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Date of publication: July 30th, 2019

Edition period: July 2019- December 2019

To cite this article: Sánchez, J., López, T., & González, V. (2019).
Determinants of Family Solidarity during the Great Recession: the Spanish
Case. *Research on Ageing and Social Policy*, 7(2), 363-401. doi:
10.4471/rasp.2019.4117

To link this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.4471/rasp.2019.4117>

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Determinants of Family Solidarity during the Great Recession: the Spanish Case

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(Received: 22 February 2019; Accepted: 19 June 2019; Published: 30 July 2019)

Abstract

During an economic crisis affecting countries in Southern Europe especially and that has called into question the public pillar of the intergenerational contract, literature has shown an increasing interest in analyzing the other intergenerational pillar, largely based on family solidarity and underexplored for the Spanish case. Based on official data provided by the Time Use Survey (TUS) and the Household Budget Survey (HBS), an effort has been made to identify, the individual factors that determined certain expressions of family solidarity and their participation and intensity of time and money transfers in one of the most critical moments of this crisis in Spain (2009/2010). Results question the idea that the unemployed and the retired have been net recipients during the crisis, revealing the wide range of support and transfers that circulate among family members.

Keywords: solidarity; family transfers; generations

Determinantes de la Solidaridad Familiar durante la Gran Crisis: el Caso Español

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(Recibido: 22 de febrero 2019; Aceptado: 19 de junio 2019; Publicado: 30 de julio de 2019)

Resumen

Durante la crisis que ha afectado especialmente a los países del sur de Europa, cuestionando el pilar público del contrato intergeneracional, la literatura muestra un interés creciente por analizar el otro pilar intergeneracional basado mayormente en la solidaridad familiar e insuficientemente explorado en España. Se busca identificar – en base a datos del Time Use Survey (TUS) y el Household Budget Survey (HBS)- factores individuales que determinaron expresiones de solidaridad familiar, su participación e intensidad en tiempo y transferencias en uno de los momentos más críticos de la crisis en España (2009/2010). Los resultados cuestionan la idea de que las personas desempleadas y jubiladas sean meros receptores durante la crisis revelando el abanico de apoyos que circulan entre familias.

Palabras clave: solidaridad, transferencias familiares, generaciones

One of the vital dimensions of European welfare states is the generational contract, whose basic pillar mainly consists of public retirement pensions. For years now, however, literature has started to point out the need to account for the private pillar of the generational contract (Albertini et al. 2007) of which the family is the main constituent. Here the solidarity among the members of which it consists becomes manifest (Attias-Donfut et al. 2002). Because of the specific nature of family bonds, solidarity in a family can be understood as a specific form of human relationship, different from those which exist in other spheres such as the market, the state or the third sector, and characterized fundamentally by the constitution of a bond of long-term interdependence between its members.

One of the aspects of family solidarity which has generated much interest over the past decades focuses on intergenerational solidarity (Bengtson, 2001), because, among other reasons, the family constitutes a privileged social sphere for the encounter between generations (Donati, 2003) enabling a bidirectional flow of transfers and resources among them.

The profound demographic and social changes of the past decades and the tendency towards greater individualisation in Western society, support the idea of family disintegration and a weakening of intergenerational solidarity bonds (Popenoe, 1993). But from the early nineties, literature begins to ascertain that although these changes generate modifications in family structures – the pyramidal family structure transforms into a ‘beanpole’ structure, long and thin – they also favour intergenerational relationships (Bengtson, 2001). In a context where family relationships verticalise – families have a smaller number of children, the life-expectancy of parents and grandparents keeps growing – the number of shared life years between generations increases, enabling more interaction opportunities and mutual support between members of the broad intergenerational family. A large number of papers demonstrate thus the growing importance of the relationships and transfers of different types that occur among family members (Kohli, 1999; Albertini et al., 2007; Attias-Donfut and Segalen 2007; Mudrazija, 2013; Attias-Donfut, 1995; Mudrazija, 2014).

