)	1.00 (0.07)	0.88 (0.05)*	0.98 (0.05)
Residual Household Assistance (None)						
Receives at least 1 form of support	2.33(0.71)*	1.82 (0.47)*	2.51 (1.17)*	0.79 (0.16)	1.25 (0.28)	0.93 (0.22)
Self-Rated Health (very good)						
Good	1.18 (0.35)	0.87 (0.23)	1.71 (0.52)	0.96 (0.23)	1.23 (0.44)	1.97 (0.82)
Poor	1.18 (0.36)	1.07 (0.29)	2.12 (0.69)	1.00 (0.23)	1.37 (0.46)	2.80(1.17)*
Proxy	na	Na	na	na	na	na

Table C.1 continued.

	Strong Welfare				Weak Welfare	
	Buenos Aires				Mexico City	Havana
	Montevideo	Bridgetown	Sao Paulo	Santiago	City	N = 3,319
Parents' Characteristics	N = 2,776	N = 2,996	N = 1,723	N = 4,885	N = 3,779	N = 3,319
Disability						
Difficulty with at least 1 ADL	0.84 (0.24)	1.18 (0.39)	1.01 (0.34)	1.19 (0.21)	1.27 (0.34)	1.15 (0.26)
Difficulty with at least 1 IADL	1.66 (0.46)	1.72 (0.45)*	1.09 (0.33)	1.13 (0.19)	0.80 (0.20)	1.07 (0.26)
Educational Attainment (none)						
Primary	1.19 (0.46)	1.10 (0.52)	0.32(0.14)*	1.30 (0.20)	0.75 (0.20)	0.83 (0.30)
high-school	1.26 (0.54)	0.92 (0.49)	0.37 (0.19)*	2.02 (0.74)*	0.70 (0.24)	0.65 (0.25)
Tertiary	0.55 (0.29)	0.71 (0.47)	0.20(0.12)*	0.55 (0.29)	0.51 (0.22)	1.04 (0.49)
Work/Pension Status (No work/No pension)						
Pension Only	0.86 (0.34)	1.29 (0.34)	0.63 (0.33)	0.64 (0.20)	0.85 (0.28)	na
Work and Pension	0.64 (0.36)	0.66 (0.30)	0.24 (0.16)*	0.67 (0.24)	0.41 (0.16)*	0.84 (0.28)
Work Only	0.90 (0.48)	0.85 (0.30)	1.16 (0.67)	0.70 (0.26)	0.24(0.10)*	na
No info on work or pension	1.94 (0.77)	1.72 (0.72)	0.30 (0.15)*	0.72 (0.23)	0.61 (0.23)	0.86 (0.22)
Income Quintile (I)						
II	0.54 (0.21)	1.26 (0.43)	0.71 (0.37)	1.45 (0.44)	0.95 (0.29)	0.93 (0.27)
III	1.28 (0.50)	0.87 (0.26)	0.56 (0.29)	1.26 (0.39)	0.66 (0.21)	0.71 (0.21)
IV	0.75 (0.28)	1.05 (0.30)	0.62 (0.31)	0.58 (0.19)	0.55 (0.17)*	0.40(0.12)*
V	0.31(0.12)**	0.87 (0.25)	0.31 (0.16)*	0.29(0.10)*	0.63 (0.21)	0.25(0.09)*
Missing income	na	1.05 (0.38)	0.47 (0.33)	na	na	na

Table C.1 continued.

