

Do Urban Children Give Time To Their Elderly Parents?

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Abstract

Although intergenerational time transfers are not as substantial as monetary transfers in practice, little is known about their role and importance particularly to and from elderly parents in India. This paper attempts to study empirically the nature and pattern of time transfers between co-residing and non-coresiding parents and their adult children in Pune, a highly urbanized city in Maharashtra using micro-level primary data. Time transfers to and from elderly parents are universal irrespective of highly urbanized set up and co-residency status. However, sons were found to provide more time to those parents whom they perceived to be a strong source of support. Two stage least square regression highlighted factors like age, presence of sibling in household, headship status, and monetary support received from and made to parents to be significantly associated with time given to parents. No evidence of substitution between time and money between the two generations was found.

Key words: Time transfers, co-residence, non-coresidence, adult children, elderly parents

DO URBAN CHILDREN GIVE TIME TO THEIR ELDERLY PARENTS?

INTRODUCTION

Intergenerationality is an established fact in any traditional society and intergenerational transfers are characteristic of such societies. The Indian society, where family members are closely knit is no exception. Despite the continuous growing impact of urbanization, industrialization, and westernization, the traditional joint household remains the primary social force in the lives of most Indians. Here adult children play the role of major providers of elderly support, and instrumental support from co-residing parents is also not uncommon. These transfers include space, time and money. Increased life expectancy and urban constraints contribute to the changing patterns of intergenerational transfers, which have a socioeconomic and psychological impact. Transfers from the younger (working) generation to the older (retired) generation, formal and informal as well as tangible and intangible, constitute an important element in the social support system. Transfers in the opposite direction are usually in the non-monetary form such as assistance of the older generation in housework and taking care of the grandchildren. This support-giving practice will become even more important in the future because most adults will have older living parents during their lifetime due to enhanced life expectancy. The major concern is ‘With their busy urban lifestyle, are children able to provide sufficient time to their elderly parents or is time being replaced with monetary help?’ This paper is an attempt to answer these questions.

The concept of ‘intergenerational transfer’ particularly in terms of ‘time’ is employed in this research to describe the ongoing reciprocal relationship between parents and their adult children in an urban set up. Although intergenerational time transfers are not as substantial as monetary transfers in practice, little is known about the role and importance of time transfers particularly to and from elderly parents in India. Lack of information on time transfers may be one of the reasons for this lacuna.

This paper aims to study empirically the nature and pattern of time transfers between elderly parents and their adult children in urban Pune, the eighth largest city in India, and the second largest in the state of Maharashtra, after Mumbai.



Specifically the study tries to identify the factors associated with time transfers from the son to his parents, compare the picture across co-residing and non co-residing parents and analyse the existence (if any) of any relationship between monetary and time transfers between the two generations. Unlike previous studies that focused on transfers mainly from parents to children, we try to understand the bi-directional intergenerational time transfer pattern in the case of co-residential parents as well as those parents residing in different cities or the same city but not in the same household.

The organisation of the paper is as follows – the next section gives a brief idea of the existing literature in this area, section three gives the details of the data and methodology used for this study, section four briefly describes the underlying conceptual framework, section five gives the empirical findings and discusses them in the light of the study and section five summarizes and concludes.

PREVIOUS STUDIES

Intergenerational transfers are pervasive as families depend on each other for many types of support and help. These transfers may be non-monetary or in kind; they are also bi-directional – parents transferring to their children and likewise, children to their parents. Substantial transfers of resources between parents and their offspring still exist and, in general, there is a net downward flow of resources from the older to the younger generation, both by inter vivos financial transfers and by social support. Resource transfers from the parents to their children are much more frequent and also usually much more intense than those in the opposite direction (Albertini et al, 2007). The analysis of financial and time transfers using data from the Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe conducted in ten European countries showed that cash gifts mainly flow to the younger generations, while time transfers are directed both upwards and downwards. (Claudine et al, 2005). A lot of empirical work has been done to understand the motives behind such familial transfers. (Altonji et al, 1992 a, Cox 1987). In a study of intergenerational transfers in Malaysia, Lillard and Willis (1997) find evidence in support of exchange. Their evidence for the exchange motive is that people are more likely to transfer money to other people when they have received time help from others. A similar study conducted by Frankenberg et al (2004) for Indonesia showed that transfers within families serve

as insurance for family members and that between some parents and children, money is exchanged for time. Carin et al (2010), examine eventual reciprocity in time-for-money exchanges, by combining two large-scale Swedish representative longitudinal studies. This study analyzes how earlier social contacts (time) are related to financial transfers (money) and to what extent social class and gender differentials are visible; the findings indicate that parents provide economic transfers if they have more frequent social contacts with their children, and that these time investments pay off for children who are of higher social class.

Intergenerational transfers of time in the form of grandparenting are substantial and can have important macroeconomic implications. Emanuela and Serena (2003) in their study showed that time transfers have important positive effects on labor supply and capital accumulation. They also found that subsidizing the time that the retired spent on grandparenting is the most effective child care policy when time transfers are allowed; while subsidizing child care expenses is the most effective, when time transfers are not allowed. Ogawa and Ermisch (1996) observed that female labor supply is higher when a married couple of childbearing age lives with their parents or in-laws, and suggested that child care provided by the grandparents was the major reason for co-residence. In the absence of any extra-familial welfare institutions, it is common among elderly persons in India to co-reside with their adult children. Pal (2007) argued that co-residence of the elderly with adult children is a mutually advantageous arrangement where both parties tend to contribute financially and/or otherwise (relative to a situation when each lives in isolation).

