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Changes in Intergenerational
Relationships Across the Life Course

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ABSTRACT

We examine the amount of stability and change in respondent's relationships with their parents between the first and second interviews of the National Survey of Families and Households. We find that although a small proportion of young adults live with their parents at any one time, nearly a sixth of the respondents co-resided with their parents for some time over this period. Further analyses show that co-residence with parents is more common for those whose parent was widowed and those who themselves experience the dissolution of a marriage. Proximity to and contact with parents are also associated with changes in parent's and child's marital and parenthood status. About one-half of the respondents experienced a change in distance to their parents and about one-half reported a change in their frequency of contact with parents. By using longitudinal data we are able to show the short-term effects of parent's widowhood, respondent's marriage and divorce, and respondent's transition to parenthood on these aspects of intergenerational relationships. In general, a parent's widowhood intensifies children's relations with their surviving parents. Getting married and having children is associated with a decrease in relations with parents. Although getting divorced is associated with a greater likelihood of experiencing a period of co-residence with parents, it tends to decrease women's involvement with parents but increase men's relations.

Data used: 1987-88 and 1992-94 waves of the National Survey of Families and Households

Significant transitions in one's life also affect one's kin. (Elder, Caspi, and Burton, 1988; Elder, Caspi and Downey, 1986). For example, a young adult who becomes a first-time parent may also create first-time grandparents. Thus, relationships between adult children and their parents are likely to change as parents and children proceed through life. Other transitions such as marriage, divorce, retirement, and long-term illness are also likely to influence relationships with other family members. As children move out of their parents' house, get married, and have children of their own, their needs and expectations of their parents change. As they become less financially dependent on their parents the relationship may become more like that between friends. Even so, adult children might continue to see their parents as a potential resource in an emergency. Parents might feel less and less obligated or willing to give financial assistance to their adult children over time both because they feel their children are responsible for supporting themselves and because after retirement they are less able to afford to. Nonetheless, parents may want to continue strong personal ties and may be willing to provide help with babysitting or advice. Eventually the illness and widowhood of parents alter the relationship again, as parents may become increasingly dependent on their children.

How intergenerational relationships respond to life-course changes is interesting both for those concerned with academic questions of how family systems work and for those interested in pragmatic issues such as the ability of families to offer support to elderly parents. However, little is known about how parent-adult child relationships change over time or how these relationships are altered by marriage, separation, the birth of a child, or the death of a parent. This paper uses the first and second waves of the National Survey of Families and Households to examine how three aspects of parent-adult child relationships (geographic proximity, co-residence, and

frequency of contact) adjust in response to changes in both the children's and parents' lives.

Research using cross-sectional data provides some evidence that intergenerational relationships are affected by these life course transitions. Previous studies, many using data from the first wave of the NSFH, show that proximity (Litwak and Longino, 1987; Parker and Serow, 1983; Rogerson, et. al, 1993; Clark and Wolf, 1992), co-residence, (Aquilino, 1990), and frequency of parent-child contact (Crimmins and Ingegneri, 1990; Roan, 1994; Rossi and Rossi, 1990) differ by marital and parental statuses. Although these findings suggest that intergenerational relationships change in response to life course transitions, without knowing what the relationship was like before the transition the studies do not provide direct evidence. For instance, the finding that married respondents live farther away from their parents than never married respondents (Clark and Wolf, 1992) implies that marriage results in moves farther from parent's household. However, differences in proximity by marital status might also reflect unmeasured characteristics which affect both the likelihood that a young adult will move away from her parent's household and whether she will marry. This research builds on previous work by comparing adult children's relationship with their parent before and after the transition.

In the next section of this paper we discuss why we expect that intergenerational relationships change in response to life-course transitions and we review previous work on this topic. Then we describe our data and sample and the methods used. The analyses in this paper are divided into two parts. The first is primarily descriptive and looks at stability and change in respondents' relationships with their parents between 1987-88 and 1992-94. The second uses multivariate analysis to examine how these changes in intergenerational relationships are shaped by changes in marital and parenthood status.

