CHAPTER 5. MATERNAL CORESIDENCE AND CONTACT: EVIDENCE FROM CROSS-NATIONAL SURVEYS

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1. Introduction

Since families provide a safety net that compensates for the limitations of public support systems, family exchanges between the generations remain an integral component of well-being, even in the mature welfare states of the developed world. Finding the right balance of state and family transfers constitutes a central issue for public policy. As they confront ageing populations, nations come under increased pressure to reconcile contradictory goals. They are urged to do more to help beleaguered families care for their dependents, to hold the line against rising welfare and social service costs, and to guard against permitting public transfers to undermine private assistance. Although most developed countries confront this public policy challenge, they come to the intergenerational transfer debate constrained by their unique cultural traditions, by their distinctive histories of public welfare, and by their different demographic age structures. Comparative and cross-national studies enrich our understanding of these demographic and welfare contexts (Hantrais and Letablier 1996). Although cross-national estimates and comparisons of public intergenerational transfers are easy to come by, more knowledge is needed about the private support that flows between younger and older family members in different societies.

The opportunities are ripe for cross-national investigation due to a proliferation of cross-national surveys (Smith 1992) and new methodological approaches for analysing these data (Bryk and Raudenbush 1992; Treas and Widmer 2000). Using a larger, more diverse set of developed countries than was available to earlier studies of family intergenerational integration and exchange, we investigate the likelihood of maternal coresidence as well as the frequency of maternal contact for adults with surviving mothers. While maternal coresidence and maternal contact fail to capture all facets of intergenerational assistance within families (Hashimoto, Kendig, and Coppard 1992), they are a useful point of departure. Significant intergenerational support between family members occurs face-to-face. These intimate exchanges often take place within the household where kin share resources, provide services to one another, and enjoy the social interaction that gives meaning and

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importance to individual lives. With the growth of an aged population in need of personal assistance in daily life, living together and getting together take on greater significance for adult family members. Since both coresidence and contact facilitate support, we examine how these two mechanisms of intergenerational transfers are related across developed nations with different cultural traditions and social welfare histories.

2. Theoretical Background

We define family support as the give and take of valued goods and services, that is, the social, emotional, instrumental, and economic exchanges engaged in by related persons over the life course. Shared housing offers an efficient context for private resource transfers, particularly to dependent family members. Living together, family members get access to shelter, personal care, domestic services, companionship, and valued goods. Research has focused on the composition of households and the living arrangements of individuals, particularly more dependent persons such as children, youth, and old people (Kobrin 1976; Kiernan 1986; White 1994; Wolf 1994; Hogan and Lichter 1995; Gierveld and Van Tilburg 1999). Households, however, have limitations when it comes to understanding family support patterns (Day 1989).

Even when family members share a household, the direction and balance of intergenerational resource flows is often unclear (Cohen and Casper 2002). Although most people assume that ageing parents are the net beneficiaries of coresidence, the needs of adult offspring dictate this living arrangement in places as diverse as the U.S., England, and urban China (Acquilino 1990; Grundy and Harrop 1992; Logan and Spitze 1996; Treas and Chen 2000). Although family members who live together are generally assumed to pool resources, some members do not (Treas and Chen 2000). And, however important intrahousehold exchanges may be, they cannot tell us about interhousehold transfers (e.g., cash remittances or delivered meals). It is important to study the exchanges between parents and grown children who live together and those who do not, but few studies model both family transfers and multigenerational living simultaneously. Palloni (2000) points out that coresidence models that ignore transfers and transfer models that omit coresidence are both misspecified. At the very least, it is important to complement information on living arrangements by documenting the flows of other types of support and assistance between adult generations (Rossi and Rossi 1992; Farkas and Hogan 1995; Knipscheer et al. 1995; Logan and Spitze 1996).

2.1. INDIVIDUAL-LEVEL CHARACTERISTICS

Intergenerational exchanges must consider the age, gender, and marital status of individuals and populations, because coresidence and contact reflect the gendered life course of family members as well as their socioeconomic resources for achieving independence. Coresidence is most common among the young and the old. Therefore, the age structure of the population will affect coresidence rates. Because the young have greater kin contact than their seniors, according to data from a multi-country study (Farkas and Hogan 1995), the age structure can also impact frequency of visits. “Nest-leaving,” the process of moving away from the parental home, has been the focus of much research (Kiernan 1989; White 1994; Dey and Morris 1999; Mayer and Schwarz 1989; White 1994; Dey

and Morris 1999; Corijn and Klijzing 2001). The likelihood of living with parents falls off sharply after age 18, although the cross-national variation is substantial (Kiernan 1986). Depending on their school status, adolescents and young adults make a gradual and often unsteady transition from dependence on their parents to economic self-sufficiency and autonomous living. Having a job and a good income markedly increases the likelihood of leaving home in both Europe and the U.S. (Short and Garner 1990), while unemployment or other financial problems can prompt a return. In the U.S. (Goldscheider and DaVanzo 1986), Britain (Kerckhoff and Macrae 1992), and Australia (Young 1989), about half of the young people return home after their first spell of independent living. Personal development ideologies are associated with age norms for leaving home, but most people agree that individual circumstances justify return (Settersten 1998). For a minority of unmarried adults, coresidence with parents continues well into middle age.

Because their offspring grow up and leave home, the likelihood of living in the same household as a grown-up child decreases for persons in their 50s, 60s, and 70s (Gierveld, De Valk, and Blommesteija 2000). At advanced ages when adult offspring are in their middle years, however, the likelihood of coresidence increases, as parents' need for intimate support grows (Cohen and Casper 2002). The well-being of older people is particularly dependent on intergenerational family supports (Kendig, Hashimoto, and Coppard 1992). Besides mitigating loneliness in old age (Knipscheer et al. 1995), shared housing is a strategy to cope with late-life poverty. In the U.S., Australia, Poland, Finland, Germany, Canada, and Taiwan, poverty rates are higher for aged persons who live alone as opposed to living with others besides a spouse (Smeeding and Saunders 1998). Where well-developed pension systems protect from poverty in later life, older people are less likely to need the family economic support provided by coresidence, but frail and disabled older people still need the emotional support of kin as well as family assistance with the activities of daily living (e.g., managing money, keeping house, getting dressed) (Treas 1995). Although studies in the U.S. find relatively low levels of routine exchange and intergenerational support in families (Cherlin and Furstenberg 1986), those with higher needs—parents in poor health and grown offspring with young children—do receive more assistance (Hogan, Eggebeen, and Clogg 1993; Logan and Spitze 1996).

