Mothers' life course work and career choices and intergenerational ties at older age

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Abstract

Over the past few decades women in Europe had taken various strategies to reconcile work and family life – from working mainly full-time, through part-time work to choosing household work and withdrawing from labour market activities. These choices varied depending on their level of education, number of children as well as country of origin. In the paper we investigate to what extent choices regarding economic activity over the life course influence intergenerational ties at older age, including non-monetary and monetary transfers, grandchildren care and intensity of contacts with children. In the analysis, we use data from the SHARE survey, including SHARELIFE module with individual labour market careers data as well as recent information on intergenerational transfers collected in 2018. We find that individual histories of women who followed part-time labour market careers are associated with stronger intergenerational exchanges at older age, compared to women who withdrew from the labour market. Once women's individual characteristics are accounted for, national (welfare state) differences also determine the intensity of intergenerational contacts and transfers.

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Key words: work-life reconciliation, intergenerational relations, intergenerational transfers, life course.

Introduction

Level of income, well-being and socio-economic situation of older people depend on their life course choices of work and career. Patterns of employment and earnings differ significantly within and between countries, in particular from a gender perspective. Women have usually had shorter and more interrupted careers compared to men, mainly because they have decided to work part-time or withdraw from the labour market. These decisions depend on many factors, the presence of children at home being the crucial one. Such choices also frequently reflect limitations of institutional childcare and necessity to provide care at home. Individual decisions on labour market participation are thus driven by not only individual and household preferences, but also the policies and societal norms that are frequently path-dependent.

In the article, we assess whether there is a link between the pattern of labour market career and family situation and intergenerational transfers in later life. Using the retrospective SHARE survey results for 12 EU countries we investigate if women who had decided to reduce their labour market participation or withdraw from the labour market, experience closer intergenerational ties in later life, including non-financial and financial transfers between generations. In other words, we analyse if there is a trade-off between more work-oriented life course arrangements of mothers and the intensity of the intergenerational contacts and transfers experienced in later life. We also aim at learning to what extent these contacts and transfers are country-specific , which likely reflects the impact of existing social and cultural norms on relations between generations.

In our paper, we aim to extend the knowledge on the interlinks between the type of women's life course and intergenerational relations. We hypothesise that the decision on how much to participate in the labour market depends both on individual and family situation and existing social and cultural norms in the society. Moreover, these career choices have an impact on intergenerational transfers at later life. We find that these transfers are more intense in the case of women who had interrupted their careers to provide care for their children.

1. Life course of women and intergenerational relations

There is a growing body of literature focusing on the life course of women and the family or intergenerational ties in the context of population ageing and changing generations. European countries experience de-institutionalization and de-standardization of the family, education and work. Women are more present on the formal labour market and their job trajectories become more diversified. Becoming a parent is an important event that needs a support from well-designed policies that follow social investment strategies (Kvist, 2016). Yet, there is still a strong gendered interrelation between work and family in developed societies, as underlined by (Levy & Krüeger, 2001). In developed societies, family tends to be treated as a special social space, principally structured by the two adult partners that are exchanging actors negotiating their roles in the family. As a result of these negotiations, in female life courses labour force participation appears frequently as a secondary activity that remains subordinated to the imperatives of family life, usually for several years. While the older generations followed traditional norms, the younger generations decide following the calculations of the costs and benefits of various arrangements. Facing institutional constraints, including not only maternity and parental leave policies, but also arrangements of costs and schedules of kindergarten and schools, as well as caregiving institutions for older adults, women tend to combine family and labour market trajectories by limiting their labour market participation, through either part-time employment or remaining outside the labour

force. In other words, the costs of having a family are gendered between monetary contributions (male) and time-consuming management (female). This gender (in)equality is observed in various contexts of family and individual life courses, which has an impact on situation of women in later life (Gauthier, Kotowska, & Vono de Vilhena, 2018).

The work-family reconciliation policies offered to support parents are linked to the types of welfare regimes (Esping-Andersen, 1990). As summarised by Bovenberg(2005), in the Nordic model women are frequently employed in the public system, young women are encouraged to be employed, flexible work policies are common. Liberal regimes tend to rely on flexible labour markets promoting participation among high-skilled women, who frequently contract out household services to low-skilled women, which are at risk of marginalisation. In the Mediterranean countries, childcare facilities as well as flexible work practices are scarce, which leads to high risk of withdrawal from employment and focus on care responsibilities. In the Germanic regimes, leave arrangements and part-time work allow parents (and particularly encourage mothers) to spend more time with their children. Madero-Cabib & Fasang (2016) use SHARE data to analyse distinct family-work trajectories in Germany and Switzerland. They show that the groups of individuals who have been out of the labour force and those who have worked part time (and who have at least one child) are composed mostly of women (who comprise more than 90% of these groups of individuals) The impact of welfare state model on diversity of life courses is also confirmed by (Komp-Leukkunen, 2019), who highlights that there are both between and within country differences aligning within gender and cohort.

Life course choices in the past can influence parent-child relationships in later life and this is the second strand of literature our paper refers to. The theoretical model of intergenerational solidarity was constructed and empirically tested by Bengtson & Roberts(1991) and it remains an important reference for later family research. Their findings indicate that parent-child affective orientations are related to norms of familism (normative solidarity).

Albertini, Kohli, & Vogel, (2007) distinguish macro and micro level factors affecting intergenerational family transfers. The former include structural factors (demographic structure of families, labour force structure, income and wealth distribution), institutional factors (obligations of generational support, taxation, family and social security policies) and cultural ones (religious traditions, family, gender and generation values). The latter comprise structural factors (family composition, educational and occupational status, income and wealth of the family), institutional arrangements (marriage, cohabitation and household division of labour) and cultural (individual attitudes, values and beliefs). Their analysis of country patterns confirms the European north-south gradient in providing generational support. These results hold strong when controlling for individual characteristics of parents. Being younger, being male, living in a couple, having higher education, wealth and being employed has a positive impact on providing financial support to (adult) children. Being female, having grandchildren, co-residing with a child, being educated at a low level and being currently a homemaker positively affects providing in-kind support to adult children. High level of parent-child affection (warmth, closeness) is also found to be linked with higher levels of parent and child association measured by frequency of contacts and types of shared activities. Dykstra & Fokkema(2011) underline the need to consider multiple dimensions of intergenerational family relationships. Using the SHARE data they distinguish four family types: (i) descending familialism (living nearby, frequent contact, endorsement of family norms and help in kind from parents to children), (ii) ascending familialism (living nearby, frequent contact, endorsement of family norms and help in kind from children to parents), (iii) support at a distance (not leaving nearby, frequent contact, refutation of family obligation norms and financial transfers from parents to children) and (iv) autonomous (not living nearby, little contact, refutation of family obligation norms and few support exchanges). The first and the last type are the most frequent models (with around a third of families representing each, quarter of the families represent ascending

familialism and the rest – support at a distance type. In the analysis, they take into account different measures of solidarity dimensions, including geographic proximity, frequency of contacts, family obligation norms, support exchange between generations (in kind and financial transfers. Attias-Donfut, Ogg, & Wolff(2005) also underline that population aged 50 and more are at the centre of complex exchange network within the family, where they both give and provide support and intergenerational solidarity remains an important feature of European families.