Hypotheses and Review of the Literature

Parent's Widowhood

The death of a parent is likely to increase the emotional and possibly the financial needs of the surviving spouse. Because parents often turn to their children in times of crises (Eggebeen, 1992) we expect that the death of a parent increases the surviving parent's dependence on his or her children. We hypothesize that this increased need will lead to more frequent contact, decreases in geographic distance between parents and children, and a greater probability of co-residence. Offering support for this hypothesis, previous research that compares widowed parents to parents of other marital statuses finds that widowed parents are more likely to live near at least one child (Clark and Wolf, 1992). Widows are also more likely to co-reside with an adult child (Bumpass & Sweet, 1991; Cooney, 1989; Crimmins & Ingegneri, 1990). Furthermore, studies based on elderly migration patterns conclude that the elderly move from retirement communities towards children when they become disabled or widowed (Parker and Serow, 1983; Litwak and Longino 1987). However, widows do not have more frequent contact with children (Crimmins & Ingegneri, 1990; Rossi & Rossi, 1990); in fact widowhood may lower contact with the surviving parent (Aquilino, 1994; Roan, 1994).¹

Changes in Children's Marital Status

¹ Using data from the first NSFH, Aquilino (1994) concludes that respondents have much less frequent contact with their widowed fathers than with their still-married fathers. However, this conclusion rests on the assumption that when the respondent's parents are married, contact with mother is an accurate measure of contact with fathers. The NSFH asks about contact with fathers specifically only when parents are not still married and living together. It may be that for fathers widowhood is associated with a drop in contact because of the change in measure rather than an actual drop in contact.

A change in child's marital status may also alter parents' and children's relations with one another. Because adult children's need for emotional support, for financial help, and for social activities change with changes in their marital status we would expect their relationships with parents to change as well.

Marriage may diminish children's relations with parents for two reasons. First, marriage might involve moves farther away from parent's household. The new spouse's needs are now also a factor in the decision where to live. Thus there is a greater likelihood that the respondent has a reason to live farther from his or her parents. Second, because married adult children now spend time with their own family they are less available to maintain relationships with their parents. Availability might also decrease because of the need to build and maintain a relationship with parents-in-law. Thus, we hypothesize that marriage will lead to greater distance to and less frequent contact with parents. Alternatively, children's relations with their parents may intensify after marriage because the child is taking on a similar role to the parent. Children who experience role similarity, often feel closer to their parents, especially daughters and their mothers (Fischer, 1986).

Divorce may intensify or hinder relations with parents. Relations may intensify if the child turns to his/her parents for emotional and/or financial support. Alternatively, the stress and negative feelings brought out by the divorce may increase the tension between children and their parents. Hence parents might not want to see their divorced child as often or the adult child might avoid his parents.

Previous studies provide some evidence that relations with parents are affected by changes in children's marital status. Whether or not a child lives with his or her parents depends heavily upon

his or her marital status. Co-resident children are much more likely to be never married than to be married (Aquilino, 1990; Grigsby and McGowan, 1986; Sweet and Bumpass, 1987). Child's marital status is also related to parent-child proximity. Parents of adult children are less likely to have at least one adult child living within 10 miles (including co-resident) if they have at least one married child. And, parents with at least one never married child are more likely to live near or with a child than those without (Clark and Wolf, 1992). However, when co-resident children are excluded, single adult children live significantly farther from their still-married parents than those that are either divorced, widowed, separated, or married without children (Rogerson, et al., 1993). Many previous studies have found no differences in the frequency of contact with parents by the marital status of the adult child (Crimmins & Ingegneri, 1990; Rossi & Rossi, 1990; Spitze and Logan 1991a). However others have found differences by child's marital status. Using the National Survey of Families and Households, Bumpass and Sweet (1991) show that separated and divorced children are less likely than married respondents to see their parents often, while widowed respondents are more likely to see their parents.

Changes in Children's Parental Status

Becoming a first-time parent or having a newborn (regardless of whether it is the first child) is likely to change one's relationship with parents. The demands of parenting, especially when the children are young, may have a competing effect on adult children's relations with parents. On the one hand, relations with parents might intensify if the adult child seeks advice and support, including childcare, from his or her parent. Adult children, especially women if they are primary caretakers of their children, may feel a new bond with their parents since becoming



parents themselves (Fischer, 1986). Additionally, if the parent of the adult child wishes to be an active, involved grandparent they may want to spend a lot of time with their grandchildren and may even decide to move closer to them. On the other hand, the amount of time now devoted to parenting leaves less time for relationships and activities with parents.