Gender and marital status also affect coresidence and contact. A study of seven developed countries found that women have greater contact with kin than do men (Farkas and Hogan 1995). As for coresidence, women leave home earlier than do men, in part because they marry at younger ages (Kiernan 1986; Goldscheider and Goldscheider 1993). Sons may also gain more from coresidence; according to U.S. data, they receive more domestic services from their mothers and do less household work than do daughters who remain at home (Logan and Spitze 1996). Divorce, single parenthood, or the end of a cohabiting relationship can prompt a return to the parental household. At the other end of the life course, elderly women are more likely than elderly men to share a home with an adult child. Given longer life expectancies, women are more likely to live to experience the disabilities of advanced old age. Women are also more likely to outlive the companionship of a spouse. Widows are more likely than older married people to live with their children, just as unmarried offspring are more likely to remain in the parental home than their married counterparts. Perhaps because they do not have other family obligations and supports, the never-married have been found to have more kin contact than those who are (or who have been previously) married (Farkas and Hogan 1995).

Demographic factors like age and gender predict coresidence, but these factors cannot fully explain the marked differences in the household status of young people from country to country (Kiernan 1986; Lesthaeghe 2000). Women, aged 20–24, in 20 largely European countries in the 1990s demonstrate the diversity. The percent living with parents ranges from 8 percent in Sweden to 87 percent in Italy (Lesthaeghe 2000). Patterned by region, these differences suggest disparities in economic opportunities and welfare state provisions (Dey and Morris 1999). In Southern European countries like Italy, where young people are highly dependent on parents' financial support, women usually remain at home until they marry (Lesthaeghe 2000). In East-Central European states like Poland, Slovenia, and Hungary, about half of the young women coreside with parents, but others leave home for early marriage and motherhood. In Northern Europe's generous social democratic welfare states (e.g., Sweden and Norway), women leave home early not to marry, but rather to live independently or to cohabit. In Western countries (e.g., Netherlands, Canada, Austria, Germany) where jobs and student fellowships are a bigger part of young people's budgets, fewer than half of women, aged 20–24, coreside with parents; most of the remainder either live alone or cohabit (with or without having children). Nest-leaving peaks in the late teens in the U.S., where college students are apt to live apart from parents, and in Denmark where housing has been relatively cheap (Kiernan 1989). Nest-leaving in Great Britain has been more drawn out, apparently because young people wait to leave home until they are ready to live as couples.

The living arrangements of older adults also show cross-national variation. Pampel (1992), for example, finds that there are national differences in the likelihood of older people living alone in ten countries of the European Community. Rates of solitary living are lowest among the largely Catholic populations of Ireland, Northern Ireland, and Italy, and they are highest in Denmark. Living alone increased in all countries between 1975 and 1989, but country-to-country differences were maintained. These cross-national differentials remain even after controls for individual-level variables (age, gender, marital status, and socioeconomic status) and for aggregate-level variables (GNP, social spending, housing stock, postmaterial values). As a determinant of intercountry differences in late-life living arrangements, Pampel points to cultural values, namely postmaterialism, which emphasizes personal fulfillment over the dictates of restrictive social institutions like church and family (Inglehart 1977).

2.2. REGIONS AND REGIMES

Although socio-demographic characteristics of populations affect intergenerational exchange, cultural, social, and political factors are also at play. To account for differences in family life, one argument points to long-standing cultural contrasts in family organization between the regions of Europe (Macfarlane 1978; Hajnal 1982; Reher 1998). The individualism of Northwestern Europe and the English-heritage countries of the globe may be contrasted with the lingering Eastern and Southern European tradition of familism. Looking backward, these regional distinctions map to religious (i.e., Catholic and Protestant) differences in family traditions and gender values. As we might expect, these cultural differences are reflected not only in behaviour, but also in attitudes toward intergenerational obligations. Southern Europeans are more likely than Northwestern Europeans to agree that children owe unconditional love and respect to their parents and that parents must do their best for their children (van den Akker, Halman, and de Moor 1994).

While regional differences are consistent with cultural traditions, contemporary observers argue that cultural differences have long since been incorporated into distinctive state approaches to social welfare. These welfare regimes influence both the material circumstance of family life and its ideological underpinnings. Perhaps the most influential formulation of state policy distinctions is found in Esping-Anderson's (1990) typology of capitalist welfare state regimes, which asks whether the social rights of citizenship guarantee a livelihood regardless of labour market attachment. His recent work emphasizes the welfare state's "de-familialization," i.e., the extent to which the state assumes the family's responsibility of caring for dependents (Esping-Anderson 1999). Whether ranked by state support of family services, daycare, or home-help for the aged, the Nordic social democratic regimes demonstrate far and away the greatest de-familialization. Conservative European states (e.g., Germany, Austria, the Netherlands) are a distant second followed by Japan and *laissez faire*, liberal regimes like the U.K., U.S., and Canada. Late to develop public services, Southern European countries show the least state support for the caregiving functions that traditionally fall to families.