(Dykstra & Fokkema, 2011) show that the descending familialism model was strongly represented in Belgium, but also Italy, and the Netherlands, ascending familialism was most frequent in Spain, Greece and Italy but also above average in Austria and the Netherlands. These models in many countries frequently go together. Descending and ascending familialism types offamilies are less frequently observed in Sweden and Denmark, where autonomous and supportive-at distance types are more frequent than European average. Autonomous type is frequent in France and Switzerland and low in Italy, Spain, Greece and Belgium. While Dykstra & Fokkema(2011) restricted their analysis to parents who do not live with their children, Albertini & Kohli(2013) also analyse the determinants of parent-child co-residence using the SHARE data. Parent – child co-residence is six times more frequent in the Mediterranean countries compared to the Continental Europe. Parents in the Mediterranean countries are also more likely to be providing financial support to children, unless they have more children. Health, economic and educational resources of parents have a positive impact on economic provision. Albertini & Kohli, (2013) also confirm welfare state impact on the type of transfers. In the Nordic regime, the support is provided mainly by the welfare state, particularly in the early life course and family transfers are provided, particularly if children need such support (i.e. divorced or widowed children or those who face unemployment). In Continental regime, the co-residence is more frequent compared to Nordic countries, parents also more frequently provide financial support to their children. In Southern Europe, the co-residence and shared consumption is the main mode of support from parents to their adult children.

In the studies of intergenerational transfers discussed above, individual characteristics of older generation that are considered include number of children, educational attainment, health, wealth and current employment status. The life course employment paths of the older generation are not considered. The evidence from the life course research shows however that women frequently chose paths that included more time engagement in the household, particularly in the case of families that have 2 or more children. Such choices and the intergenerational relations at early stages of family lives may affect values and norms, and influence time, money and in-kind transfers between older parents and their adult children.

Reciprocity in parent-child relations over the adult life course is analysed by (Silverstein, Conroy, Wang, Giarrusso, & Bengtsor, 2002). Using the University of California Longitudinal Study of Generations, they model the support from children to parents as (i) a return on an investment made earlier by a parent; (ii) as an insurance policy in which earlier transfers to the child are recovered by the parent under conditions of need and finally, as (iii) an altruism and nonreciprocal motivations of the part of the child. Their results reveal partial support for each of the models of intergenerational exchanges. Parents who shared more activities with their children receive higher support from them in later life. In the case of financial transfers reciprocity emerges at older ages of parents, which suggests a latency in response characteristic for an insurance mechanism. They confirm that motivation of an adult child to provide social support to their parents is rooted in earlier family experiences and guided by an implicit social contract of long-term reciprocity.

These results confirm the importance of taking into account life course choices of parents, particularly mothers, into explaining the family model of relations between older parents and their adult children.

Our research aims at filling the gap in the life course and intergenerational research by analysing the impact of life course choices of women (as those who more frequently decide to reduce their labour market participation in exchange for devoting time for the family management and bringing up children) on the intergenerational exchanges observed in later life. We focus on the European countries participating in the SHARE survey, representing Nordic, Continental and Mediterranean model, but also two Central and Eastern European countries: Poland and Czechia.

2. Life course career choices: individual and country differences

Interruptions in working careers are usually not randomly distributed in the population but are cumulated among specific individuals. To identify the existing differences, we compare the individual working careers from the retrospective SHARE database to find typical patterns of the full and interrupted careers characteristics for the countries analysed (which participated both in the retrospective survey and in the wave 7 of the SHARE Survey). In the article we use data from the generated Job Episodes Panel (see Brugiavini et al. (2013) and Antonova et al. (2014) for methodological details).

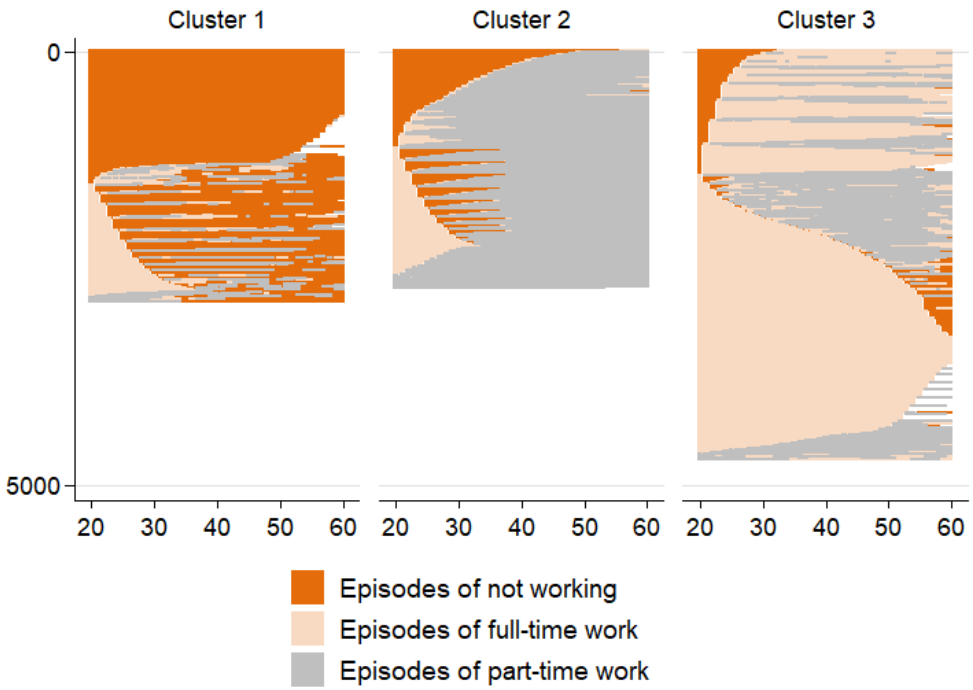
Using data for 12 European countries representing different social models and at different level of economic development we focus on the (partially completed) careers of women in the age group of 50-80, who have had at least one child, in . This allows drawing conclusions on the impact of both individual choices, and country characteristics on the career paths and intergenerational links in later life.

Our approach to life course analysis is similar to (Madero-Cabib & Fasang, 2016), who use sequence analysis to identify typical labour market and family careers of men and women in Europe. We use data on the episodes of work in each year of a career for all countries discussed in the paper based on the answers of women in the age group 50-80 years. This sample describes the careers of generations that experienced their prime age in the labour market at least 20 years earlier. The country differences illustrate divergent labour market developments that are likely to affect different pension and life outcomes for people by country.

To analyse the typical work career patterns based on the retrospective data, we applied a sequence analysis technique (Brzinsky-Fay, Kohler, and Luniak 2006) that allows for the definition of a measure of similarity between the different life paths of individuals. In our sample life courses of 10336 persons from 14 countries are analysed by comparing the labour market states of persons year by year. Three possible states are distinguished in each year of observation: full-time employment, part-time employment and inactivity/unemployment. The results is the matrix of distances between the persons defined by the similarity of their life paths.