Time transfers, particularly in the form of caring for children and elderly parents, are likely to be related to geographic proximity among family members, although wealthier or better educated families may be able to deliver care from a distance. Financial transfers may be more likely when distances are greater as they substitute for time transfers. Using PSID data, Schoeni (1997) finds that children who live closer to their parents receive fewer financial transfers but more time transfers from them and that they give more time help to their parents. Altonji, Hayashi, and Kotlikoff (1996) using the 1988 PSID Time and Money Transfer module find that transfers of time are much more likely when families live close to one another, but that money transfers do not relate to distance. The study by Bonsang (2007) analyses the determinants of financial and

time transfers from adult children to their older parents using the Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe (SHARE). Results highlight the existence of a substitution between time and money in relation to geographical distance and the existence of a weak substitution regarding the employment status of middle-aged children. Elderly people are particularly dependent on multifaceted support in their everyday life. This ranges from occasional help with the housework to round the clock physical nursing and care. The family provides these services with children being one of the most important suppliers of intergenerational time transfers. On the other hand, old and even very old people do not only receive support but as a consequence of higher life expectations and overall improved health status they are able to engage in different forms of help like the provision of child care (Hoff, 2007). Children are more likely to provide time transfers to parents with functional limitations and health problems. A study by Howard (2004) identified four exchange patterns in financial and instrumental help given to children and received from them an equal extent of exchange between parents and children, an unbalanced rate of exchange in which parents received more from their children than what they gave, an unbalanced rate of exchange in which parents gave more to their children than what they received, and lack of any exchange. His findings also suggest the possibility that exchange patterns change across the life cycle, in accordance with the changing social and health status of the family members engaged in the exchange. Ioannides and Kan (1999) found that children's decision of transfer are mainly determined by their parents need and their own ability to make transfers whereas parents transfers of both time and money are positively correlated with the time transfers by children. While parents' time transfers to their children do not have a significant effect on their children's monetary transfer, time transfers given to parents by adult children are found to increase the likelihood and amount of transfer of both time and money from the parents. On the contrary, a study by Kotlikoff et al (1996) of PSID data found little evidence that parental income or wealth raises time transfers from children or that time transfers are exchanged for money transfers.

DATA AND METHODS

There has been considerable research on intergenerational transfers of goods, but little is known about intergenerational transfers of time to and from the elderly, particularly in India. This study is based on the micro level primary data collected from Pune and Pimpri-Chinchwad areas in Maharashtra state. Pune is one of the cultural, educational and IT (Information technology) hubs

of India with around 8 percent elderly population at district level as per Census 2001. Pimpri–Chinchwad is one of Pune’s suburban areas under a separate municipal jurisdiction.

The households were selected using a three stage sampling procedure in the sample in order to get a representative sample. To begin with, 162 wards in Pune Municipal Corporation (PMC) were arranged alphabetically and 10 wards were selected systematically with probability proportional to size sampling (PPS). Using a similar procedure, 4 wards out of 96 were selected from the Pimpri–Chinchwad Municipal Corporation (PCMC). At the second stage, two census enumerated blocks (CEB) were selected from each ward again using the PPS method. A house-listing operation was carried out in each selected CEB, which provided the necessary frame for selecting households in the third stage of sample selection. With 25 households selected from each block, a total of 500 households from PMC and 200 from PCMC were included in the sample.

The final survey data comprises of 673 individuals excluding non-response. Men in the age group 24-59 were interviewed as primary respondents. The data includes comprehensive information on the socioeconomic aspects of the households as well as of the individuals including consumption expenditure on food and non-food items, education and healthcare expenditure, income, assets, savings and investment. A unique feature of this survey was that the data on frequency and form of time and monetary support to and from the parents and parent-in-laws along with the actual amount of transfer was collected directly from the respondent. This type of data is not very widely collected in other large and small scale socio-economic surveys in India. Since the main aim of this study was to understand the intergenerational transfers pertaining only to the parents of the respondents, we excluded those households where neither of the parents was alive leaving us with 537 respondents.

The nature of intergenerational relationships is radically altered when children live separately from their parents, since direct support in terms of personal care, household chores and sharing of household resources gets diminished when there are separate households. In this case, cash transfer is the most visible and tangible form of economic support. On the other hand, as time transfers from children to their parents and vice-versa may be more intense in the case of physical presence, co-residence is certainly an important form of support in itself. So households

with both co-residing as well as non co-residing elderly parents were included in the sample to get a complete picture of the transfer patterns. This paper focuses primarily on the time transfers to and from co-residing parents although some comparative findings about parents residing in an altogether different city or village and also those staying in the same city but different households have been discussed.

Respondents were asked whether they received any form of time and monetary transfer from their elderly parents in the twelve months preceding the survey. They were also asked about the time and monetary support given to their parents by them in the twelve months preceding the survey. The actual amount of time transfer in hours and the form in which the time support has been provided was collected to and from the respondents. In case of non co-residing parents either in the same city or in a different city, data on the frequency of visits along with the actual number of hours of time transfer in one year preceding the survey was collected. This information was then compiled to get the total time transfer (in hours) during the twelve months preceding the survey. The form of time support received by the respondents was a multiple response question and included categories like help in household chores, help in outside work, looking after grandchildren, help in case of illness, help during household functions and help in the form of advice. On the other hand, time support provided by the respondents to their elderly parents (again a multiple response question) included categories like talking to them, help in household chores, help in outside petty work, help for daily activities like bathing, dressing, eating etc., help in case of illness, help during family functions and so on.