Intergenerational coresidence of old people—as well as unemployed youth—is inversely related to state de-familialization (Esping-Anderson 1999). Rates of coresidence are very low in the Nordic social democratic countries; there rich services and generous benefits not only reduce economic need for intergenerational coresidence, but also presumably diminish normative expectations that parents and grown children must rely on one another. Coresidence is higher in the "service-passive" liberal and conservative states, and highest in "service-poor" Southern Europe and Japan. It remains to be seen how capitalist social welfare regime types relate to intergenerational contact as opposed to intergenerational coresidence. Nor do we know how formerly socialist states, facing economic dislocations and eroded public services in their transition to capitalism, rank in terms of coresidence and contact. Compared to Western Europe, Eastern Europe has high rates of multigenerational living among older women (Koropeckyj-Cox, Agree, and Botev 2000), perhaps reflecting perennial housing shortages in these countries. Certainly, in attitudes toward women's gender roles, these formerly socialist states have the most in common with Southern European countries, which are characterized by late economic development, traditional gender beliefs, and non-Protestant heritage (Treas and Widmer 2000). As further evidence of regional distinctions, people in Southern Europe and formerly socialist Eastern Europe are less likely than their Northern European counterparts to agree that children are responsible for taking care of their ageing parents (Van Peer 1998).

2.3. FAMILISM OR "INTIMACY AT A DISTANCE?"

Given that parents and grown children can exchange assistance either by living together or by getting together, the relationship between coresidence and contact is—from a comparative perspective—an empirical question of theoretical interest. We might hypothesize that coresidence and contact will be positively associated across nations. This expectation is based on the argument that some cultures adhere to collective values of familism, while others embrace individualistic orientations (Triandis 1995). Close family ties characterize cultures based on familism. Individuals owe their allegiance to kin on whom they rely for advice, companionship, assistance, and support. In individualistic cultures, family ties are weaker. Individuals make their own way in the world, relying more on impersonal institutions and on persons who need not be kin. Thus, we would expect high rates of both

coresidence and contact in family-oriented societies and low rates in individualistic ones. In other words, coresidence and contact complement one another.

In contrast to the familism hypothesis, the "intimacy at a distance" hypothesis leads us to expect no association—or even a negative one—between coresidence and contact. According to Rosenmayr (1977), intergenerational coresidence reflects economic or occupational requirements, rather than emotional closeness between the generations. Compelled by economic necessity, coresidence may be fraught with tensions, leading to mutual isolation. On the other hand, separate residence (frequently with grown children living near ageing parents) may foster a high level of contact and assistance between the generations. In societies where the residential independence of generations is valued and feasible, family members may prefer frequent contact (the so-called "intimacy at a distance"), rather than a shared household arrangement (Wenger 1992; Knipscheer et al. 1995). Since the preference for family assistance over formal care is documented even where coresidence is rare (Knipscheer 1992; Tornstam 1992), contact and coresidence may be cultural substitutes for one another.

The empirical relation between coresidence and contact remains an open question. Commentators on English-speaking countries with low rates of coresidence emphasize that separate residence can coexist with frequent contact and support between the generations (Wenger 1992). Cross-national studies to validate this assertion are largely lacking. A pioneering comparative study reported the share of unmarried persons, 65 and older, who lived alone in Britain, the U.S., and Denmark (Shanas et al. 1968). It also reported the share of elderly people in each country who had seen a child in the past two days. The relationship of coresidence and contact was negative. The Danes, while least likely to live with others, were most likely to have seen a child. While most likely to coreside, the British were least likely to report child contact. More recent data, however, show a positive relation between coresidence and contact, even controlling for residential proximity of the generations (Hollinger and Haller 1990; Van Peer 1998). In the late 1980s, fewer than 40 percent of never-married persons in the U.S. lived with their mothers compared to 90 percent or more of their counterparts in Hungary and Italy. Countries like the U.S., however, did not compensate for low rates of maternal coresidence with high levels of daily contact.

3. Data and Method

This paper makes use of data from the 1994 International Social Survey Program (ISSP). The data is made available by the *Zentralarchiv für empirische Sozialforschung* in Cologne, Germany, which bears no responsibility for this analysis nor our interpretation. The ISSP is an established program of cross-national collaboration that has coordinated annual surveys on various topics since 1985 (Smith 1992). The 1994 survey focused on gender and family issues. The study was carried out by independent research institutions in 24 largely Western and industrialized countries, usually as a supplement to national probability surveys. Twenty countries report data suitable for our analysis. The countries represent different cultural regions and types of social welfare regimes: the Nordic social democracies of Sweden and Norway; the conservative welfare states of Austria, the Netherlands, and West Germany; the liberal welfare states of Australia, Canada, Great Britain, Ireland, Japan, New

Zealand, Northern Ireland, and the U.S.; the formerly socialist states of the Czech Republic, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Russia, and Slovenia; and the Southern European state of Italy.[1] (For a variety of reasons regarding data availability and consistency, we did not include Bulgaria, Israel, the Philippines, or Spain.) The total sample size is 16,296 adults age 18 or older. For men, country sample sizes range from 173 in Northern Ireland to 798 in Norway. For women, they range from 179 in Northern Ireland to 690 in West Germany. Since the surveys are carried out by different organizations in each country, response rates vary (see Appendix A).

We focus on two ISSP questions. The first asked, "Is your mother still alive?" Respondents answering "yes," were then asked, "How often do you see or visit your mother?" Valid responses include: lives in the same household, daily, at least several times a week, at least once a week, at least once a month, several times a year, and less often. We limit our study to respondents, 18 and older, whose mothers are still alive, i.e., the population "at risk" of living with or visiting their mothers. One model for maternal coresidence analyses a dummy dependent variable, whether the respondent *lives with* the mother (yes = 1, no = 0). For those who do not live with their mothers, a model for maternal contact focuses on an ordinal dependent variable; the frequency of face-to-face *visits* ranges from 2 ("less than several times a year") to 7 ("daily"). Responses to the contact variable are approximately normally distributed, with a mean of 3.5, a median of 4 ("once a week"), and a skewness of 0.001. Given this distribution, we treat the contact variable as continuous in linear models. We do not interpret the scores as literally representing the frequency of visits, but rather we assume only that higher scores represent more frequent visits. This seems appropriate given the arbitrary nature of the scale and the likely inaccuracies in reporting.[2]