In a context of economic crisis where countries of Southern Europe have been especially affected and where the public pillar of the generational contract has been strongly questioned, it has become relevant to analyse this other pillar of intergenerational solidarity that has its place in the family. Spain is an interesting case for analysis, because it is one of the countries

that has been most severely affected by the crisis, with high rates of unemployment¹ and an elevated number of households without earners². Moreover, there is only a few papers and projects (see SOLIDUS Solidarity in European Societies: Empowerment, Social Justice and Citizenship 2018), in contrast to other countries like Greece for which it can be found more articles about the phenomenon of both institutionalized and informal solidarity (Kourachanis et al. 2018, among others). Studies prior to the crisis suggested that Spain was situated in the Mediterranean system of intergenerational family transfers – coinciding in turn with the classic typology of welfare systems –, and that it was characterized, regarding financial transfers and social support in the form of time, by less participation but a greater intensity of transfers compared to Northern European countries (Albertini et al. 2007; Albertini and Kohli 2013; Brandt, 2013).

Some recent studies that address intergenerational solidarity in Spain focus mainly on the care of dependent persons: the elderly (Bazo Royo, 2008; Caïs and Folguera 2013) and children (Tobío, 2012; Badenes Plá and López López 2010). Although a considerable part of literature has pointed out the importance of the role that grand-parents assume in the care of grand-children, with regard to public transfers those over 65 are generally considered net benefit recipients. The same has occurred with the group of unemployed persons and those that are outside the employment market; they are considered inactive. Few studies address a more global frame of analysis that allows an approach to the different types of solidarity assistance within the family, carried out by the different generations and groups usually considered net benefit recipients.

Which individual factors are significant when explaining the participation in several family solidarity manifestations that allow quantification? Among those that participate, who do so with more intensity? In this article we address these matters from a generational perspective, one that analyses the contribution of young persons, adults, the pivot generation and the elderly to this flow of resources and assistance in the form of time and money, which can be considered expressions of intergenerational family solidarity in Spain. We focus on the moment in which the economic crisis indicators start to accelerate (2009-2010) up to the point where the availability of data allows us to inquire.

Transfer studies in the context of family solidarity have addressed a wide range of issues: from the question about the reasons behind these transfers (Kohli and Kunemund 2003; Masson, 2002) to the impact of public transfers on the intergenerational redistribution of family resources (Attias-Donfut 1995; Kohli, 1999; Masson, 2001). Our study is more centred on those studies that have explored the differences in probability and intensity of the family assistance flows according to age, personal characteristics, household composition and the socioeconomic situation of family members (Albertini et al. 2007; Albertini and Kohli 2013). Although in line with previous literature, the contribution of our article is clear in several aspects: (1) it systematically analyses a case which has been insufficiently explored up until now: Spain; (2) it extends the database catalogue customarily used for measuring transfers in the family by combining two statistical sources that are new in this area and that guarantee the representativeness – in terms of population – of the obtained results; (3) it values different manifestations of intergenerational family solidarity that distinct groups normally under question have shown in a critical moment of one of the greatest economic crises in recent history.

The rest of the article is organized as follows: the second section presents the theoretical frame that supports our posterior empirical analysis. The third section states the objective of the article and the hypothesis. The fourth section offers a description of the empirical strategy that we have developed and results are enumerated in the fifth section. Conclusions are summarized in the last section.

Theoretical Frame: a Multidimensional Concept of Intergenerational Family Solidarity

A considerable part of the studies that address the issue of intergenerational family solidarity agree on acknowledging the transmission of different types of goods and mutual assistance among members of different generations. *Inter vivos* financial transfers and social assistance in the form of time have been some of the more amply addressed manifestations, which furnishes evidence for the general existence of a net transfer balance that circulates from the eldest generations down to the youngest ones (Kohli, 1999). Regarding *inter vivos* financial transfers, much of the existing literature has drawn to the same conclusion: parents constitute a non-negligible source of

financial support for young adults (Emery and Mudrazija 2015). Even though this balance decreases as older parents age, including those over 70 remain net givers (Albertini et al. 2007). The behaviour of those that carry out the transfers could also be determined by the needs of those that receive them (Albertini and Kohli 2013; Attias-Donfut, 1995; Kohli, 1999; Rosenzweig and Wolpin 1993; Rossi and Rossi 1990).

Regarding time transfers between generations, there is some evidence that they are directed both upwards and downwards (Attias-Donfut et al. 2005). Other studies, which have focused on the role of grandparents as caregivers, situate Spain —along with other Mediterranean countries— as a country with a high probability of grandparental childcare on a daily basis. (Bordone et al. 2017). While this study has emphasized the fact that highly intensive involvement of grandparents in these countries may be influenced by the need of mothers to combine work and family —due to the low availability of part-time jobs for women—, other research have suggested the existence of a complex interaction between services provided by the welfare state and intergenerational family support in shaping the work-family relation for young parents (Hank and Buber 2009). Literature on the field has also included co-residence as another important strategy of intergenerational support in Southern European countries (Albertini and Kohli 2013).