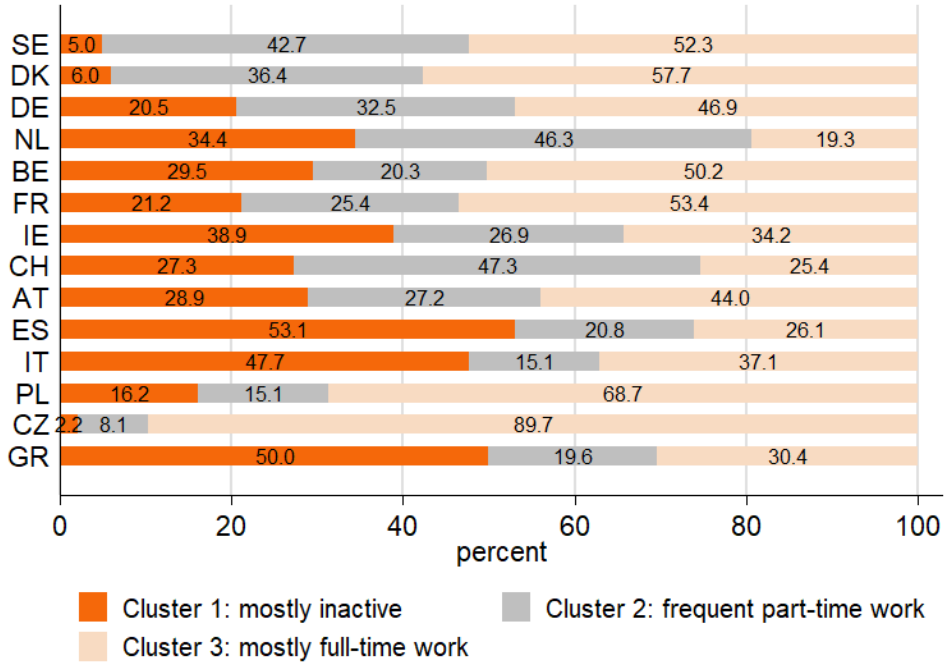
Then, a cluster analysis with the Ward metric is used to identify no more than three most distinct groups (clusters) of careers for the sample of all countries: inactive, working part-time and working full time. The results of this analysis are shown in Figure 1. According to the results of the analysis 2 889 individuals (28% of the sample) have been assigned to cluster 1 which can be interpreted as persons mostly inactive on the labour market in their life course. Another 2 731 women (26% of the sample) have been grouped in the cluster 2 which can be described as frequent part time work. The remaining 4 176 women (46%) were assigned to cluster 3 – that is those with mostly full time work careers. Figure 2 shows the shares of women in the selected countries who are assigned to one of the three types of career clusters.

Figure 1. Clusters of female working careers



Source: Chłoń-Domińczak, Magda, Strzelecki (2019)

Figure 2. Share of women by type of work career cluster in the analysed countries



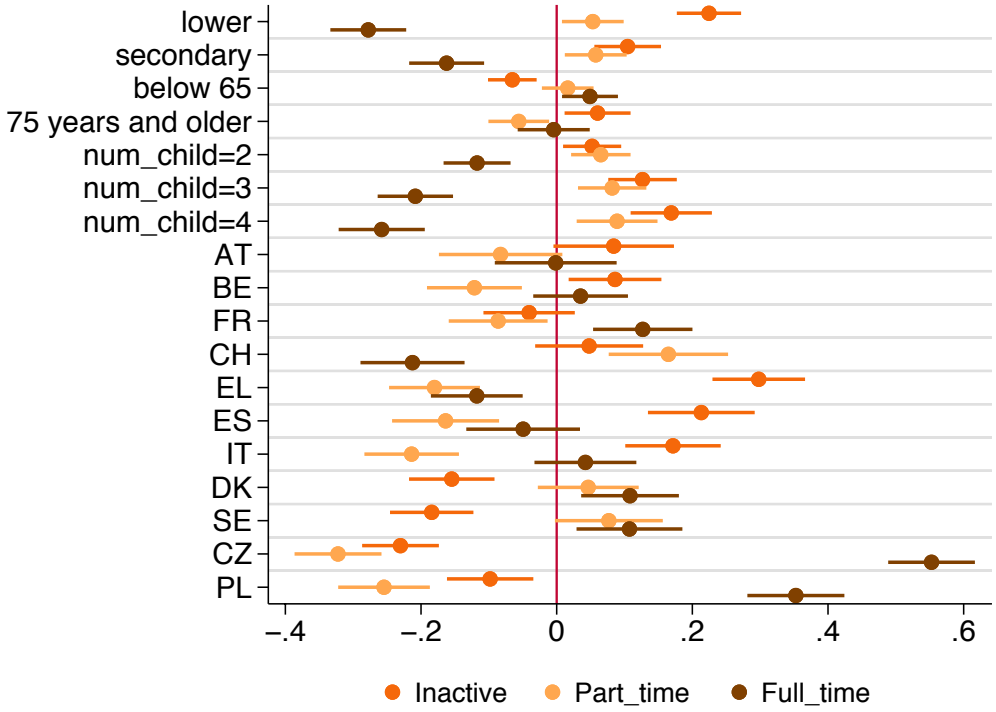
Source: Chłoń-Domińczak, Magda, Strzelecki (2019)

In order to identify how the career paths vary according to individual and country characteristics, we performed a multinomial logistic regression, using level of education (according to ISCED 1997 typology), age (below 65, 65-74 and 75 and older), number of children (1, 2, 3 or 4 or more children) as

well as country as independent variables. Results of this regression (marginal effects) are presented in Figure 3.

Women with low levels of education are more likely to belong to the cluster of the inactive labour market career . Compared to those aged 65-74, older women (75 and over) are also more likely to have inactive careers while those aged below 65 are more likely to have worked full time. As one could expect, the probability of being assigned to the inactive cluster is higher for women with more than 1 child (compared to those with one child). Number of children is also positively associated with the probability of having a part time career, while educational attainment does not make a difference in this respect. The probability of having full time career is lower among women with lower levels of education and declines with the number of children.

Figure 3. Results of multinominal logistic regression: probability of being assigned to a particular cluster (marginal effects)



Note: reference category: higher education (ISCED 5-6), in age group 65-74, with one child, living in Germany.
Source: own analysis based on SHARE Wave 3 (SHARELIFE)

The shares of the types of careers chosen also vary among countries. As discussed in the previous section, many authors underline that the type of the welfare regime affects the possibility to reconcile work and family life and, therefore, the labour market careers of women. Our results concur with this assessment. Women from Southern European countries (Spain, Greece, Italy) were more likely to follow the inactive path and are less likely to be assigned to the part-time or full-time labour market participation cluster (compared to Germany). Women from post-socialist countries (Poland, Czechia) predominantly chose full-time careers (compared to Germany), which corresponds both to policies promoting full employment as well as the necessity to have dual income to support the household consumption. Employment-related paths (full-time and part-time) are more typical for Scandinavian countries (Sweden, Denmark), all other things equal. In the case of continental countries, we see lower probabilities of inactive paths in Germany and France, and in the latter country also a preference for

full-time employment. Switzerland is an interesting combination of preference for part-time paths and low probability of having full-time career path.

Our results also confirm that the choice of career paths is affected by the family biography, but also human capital of women (proxied by educational attainment). The observed generational changes might indicate that there is a gradual shift from a male-breadwinner to a dual earning model, yet these effects are not very strong, which may indicate that cost-benefit analysis at family level still leads to choices of limited labour market participation of women. Last but not least, the social and cultural norms at country-level also seem to strongly influence the labour market life course of women.