As independent variables, we consider individual-level social and demographic characteristics, previously found to be associated with coresidence and kin contact. Respondent's age is measured in 10-year categories with ages 18–24 as the omitted group. Marital status, also measured by dummy variables, contrasts the *formerly married* and the *never married* with the omitted *married* category. To achieve a relatively comparable measure for various educational systems, we create a dummy variable for *college or higher* educational attainment. Employment status is also a marker of socioeconomic circumstances. Dummy variables distinguish *employed full-time*, *employed part-ti*me, and *student* from the omitted *not employed* (*nonstudent*) category. Since socioeconomic resources may also depend on the spouse's employment status, we use a dummy variable for *employed spouse* (employed spouse = 1, no employed spouse = 0 for married as well as unmarried respondents). Because there are relatively few missing values for most variables, we simply drop cases with missing data. The exception is spouse's employment, where higher levels of missing

[1] Data for the two parts of the newly unified Germany were collected from separate samples in 1994, and we consider them separately here. For this early date, we consider the two parts of Germany to be separate welfare regimes, because in the few years after reunification policies and practices were slow to change; we would not expect intergenerational relations formed over many years to respond so immediately to new (or incipient) changes in policy. The differences apparent in our results, especially for maternal visiting, provide support for this decision.

[2] If we take the variable at its literal meaning, and transform it into the number of times per year the respondent visits, it becomes much more skewed, with a mean of 83 visits per year and a median of 52 (skewness = 1.64).

data require that we substitute the gender- and country-specific proportion employed, as derived from the employment of married respondents in the data set. In Sweden, for example, where 71 percent of the married men are employed, we impute a value of 0.71 for the employed spouse variable of a married woman who is missing this data. We add a dummy variable to the models indicating whether spouse's employment has been imputed in this manner. (Descriptive statistics are presented in Appendix B, Tables B.1 and B. 2.)

We first examine the individual-level determinants of maternal coresidence across all 20 countries, and the differences across countries in the rates of coresidence, net of these individual-level independent variables. We repeat this exercise for frequency of maternal contact. Then, we test whether maternal contact varies across countries as a function of coresidence rates that are adjusted for key life-course variables. In other words, we construct gender-specific, country-level coresidence rates, reflecting the proportion of adults predicted to coreside at the mean of age, age-squared, and marital status variables. This adjusted coresidence rate is utilized as a country-level independent variable, enabling us to test whether societal coresidence practices are positively associated with contact (the familism hypothesis) or not (the intimacy-at-a-distance hypothesis). For this multivariate test of the hypotheses, we use the HLM software package to estimate hierarchical linear models incorporating the country-level coresidence variable (Bryk and Raubenbush 1992).

The basic equation for the individual-level is

$$Y_{ij} = \beta_0 + \beta_1(\text{Male}) + \Sigma\beta_{kj}X_{ikj} + R_{ij}$$

where Y_{ij} equals the odds of respondent i living with (or the frequency of visiting) the respondent's mother, in country j. Visiting frequency can be analysed with linear models. For analyses of maternal coresidence, Y_{ij} is formulated as the log odds, and the model is logistic. β_0 is the individual-level intercept and β_1 is the difference between male and female respondents. X_{ikj} is the set of individual-level variables and β_{kj} is the vector of coefficients associated with those variables. Finally, R_{ij}, the individual-level error term, is assumed to be normally distributed with a zero mean and a constant variance. Individual-level control variables are centred at their grand means, so the intercept is interpreted as the average odds of living with (or frequency of visiting) the mother for a woman with average characteristics.

The first country-level equation takes the form:

$$\begin{aligned}\beta_{0j} &= \gamma_{00} + U_{0j}\\ \beta_{1j} &= \gamma_{10} + \mathrm{U}_{1j}\\ X_{kj} &= \gamma_k\end{aligned}$$

where γ_{00} and γ_{10} are the intercepts for the country-level models; U_{0j} and U_{1j} are the error terms at the country level; and γ_{k} are the constant coefficients across all countries (i.e., the individual-level control variables are constrained to have fixed effects across countries). With the error terms included, HLM produces predicted values for each country of both the intercept and the effect of being male, which yield predicted coresidence rates and visit frequencies, net of the controls. For females, the intercepts give the predicted coresidence

rate or the predicted visit frequency. Adding the coefficient for being male to the intercept yields the male predicted coresidence rate or visiting frequency. These predicted values are similar to those that would be derived from an OLS model that contained a set of dummy control variables, i.e., one for each country (see Bryk and Raudenbush 1992:40).

In the second set of models, we estimate the effect of country coresidence rate on the frequency of visiting. This modifies the country-level equation as follows:

$$\beta_{0j} = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01}(\text{coresidence rate}_j) + U_{0j}$$

where γ_{01} is the effect of the gender-specific, country-level coresidence rate on β_0. We estimate these models separately by sex instead of modelling $\beta_1$across countries.

4. Empirical Results

4.1. HOW MUCH DO THE TWENTY COUNTRIES DIFFER IN MATERNAL CORESIDENCE AND CONTACT?

Although sharing the same household is an efficient way to transfer resources between generations, there is a remarkable degree of variation in the extent to which this coresidence occurs. For women whose mothers are still alive, the percent living with mother ranges from a scant 4 percent in Sweden and 7 percent in Great Britain to highs of 32 percent in Japan and 38 percent in Italy. For men, the percent living with mother ranges from 11 percent in the U.S. and Sweden to 47 percent in Japan (see Appendix B). Figure 1 arrays the 20 countries in terms of the percentages of male and female respondents coresiding with their mother. Consistent with previous research, Northwestern European countries and former English colonies are characterized by low rates of maternal coresidence. Eastern and Southern European nations are distinguished by high rates of coresidence, as is Japan. Male respondents are more likely than their female counterparts to report maternal coresidence. Although Northern Ireland shows gender parity, its estimate is based on a small sample. The pattern of disproportionately high rates of maternal coresidence for men is especially apparent for Ireland, Slovenia, and Japan. Although the nature and direction of private intergenerational resource transfers involved in coresidence is unclear, the data show that the coresidence between sons and mothers is more common than between daughters and mothers.