It may be noted that time transfers to parents have been considered from the respondent and his wife in totality as a couple, but addressed as 'respondent' in the study, whereas those from the parents have been considered as from mother and father together and not from individual parents separately.

In order to identify the factors associated with time given to the co-residing parents, a two stage least square (2SLS) regression analysis was carried out. This technique is the extension of the Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) method. It is used when the dependent variable's error terms are correlated with the independent variables. Additionally, it is also useful when there are feedback loops in the model as in this study. Here we use time received from the parents as the

instrumental variable to create a new variable which replaces it in the second stage of regression. Accordingly, time support received from parents (minutes/day) in the twelve months preceding the survey was used as the instrumental variable at the first stage as it was found to be highly correlated with the variable of interest. The independent variables used in stage I were age square(continuous variable), household financial condition(good/bad), type of family(joint/extended), whether the respondent contributed to parents' expenses(yes/no), health status of parents(good/bad) and whether the parents had any independent income source(yes/no). The unstandardized predicted values of this instrumental variable obtained from stage I were then used in the second stage least square regression analysis. The dependent variable in this case was the time support given to the parents in the twelve months preceding the survey, whereas the predictor variables used were age square (continuous variable), headship status of the respondent(yes/no), presence of only single parent in the household (yes/no), presence of sibling/s in the household(yes/no), predicted values of the instrumental variables obtained from regression I, whether monetary support was received from the parents in the twelve months prior to the survey(yes/no.), whether monetary support was given to the parents in the twelve months prior to the survey(yes/no.), father's perceived health status (good/bad) and education of the respondent(less than secondary/more than secondary).

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

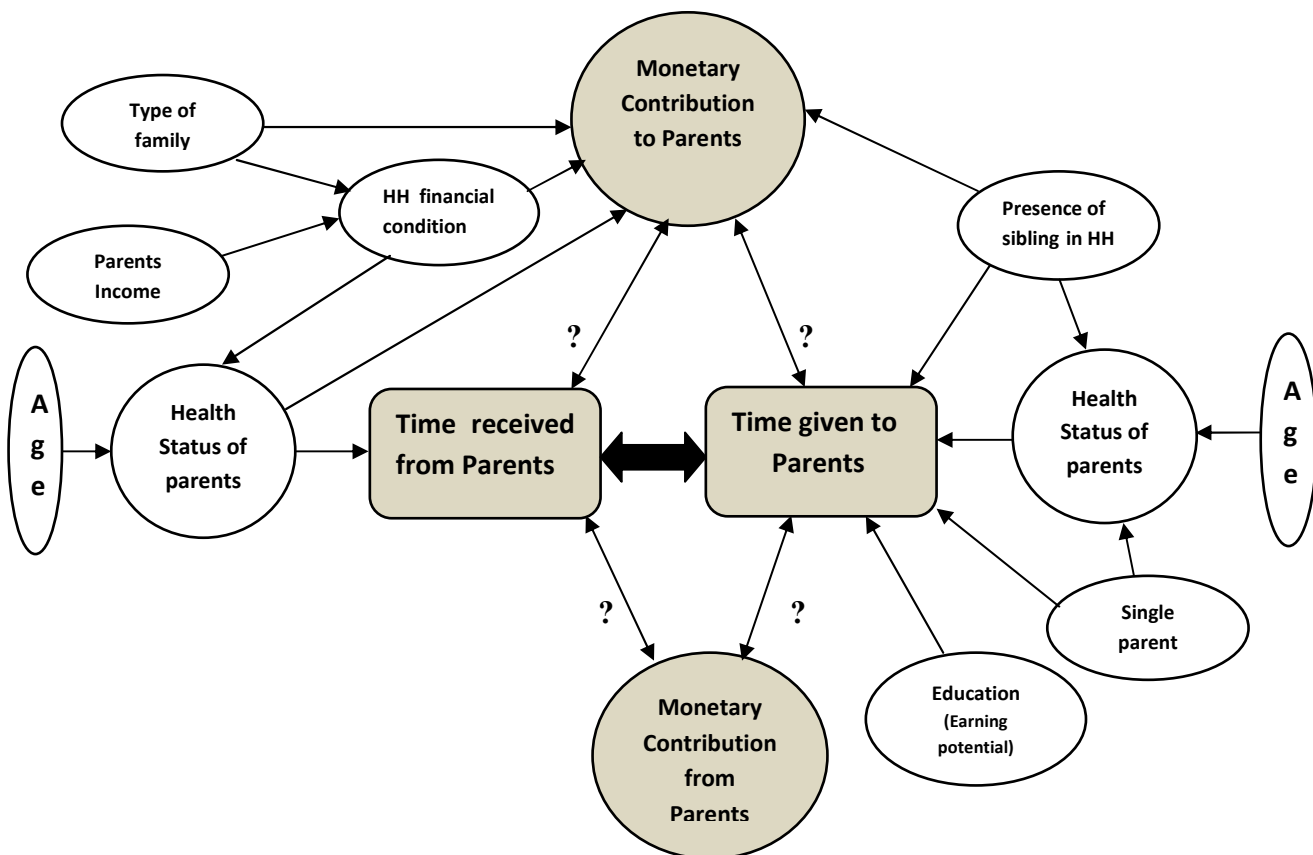
The conceptual framework adopted here is one in which time transfers to and from the parents are determined by the factors on the parents' side as well as on the children's side.