3. Intergenerational relations at older age

There are different aspects of intergenerational and intragenerational relations that people maintain at older ages. First, parents may live with their children, sharing the household, or living in the same building or they may live not very far away. Second, older people provide and receive various forms of transfers including giving and receiving non-monetary and monetary support, as well as taking care of grandchildren. Finally, parents maintain contact with their children, which can have various intensity. These aspects are investigated widely in the literature.

In this section we follow the multi-dimensional approach, as proposed, among others by Dykstra & Fokkema(2011). We analyse various forms of intergenerational relations, taking into account the type of labour market careers of individuals, the country where they live (representing different welfare states) as well as individual characteristics (including the geographical proximity of children, health status, age, as well as interactions between the type of labour market career and country).

3.1. Living arrangements

One of the important aspects of intergenerational relations is the geographical proximity between children and parents. This aspect of intergenerational links is analysed using multinominal regression model, in which the proximity of children (living in the same household or building, living within 5 km distance, 5 to 100 km distance or above 100 km distance) is explained taking into account individual characteristics, life course type and country of residence. We also control for interactions between cluster of life course type and country of residence (Table 1).

Individual characteristics: age, living with a partner, health status

Results of our analysis confirm the findings in the literature that women in younger age group (50-64) still tend to live in the household with their children, while those aged 75 years and over are less likely to live in the same household or building. At the same time, the oldest European women are also less likely to live relatively far (100 km or more) from their children, all other things equal. Chances of living far are higher for those women, who have a partner in the household. This means that widowed or divorced women who live in single households are more likely to live closer to their children. This indicates that living arrangements in the case of the oldest women can be considered a component of insurance policy in case of needing support and individual care.

Table 1. Results of multinominal logistic regression of proximity of children on individual and household characteristics

	Same household/building (vs. up to 5 km)	5-100 km (vs. up to 5 km)	100 km or more (vs. up to 5 km)

	Coef.	Sig.	Coef.	Sig.	Coef.	Sig.
Age 50-64	**0.887**	***	-0.041		-0.322	
Age 65-74 (ref)	ref		ref		ref	
Age 75 and more	**-0.658**	***	-0.236		**-0.417**	*
Living alone (ref.)	ref		ref		ref	
Living with partner	0.017		0.087		**0.356**	**
No limitations in adl (ref.)	ref		ref		ref	
1+ limitations in adl	-0.162		-0.153		-0.283	
1.inactive	0.190		-0.229		-0.904	
2.part-time	**0.997**	*	**1.230**	**	0.235	
3 full time (ref)	ref		ref		ref	
DE (ref)	ref		ref		ref	
AT	-0.001		-0.190		-0.736	
BE	0.044		-0.032		**-1.179**	***
FR	0.389		0.116		0.475	
CH	0.518		0.586		**-2.148**	*
EL	**1.519**	***	-0.024		-0.369	
ES	0.622		**-0.843**	*	**-2.288**	***
IT	**0.788**	**	-0.521		**-1.105**	**
DK	**-1.384**	***	0.130		-0.312	
SE	-0.690		-0.001		-0.218	
CZ	-0.259		-0.524		**-1.828**	***
PL	**0.840**	**	**-0.679**	*	-0.448	
1.Inactive#DE	ref		ref		ref	
1.Inactive#AT	-0.370		0.842		1.173	
1.Inactive#BE	-0.505		0.173		0.160	
1.Inactive#FR	0.177		0.299		0.326	
1.Inactive#CH	-0.641		-0.273		1.829	
1.Inactive#EL	-0.102		-0.174		0.571	
1.Inactive#ES	-0.144		0.201		1.228	
1.Inactive#IT	-0.086		-0.530		0.730	
1.Inactive#DK	-0.414		1.160		1.146	
1.Inactive#SE	**-20.627**	***	0.910		1.340	
1.Inactive#CZ	0.731		0.591		1.448	
1.Inactive#PL	0.228		0.062		1.068	
2.Part-time#DE	ref		ref		ref	
2.Part-time#AT	-0.687		**-1.708**	**	-0.949	
2.Part-time#BE	**-1.281**	*	-0.947		-0.899	
2.Part-time#FR	**-1.422**	**	**-1.279**	*	-0.482	
2.Part-time#CH	**-1.793**	**	**-1.787**	**	0.633	
2.Part-time#EL	**-1.271**	*	**-2.533**	***	-1.133	
2.Part-time#ES	**-1.431**	*	-1.001		-0.031	
2.Part-time#IT	**-1.400**	**	**-2.713**	***	-0.455	
2.Part-time#DK	-1.208		**-1.225**	**	-0.077	
2.Part-time#SE	-1.055		**-1.232**	**	-0.312	
2.Part-time#CZ	-0.737		**-1.767**	**	-0.135	
2.Part-time#PL	**-1.433**	*	**-1.453**	*	-0.698	

*** $p<0.01$, ** $p<0.05$, * $p<0.1$

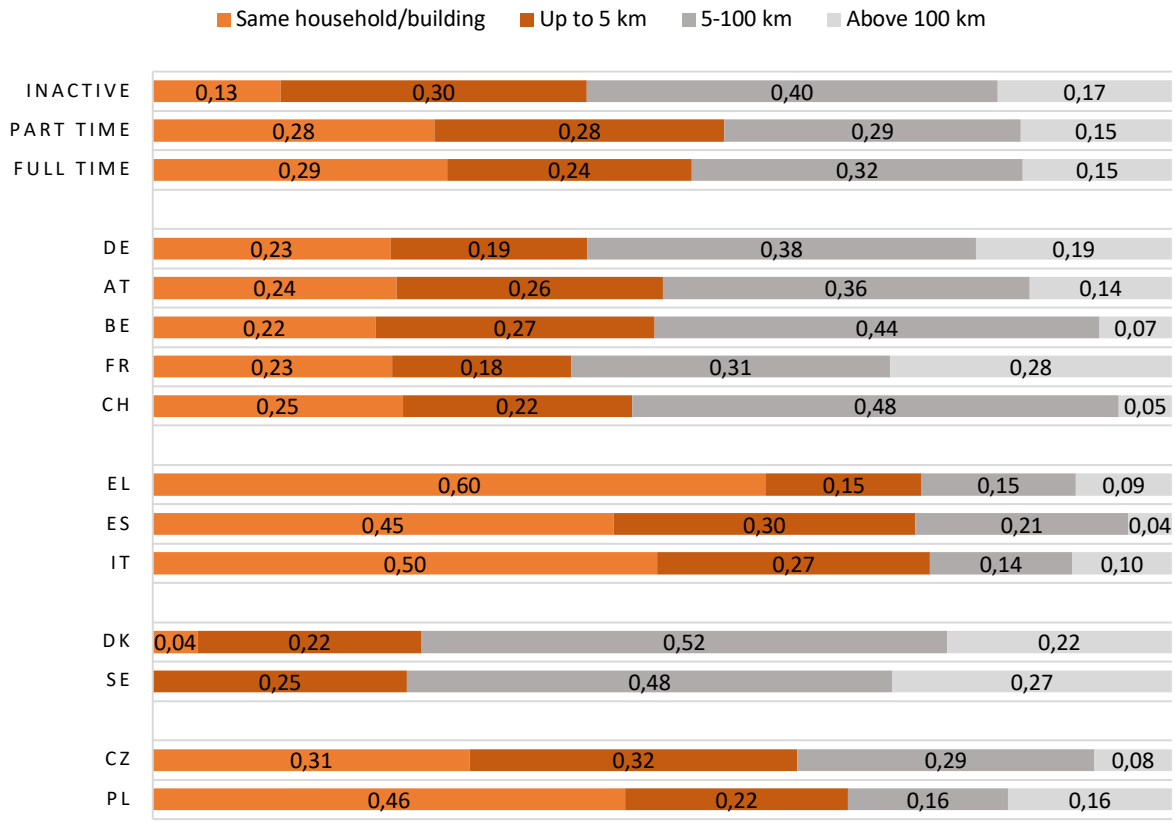
Source: own analysis based on SHARE Wave 3 (SHARELIFE) and Wave 7 (or earlier)