If grown-up children do not coreside, visits offer an opportunity to exchange services and resources with their mothers. Figure 2 shows the variation in the visiting patterns of those adults who do not coreside with their mothers. On average, Italians say that they see their mothers between once a week and once a month. At the other extreme are the Japanese who, on average, visit their mothers several times annually. The extreme cases of the Japanese and Italians are instructive, because these two countries had the highest rates of maternal coresidence among the 20 cases considered. Thus, high rates of intergenerational living can go along with either high or low frequency of face-to-face interaction for those grown offspring who do not live with their mothers. Whether the pattern of positive association predominates, as implied by the arguments of familism, remains to be investigated below. Although male respondents are much more likely than their female counterparts to live

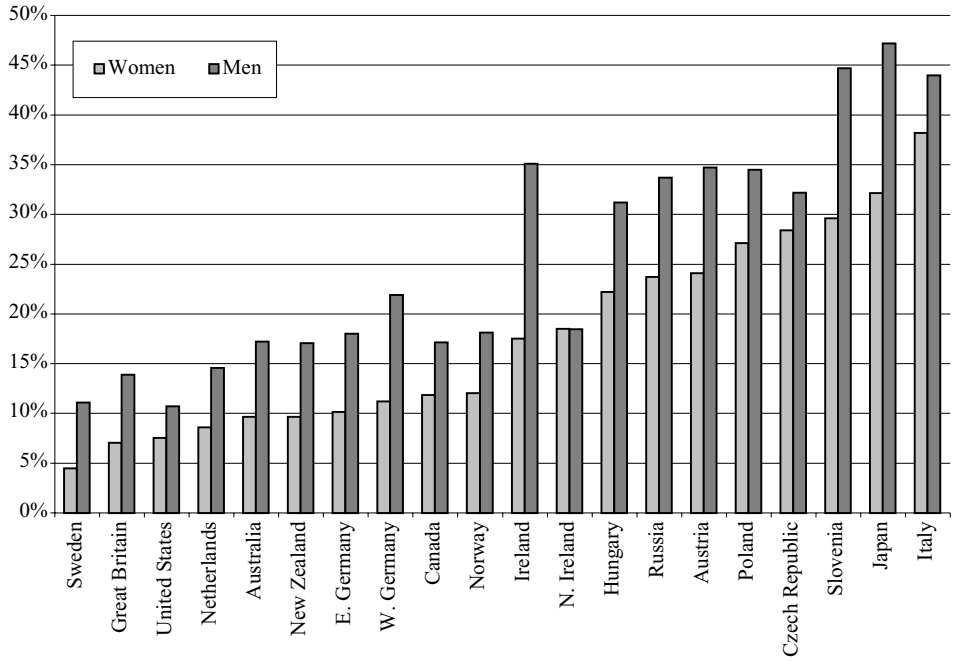

Figure 1. Percent living with mother.

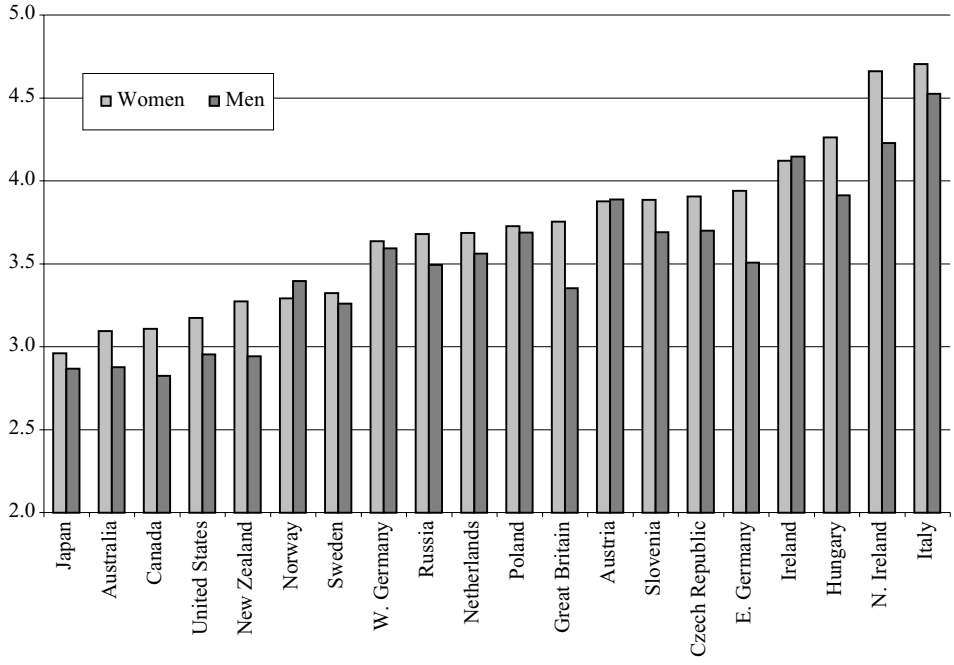

Figure 2. Frequency of visits with mother.

with their mothers, they are not more likely to visit them. With rare exceptions like Austria and Ireland, women visit more frequently than do men. Certainly, gender differences in contact are less pronounced than those for coresidence.

4.2. HOW DO INDIVIDUAL-LEVEL CHARACTERISTICS AFFECT CORESIDENCE AND CONTACT?

To understand which individual-level characteristics determine these patterns of family solidarity, we examine cross-national differences in maternal coresidence and contact, controlling for respondent's age, marital status, education, employment status, and spouse's employment status. The HLM results for models of coresidence and of visiting frequency are presented in Table 1.

The likelihood of coresidence is highest for the 18–24-year-olds; it declines until middle age (35–44) and then rises, presumably as maternal needs increase. Men are more likely to coreside than are women. Compared to married people, respondents who are never-married are substantially more likely to live with their mothers and those who were previously married are somewhat more likely to do so. A college education decreases the likelihood of coresidence. Employment status has surprisingly little effect. Respondents who are full-time or part-time workers are no less likely to coreside than the omitted category of not employed respondents. Students, however, do display a greater likelihood of living with their mothers. While respondent's employment has little effect, having an employed spouse does reduce the likelihood of maternal coresidence ($p < 0.001$).