Although previous research has found some association between having children and proximity and contact with parents, the research does not agree on the direction of the association. "In general, as children age and marry, they are less likely to live near their parents. However, a turnaround occurs when the children themselves have children: having two or more children has a positive effect on proximity to parents that outweighs the negative effect of being married." (Clark and Wolf, 1992, pg. 93.) However a separate study showed there was no difference in the median distance between married respondents without children and their parents and married respondents with children and their parents (Rogerson, et al. 1993). There is also conflicting evidence on whether having children affects the frequency of contact between adult children and their parents. The number of grandchildren has been found to decrease the frequency of contact between the grandparents and the parents (Rossi & Rossi, 1990) but in a separate study no effect was found (Roan, 1994).

Data and Methods

We use the 1987-88 National Survey of Families and Households and the 1992-94 re-interview to describe how changes in intergenerational relationships are shaped by marriage, separation and divorce, the birth of a first child and widowhood. The NSFH is a national sample of adults age 19 and over in 1987-88 (N=13008). Seventy-seven percent (10,008) of the original respondents was reinterviewed. For this study we restrict the sample to respondents over age 25

at the time of the first interview and who have at least one living parent at the time of the second interview (N=5632). We restrict the sample to respondents over 25 because before this age, many are still completing their education and/or have not yet left the parental household. Because these data contain information on contact and proximity to parent at both interviews as well as changes in the parents' and respondent's marital status, these data are an excellent source for examining how marital events affect intergenerational relationships.

We explore three aspects of the respondent's relationship to his or her parents: co-residence, proximity, and contact. Co-residence is measured both from the household roster at the time of the interviews and from a series of questions about co-residence with parents between the interviews. In addition, co-residence with mother and father is measured separately, if they are not living together.

Distance to mothers (and to fathers if parents are not living together) is asked in both interviews. For this study we construct a simple measure that indicates whether respondents live the same distance, closer, or farther from their parents than they did at the first interview, although there is much more richness available in these data. For two reasons we consider respondents to live the same distance from parents unless they experience a 10 percent or greater change in the number of miles to their parents. First, for many the report of distance to parents is not exact, especially when distance is large. Second, changes of less than 10 percent probably do not affect the inconvenience and/or cost of contacting parents.

The final aspect of intergenerational relationships we explore is contact with parents. The NSFH provides information on both face-to-face visits with parents as well as frequency of communication by phone or letter. Contact was measured on a six-category scale, which ranged

from never to more than once a week. Again, while there is much more information in these data, we focus on simply whether there was more or less frequent contact with parent at the second interview. Importantly, the NSFH asks about contact with fathers only if the respondent's parents do not live together. Because we believe that it is not safe to assume that contact with fathers is the same as contact with mothers just because the respondents parents are still married, we do not examine how the widowhood of the respondent's father affects contact.

We begin our analysis by describing changes in these three aspects of intergenerational relationships between the two interviews. Following this we explore how these changes are shaped by the birth of a child or changes in the marital status of either generation. A number of factors might also affect changes in the respondent's relationship with parents. In particular, age is likely to be correlated with both marital events, such as widowhood and marriage, and to be related to co-residence and contact with parents. Other potentially confounding factors include education, race, number of siblings, and parent's health. Thus, we use logit and multinomial logistic regression to see whether the relationship between changes in marital or parenthood status remain net of these other factors.

Results

Changes in Intergenerational Relationships Over Five Years

Table 1 shows that only about six to seven percent of the respondents lived with their parents at the time of either interview.² This percentage is small because if adult children co-

² This is a sample of respondents with at least one living parent at the time of the reinterview. An even smaller percentage (3-4 %) of the total population over 25 lives with a parent.

reside with their parents, it is usually for a short time. Only about half of the respondents who were co-residing with parents at the time of the second interview were living with their parents five years earlier. Furthermore, while only six percent were living with their parents at any one time, 16 percent lived with their parents for sometime between the first interview and five years later.