Among the theoretical analyses that integrally address the different intergenerational family solidarity manifestations, the intergenerational solidarity theory³ of Bengtson and Roberts (1991) can be found, which contributes a multidimensional concept of intergenerational family solidarity, reflected in six relationship dimensions among parents and children: the *associational*, corresponding to contact frequency and type; the *affectual*, referring to the degree of positive sentiments among family members – affection, trust, closeness, understanding, respect, etc. –; the *consensual*, addressing the degree of agreement on values, attitudes and beliefs; the *functional*, reflecting the interchange, among others, of financial, physical and emotional resources; the *normative*, referring to the importance of family roles and obligations; the *structural*, addressing the “opportunity structure” that allows the existence of intergenerational relationships and that is reflected in geographic proximity, the number of family members and

their health condition. The knowledge of each of these dimensions provides partial information of intergenerational family solidarity.

On the basis of this intergenerational solidarity theory subsequent studies have been carried out. Among them, we find a comparative study which focus on family solidarity, family values and care provision in Mediterranean and other regions (Calzada and Brooks 2013). Moreover, the project SOLIDUS⁴, a three-year European Commission funded research project (2015-2018) led by a consortium of 14 research centres from 12 European countries, developed extensive theoretical and empirical research, exploring solidarity in different domains. Case studies of solidarity actions in five social areas are presented in depth: housing, education, employment, engagement and health. Solidarity actions were shown to be crucial sites of positive social engagement with several social benefits (SOLIDUS Solidarity in European Societies: Empowerment, Social Justice and Citizenship 2018).

Literature suggests that the need for assistance and the ability to provide it are determinants of transfer behaviour: adult children or parents over 50 that present greater needs – as indicated by their demographic, socioeconomic and health profile – would benefit more from the assistance interchange (Mudrazija, 2016). This author finds evidence in 13 European countries for the existence of positive net transfers from parents to adult children for the age groups 50-59, 60-69 y 70-79. These transfers decrease – or become negative in most of the analysed countries – when parents are over 80 or older. There is also some evidence available for the Spanish case during the economic crisis, which points out that the *inter vivos* transfers have depended largely on the needs of the beneficiaries (Marí-Klose and Escapa Solanas 2015). In turn, literature has demonstrated the exceedingly relevant role that the pivot generation performs as a provider of different types of transfers (Attias-Donfut, 1995; Attias-Donfut et al. 2005).

Objective and Hypothesis

The main objective is to identify which are the individual factors that in one of the most critical moments of the crisis in Spain determined a greater participation and intensity (i.e. size) in time and money transfers to family members as manifestations of solidarity. Therefore, we carry out an empirical analysis in three stages: (1) we identify the participation

determinants through a logistic model; (2) by means of a cluster analysis, among those who are involved, we identify differentiated groups according to intensity (medium, low and high); (3) for each group we analyse the determinants that favour or discourage greater participation.

In order to systematically analyse a case which has not been explored sufficiently up until now —the Spanish one—, we propose two hypotheses, both referring to one of the critical moments of the economic crisis: (1) belonging to the pivot generation is the prevailing explanatory factor for high levels of intergenerational family solidarity participation and intensity; (2) unemployed and retired persons have not been net benefit recipients, and although they did not contribute to family solidarity with financial transfers, they did offer other types of assistance. We will use databases usually employed in other areas (Domínguez Folgueras, 2012, among others), combining statistical sources that guarantee the representativeness of the obtained results.