Maternal contact declines with age only to increase for respondents aged 55 and older. Men, of course, visit less frequently than do women. Although marital status has marked effects on living arrangements, it does not influence the frequency of visits. There are no significant differences in maternal contact between the married respondents and the never-married or previously married ones. Higher education is negatively associated with contact. Respondent's employment status is not statistically significant, except that students who do not live with their mothers see them less often than do not employed children. In contrast to coresidence, spouse's employment has no effect on maternal contact.

4.3. DO INDIVIDUAL-LEVEL DETERMINANTS ACCOUNT FOR COUNTRY DIFFERENCES IN MATERNAL CORESIDENCE AND CONTACT?

We use the models in Table 1 to derive predicted values for each country at the mean of the independent variables. These gender-specific predicted probabilities of coresidence and frequency of visiting appear in the bottom panel of Table 1. For the 20 countries, the rank–order correlations between the observed and adjusted sets of measures are quite high. For the probability of coresidence, the correlations are 0.86 for men and 0.89 for women, suggesting very little change in the ordering of countries as a result of controlling for the social and demographic variables. For the frequency of visiting, the rank–order correlations are even higher—0.98 for both men and women. Although many of the individual-level, independent variables in the model have significant effects on coresidence and on frequency of contact, these factors do not account for the rank ordering of behaviours at the aggregate level of the countries.

Table 1. Hierarchical linear models for coresiding with and visiting mother.

	Coresiding	Visiting
Intercept	−1.884***	3.671***
Age 25–34	−0.919***	−0.278***
Age 35–44	−1.950***	−0.514***
Age 45–54	−1.041***	−0.632***
Age 55+	−0.722***	−0.495***
Male	0.347***	−0.135**
Formerly married	0.732***	0.094
Never married	1.955***	0.008
College	−0.508***	−0.282***
Employed full-time	−0.020	−0.033
Employed part-time	0.070	0.009
Student	0.273**	−0.287***
Spouse employed	−0.474***	−0.026
Spouse employment imputed	0.551***	−0.147*
Individual-level R^2	†	0.316

Predicted rates by country and gender

	Coresiding		Visiting	
Country	**Women**	**Men**	**Women**	**Men**
Australia	0.18	0.22	3.16	2.93
W. Germany	0.11	0.18	3.53	3.52
E. Germany	0.14	0.18	3.85	3.45
Great Britain	0.11	0.15	3.67	3.27
Northern Ireland	0.16	0.20	4.53	4.18
United States	0.10	0.13	3.16	2.97
Austria	0.25	0.28	3.81	3.82
Hungary	0.26	0.30	4.18	3.84
Italy	0.36	0.38	4.63	4.51
Ireland	0.19	0.29	4.10	4.11
Netherlands	0.07	0.08	3.68	3.62
Norway	0.06	0.11	3.27	3.43
Sweden	0.07	0.11	3.34	3.27
Czech Republic	0.26	0.30	3.82	3.70
Slovenia	0.32	0.42	3.82	3.66
Poland	0.29	0.34	3.66	3.65
Russia	0.30	0.37	3.77	3.56
New Zealand	0.17	0.19	3.32	3.04
Canada	0.15	0.16	3.26	3.00
Japan	0.33	0.43	2.97	2.93

*$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$.
†HLM does not produce a standard measure of explained variance for nonlinear models.

4.4. DO NATIONAL DIFFERENCES IN MATERNAL CORESIDENCE AND CONTACT CORRESPOND TO REGIONAL AND WELFARE REGIME TYPOLOGIES?

Thus far, we have related coresidence and contact to individual-level variables of the gendered life course, and we have demonstrated that differences in these variables provide an insufficient explanation of country-to-country differences. Now, we ask whether country differences, net of individual-level variables, correspond to broader regional or welfare regime patterns of family solidarity. Table 2 presents women's mean predicted values on coresidence and visiting, controlling for individual-level variables, for the countries grouped by capitalist welfare-state regime type (social democratic, liberal, and conservative). We also distinguish formerly socialist states. Italy and Japan are shown separately, because they are outliers in contact and coresidence and have had distinctive experiences as welfare states (Esping-Anderson 1999).

The results confirm the high levels of intergenerational family solidarity in the formerly socialist states, namely, the Czech Republic, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Russia, and Slovenia. Controlling for individual-level characteristics, the mean predicted proportion of women coresiding is 0.26 while the mean predicted frequency for visits is 3.64—nearly once a month. Among the capitalist welfare states, the social democratic countries of Norway and Sweden stand out, because their levels of coresidence and contact (0.07 and 3.32) are lower than those of their European counterparts.

Falling between the social democratic and formerly socialist countries on both coresidence and contact, the liberal and conservative states are virtually indistinguishable from one another. Italy and Japan, of course, display the highest proportions coresiding, but Italian women visit their mothers very often while Japanese women visit relatively infrequently.

Table 2. Mean predicted maternal coresidence proportion and contact frequency for women, by welfare regime type.

	Coresidence	Visiting
Social democratic Norway, Sweden	0.07	3.31
Liberal Australia, Canada,Great Britain, New Zealand, Northern Ireland, United States, Ireland	0.15	3.60
Conservative Austria, West Germany, Netherlands	0.14	3.67
Formerly socialist Czech Republic, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Russia, Slovenia	0.26	3.64
Italy	0.36	4.63
Japan	0.33	2.97

Table 3. Hierarchical linear model for frequency of visiting mother in 19 countries (respondents living with their mothers excluded).

	Women	Men
Intercept	3.138***	2.959***
Country maternal coresidence rate	2.510**	2.493**
Age 25–34	−0.245***	−0.308***
Age 35–44	−0.511***	−0.512***
Age 45–54	−0.552***	−0.732***
Age 55+	−0.426***	−0.544***
Formerly married	0.145*	0.062
Never married	0.059	−0.017
College	−0.252***	−0.321***
Employed full-time	−0.030	−0.051
Employed part-time	0.009	0.107
Student	−0.284**	−0.327**
Spouse employed	0.030	−0.043
Spouse employment imputed	−0.123	−0.171+

Note: Dependent variable is frequency of visits (2–7); Japanese respondents excluded.
$^{+}p < 0.10$; $^{*}p < 0.05$; $^{**}p < 0.01$; $^{***}p < 0.001$.