	Strong Welfare				Weak Welfare		
	Montevideo N = 2,776	Bridgetown N = 2,996	Buenos Aires N = 1,723	Sao Paulo N = 4,885	Santiago N = 3,142	Mexico City N = 3,779	Havana N = 3,319
HH Wealth Quintile (I)							
II	0.93 (0.29)	0.99 (0.29)	0.77 (0.24)	1.12 (0.21)	0.97 (0.24)	1.23 (0.35) 1.23	1.04 (0.23)
III	0.56 (0.17)	0.80 (0.22)	1.01 (0.36)	0.84 (0.20)	1.17 (0.29)	(0.36)**	1.03 (0.22)
IV	0.63 (0.20)	1.15 (0.40)	0.46 (0.17)*	1.34 (0.28)	1.30 (0.48)	1.20 (0.36)*	1.35 (0.34)
V	0.22 (0.08)**	0.49 (0.16)	0.54 (0.22)	0.57 (0.16)*	0.65 (0.20)	1.35 (0.45)	1.88 (0.60)*
Constant	0.20 (0.15)*	0.18 (0.15)*	3.25 (2.88)	0.49(0.23)	1.51 (1.12)	1.17 (0.86)	0.40 (0.30)
Pseudo-R ²	0.3036	0.285	0.316	0.1667	0.1801	0.2056	0.1916
Wald Chi ²	244.58***	226.80***	213.91***	270.45***	180.22***	191.39***	230.34***
Number of clusters/families	1070	1006	741	1633	1002	957	1305

*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001, robust standard errors in parentheses; na: no cases

APPENDIX D

LOGISTIC REGRESSION ODDS RATIOS FOR NON-CORESIDENT
CHILDREN'S PROVISION OF FUNCTIONAL SUPPORT BY
PARENTS' CITY OF RESIDENCE

Table D.1 Logistic regression odds ratios for non-coresident children's provision of functional support by parents' city of residence.

	Strong Welfare				Weak Welfare		
	Montevideo N = 2,776	Bridgetown N = 2,996	Buenos Aires N = 1,723	Sao Paulo N = 4,885	Santiago N = 3,142	Mexico City N = 3,779	Havana N = 3,319
Children's Characteristics							
Location of Child (Same Neighborhood)							
Same City	0.44(0.09)*	0.84 (0.15)	0.65 (0.13)*	0.79 (0.10)	0.95 (0.15)	0.90 (0.15)	0.70 (0.11)*
Another City	0.29(0.08)*	0.75 (0.18)	0.43 (0.16)*	0.75 (0.13)	0.76 (0.21)	0.81 (0.22)	0.67 (0.17)
Abroad	0.44(0.12)*	0.53 (0.13)*	0.23(0.11)*	0.51 (0.17)*	0.86 (0.28)	0.83 (0.27)	0.53(0.12)*
Location of Siblings							
at least 1 sibling in household	7.51(2.26)*	5.65(1.32)*	6.23(1.81)*	5.52(1.03)*	5.39(1.24)*	7.75(2.03)*	6.07(1.23)*
at least 1 sibling in neighborhood.	0.85 (0.22)	1.05 (0.24)	0.76 (0.21)	1.35 (0.20)*	1.90(0.43)*	1.32 (0.27)	0.98 (0.18)
at least 1 sibling in same city	0.56(0.13)*	1.05 (0.20)	0.82 (0.19)	1.19 (0.16)	1.94(0.36)*	1.50 0.26)*	0.96 (0.16)
at least 1 sibling in different city	0.70 (0.18)	0.92 (0.17)	0.81 (0.25)	0.92 (0.12)	0.74 (0.15)	1.04 (0.17)	0.80 (0.16)
at least 1 sibling abroad	1.28 (0.32)	1.29 (0.24)	1.06 (0.55)	0.91 (0.31)	0.92 (0.25)	1.37 (0.36)	0.94 (0.17)
Closest Non-Coresident Child (no)							
Yes	0.50(0.12)*	0.66 (0.13)*	0.48 (0.15)*	0.90 (0.15)	1.10(0.27)	0.77 (0.16)	0.70 (0.14)
Covariates							
Gender (Son)							
Daughter	0.99 (0.12)	0.87 (0.09)	0.86 (0.13)	1.04 (0.08)	0.99 (0.10)	1.00 (0.10)	0.94 (0.09)

Table D.1 continued.