Type of labour market career in the life course

Our results indicate that in general, women with part-time labour career type are more likely to live with children in the same household or building (compared to living within 5 km reach). Living in the distance between 5 and 100 km is also more likely compared to the same reference level. However, when interactions between the type of labour career and country, this result is offset. As a result, average

predictions at means indicate that there are little differences in the geographical proximity with children between those who belong to full-time and part-time clusters (Figure 4).

Figure 4. Results of multinominal logistic regression: proximity of children (average predictions at means)



Source: own analysis based on SHARE Wave 3 (SHARELIFE) and Wave 7 (or earlier)

Country and welfare state characteristic

Among continental countries, there are no significant differences in the proximity of children compared to Germany . Only in the case of Belgium and Switzerland older women are less likely to live in a distance exceeding 100 km (which can be explained by the size of the country). In the case of southern European countries, women in Greece and Italy have the statistically higher chances of living in the same household or building as their children (compared to Germany). In Spain, women have lower probability of living at a distance exceeding 5 km and in Italy – of living further than 100 km, also in comparison to Germany. In Nordic countries we see statistically lower chances of living in the same building for mothers in Denmark. In former socialist countries, in Poland there are higher chances of living in the same household or building (similarly to the Mediterranean countries) and in Czechia (which is a small country), chances of living far from children are smaller, compared to Germany. The latter country seems to have characteristics of this aspect of intergenerational relations similar to continental countries.

There are also few interactions that are statistically significant. Women from the inactive cluster in Sweden are less likely to live in the same household or building. Compared to women working part-time in Germany, those with similar labour market life course types in other countries are less likely to live in the same household or building or in a distance between 5 and 100 km away from their children. . In Southern countries around three quarters of women (when controlling for other characteristics in the

model) live with their children in the same household or building or not more than 5 kilometres away, while in Scandinavian countries such living arrangements are almost non-existent. In continental countries, the most frequent distance is between 5 and 100 km (Figure 4).

3.2 Giving and receiving support

The next step our analysis is to assess the propensity of giving and receiving support among generations of (older) parents and their children. To this end we use logistic regression models. We analyse four types of intergenerational transfers: (i) providing non-monetary support to others, (ii) receiving non-monetary support from others, (iii) receiving financial transfers from others and (iv) caring for grandchildren. The first and the last of these indicate transfers given by older women, while the second and third indicate transfers that are received. In the models we use the following characteristics of women: age group (50-64 years, 65-74 years and 75 years and older), type of work career cluster (inactive, part-time, full-time), a dummy variable on limitations in activities of daily living, distance to children and country of living. We also include interactions between career cluster and country. Results of the logistic regression are shown in Table 2. In all models we use the following characteristics as reference group: aged 64-74, not having a partner and with no limitations in activities of daily living, living in the same household or building with their children and attached to the full-time cluster of labour market career.

Individual characteristics: age, living with a partner, health status

Age is statistically significant with regards to both providing and receiving different types of support. Women in the younger age group (50-64 years old), compared to the reference group (65-74 years old) are more likely to provide non-monetary support to others. Those in the oldest age group (aged 75 and over) are less likely to provide non-monetary support and they are more likely to receive non-monetary support from others (such as care). Interestingly, women in this age group indicate that they are less likely to receive financial support, compared to those aged 65-74. Living with a partner reduces the chances of both providing and receiving non-monetary support, which indicates that women who are living alone are more engaged in in-kind time transfers with others. Those women who have a partner in the household also more frequently receive financial support, compared to those who are single. Limitations in activities of daily living also lead to a greater need to receive non-monetary support.

Proximity of children

Proximity of children also is associated with different frequencies of intergenerational exchanges. Compared to those parents who live in the same building as their children, those who live between 5 and 100 km are less likely to provide non-monetary support. People living relatively close to their children (up to 5 km), but not in the same household more frequently receive non-monetary support from others, all other things equal.

Table 2. Results of logistic regression, providing and receiving support

	Provide non-monetary support		Receive non-monetary support		Receive financial support	
Age 50-64	**0.340**	***	-0.054		0.042	
Age 65-74 (ref)	ref		ref		ref	
Age 75 and more	**-0.779**	***	**0.469**	***	**-0.445**	**
Living alone (ref.)	ref		ref		ref	
Living with partner	**-0.263**	**	**-1.138**	***	**0.328**	***
No limitations in adl (ref.)	ref		ref		ref	
1+ limitations in adl	-0.334		**1.410**	***	-0.073	
Living in the same house	ref		ref		ref	
Up to 5 km	-0.068		**0.342**	*	0.072	
5-100 km	**-0.381**	**	0.224		-0.172	
100 km and more	-0.083		0.043		0.008	
1.inactive	-0.606		0.147		-0.208	
2.part-time	-0.203		-0.138		0.137	
3 full time (ref)	0.000		0.000		0.000	
DE (ref)	ref		ref		ref	
AT	0.375		-0.227		0.466	
BE	0.045		**-1.042**	***	-0.407	
FR	0.074		**-0.629**	**	0.187	
CH	-0.099		-0.255		-0.308	
EL	**-1.477**	***	-0.465		**-1.881**	***
ES	**-1.159**	***	**-1.054**	**	**-0.686**	*
IT	**-0.713**	**	**-1.203**	***	0.122	
DK	**0.716**	***	0.184		0.168	
SE	**0.485**	*	**-0.548**	*	-0.220	
CZ	-0.104		0.238		**-0.622**	**
PL	**-1.523**	***	**-1.395**	***	0.027	
1.Inactive#DE	0.000		0.000		0.000	
1.Inactive#AT	-0.042		0.782		-0.469	
1.Inactive#BE	0.131		0.183		-0.947	
1.Inactive#FR	0.000		0.298		-1.055	
1.Inactive#CH	0.843		0.056		-0.176	
1.Inactive#EL	0.451		-0.514		0.877	
1.Inactive#ES	-0.551		-0.800		-0.951	
1.Inactive#IT	-0.447		-0.086		-0.679	
1.Inactive#DK	-0.043		-1.204		-1.282	
1.Inactive#SE	**-1.953**	*	-0.603		-0.810	
1.Inactive#CZ	1.597		0.639		0.746	
1.Inactive#PL	**1.084**	*	-1.261		0.128	
2.Part-time#DE	0.000		0.000		0.000	
2.Part-time#AT	0.158		0.703		**-1.308**	*
2.Part-time#BE	0.171		0.386		-0.430	
2.Part-time#FR	0.637		0.482		**-0.869**	*
2.Part-time#CH	0.328		-0.202		-0.416	
2.Part-time#EL	-0.271		-0.424		0.052	
2.Part-time#ES	0.564		-0.741		-0.151	
2.Part-time#IT	0.278		0.524		-0.447	
2.Part-time#DK	0.185		0.264		-0.131	
2.Part-time#SE	-0.287		0.019		0.408	
2.Part-time#CZ	**1.041**	*	0.855		0.777	
2.Part-time#PL	0.562		0.838		0.234	