Data revealed a strong correlation between time received from the parents and time given to the parents in the twelve months preceding the survey ($r = 0.85$). Therefore, it is pertinent to understand the linkages between time transfers and other demographic and socio economic factors. Another important aspect was to try to understand the complex relationship between monetary transfers and time transfers to and from elderly parents. The monetary contributions made to the parents by the adult son may depend upon factors such as parents' age, income of the couple, whether the parents have their own income source like savings, pension or earnings in case they are currently working, and parents' health status as contributions for healthcare would be more in the case of those with a poor health status than those with average or good health. Time received from the parents depends on multiple factors such as their age, health status, the type of family whether joint or extended, their work status and so on. On the other

hand, time given to the parents may also vary with a range of factors like their age, health status, educational qualification of the respondent which is supposedly strongly associated with his earning potential, presence of a sibling in the household as it may reduce the individual time given to the parents, affect the health status of parents, single status of the parents since widowed or separated/divorced parent particularly mother, may demand more time than in cases where both the parents are alive. Each of these separately or jointly exerts an impact on the monetary and time contributions made to the parents and received from them. This study is an attempt to understand the interlinkage of all these factors through monetary and time transfers to and from elderly parents. It tries to answer the questions such as

- Are adult children able to provide time to their elderly parents?
- Is time given to the parents by their sons affected by the contribution from the parents?
- Is there a time transfer from elderly parents as well? If 'Yes', is it more in case of co-residence?
- What factors determine the time received and given to parents by adult children?
- Are monetary transfers from adult children to parents substituted by time transfers in urban areas?

Thematically the conceptual framework can be depicted as below.



EMPIRICAL FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.1. Co-residing Parents

Out of the total 537 respondents with either or both parents alive, 265 were staying with their parents in the same household. Of these slightly less than half of the respondents had both parents (mother and father) alive, 43 percent had only their mother alive, while 8 percent of the respondents had only their fathers alive. Data clearly indicates that time transfers between adult children and their co-residing elderly parents are universal irrespective of the monetary transfers between the two generations and whether the household belongs to a high or low income group.

4.1.1 Time Support received from Elderly Parents

Preliminary findings showed that almost 95 percent of the respondents had received time transfers in some form or the other from their co-residing parents in the twelve months prior to the survey. Average time support received from the parents was found to be 3.71 hours per day. Majority of the respondents (85 percent) received help in household chores followed by those who received time support in the form of advice (83 percent). Co-residing elderly parents often occupy a central role in the family by taking care of their grandchildren particularly when they have working daughters-in-law. About 77 percent of the respondents received help from their parents in looking after their children. In the sample of co-residing parents, wives of around 27 percent respondents were working. and 81 percent of those who received support, worked outside the house. This indicates that co-residence and time support from elderly parents does help the adults, particularly females to move out of the house to undertake the income earning opportunities leaving their children in the care of their grandparents.

4.1.2 Time Support given to Elderly Parents

Transfers to the co-residing parents in terms of time are almost universal in the sample. Nearly 99 percent of the respondents provided time support to their elderly parents in some form or the other, of which help on a daily basis was provided by 89 percent of the respondents. Average time support given to the parents was about 2.99 hours per day. Majority of the respondents (98 percent) gave time to the parents in the form of talking to them thus indicating high levels of communication between the two generations. Time support provided during illness ranked second (97 percent). Around 95 percent of the respondents provided some form of help in household chores. Nearly 31 percent of the respondents provided time support to their parents

whose health status was perceived to be fair and 13 percent provided time transfer to parents with poor health status. This may be because in a highly urbanized city like Pune, majority of the elderly parents with a bad health status are likely to avail themselves of healthcare facilities, whereas most of them with slightly better health may prefer to stay at home and take the support of family members during illness rather than go to hospitals or clinics.

Respondents were asked about the extent to which they can depend on their parents as a source of strength and support. It was found that among those who felt that parents are a strong source of support to them, 85 percent respondents provided time support (Figure 1). Also the time provided by these respondents (Figure 2) was the highest, that is, around 182 minutes per day on an average as compared to the other two categories, ‘can depend on parents to a large extent’ (154 minutes per day) and ‘can depend to some extent’ (108 minutes per day). This indicates that if the current generation feels that they can depend on the previous generation for timely support be it physical, moral, or emotional, they are likely to provide more support in terms of time to their parents.

<Figure 1 about here>

<Figure 2 about here>

4.1.3 Age Profile of Time Transfer

If we plot the age-wise bi-directional time transfer (specifically time transfer from the parents to the respondent and from the respondent to the parents) on a single graph (Figure 3), it can be seen that time transfer from parents is more during the initial years, say up to 35 years, which is the crucial working age period for the adults and then gradually it decreases till the early forties. This may be attributed to the greater extent of help needed by adults during their prime working years, and the parents being relatively young tend to provide more physical help to their children.

< Figure 3 about here>

Time transfer by parents continues to decline with increasing age, more so during the post fifties, when the parents are not physically equipped or energetic enough to provide any kind of support in terms of time.

Time transfer to the parents is low in the working age group 25 to 40 years. During this period, adult children are usually busy getting settled in their careers, jobs or business, and trying to earn as much as possible in order to provide quality education to their children and quality healthcare to their parents. So, as far as giving time support to the parents is concerned, there may not be much contribution from the middle aged generation. But as the age increases, with consequent increase in the age of elderly parents, time support given increases. This is obvious as the parents need more and more help and care as they grow old.

< Figure 4 about here>

It is interesting to observe that the time given to parents varies with the respondents' household headship (Figure 4). As observed earlier, time given to parents increases post forties and is more than that given during the initial ages, irrespective of whether the respondent is the head of the household or not, but it is clearly more when the respondent is not the household head. This may be the case when the father (or mother in case father is not alive) is the head of the household looking after the house and taking all important decisions. In households where the respondent is the household head, the responsibility of running the household may lie entirely with the respondent and therefore he may not be in a position to give more time support to his parents.