While only a small minority of respondents lived with a parents, many lived near by. At the time of the first interview, two-fifths of the respondents lived within 10 miles of their mothers. If we add the five percent who co-resided with their mothers at that time, nearly half of the respondents lived close to their mothers. Table 2 shows changes in the respondent's proximity to parents between two interviews. Of respondents who had a living mother at the time of the reinterview, about a quarter had moved closer to their mothers and around a third lived farther from their mothers. We will explore whether these changes in proximity are related to changes in the marital status of either generation.

Similar to Table 2, Table 3 shows that about half of the respondents experienced no change in their contact with their mothers.³ Over a quarter of the respondents decreased their visits with mothers and fathers, while a slightly smaller proportion increased the frequency of visits with parents. When we examine frequency of calls to parents we see the reverse is true. Over a quarter of the respondents increased the frequency of phone calls or letter writing to their parents and a smaller percentage decreased the frequency of phone calls or letters. This pattern is

³ In this table, changes in the frequency of contact are separated into three categories; much less/more, somewhat less/more, and a little less/more. Where "a little" means a change of 1 in the 6 category ordinal variable; "somewhat" means a change of 2 or 3; and "much" means a change of 4 or 5.

consistent with the finding from Table 2, that geographic distance between parents and adult children increased on average.

While on average distance to parents increased and visits with parents decreased over the 5 years, there is a sizable minority of respondents whose contact with parents increased. So, why do relationships with parents change? Are these changes simply random or driven by non-family events such as job transfers or are these changes shaped by other changes in family status? For some changes, the answer is obvious. Co-residence with parents after marriage is rare. However, we can be less sure whether or how marriage affects proximity to and contact with parents. Marriage might be associated with moves away from parents and thus reductions in contact. On the other hand, adult children might have more in common with their parents after marriage and thus be more likely to visit or call them frequently. The next section uses multivariate analyses to examine these relationships more closely.

Multivariate Analysis

The effect of parent's death on intergenerational relations.

How does father's death affect the respondent's relationship with his or her mother? Consistent with previous research and with our hypothesis, Table 4 shows that mother's widowhood is significantly associated with increases in adult daughters's co-residence with mothers.⁴ However, widowhood is not significantly related to changes in proximity to parents. This finding is not consistent with research which shows that widows are more likely to live near a child (Clark and Wolf, 1992) or that elderly migration patterns are influenced by the death of a

⁴ An interaction between gender and the effect of mother's widowhood is significant.

spouse (Parker and Serow, 1983; Litwak and Longino, 1987). There are three potential reasons for the difference in these results. First, in the present study, the mothers were recently widowed. It may be the case that over time, widowed mothers move closer to their children, hence the longitudinal study does not capture this effect. Second, the widowed mothers in our sample may move closer to a child other than the respondent (i.e., the respondent's sibling). Hence, the effect might be because we can only look at changes in proximity to one of the respondent's children instead of all her children. Third, this present study provides a better test of the consequences of becoming a widow than was possible in previous work. Because of the cross-sectional data used in the earlier studies the analysis must assume there are no other differences (aside from any control variables entered in a multivariate model) between respondents with widowed parents and those with still-married parents. Hence, differences in the levels of contact between these two groups may be due to unmeasured differences (such as aspects of parent's socioeconomic status which are not captured by education) which are associated with both proximity and widowhood. Because here we are measuring actual changes in contact and proximity, we are in effect controlling for these unmeasured factors.

Regardless of its null effect on proximity, mother's widowhood is strongly associated with increased contact, both visits and phone calls and letters. While both men and women are more likely to increase their visits with their mothers, the increase in the probability of visiting more is greater for men (tests of interactions not shown). Once again, we see a strong discrepancy with previous work based on cross-sectional data which found no difference in contact between widowed and still-married parents. (Crimmins & Ingegneri, 1990; Rossi & Rossi, 1990; and Roan, 1994). As before, the difference in findings may be due to issues of timing or may be due

to the differences in the types of data used. Because these women have all been widowed in the past five years we may be observing a short period of intense contact soon after the death of a father.

The bottom section of Table 4 shows the results for the effects of mother's death on relations with the adult child's father.⁵ Like the findings for death of a father, death of a mother increases the chances of co-residence with father, especially for women. And, widowhood does not have an effect on proximity to father.

The effect of an adult's child marriage on intergenerational relations.