Children's Characteristics	Strong Welfare				Weak Welfare		
	Montevideo N = 2,776	Bridgetown N = 2,996	Buenos Aires N = 1,723	Sao Paulo N = 4,885	Santiago N = 3,142	Mexico City N = 3,779	Havana N = 3,319
Sibship Structure (3 or more siblings)							
No brothers or sisters	1.31 (0.66)	0.53 (0.21)	0.93 (0.62)	0.89 (0.25)	0.69 (0.26)	0.40(0.13)*	0.80 (0.31)
Exactly 1 brother	1.11 (0.57)	0.53 (0.20)	0.86 (0.56)	1.07 (0.29)	0.99 (0.36)	0.39(0.11)*	0.79 (0.29)
Exactly 1 sister	1.09 (0.50)	0.80 (0.29)	0.87 (0.54)	1.13 (0.29)	0.78 (0.27)	0.69 (0.19)	0.84 (0.30)
Exactly 2 brothers	0.81 (0.38)	0.78 (0.27)	0.67 (0.38)	1.16 (0.29)	0.76 (0.24)	0.60(0.13)*	1.07 (0.36)
Exactly 2 sisters	1.16 (0.53)	0.88 (0.29)	0.89 (0.50)	1.10 (0.27)	0.81 (0.26)	0.57(0.12)*	1.06 (0.34)
Age (35-44)							
15-24	0.69 (0.26)	0.26(0.11)*	0.79 (0.40)	1.45 (0.44)	1.07 (0.61)	0.65 (0.20)	0.42 (0.16)*
25-34	0.91 (0.15)	0.69(0.10)*	0.77 (0.16)	0.90 (0.11)	1.15 (0.16)	1.01 (0.10)	0.67(0.09)*
45-54	1.36 (0.22)*	1.07 (0.14)	1.30 (0.25)	0.78 (0.08)*	1.31 (0.16)*	0.98 (0.12)	1.04 (0.15)
55 and over	0.98 (0.30)	0.90 (0.22)	0.75 (0.25)	0.71 (0.13)*	1.04 (0.22)	0.91 (0.22)	0.92 (0.22)
Employment Status (Working)							
Not working	0.88 (0.16)	0.84 (0.15)	0.76 (0.13)	1.07 (0.10)	1.14 (0.14)	0.88 (0.11)	0.98 (0.14)
Number of Working Siblings	1.19 (0.09)*	1.03 (0.06)	1.20 (0.12)	1.04 (0.05)	0.93 (0.06)	0.97 (0.05)	0.97 (0.06)
Educational Attainment (Primary)							
High School	1.37 (0.27)*	1.01 (0.22)	1.12 (0.21)	1.32 (0.18)*	1.07 (0.16)	1.06 (0.16)	1.32 (0.24)
College/Univ/Professional	0.88 (0.24)	1.24 (0.34)	0.07(0.06)*	1.19 (0.18)	1.60 (0.39)	1.15 (0.20)	1.37 (0.28)
Marital Status (married)							
Single	1.00 (0.25)	0.90 (0.11)	0.85 (0.34)	0.93 (0.19)	0.68 (0.22)	0.51(0.12)*	0.93 (0.19)
separated/divorced/widowed	0.49(0.13)*	0.76 (0.14)	0.94 (0.20)	0.99 (0.15)	1.11 (0.23)	0.79 (0.20)	0.83 (0.13)
Number of Children	0.97 (0.04)	1.01 (0.04)	0.88 (0.03)***	1.01 (0.03)	0.99 (0.04)	0.95 (0.03)	0.98 (0.04)

Table D.1 continued.