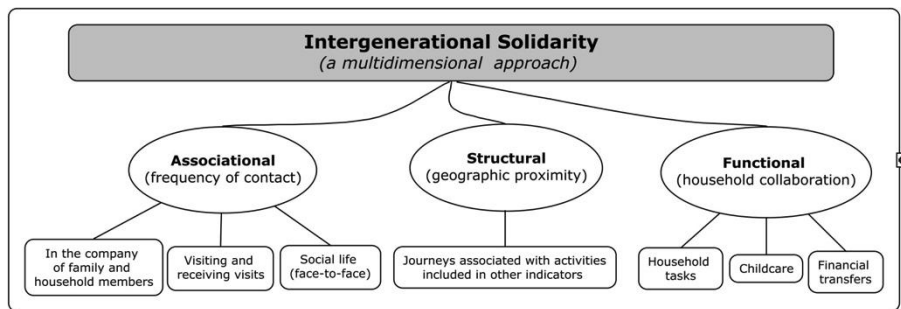
Empirical Implementation

Approaching the Issue

To identify the determinants for contribution participation and intensity of intergenerational family solidarity in the Spanish case in a context of economic crisis, the first step is to select the manifestations that allow us to have an overall vision of the transfer flows that circulate among generations in a family. Our starting point is the intergenerational solidarity model of Bengtson and Roberts (1991) explained synthetically in the previous section, while taking into account the existence of limits regarding the available information from official statistics that force us, in the specific case of Spain and in line with López et al. (2015) to select only three of the six proposed dimensions in the before-mentioned model⁵: the *associational*, *structural* and *functional* (see figure 1). These stand out because of their clear relevance when accounting for the assistance and transfer flow among members of different generations in a family and because of the availability of solid data which allow their quantitative measurement.

Figure 1.

Intergenerational Solidarity Dimensions in selected families for an empirical approach of the Spanish case



Source: Own elaboration

Our empirical analysis is based on two fundamental characteristics that are part of the study object's nature: *multidimensionality*, reflected in the different areas where the intergenerational family solidarity can be manifest and *multiunity*, because each manifestation will require the use of its corresponding measure: time used and financial transfers made, quantified in daily hours and annual euros respectively.

Next a description follows of the indicators included in each one of the dimensions (figure 1). First, the *associative* dimension which turns out to be a good indicator for demonstrating the existence of intergenerational family solidarity measured in the time that family members share with other family members, friends and acquaintances. Variables are included that were used in previous studies (Hank, 2007; Meil Landwerlin, 2011), identifying the time that members of each generation spend in the company of family and household members (accompanying or being accompanied), the visits that they pay or receive, and their face-to-face social life.

The *structural* dimension refers to variables that indicate the opportunity structure necessary for the establishment of relationships between members of a large family. That is, it identifies elements that can facilitate or prevent the contact between the different generations of a family, including variables such as: geographic proximity, number of family members and state of health. In our study we use the variable geographic proximity, as it is

considered one of the determinants of contact frequency (Frankel and DeWit 1989). Even though we are aware of the lack of official statistics that quantify this phenomenon, a variable that allows us to approach it is the duration of the journey related to the activities engaged in with family members. We have chosen to adopt this proxy to refer to geographic proximity⁶.

The third dimension, the *functional*, includes the active collaboration of family members of different generations, both at the level of instrumental tasks (domestic), childcare, as well as the *inter vivos* transfers of a financial nature⁷. There are several alternatives that show such a collaboration: an adult takes care of the children that live with them – time – and/or is responsible for buying care products – financial transfers.

Data Used

Because of the specific nature of the family bond, the transmission of goods and resources among members of different generations in a family opens up to a wide temporal horizon. A perspective of longitudinal analysis would be most adequate, given that the asymmetric positions that persons occupy in a given moment, in terms of who needs assistance, change in the course of a life cycle (Tobío, 2012). The lack of longitudinal data, however, forces us to adopt a transversal perspective. The concept of generation that we consider is one of a cluster of people that belong to the same age group. Following the model by Arrondel and Masson (1999) and by Masson (2001, 2002), we identify five generations in a family: children and adolescents⁸, young persons, adults, the pivot generation and the elderly, whose age range has been adopted to the characteristics of the Spanish case, considering the position among family descendants and on the labour market (López López et al., 2015).

The selected dimensions reveal the necessity of statistical sources that offer information about the use of time and other resources fundamentally financial. The majority of studies conducted in the last decade about this type of family transfers are based on the SHARE survey (Börsch-Supan et al., 2013). Although the latter allows access to detailed information about what has been given and received from one generation to the next, it has been used mainly for research at a comparative level: the sixth wave, of

2015, contains information about 28 countries; the third, of 2008/09, has a sample total of 26,836 respondents, the sample for Spain consisting only of 2,048 people. Therefore, for the study of the Spanish case we have chosen to use data from national surveys, which, although they only allow us to access information about the transfers people carry out – and not those they receive – they possess more representativeness. Specifically, it concerns the Time Use Survey (TUS) and the Household Budget Survey (HBS), published by the National Statistics Institute (NSI). The TUS has allowed us to measure the associative, structural and partly the functional – childcare and household tasks–, completing the latter with information available in the HBS from which we have extracted data to measure *inter vivos* transfers – financial and non-financial (see Table 1 for a detailed definition of each indicator).