4.1.3 Two stage Least Square Regression Results

In order to understand the impact of time received from the parents and its associated factors on the variable of interest, that is, time given to elderly parents, we performed a two stage least square regression analysis. In stage I, time received in the last twelve months preceding the survey was used as the dependent variable (Refer Table 1). Results clearly show that except for age, all other factors including presence of some income source for the elderly parents, their perceived health status, HH financial condition, type of family and contribution of the respondent to parents turn out to be highly significant in predicting the dependent variable. Age, though not significant, was found to be negatively correlated with time received from parents. With increasing age, parents are unable to provide time in terms of both indoor as well as outdoor physical help in the household. The model was tested with the help of Normal P – P plot of Regression Standardized Residuals which showed quite a good fit (Figure 5) with R squared value of 0.191.

< Table 1 about here>

< Figure 5 about here>

The survey data revealed that nearly 32 percent of the respondents had elderly fathers with some source of income, whereas only 20 percent of the respondents had elderly mothers with some source of income or the other like pension, savings etc. Of these, 18 percent had fathers and 12 percent had mothers who were found to be currently working. According to stage I regression results, time received from parents who had some income source was less than that received by those who had no income source. Also time received from parents in case of poor household financial condition was less than those from a better household financial position. This may be because, in poor households even elderly parents are required to work to support the household and so probably have less time at their disposal for family members.

Health status is an important factor determining the time transfer between parents and children. Time received from the parents as well as time support needed to be given by the children depends heavily on the health condition of the parents. Around 64 percent of the respondents in the survey had fathers and 55 percent had mothers keeping good health. Results show that elderly parents with a good health status were able to provide more time to their children as compared to those with a poor health status and the value was found to be significant at 5 percent significance level. Respondents who were found to contribute monetarily to their parents' expenses received significantly less time support from them as compared to those who did not contribute. Contributions to elderly parents are usually heavily driven by healthcare expenses in the case of poor health conditions of the parents. In such cases, the parents may be unable to provide less help to their children.

About 72 percent of the respondents were found to live with their parents in joint families, whereas 28 percent had an unmarried sister or unmarried/married brother with their families living together in an extended family set up. Time received from parents in the case of extended families was found to be more than that in joint families; this may be due to the presence of grandchildren and increased household chores due to more family members.

The predicted values of the time received from parents were used as a predictor in stage II of regression (Refer Table 2). Here time given to parents in the last twelve months before the survey was used as the dependent variable. This model was also tested with the help of Normal P – P plot of Regression Standardized Residuals and showed a good fit (Figure 6) with R squared value of 0.133.

< Table 2 about here>

< Figure 6 about here>

Results show that unlike previous model, age turns out to be a significant predictor of the dependent variable. Thus, with increasing age, time given to parents also increases. This is obvious as more and more time in terms of help in daily activities, household work and outside work is needed as the parents grow older. The relationship between time given to the parents and the presence of any sibling in the household is negative and significant at five percent significance level. With other adult siblings to look after elderly parents, time given by the respondent to his parents may reduce. Also, a significant positive relationship exists between time given and the single status of the parent. If only one of the parents is alive, time given by the respondent is more as compared to when both the parents are alive. The likelihood of the mother being alive is higher than that of the father due to enhanced life expectancy of females; therefore, time support provided to the mother as a single parent may be more. Similarly, there exists a significant positive relationship between the predicted value of the time received from parents and time support given to the parents. Thus, as elderly parents extend more and more help and support to the respondent and his family in the form of help with household chores, looking after the grandchildren, helping with sundry jobs outside the home or helping in case of illness, they are found to receive more time support from their sons and daughter-in-laws.

Headship status of the respondent is significantly negatively associated with time given to parents. In other words, in case the respondent is the head of the household, he is found to provide less time support to his elderly parents. In India, a household head is often loaded with increased responsibilities both in and out of the house. He has to fulfil a number of obligations both at the household level and as a member of society. So there may be little time at his disposal to spend on his parents.

It is important to find out whether time given to parents depends on any monetary transfer received from them. Also is it substituted by monetary transfer made by the respondent to his parents? In other words, it is necessary to investigate whether the respondents provide time to their parents because they receive monetary help or support from them and whether the respondents try to compensate the time provided to the parents by extending some monetary help to them. The results clearly show that in the case of receiving monetary support from the parents, the relationship is negative but significant. Time support given to the parents is less in case there is a monetary transfer from the parents in the twelve months preceding the survey. This may be true in the case of working parents who are out of the home for most of the time during the day and who contribute to the household expenses primarily through their income and not in terms of time. Thus, there may be less of time exchange between working parents and their working adult son. Interestingly, time support provided by those respondents who have provided monetary support to the parents in the twelve months preceding the survey is more than those who did not provide monetary support. In other words, those who provide monetary support to their parents are found to provide time support as well. Thus, there is no substitution of time support by monetary support from the respondents' side.

4.2 Non co-residing Parents

Geographic proximity makes time transfers far easier whereas money transfers may substitute for time transfers for parents who live far away from their children. It was interesting to see whether non co-residency affects the time and monetary support given to or received from parents.