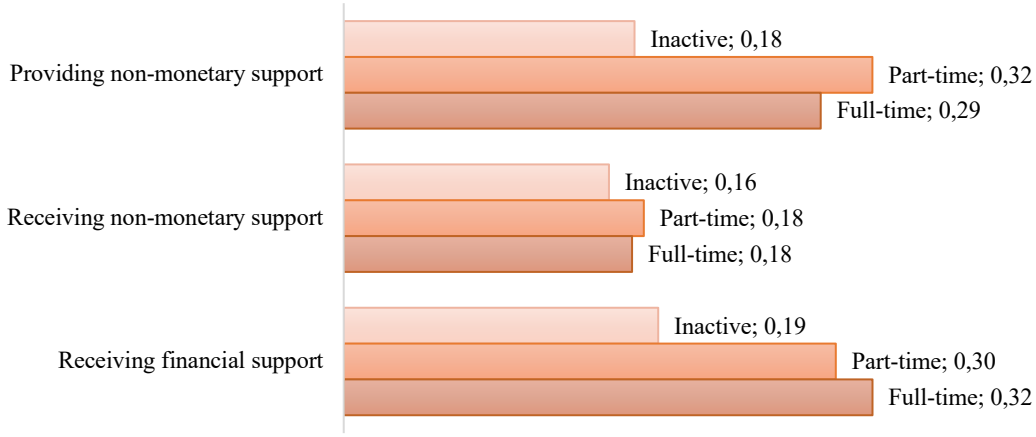
**** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1*

Source: own analysis based on SHARE Wave 3 (SHARELIFE) and Wave 7

Type of labour market career in the life course

The intensity of providing or receiving different types of support does not differ significantly between clusters of working careers that women have had. However, adjusted predictions at the means (Figure 5) show that women, who are assigned to the inactive cluster, are less likely to provide non-monetary support and receive financial support, compared to women with part-time or full-time careers.

Figure 5. Adjusted predictions at the means: cluster of labour market activity



Source: own analysis based on SHARE Wave 3 (SHARELIFE) and Wave 7

Country and welfare state characteristic

Our results also reveal that there are country-level differences in the intensity of intergenerational transfers. Women in Belgium and France are less likely to receive non-monetary support than German women. Among those with part-time labour market attachment, women in Austria and France are less likely to receive monetary support. At the same time German, German, Austrian, Belgian, French and Swiss women do not differ in the likelihood of providing non-monetary support.

Southern European countries differ significantly from Germany, as in Greece, Spain and Italy we observe much lower intensity of providing and receiving non-monetary support to those outside their households This, however, should be interpreted in the light of high share of women in these countries living under the same roof as their children, as they might provide support as well as receive support within household

We also see lower intensity of non-monetary transfers received by older women in Sweden However, both in Denmark and Sweden, women are more likely to provide non-monetary transfers, compared to women in Germany.

In Poland, we observe similar patterns of lower likelihood of providing and receiving non-monetary support (compared to Germany), which could be associated (as in the Southern countries) with large share of older women living together with their children. In Czechia, older women are less likely to receive financial support from others

Adjusted predictions at the means (Table 3) show that women from continental and Nordic countries are more frequently providing non-monetary support to other people, compared to those in Southern Europe. In majority of countries, women more frequently receive monetary than non-monetary support

(with exception of Greece and Czechia). Patterns of intergenerational exchange in the dimension of non-monetary and monetary exchanges in Czechia are similar to those observed in continental countries, while in the case of Poland they rather resemble southern countries. This indicates that intergenerational relations are formed differently in the post-socialist countries, which traditionally differed culturally.

Table 3. Adjusted Predictions at the Means: providing and receiving support

	Providing non-monetary support	Receiving non-monetary support	Receiving monetary support
DE	0.349	0.308	0.354
AT	0.445	0.346	0.359
BE	0.378	0.154	0.201
FR	0.403	0.225	0.284
CH	0.403	0.250	0.258
EL	0.116	0.178	0.098
ES	0.141	0.093	0.169
IT	0.198	0.129	0.315
DK	0.531	0.286	0.304
SE	0.315	0.178	0.278
CZ	0.498	0.456	0.305
PL	0.156	0.085	0.382

Source: own analysis based on SHARE Wave 3 (SHARELIFE) and Wave 7. All estimates are statistically significant at 1% level.

As a next step, we identify if the support is provided between mothers and children (or grandchildren), or rather between mother and other people. We estimate logistic regression model on the sub-sample of women engaged in non-monetary or monetary support flows (Table 4). Our results show that younger women (50-64 year older) are more likely to provide non-monetary support to other people than children, most likely their older parents or other family members. Older women (aged 75 and over) are more likely to receive support in-kind from their children rather than other family members or non-relatives (compared to those in the age group 65-74 years). Women with partners are less likely to receive non-monetary support from their children than from other people. Those who have limitations in their activities of daily living are more likely to engage in intergenerational exchange with their children (both ways) in the form of non-monetary support, compared to transfers with other people. Women who live close to their children (up to 5 km) are also more likely to provide non-monetary support to their children or grandchildren rather than other people, compared to women living in the same household.

Attachment to limited employment life courses is also related to more frequent support exchanges with children rather than other people. Women who belong to the inactive cluster are more likely to provide non-monetary support to their children rather than other people, while the probability of receiving financial support from their children rather than other people is higher for women who worked part-time rather than full time.

Table 4. Logistic regression results for those receiving and/or /giving support (children vs. other people)

	Give non-monetary support		Receive non-monetary support		Receive financial support	
Age 50-64	**-0.518**	**	-0.387		-0.111	
Age 65-74 (ref)	ref		ref		ref	
Age 75 and more	0.022		**0.790**	**	0.772	
Living alone (ref.)	ref		ref		ref	
Living with partner	0.093		**-0.438**	*	0.184	
No limitations in adl (ref.)	ref		ref		ref	
1+ limitations in adl	**0.791**	**	**0.667**	*	0.253	
Living in the same house	ref		ref		ref	
Up to 5 km	**0.588**	**	0.533		0.649	
5-100 km	0.085		0.397		-0.476	
100 km and more	-0.144		-0.380		-0.241	
1.inactive	**0.725**	**	0.076		-0.077	
2.part-time	0.377		-0.143		**1.111**	*
3 full time (ref)	0.000		0.000		0.000	
DE (ref)	0.000		0.000		0.000	
AT	0.378		0.109		-0.072	
BE	-0.253		-0.227		-0.711	
FR	-0.493		-0.537		-1.011	
CH	-0.203		-0.155		**-1.881**	**
EL	0.033		**0.972**	**	0.517	
ES	**-0.952**	*	-0.361		**-1.926**	**
IT	**-0.927**	**	**0.914**	*	-0.443	
DK	**0.472**	*	0.015		-0.387	
SE	0.093		0.019		-0.724	
CZ	**0.591**	*	**1.719**	***	0.168	
PL	-0.332		0.313		0.196	

**** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1*

Source: own analysis based on SHARE Wave 3 (SHARELIFE) and Wave 7

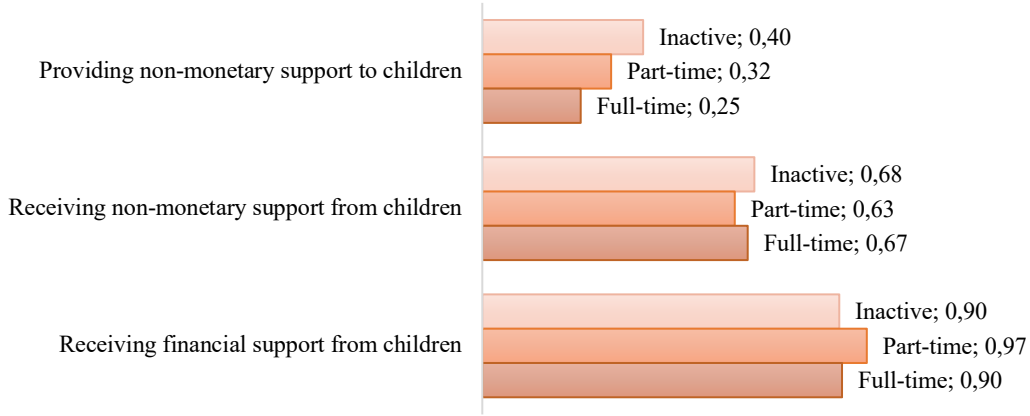
There are also differences at the country level. In the group of continental countries, the probability of receiving non-monetary support from children rather than other people is lower among women in Switzerland , compared to women in Germany.

In Southern countries we observe less non-monetary support provided by women in Spain and Italy to children compared to support to other people (which may be again linked to the high incidence of living in the same household). Women in Greece and Italy receive non-monetary support more frequently from their children than from other people, compared to Germany. In Spain, compared to Germany, women are less likely to get financial support from their children than from other people, which might be linked to the general worse situation of young people on the labour market and their less stable incomes.

In Nordic countries we observe that women in Denmark, as compared to women in Germany, are more likely to receive non-monetary support from their children than from other people. Again, we can see a similarity in this pattern with women in Czechia, who are also much more likely – compared to women in Germany- to receive non-monetary support from their children rather than from other people .

Estimated adjusted predictions at means (Figure 6) show that in case of receiving a monetary support, this is provided by children rather than other people, particularly for women who are attached to the part-time labour career type. Around two thirds of those who receive non-monetary support, receive it from their children.

Figure 6. Adjusted Predictions at the Means: providing and receiving support from children among those who are involved in support flows



Source: own analysis based on SHARE Wave 3 (SHARELIFE) and Wave 7

3.3. Caring for grandchildren

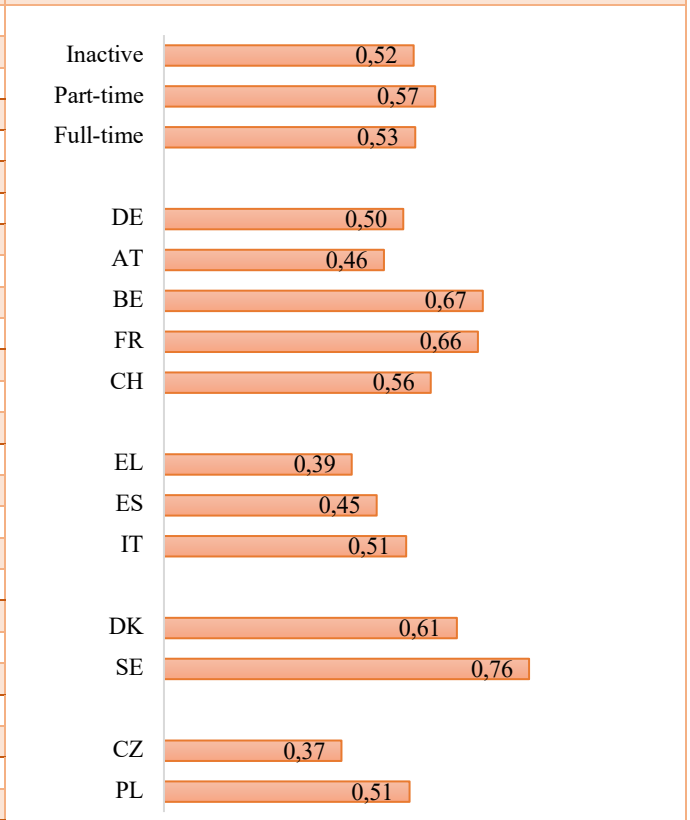
The next type of intergenerational exchange that we consider is caring for grandchildren. Results of the regression model are presented in the Table 5. Our results confirm that this type of intergenerational exchange is relatively common. More than half of women in the analysed group declare that they provide care for their grandchildren.

Providing care for grandchildren depends on individual characteristics. As it could be expected, age is an important factor (which is also related to the age of grandchildren requiring care), as younger women are more likely to provide care. Women living with their partners also more frequently engage in childcare. Those with worse health status and living relatively far (more than 100 km away from their children) are less likely to engage in caring for their grandchildren.

While in general the type of labour market career is not correlated with engagement in the grandchildren care, there are some interactions between type of the labour market career and country that are worth noting. Women with inactive careers in Belgium, France and Denmark as well as those with part-time careers in Belgium, France, Denmark and Sweden are less likely to care for their grandchildren, compared with those that had full-time careers, which off-sets the higher probabilities of providing childcare in these four countries in general.

When we look at the adjusted predictions at means, there are moderate differences in the predicted share of women taking care for their grandchildren according to the type of the labour market career. Women who are attached to the part-time type have slightly higher predicted levels of such intergenerational exchange. Caring for grandchildren is more popular in Continental and Nordic countries, compared to Southern Europe and Central and Eastern Europe, which may be also linked to the higher share of co-residence in Southern Europe as well as in general lower fertility levels.