4.5. DO MATERNAL CORESIDENCE RATES IN A COUNTRY AFFECT THE FREQUENCY OF MATERNAL CONTACT?

Having considered the determinants of coresidence and contact separately, we now consider how maternal coresidence practices influence the frequency of visiting for adults who do not live with their mothers. Thus, in addition to the individual-level variables, our gender-specific models incorporate a country-level variable—the gender-specific proportion coresiding (adjusted by age and marital status). We exclude Japan from this analysis, because it is an extreme outlier with the lowest frequency of visits but the second-highest coresidence rate. The HLM results for the remaining 19 countries are presented in Table 3. The results show that the higher the proportion coresiding in a country, the more frequently do other offspring have maternal contact. The significant coefficients for the effect of coresidence rates imply that the average score for maternal contact would be 2.5 points higher on the 2–7 ordinal scale in a country where 100 percent of the adults live with their mothers than in a country where no adults live with their mothers.[3] However, the effect of coresidence does not differ significantly by gender.

5. Discussion and Conclusion

Many researchers have observed that there are cross-national differences in the popularity of multigenerational living. Our analysis offers a refinement and extension of earlier

[3] In the model with Japan included, the effect of coresidence was marginally significant in the same direction for both men and women.

studies. Marshalling data from 20 countries and focusing analysis on respondents who are "at risk" of coresidence by virtue of having a surviving mother, we confirm that there is substantial cross-national variation in the likelihood that an adult will live with his or her mother. Furthermore, we demonstrate that adults who do not live with their mothers differ from country to country in the frequency with which they visit their mothers. These intergenerational patterns of support and exchange are strongly gendered. Men are more likely than women to make their home with their mothers. Women, however, see their mothers somewhat more often than do men. Significant differences in the behaviour of men and women remain even after differences in age, marital status, education, employment, and spouse's employment are controlled. Furthermore, these controls for individual-level factors do not explain the cross-national differences observed in maternal coresidence and maternal contact.

Maternal coresidence and contact are behaviours that take place in national contexts with distinctive cultural traditions, unique religious heritages, and particular state policies. As noted, these histories have given rise to different welfare approaches and varying degrees of commitment to helping families provide for dependent kin. In the social democratic countries of Norway and Sweden, where public support for families is most fully developed, we find that there is less intergenerational contact and markedly less maternal coresidence. By contrast, maternal coresidence and contact is high where de-familialization by the state is limited: 1. the formerly socialist countries, where the public safety net has unraveled in the face of economic dislocation and 2. Italy, where public welfare programs were slow to develop. In the formerly socialist countries of Eastern Europe, intergenerational solidarity is not limited to coresidence but extends to contact as well. We infer that familism and/or the general economic deprivation of transition economies, rather than merely housing shortages, account for the patterns observed. Other European nations and English-heritage countries with liberal or conservative approaches to social welfare policies fall somewhere in the middle in terms of coresidence, contact, and de-familialization.

Rather than being substitutes for one another, maternal coresidence and contact seem to complement each other as mechanisms of intergenerational support. Countries where more adults live with their mothers are countries where those adult children who do not coreside visit more frequently. Japan, having high rates of coresidence and low frequency of visiting, are a singular exception to this pattern. Presumably, contact offers a way for grown-up children who do not share a household with their mothers to share other resources, exchange services, and interact with kin. Previous research has indicated that children crowd their siblings out of the parental home, thus discouraging their coresidence (Treas and Chen 2000). The presence of brothers and sisters in a household, however, may prompt more frequent visits—not only by modelling norms of family togetherness, but also by permitting people to enjoy siblings' and parents' company simultaneously. In any case, the results favour the familism argument relating coresidence to family solidarity over the "intimacy at a distance" argument that holds that coresidence is a poor indicator of the strength of intergenerational ties.

Although we find that coresidence and contact are associated with each other and with state welfare efforts, public and private transfers are not interchangeable. At the public level, intergenerational support such as public pensions typically consists of impersonal

transfers taking place at arm's length. Family transfers, on the other hand, are highly personalized exchanges that benefit from long-standing associations, frequent interaction, and relationship-specific investments that permit parties to know one another's needs, preferences, capacities, and contributions. Even in countries characterized by low coresidence and less frequent visiting, people look to kin, rather than to formal systems, for help with various personal problems (Knipscheer 1992; Tornstam 1992). Ageing populations, however, present challenges to both systems.

The number of people in need of family support will increase in response to the growth of the older population as well as its ageing. Population ageing will place unprecedented demands on public systems for pensions, health care, and social services (Birg, in press; Golini, in press; Treas, in press). The low fertility contributing to population ageing also limits the availability of children—an important factor contributing to both coresidence and contact in later life (Wolf 1994; Farkas and Hogan 1995). The postponement of marriage and childbearing, however, increases the proportion of adults who will live for extended periods with their parents—a life-course development with poorly understood implications for the intergenerational support of ageing parents.

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Appendix A. Response rates by country.

Country	Response rate (%)
Australia	93.5
Austria	70.4
Canada	72.5
Czech Republic	82.2
E. Germany	54.7
W. Germany	52.8
Great Britain	55.7
Hungary	76.4
Italy	69.3
Japan	77.8
New Zealand	69.7
Norway	60.7
Poland	82.1
Slovenia	43.8
Sweden	64.0
United States	78.0

Note: Not available for Ireland, Northern Ireland, Netherlands, or Russia.

Appendix B.

Table B.1. Descriptive statistics by country: Adults with living mothers.