Out of the total sample of 537 respondents with either or both parents alive, 272 had non co-residing parents of whom 60 percent (162) respondents had parents staying in different cities and the rest (110) in the same city but in different households. Of these 272, 6 percent had only their fathers alive whereas 40 percent had only their mother alive. Even if the parents did not co-reside with the respondents, data supported the fact that time transfer exists whenever they visit each other whether in different cities or in the same city. Also, among those respondents who received time support from their parents, almost 97 percent of them gave support to their parents unlike only 77 percent who gave support but did not receive any. This again highlights the fact that sons tend to be more supportive to parents from whom they receive some kind of time support irrespective of their geographical proximity.

4.2.1 Time Support received from Elderly Parents

Unlike co-residing parents, only 68 percent of the respondents received time support from their parents residing in another city or village. Majority of them (51 percent) said that this support was received less often, just once or twice a year, whereas only 8 percent received time support almost every month or once in 2-3 months. Help in the form of advice was received by majority of the respondents (59 percent) followed by taking care in case of illness (55 percent). Around 80 percent of the respondents provided monetary support to their parents inspite of staying in a different city or village, and 73 percent of them received time support from their parents. Nearly 96 percent of them extended both time as well as money support to their elderly parents residing in cities different from their own.

In case of parents residing in the same city but in different households, 82 percent respondents received help in the form of time from their elderly parents of whom 32 percent received it almost daily and 20 percent, almost every month. Help in case of illness was received by majority of the respondents (70 percent) followed by advice (66 percent), help in household chores (65 percent) and looking after grandchildren (64 percent). Around 76 percent of the respondents made monetary transfers to their parents in the year preceding the survey of whom almost 81 percent received time transfer from their non co-residing parents.

4.2.2 Time Support given to Elderly Parents

Overall, 91 percent of the respondents said that they provided time support to their parents of which 48 percent were in the age group 40-45 followed by 40 percent in the 30-39 age group.

In those cases where the respondent's parents stayed in a different city or village, the average time given by the respondent to his parents was 28 hours in a year. For 13 percent of the respondents, the frequency of time transfer was almost every month but majority of them (67 percent) fell under the 'less often visit' category. Taking care in case of illness was the highest ranked category (87 percent) followed by talking to them (86 percent) and helping during family functions (81 percent).

For those respondents whose parents resided in the same city but in different households, the average time support given was 263 hours in a year. Nearly 37 percent of them provided this support almost every month followed by 34 percent who provided it on a daily basis. Almost

one-fifth of them said that they provided help in the form of time almost every week. Unlike those who had parents staying in a different city, majority of the respondents (98 percent) gave time support in the form of talking to them followed by taking care of them during an illness (96 percent) and help during family functions (86 percent). When they resided in the same city as their parents, a considerable percentage of respondents (78 percent) gave time support by doing small outside petty work for their parents also. Interestingly, unlike respondents who lived in a different city, most of the respondents staying in the same city who made monetary transfers to their parents also made time transfers to them in some form or the other in the year preceding the survey. This is a clear indication that there is no substitution of time with money between the non co-residing parents and sons. On the contrary, staying in close proximity with the parents resulted in a considerable exchange of time support between the two generations.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Intergenerational time transfers have elicited considerable interest for researchers. While many of the previous studies focus on monetary transfers, the transfer of time help is likely to play at least as important a role in the familial domain, more so in the joint family set up in India. With modernization and urbanization, the traditional roles and functions of the family are changing. It is becoming increasingly difficult to give care and attention to the elderly, as there are fewer family members who can act as caregivers. Thus, it becomes important to study whether adult children are able to cater to the growing needs of their elderly parents particularly in the changing urban scenario.

Direct information on amount and form of time transfers and monetary transfers in the twelve months preceding the survey was collected from 537 male respondents in the age group 24-59 in urban Pune. India. Of these, 265 had co-residing parents, 162 had parents staying in a different city and 110 had parents in the same city but in different households.

The survey data shows that time transfers to elderly parents by their adult son and vice versa are universal irrespective of the co-residence status. Average time support received from co-residing parents was found to be 3.71 hours per day. Majority of the respondents received help in household chores followed by those who received time support in the form of advice.

A large number of respondents also received help from their parents in looking after their children. Average time support given to co-residing parents was about 2.99 hours per day. Time given to parents in the form of talking to them topped the category list thus indicating positively high levels of communication between the two generations. Time provided during illness and for household chores followed the first category. Slightly less than half of the respondents provided time support to their parents whose health status was perceived to be either fair or poor. Respondents were found to provide more time to those parents whom they felt were a strong source of support. Time transfer from parents is more during the initial years from around 29 to 35, which is the career oriented period for adult children. On the contrary, time transfer to parents is low in the working age group 25 to 40. As adult children grow older, with consequent increase in the age of elderly parents, time support given increases. This is obvious as parents need maximum help and care when they become very old.

In the case of non co-resident parents, time support is more frequent and intense when the parents stay in the same city but in different households rather than in an altogether different city or village. In both the cases, maximum time help received by the respondent is in the form of advice and care during illness. Time support given to the parents is more in the form of talking to them and helping during an illness when the two generations do not co-reside. Time received from the parents depends significantly on factors such as source of income of the parents, their health status, financial condition of the household, type of family and contribution of the respondent to parents. On the contrary, time given to parents is associated with age, survival of only one parent, presence of sibling in the household, headship status and monetary support received from and made to the parents. Though there is less exchange of time if both son and parents are working, there is no evidence of substitution of time with monetary support. Thus, it is evident that in spite of the erosion of patriarchal society, attrition of traditional family values, increase in the number of working mothers and a busy lifestyle in urban areas, adult children do give time to their elderly parents be it establishing a dialogue with them or taking care of them in case of illness. This is true not only when the two generations stay together or when there is proximity between their homes, but even when they are at a considerable geographical distance from each other.