Table 5. Logistic regression: providing childcare

	Caring for grandchildren		Adjusted predictions at the means
Age 50-64	**0.608**	***	
Age 65-74 (ref)	ref		
Age 75 and more	**-0.885**	***	
Living alone (ref.)	ref		
Living with partner	**0.420**	***	
No limitations in adl (ref.)	ref		
1+ limitations in adl	**-0.926**	***	
Living in the same house	ref		
Up to 5 km	0.109		
5-100 km	-0.261		
100 km and more	**-0.504**	**	
1.inactive	0.449		
2.part-time	0.443		
3 full time (ref)	ref		
DE (ref)	ref		
AT	0.225		
BE	**1.385**	***	
FR	**1.381**	***	
CH	-0.138		
EL	-0.053		
ES	-0.607		
IT	0.219		
DK	**1.107**	***	
SE	**1.820**	***	
CZ	-0.114		
PL	0.112		
1.Inactive#DE	ref		
1.Inactive#AT	-0.739		
1.Inactive#BE	**-1.550**	**	
1.Inactive#FR	**-1.569**	**	
1.Inactive#CH	0.499		
1.Inactive#EL	-0.752		
1.Inactive#ES	0.489		
1.Inactive#IT	-0.254		
1.Inactive#DK	**-1.454**	*	
1.Inactive#SE	-1.358		
1.Inactive#CZ	-1.710		
1.Inactive#PL	0.088		
2.Part-time#DE	0.000		
2.Part-time#AT	-0.668		
2.Part-time#BE	**-0.933**	*	
2.Part-time#FR	**-1.073**	**	
2.Part-time#CH	0.874		
2.Part-time#EL	-0.647		
2.Part-time#ES	0.942		
2.Part-time#IT	-0.473		
2.Part-time#DK	**-0.879**	*	
2.Part-time#SE	**-0.974**	*	
2.Part-time#CZ	0.335		
2.Part-time#PL	-0.332		

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Source: own analysis based on SHARE Wave 3 (SHARELIFE) and Wave 7

3.4. Contacts with children

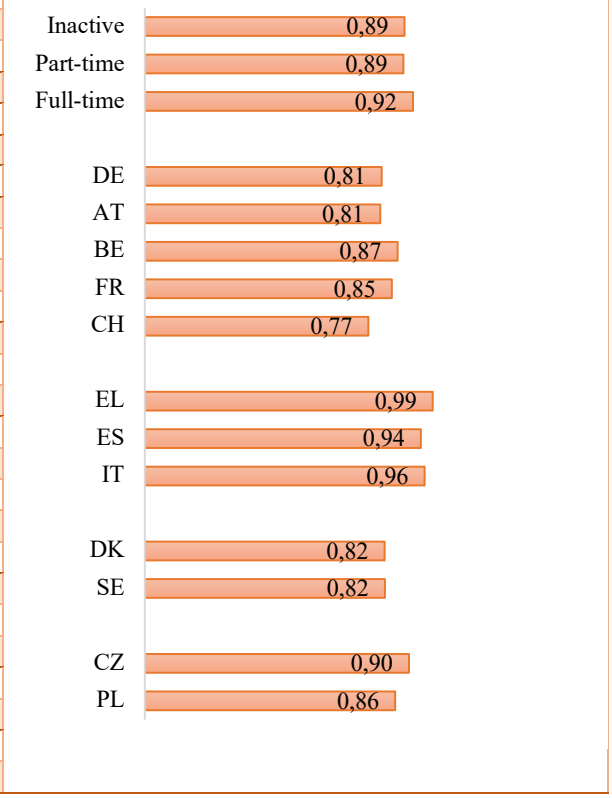
Results of logistic regression indicate that younger women tend to have more frequent contacts with their children, compared to those in the age group 65-74 (Table 6).

Those who had part-time career are more likely to have rare contacts with their children (with frequent contacts as a base value), compared to those with full-time careers. Those is Spain and Italy are more likely to have frequent contacts, while in Switzerland, Denmark and Sweden the probability of having less frequent contacts is higher. Inactive women in Germany as well as those with part-time careers in Sweden and Denmark are having more frequent contacts with their children. The proximity to children also affects the frequency of contacts – with increasing distance the contacts become less frequent. Interestingly, women with part-time labour market attachment have less frequent contacts with their children.

Our results also in this case indicate differences between groups of countries. Women from Southern European countries have most frequent contacts with their children, while in the Nordic countries share of women who have frequent contacts with their children is lower. In Central-Eastern European countries share of women with most frequent contacts is slightly smaller compared to Southern Europe, but higher than in the continental countries (Table 6).

Table 6. Logistic regression: contacts with children

	Frequency of contacts with children		Adjusted predictions at the means
Age 50-64	**0.367**	*	
Age 65-74 (ref)	ref		
Age 75 and more	0.342		
Living alone (ref.)	ref		
Living with partner	0.084		
No limitations in adl (ref.)	ref		
1+ limitations in adl	-0.172		
Living in the same house	ref		
Up to 5 km	**-0.602**	**	
5-100 km	**-1.226**	***	
100 km and more	**-1.693**	***	
1.inactive	-0.335		
2.part-time	**-0.373**	*	
3 full time (ref)	ref		
DE (ref)	ref		
AT	-0.031		
BE	0.405		
FR	0.244		
CH	-0.274		
EL	**2.752**	***	
ES	**1.385**	***	
IT	**1.665**	***	
DK	0.067		
SE	0.073		
CZ	**0.790**	**	
PL	0.334		



*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Source: own analysis based on SHARE Wave 3 (SHARELIFE) and Wave 7

Conclusions

Our analysis confirms our first hypothesis that the choice of the pattern of the labour market career depends both on individual and country-level characteristics. Less educated women and those who have had more children chose to reduce their labour market participation. In younger cohorts, these choices mean rather a part-time career than withdrawing from the labour force. The macro-level and institutional and cultural factors are also important, with women in Southern European countries withdrawing from the labour market activity and women in Continental and Nordic countries more frequently choosing a part-time or a full-time labour market career. Transition economies are an interesting example of preferred full-time employment, which is partially explained by the difference in the political systems during the period of labour market activity of women participating in the SHARE survey.

Our results also partially confirm the second hypothesis that the career choices in the life course have an impact on intergenerational transfers in later life. These transfers are more intense in the case of women, who had interrupted their careers to provide care for their children. As summarised in the Table 7, intergenerational exchanges seem to be particularly strong in the case of women who reconciled work and family lives by working part-time. These include both exchanges from mothers to children (or grandchildren) and from children to mothers (including non-monetary and monetary transfers). We also find that a significant part of the observed differences in intergenerational exchanges are due to the welfare state type and cultural differences. In Southern Europe the intergenerational ties are maintained mainly by sharing the same roof and frequent contacts, in Continental Europe children more frequently provide their mothers with financial support, while mothers provide non-monetary support. In Nordic countries the ascending support also includes monetary transfers, while grandmothers more frequently care for their grandchildren. Living in the same apartment or building and receiving monetary transfers are also more visible in the CEE countries.

Table 7. Intergenerational exchanges by type of labour market attachment in the life course and welfare state model

	Ascending (non-monetary transfers)	**Ascending (monetary transfers)**	**Descending (same household)**	**Descending (non-monetary transfers)**	**Descending (grandchildren care)**	**Ascending-Descending (contacts)**
Type of the labour market career						
Inactive	+					
Part-time	++	+	+	++	+	
Full-time		++	+	+		
Welfare state type						
Continental	+	+		+	+	
Southern	-	-	++	-	-	+
Nordic		+	- -	+	++	-
CEE	+ (CZ)	++	++	+ (CZ)		

Source: own analysis

Summing up, understanding the patterns of intergenerational exchanges requires a multi-dimensional approach, not only by analysing different types of transfers that happen between parents and children, but also taking into account characteristics of individuals. Links that are built from early years are important for further ties between generations. Our results indicate that reconciling work and family life, by following a part-time labour market careers leads to stronger intergenerational exchanges, while

those who withdrew from the labour market seem to have less intensive intergenerational exchanges. When we take into account individual characteristics, including the labour market career, national (welfare state) differences are also important.

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