	Australia	W. Germany	E. Germany	Great Britain	Northern Ireland	United States	Austria	Hungary	Italy	Ireland
Women										
Live with mother	0.10	0.11	0.10	0.07	0.18	0.08	0.24	0.22	0.38	0.17
Visit frequency*	3.09	3.64	3.94	3.75	4.66	3.17	3.88	4.26	4.70	4.12
Age 25–34	0.26	0.39	0.31	0.38	0.32	0.33	0.27	0.27	0.29	0.33
Age 35–44	0.35	0.26	0.28	0.25	0.26	0.30	0.27	0.27	0.23	0.31
Age 45–54	0.25	0.13	0.15	0.14	0.12	0.16	0.19	0.20	0.16	0.17
Age 55+	0.09	0.05	0.13	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.11	0.10	0.02
Finished college	0.23	0.13	0.13	0.22	0.18	0.35	0.04	0.14	0.18	0.30
Employed FT	0.36	0.41	0.50	0.38	0.33	0.55	0.40	0.57	0.31	0.37
Employed PT	0.30	0.16	0.09	0.24	0.16	0.14	0.16	0.02	0.12	0.11
Student	0.06	0.06	0.05	0.04	0.06	0.05	0.09	0.04	0.09	0.06
Spouse employed	0.74	0.55	0.54	0.55	0.34	0.43	0.59	0.53	0.51	0.53
Was married	0.05	0.09	0.13	0.18	0.22	0.24	0.08	0.20	0.04	0.06
Never married	0.15	0.29	0.18	0.19	0.32	0.25	0.25	0.15	0.35	0.30
N	467	608	296	284	173	479	274	419	338	223
Men										
Live with mother	0.17	0.22	0.18	0.14	0.18	0.11	0.35	0.31	0.44	0.35
Visit frequency*	2.88	3.59	3.51	3.35	4.23	2.95	3.89	3.91	4.52	4.15
Age 25–34	0.21	0.35	0.28	0.42	0.34	0.32	0.28	0.28	0.30	0.33
Age 35–44	0.34	0.27	0.31	0.25	0.30	0.32	0.23	0.29	0.26	0.25
Age 45–54	0.25	0.14	0.13	0.15	0.13	0.18	0.14	0.15	0.13	0.14
Age 55+	0.14	0.06	0.09	0.05	0.06	0.06	0.10	0.10	0.07	0.04
Finished college	0.20	0.16	0.18	0.23	0.26	0.34	0.06	0.14	0.17	0.25
Employed FT	0.83	0.81	0.77	0.72	0.76	0.75	0.76	0.64	0.71	0.66
Employed PT	0.05	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.08	0.02	0.01	0.08	0.01
Student	0.04	0.08	0.04	0.04	0.07	0.03	0.12	0.06	0.10	0.07
Spouse employed	0.44	0.23	0.44	0.36	0.41	0.35	0.32	0.34	0.28	0.21
Was married	0.03	0.07	0.07	0.13	0.06	0.16	0.03	0.08	0.02	0.03
Never married	0.23	0.39	0.29	0.27	0.25	0.30	0.40	0.30	0.44	0.44
N	483	690	311	245	179	383	245	359	323	211

*For those not living with their mothers.

Table B.2. Descriptive statistics by country: Adults with living mothers.

	Netherlands	Norway	Sweden	Czech Republic	Slovenia	Poland	Russia	New Zealand	Canada	Japan
Women										
Live with mother	0.09	0.12	0.04	0.28	0.30	0.27	0.24	0.10	0.12	0.32
Visit frequency*	3.69	3.29	3.32	3.91	3.88	3.73	3.68	3.27	3.11	2.96
Age 25–34	0.32	0.29	0.28	0.28	0.29	0.28	0.32	0.31	0.28	0.26
Age 35–44	0.29	0.25	0.25	0.23	0.31	0.31	0.30	0.27	0.34	0.27
Age 45–54	0.15	0.13	0.21	0.14	0.13	0.15	0.13	0.18	0.14	0.20
Age 55+	0.04	0.04	0.08	0.02	0.06	0.06	0.04	0.09	0.03	0.06
Finished college	0.26	0.25	0.29	0.21	0.17	0.18	0.52	0.50	0.64	0.25
Employed FT	0.37	0.56	0.39	0.76	0.67	0.48	0.57	0.37	0.47	0.37
Employed PT	0.00	0.00	0.30	0.03	0.02	0.04	0.07	0.18	0.22	0.13
Student	0.13	0.20	0.12	0.14	0.08	0.07	0.10	0.03	0.14	0.12
Spouse employed	0.34	0.62	0.61	0.62	0.61	0.52	0.60	0.63	0.62	0.65
Was married	0.10	0.09	0.05	0.12	0.07	0.12	0.12	0.11	0.07	0.04
Never married	0.34	0.42	0.22	0.26	0.21	0.21	0.16	0.18	0.29	0.28
N	665	798	426	310	321	480	755	342	676	436
Men										
Live with mother	0.15	0.18	0.11	0.32	0.45	0.34	0.34	0.17	0.17	0.47
Visit frequency*	3.56	3.40	3.26	3.70	3.69	3.69	3.49	2.94	2.82	2.87
Age 25–34	0.28	0.28	0.29	0.29	0.31	0.28	0.32	0.29	0.34	0.22
Age 35–44	0.28	0.25	0.27	0.23	0.30	0.33	0.28	0.26	0.23	0.24
Age 45–54	0.16	0.16	0.20	0.17	0.11	0.15	0.13	0.14	0.17	0.20
Age 55+	0.06	0.05	0.06	0.03	0.03	0.06	0.01	0.08	0.04	0.09
Finished college	0.34	0.32	0.26	0.27	0.16	0.13	0.48	0.63	0.72	0.29
Employed FT	0.65	0.72	0.73	0.79	0.76	0.63	0.77	0.79	0.61	0.78
Employed PT	0.00	0.00	0.03	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.06	0.03	0.10	0.01
Student	0.17	0.17	0.11	0.14	0.07	0.08	0.10	0.07	0.16	0.15
Spouse employed	0.13	0.44	0.48	0.56	0.50	0.40	0.49	0.43	0.44	0.27
Was married	0.04	0.07	0.05	0.04	0.01	0.04	0.07	0.06	0.07	0.01
Never married	0.46	0.48	0.32	0.34	0.36	0.28	0.21	0.30	0.40	0.38
N	523	679	361	314	291	435	505	223	397	369

*For those not living with their mothers.

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