It is rare for married couples to live with their parents (only 1.5% of the married respondents were living with their parents at the first interview) and thus marriage is associated with declines in co-residence, but does marriage affect other aspects of the respondent's relationship with parents? Table 5 shows that for respondents who were not living with their parents at the time of either interview, those who married between the interviews are more likely to live farther away from their mothers at the time of the second interview. This effect is significant for women but not for men. This agrees with our hypothesis and supports previous work (Clark and Wolf, 1992) that finds that marriage results in greater distance between parents and adult children.

For women, getting married is associated with less frequent visits and less frequent phone calls and letters. But for men, getting married is associated with more frequent visits and less

⁵ The reader must be cautioned that only 154 adult children whose parents were still married at the first interview had a widowed father by the second interview.

frequent phone calls and letters. This contradicts previous studies which finds no effects for child's marital status on frequency of contact (Crimmins & Ingegneri, 1990; Rossi & Rossi, 1990; Spitze and Logan 1991a). Once again, the longitudinal data may be picking up a short-term decrease in contact among recently married respondents. For women at least, our findings on contact are consistent with our hypothesis that marriage leaves less time for interaction with parents. One reason they may have less time for their parents is that they now are spending some time interacting with their husband's parents. These results are consistent with the idea that newly married couples relocate closer to the husband's parents than the wife's (Adams, 1963). Hence distance to the wife's parent's increases and contact with them decreases, while frequency of visits with the husband's parents increases.

The effect of an adult child's separation or divorce on intergenerational relations.

Table 6 shows that living with parents (at least for a short time) is common for those experiencing a separation and divorce, especially for men. A third of men and a quarter of the women who separated or divorced after the first interview lived with their parents for at least some time before the second interview. Compare this to the 16 percent of all respondents.⁶ The higher levels of co-residence for men might simply reflect that when married couples separate it is more often the husband who moves out (Speare and Goldscheider, 1987).

In Table 7 we can see that among respondents who did not co-reside with their parents, men who separated or divorced were more likely to live farther from their mothers at the

⁶ Table 6 restricts the sample to those with a living parent. If the question is how much support from parents do divorcees receive, then we should include respondents without living parents. In a sample of all respondents over age 25, a quarter lived with a parent between the interviews.

reinterview than they had five years earlier. In addition, separation and divorce does not affect the frequency of respondents visits with their parents but does affect respondents frequency of phone calls and letters. The model which combines men and women together shows that marital dissolution decreases the frequency of phone calls and letters to parents. But, at the same time men who separate or divorce are likely to increase their frequency of phone calls and letters to parents. Thus, it appears that men are more likely to draw support from their parents when they are experiencing separation or divorce than are women.

The effect of becoming a parent on intergenerational relations.

Next we explore whether a first or a higher-order birth affects respondents' relationships with their parents. Overall, 370 adult children had their first child, and 730 had an additional child between the times of the two interviews. Table 8 shows that having a first birth has no effect on the proximity between the adult child and his or her parent(s), but that having a higher order birth increases the likelihood that men live closer to their parents at the time of the re-interview, and decreases the likelihood the women live farther from their parents. This is in agreement with previous work that shows having two or more children decreases distance to parents (Clark and Wolf, 1992).

Changes in parental status are also associated with changes in the frequency of contact with parents. Unlike previous work which found a negative effect of number of grandchildren on contact between parents and adult children (Rossi & Rossi, 1990) we find that having a first birth significantly decreases the likelihood of visiting and calling or writing parents **less**. Additionally, having a higher order birth also decreases the likelihood of visiting parents less. In other words,

those who did not have a child between the two interviews were more likely to decrease contact than those who did have a child. The conflicting results from the longitudinal data suggest that the negative effect from the cross-sectional study may be due, in part, to a gradual decrease in contact as the grandchildren age. Nonetheless, given the amount of excitement normally associated with a birth, and the amount of stress and anxiety often experienced by first-time parents it is surprising that the birth of a child does not lead to more frequent contact with parents. Perhaps, young parents wish to distance themselves from their parents in order to establish their own child-rearing practices, or perhaps grandparents are hesitant to intrude.

Summary and Conclusions

We have shown that during the 5 years between NSFH interviews there was some stability and some change in adult children's co-residence with, proximity to, and contact with parents. Only a small minority of respondents were living with their parents at either interview. However, a sixth co-resided with their parents for some time during this period. Further analyses showed that the widowhood of a parent increased the chances that the adult child lived for some time with the surviving parent. In addition, co-residence with parents was common for those who separated or divorced; about a quarter of the women and a third of the men who separated lived with their parents.