Parents' Characteristics	Strong Welfare				Weak Welfare				
	Montevideo N = 2,776	Bridgetown N = 2,996	Buenos Aires N = 1,723		Sao Paulo N = 4,885	Santiago N = 3,142	Mexico City N = 3,779		Havana N = 3,319
Disability									
Difficulty with at least 1 ADL	0.98 (0.28)	2.27(0.71)*	0.99 (0.34)	1.47 (0.28)* 3.19(0.57)*	1.12 (0.39)	1.36 (0.36)	1.97(0.50)*		
Difficulty with at least 1 IADL	2.21(0.67)*	1.27 (0.38)	3.29(0.93)*	*	1.42 (0.34)	1.15 (0.28)	1.13 (0.30)		
Educational Attainment (none)									
Primary	0.97 (0.38)	1.12 (0.57)	1.23 (0.59)	1.13 (0.19)	1.25 (0.29)	1.00 (0.23)	1.37 (0.55)		
high-school	1.29 (0.62)	1.59 (0.91)	1.27 (0.68)	2.02 (0.74)*	1.09 (0.34)	0.55 (0.18)	2.01 (0.84)		
Tertiary	0.93 (0.47)	0.41 (0.28)	1.56 (0.97)	0.51 (0.25)	0.64 (0.26)	0.64 (0.31)	2.02 (1.12)		
Work/Pension Status (No work/No pension)									
Pension Only	0.54 (0.24)	0.76 (0.22)	1.04 (0.57)	1.57 (0.57)	1.18 (0.37)	1.06 (0.38)	na		
Work and Pension	0.66 (0.36)	0.98 (0.44)	0.81 (0.53)	1.65 (0.68)	1.31 (0.51)	1.03 (0.44)	1.27 (0.41)		
Work Only	0.44 (0.25)	1.67 (0.66)	0.87 (0.49)	1.64 (0.67)	0.65 (0.26)	1.63 (0.51)	na		
No info on work or pension	0.86 (0.43)	1.11 (0.45)	1.28 (0.67)	2.12 (0.78)*	0.75 (0.29)	0.97 (0.26)	1.29 (0.34)		
Income Quintile (I)									
II	1.32 (0.50)	1.14 (0.38)	2.61 (1.32)*	0.78 (0.27)	0.69 (0.23)	na	0.81 (0.27)		
III	0.97 (0.38)	0.97 (0.31)	1.19 (0.60)	0.57 (0.19)	0.81 (0.26)	1.43 (0.52)	0.61 (0.21)		
IV	1.38 (0.53)	1.61 (0.48)	1.01 (0.51)	0.41(0.14)*	0.87 (0.28)	0.57 (0.19)	0.61 (0.22)		
V	1.00 (0.39)	0.82 (0.25)	1.46 (0.74)	0.22(0.08)*	0.50 (0.17)*	0.47 (0.16)*	0.55 (0.21)		
Missing income	na	1.14 (0.38)	0.99 (0.65)	na	na	na	na		

Table D.1 continued.

	Strong Welfare				Weak Welfare		
	Montevideo N = 2,776	Bridgetown N = 2,996	Buenos Aires N = 1,723	Sao Paulo N = 4,885	Santiago N = 3,142	Mexico City N = 3,779	Havana N = 3,319
Parents' Characteristics							
HH Wealth Quintile (I)							
II	0.96 (0.33)	0.72 (0.23)	1.60 (0.49)	1.72(0.35)*	0.61 (0.16)	1.32 (0.36)	1.03 (0.24)
III	0.67 (0.27)	1.17 (0.35)	0.90 (0.34)	1.16 (0.28)	0.62 (0.16)	1.27 (0.33)	0.99 (0.23)
IV	0.77 (0.28)	2.33 (0.83)*	1.41 (0.47)	1.49 (0.35)	1.34 (0.45)	1.20 (0.35)	1.37 (0.37)
V	0.56 (0.23)	1.26 (0.43)	0.60 (0.23)	0.92 (0.24)	0.62 (0.19)	0.93 (0.29)	0.52 (0.17)
Constant	0.19 (0.16)*	0.33 (0.30)	0.09(0.09)*	0.11(0.06)*	0.07(0.06)*	0.17 (0.12)**	0.71 (0.59)
Pseudo-R ²	0.3653	0.2966	0.3172	0.2922	0.2625	0.2199	0.2823
Wald Chi ²	293.56***	288.54***	224.41***	354.54***	230.92***	204.17***	305.18***
Number of clusters/families	1070	1006	741	1633	1002	957	1305

*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001, robust standard errors in parentheses; na: no cases

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