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APPENDIX

Figures

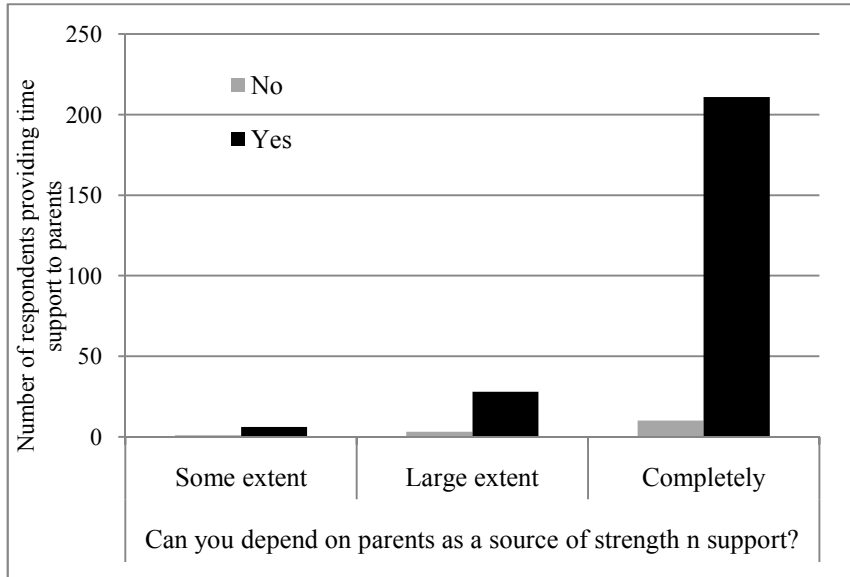


Figure 1: Number of respondents and their dependency level on parents

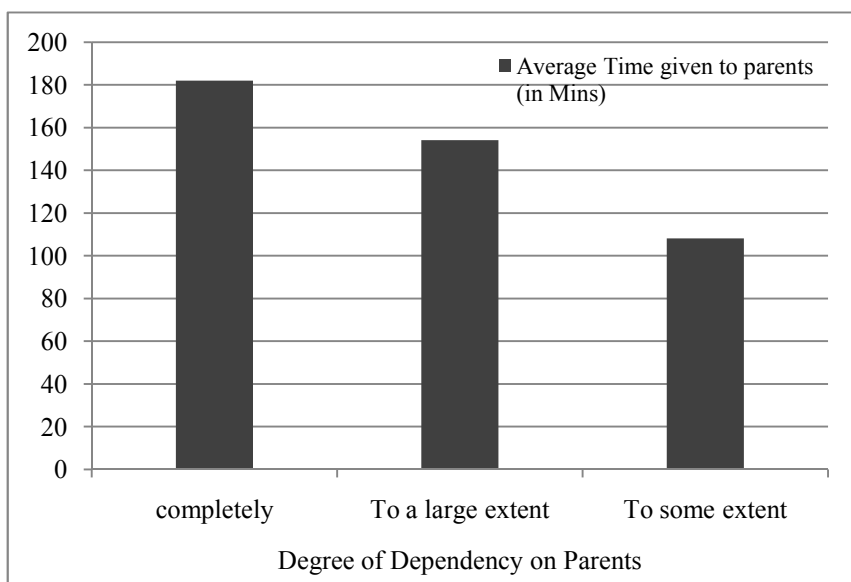


Figure 2: Average Time support (in Mins /day) given by respondents and their dependency level on parents

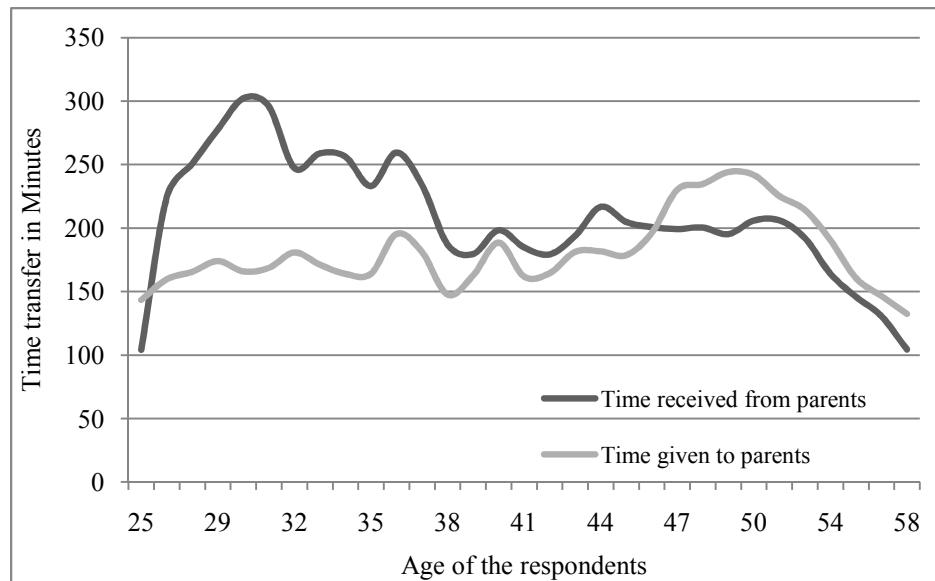


Figure 3: Time received and given (in Mins /day) to parents in twelve months preceding the survey