About one-half of the adult children in the sample experienced a change in proximity to their parents and about one-half reported a change in their frequency of contact with parents. Multivariate analyses addressed whether these changes over time were associated with changes in the marital status of the parent, or changes in the marital and parental status of the children. First, we found that while the death of a parent increased the likelihood of a period of co-residence, it

did not increase proximity. Additionally, father's death was associated with an increase in the frequency of contact with mothers, especially for women. Second, in general, the respondent's marriage decreased the intensity of intergenerational relationships, especially for daughters. Marriage is associated with increased distance to mothers and for women getting married decreased contact with mothers. The exception to this pattern of effects was that marriage increased the frequency of men's visits with their mothers. As stated above, co-residence with parents following marital separation is common. For those who do not live with their parents, marital separation also affects intergenerational relationships, especially for men. On the one hand men are more likely to live farther from their parents following a divorce, but they are also more likely to increase their communication with parents. For women the effect of a divorce is primarily to decrease communication with parents. Finally, despite the competing time pressures that parents of newborns experience, having a child is not associated with decreased contact with parents. In fact, those who do not have a child are more likely than new parents to visit their mothers less often. As we would expect, first births have a stronger effect on contact than higher order births.

By the use of longitudinal data we are able to conclude that the life-course events studied in this paper have significant effects on intergenerational relationships. In general, a parent's widowhood intensifies children's relations with their surviving parents. Getting married is associated with a decrease in relations with parents. In addition, although getting divorced is associated with a greater likelihood of experiencing a period of co-residence with parents, it tends to decrease women's relations with parents but increase men's relations. Throughout this paper we have documented discrepancies between our results and results from studies using cross-

sectional data. Most of these differences are consistent with the idea that the life course transitions discussed in this paper have immediate short-term effects on contact with parents but delayed long-term effects on proximity to parents. Hence, using longitudinal data has alerted us to the importance of timing of life-course transitions on relations with parents. Because of the difficulty of observing such effects, this issue has largely been ignored in studies using cross-sectional data.

Table 1. Co-residence with parents

	%living w/parents	N
At NSFH1	6	228
At NSFH2	7	268
At both NSFH1 and 2	3	106
any time between interviews	16	791

Sample: R's at least age 25 years old at the first interview and who have at least one living parent at NSFH2. (Weighted)

Table 2. Changes in proximity to Mothers and Fathers

	Mothers		Fathers	
	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)
Moved closer	20	24	14	28
Same	36	45	21	40
Moved farther	25	31	16	32
Parent dead	10		39	
Co-reside anytime between interviews	8		4	
Missing	1		6	
total	100	100	100	100

Sample (a) Rs at least age 25 at the first interview who have at least one living parent at second interview.

(b) Excludes those whose parent died, were co-residing at t1 or t2 or who have missing information on proximity.

Table 3. Changes in Contact with Mother and Father

	See		Call	
	Mother(a)	Father(b)	Mother(a)	Father(b)
Much less	1	1	2	2
Somewhat less	8	8	6	6
A little less	18	18	14	15
No change	48	46	49	44
A little more	17	14	19	18
Somewhat more	6	5	6	6
Much more	1	1	1	2
Missing	2	7	2	8

Sample: Rs at least 25 at the first interview whose parent was alive at nsfh2, but R was not living with parent at either interview. (Weighted)
(Note that distribution is quite similar if we include the small proportion living with their parents at either interview.)