Although the yearly recurrence of the HBS provides us with more recent data, the last available wave of the TUS corresponds to the period 2009-2010. By using that information and that of the HBS of 2010 we dispose of information about the contributions that each of the generations made to family solidarity in one of the most critical moments of the crisis. In both cases micro-data have been used to measure the variables that make up each of the dimensions. Descriptive statistics demonstrate that the profile of both samples is sufficiently similar and it can be observed that the largest group would be: Spanish adults with basic studies, married, without children, resident in a province capital or a place with over 100,000 inhabitants, employed and with an income under 2,000€.

Table 1

Definition of partial indicators: associational, structural and functional dimensions of intergenerational family solidarity.

Dimension	Indicator	Source	Description
Associational	Frequency of contact (time accompanied) "with family and/or household members"	TUS*	If respondent declares to be with family (reference variables PADRES, PAREJA and MENOR) and/or another household member
	Frequency of contact (time accompanied) "visiting and receiving visits"	TUS*	Value of reference variables equals 512
	Frequency of contact (time accompanied) "face-to-face social life"	TUS*	Value of reference variables within range (500-530) except for 512 and 514, providing that respondent declares to be accompanied.
Structural	Geographic proximity (journeys associated with activities included in other indicators)	TUS*	Values of the following reference variables (journeys related to family activities); 930, 936, 938-940, 950 and 960.
Functional	Household tasks	TUS*	Values of the following reference variables; 300-380, 421, and 422.
	Childcare	TUS*	Values of the following reference variables; 380-390, 423, and 424.
	Financial transfers	HBS**	Intergenerational transfers identified as such. Values of the reference variable***: 01194, 03123, 03213, 07323, 09512, 09513, 10111, 10112, 10121, 10211, 10221, 10311, 10312, 10411, 10412, 10511, 11122, 11213, 12222, 12312, 12711, 12811

Source: Own elaboration.

* In the Time Use Survey (TUS) of the NSI (National Statistics Institute) the reference variables are main activity (APRIN) and secondary activity (ASECU).

** In the HBS survey (2006) of the NSI, the reference variable used for codifying expenses is CODIGO, which uses the COICOP classification (five digits).

*** The two first digits of the CODIGO variable indicate the group to which they belong. That is, 01= food and non-alcoholic beverages, 02= Alcoholic beverages, tobacco and narcotics, 03=Clothing and footwear, 04=Dwelling, water, electricity, gas and other fuels, 05=Furniture, household equipment and current maintenance costs for the dwelling, 06=Health, 07=Transport, 08=Communications, 09=Leisure, performance and culture, 10=Education, 11=Hotels, caf  s and restaurants, 12=Other goods and services.

Methodology

An exhaustive analysis is carried out in three stages that allows the identification of the determinants of intergenerational family solidarity in the Spanish case as regards participation and intensity. Although our first objective is to know what the role of each generation is, we also include other explanatory factors (household composition and/or the presence of children in the household, among others) with the aim of analysing and controlling through observable characteristics of the surveyed individuals/households to what extent belonging to a specific generation is an explanatory and prevailing factor in a multivariate analysis such as the one we are carrying out. An adult, for example, can be more prone to make financial transfers than young people because they belong to this generation or because of the circumstances in which they find themselves: larger income, children in the household and/or a household composition that favours this behaviour.

The first stage that refers to participation attempts to determine what factors encourage or discourage a larger participation in the different manifestations included. Discrete choice models (logistic regression in our case) seem to be a natural choice for this, because they allow us to know, once a reference group has been determined, if the rest participates marginally more or less, according to whether the coefficient is positive or negative.