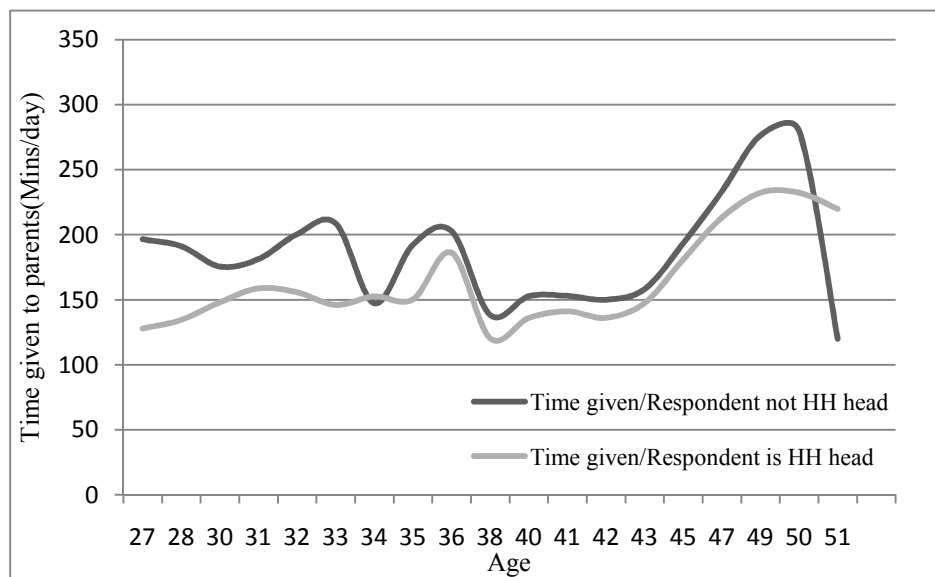


Figure 4: Time given to parents and respondent's headship status

Dependent Variable: Time Support received from parents in Mins/day

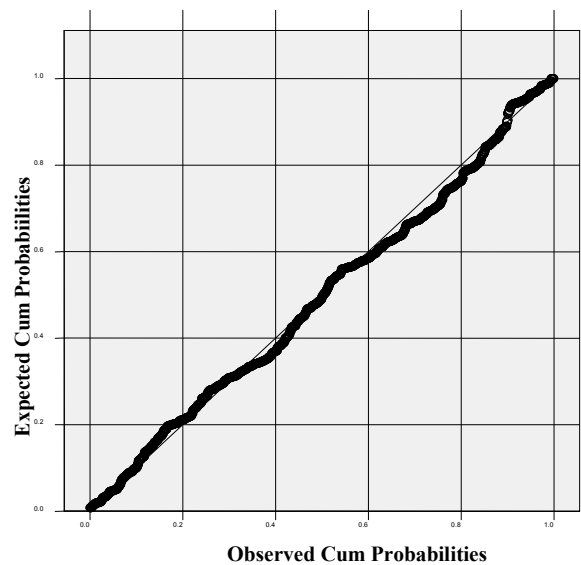


Figure 5: Normal P – P plot of Regression Standardized Residuals at Stage I of 2SLS.

Dependent Variable: TS given to parents in Mins/day

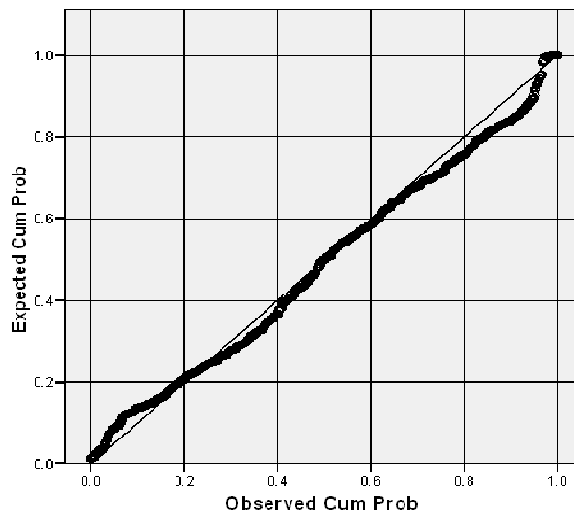


Figure 6: Normal P – P plot of Regression Standardized Residuals at Stage II of 2SLS.

Tables

Table 1: Two Stage Least Square Regression Results for co-residing parents:

STAGE ONE[@]

Independent variables	Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	Beta	B	Std. Error
(Constant)		9.303	.000
Age square	-.026	-0.866	.387
Does father have any income source?	-.165	-5.408*	.000
Does mother have any income source?	-.171	-5.726*	.000
HH financial condition recoded	.158	5.317*	.000
Fathers health Status	.147	4.366*	.000
Mothers health Status	.129	3.838*	.000
Respondent contributes to parents expenses?	-.101	-3.228*	.000
Type of family	.133	4.323*	.000

[@] Dependent Variable: Time Support received from parents (in Mins/day) in 12 months preceding the survey.
Adjusted R square = 0.191 * Significant at 5 percent level

Table 2: Two Stage Least Square Regression Results for co-residing parents:

STAGE TWO [†]

Independent variables	Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	Beta	B	Std. Error
(Constant)		-2.574	.010
Age square	.107	3.646*	.000
Respondent is Head	-.217	-6.133*	.000
Only one parent alive	.456	7.949*	.000
Presence of a sibling in the HH	-.123	-3.916*	.000
Unstandardized Predicted Value (from Reg I)	.553	8.897*	.000
Made/Given monetary support to parents in last one year?	.137	4.026*	.000
Received monetary support from parents in last one year?	-.121	-3.537*	.000
Education (higher than secondary)	-.028	-0.952	.341

[†] Dependent Variable: Time Support given to parents (in Mins/day) in 12 months preceding the survey.
Adjusted R