Table 4. The Effects of a Parent's Death on Relationship with Other Parent

The Effects of Father's Death on Relationship with Mother						
	Total		Men		Women	
	OR	B/se	OR	B/se	OR	B/se
Co-residence	1.42	3.77	1.03	0.01	1.73	6.26
Proximity						
closer	1.03	0.04	1.11	0.22	1.01	0.00
farther	1.04	0.06	0.80	0.84	1.26	1.32
Contact						
See						
less	1.13	0.61	1.05	0.04	1.18	0.65
more	1.90	19.08	2.60	18.07	1.49	3.92
Phone or Letter						
less	0.86	0.74	0.54	5.60	1.20	0.68
more	1.49	8.24	1.23	0.93	1.79	9.78
The Effects of Mother's Death on Relationship with Father						
	Total		Men		Women	
	OR	B/se	OR	B/se	OR	B/se
Co-residence	1.51	2.22	1.35	0.40	1.78	2.81
Proximity						
closer	0.98	0.01	1.02	0.00	0.94	0.04
farther	1.27	1.10	1.04	0.01	1.43	1.50

Sample: Rs at least 25 at first interview, with at least one living parent at second interview. Analysis of co-residence excludes those living with a parent at the first interview and analysis of proximity excludes those living with a parent at either interview. Models control race, parent's education, respondent's education, age, respondent's marital status at t1, marital events between t1 and t2, number of siblings, and whether father was in poor health.

Table 5. The Effect of Marriage on Relationship with Mother

	Total		Men		Women	
	OR	B/se	OR	B/se	OR	B/se
Proximity						
Closer	0.97	0.03	1.04	0.04	0.91	0.24
Farther	1.32	4.28	1.29	1.51	1.31	2.31
Contact						
<u>See</u>						
less	1.30	4.76	1.23	1.18	1.37	4.01
more	1.10	0.49	1.34	2.02	0.95	0.09
<u>Phone or Letter</u>						
less	1.41	7.16	1.44	3.48	1.40	3.75
more	1.02	0.04	1.04	0.04	1.02	0.01

Sample: R's at least age 25 at first interview, whose mother was alive at second interview and who were not living with their mothers at either interview. Model controls for race, parent's education, respondent's education, age, whether respondent fathered/gave birth to a child between interviews, and whether mother was in poor health.

Table 6. Co-residence with Parents Following Marital Separation

	Separate	Total
Men	33	17
Women	25	15
Total	29	16

Sample: Rs at least 25 at first interview, with a living parent at second interview.

Table 7. The Effect of Marital Separation on Relationship with Mother

	Total		Men		Women	
	OR	B/se	OR	B/se	OR	B/se
Proximity						
Closer	1.03	0.03	1.21	0.56	0.91	0.19
Farther	1.23	1.69	1.48	2.48	1.08	0.13
Contact						
<u>See</u>						
less	0.97	0.03	0.87	0.36	1.08	0.17
more	1.13	0.65	1.12	0.22	1.14	0.45
<u>Phone or Letter</u>						
less	1.26	2.27	1.22	0.68	1.31	1.84
more	1.20	1.50	1.47	2.82	1.04	0.04

Sample: R's at least age 25 at first interview, whose mother was alive at second interview and who were not living with their mothers at either interview. Model controls for race, parent's education, respondent's education, age, whether respondent fathered/gave birth to a child between interviews, and whether mother was in poor health.

Table 8. The Effects of Giving birth to/fathering a Child on Relationships w/Mothers

	First Births					
	Total		Men		Women	
	OR	B/se	OR	B/se	OR	B/se
Proximity						
closer	1.02	0.01	0.96	0.03	1.12	0.17
farther	1.04	0.05	0.97	0.01	1.09	0.12
Contact						
<u>See</u>						
less	0.78	2.54	0.81	0.96	0.70	2.28
more	1.10	0.33	0.92	0.13	1.30	1.22
<u>Phone or Letter</u>						
less	0.54	10.49	0.58	4.94	0.48	5.47
more	1.15	0.89	0.99	0.00	1.32	1.63
	Higher Order Births					
	Total		Men		Women	
	OR	B/se	OR	B/se	OR	B/se
Proximity						
closer	1.06	0.21	1.56	5.65	0.81	1.69
farther	0.87	1.28	1.02	0.01	0.77	2.66
Contact						
<u>See</u>						
less	0.80	4.02	0.76	2.80	0.83	1.74
more	0.87	1.38	0.93	0.14	0.84	1.22
<u>Phone or Letter</u>						
less	0.85	1.98	0.91	0.26	0.81	1.68
more	1.02	0.03	1.10	0.33	0.98	0.02

Sample: Respondents at least age 25 at first interview, whose mother was alive at second interview and who were not living with their mothers at either interview. Model controls for race, parent's education, respondent's education, age, whether respondent married, separated, or was widowed, and whether mother was in poor health.

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