In the second stage we limit our analysis to those participating, forming differentiated groups according to the intensity of the transfers. For this we use the K-means cluster analysis method that allows us to obtain up to “k” different groups as regards intensity, determining which the boundary values are that separate each one of them. In our case we will establish three levels (low, medium and high), which will allow us to analyse afterwards whether the determining factors of each group do or do not coincide through linear regression by ordinary least squares (OLS), where the determining variable will be the participation intensity of each indicator. As for the explanatory variable, in the course of the stages we consider: (1) regarding personal characteristics: sex, generation (young persons, adults, pivot generation, elderly), nationality, education level, marital status, self-perceived state of health; (2) regarding household composition: type of household and presence of children therein; (3) regarding the socioeconomic situation: level

of income, employment situation and municipality of residence. Based on this, the referent we will use is the group made up of young Spanish, single men with a low level of education, living alone, in a province capital or a place with over 100,000 inhabitants, with a “very good” self-perceived state of health and with an income under 1,200€.

All this with the global objective of testing which are the individual factors that in one of the most critical moments of the crisis in Spain determined a greater participation and/or intensity in time and money transfers to family members as manifestations of solidarity.

Results

Table 2 shows the average contribution values (expressed in a percentage of the population) and intensity (daily hours/yearly euros, accordingly) for each of the partial indicators described, according to generations. These first numbers indicate some differentiated characteristics of each generation regarding the solidarity manifestations. Even though the elderly generation is the one which presents less participation frequency in the time indicator in the company of family and/or household members, the intensity that they reach for this indicator is the highest average. Childcare falls mainly to adults, which would seem logical, who also present the highest contribution rate in the financial transfer indicator.

Table 2

Average values by generation.

		Total	Young persons (19 to 30)	Adults (31 to 49)	Pivot generation (50 to 64)
In the company of family and/or household members	Part. ¹	88,09%	88,58%	91,61%	88,86%
	Intensity ²	7,25	6,05	7,67	7,23
Visiting and receiving visits	Part.	25,79%	28,21%	24,77%	24,54%
	Intensity	2,78	2,97	2,61	2,65

(Continued)

Table 2

Average values by generation (continued).

		Total *	Young persons (19 to 30)	Adults (31 to 49)	Pivot generation (50 to 64)
Social life (face-to-face)	Part.	65,01%	69,54%	64,00%	62,66%
	Intensity	3,09	3,51	2,91	2,96
Journeys associated with activities included in other indicators	Part.	65,24%	64,12%	68,92%	64,21%
	Intensity	1,02	1,05	1,10	1,01
Household tasks	Part.	82,11%	73,44%	85,84%	86,41%
	Intensity	3,19	2,28	3,07	3,92
Childcare	Part.	30,70%	23,02%	53,19%	14,85%
	Intensity	5,57	6,87	6,04	3,19
Financial transfers	Part.	65,23%	69,17%	77,02%	66,50%
	Intensity	1338,67	1053,57	1786,99	1245,69

Source: Own elaboration based on the TUS 2009-2010 and the HBS 2010 microdata.

* % Part.: percentage of persons that declare to carry out an activity in the course of a day.

What follows is a breakdown of the most relevant conclusions of each of the analysis stages. Table 3 presents the logistic model results of the participation in the different family solidarity manifestations. Regarding the results by generation, we perceive no global prevalence invalidating our first hypothesis. On the contrary, according to the moments in life and necessities, different generation members participate more in one or the other manifestation. For example, in the *associative* dimension of solidarity, young people participate more in a face-to-face social life and visits, but less in spending time with family and household members. Regarding the *functional* dimension, adults – age 31 to 49 – dedicated more time to household tasks, together with the pivot generation, and to childcare. The elderly generation dedicated relatively less time to journeys associated with family life.

Table 3

Logit models for the participation determinants observed in the different dimensions of intergenerational solidarity.

	<i>Associational (frequency of contact)</i>			<i>Structural (geographic proximity)</i>	<i>Functional (household assistance)</i>		
	In the company of family and/or household members	Visiting and receiving visits	Social life (face-to- face)	Journeys associated with activities included in other indicators	Household tasks	Childcare	Financial transfers
<i>Generation (ref. young persons)</i>							
Adults	0.43*** (0.13)	-0.09 (0.07)	-0.28*** (0.06)	0.09 (0.06)	0.70*** (0.08)	0.71*** (0.11)	-0.28** (0.09)
Pivot	0.41** (0.15)	-0.23** (0.09)	-0.44*** (0.07)	-0.09 (0.07)	0.71*** (0.09)	0.14 (0.13)	-0.41*** (0.10)
Elderly	0.15 (0.21)	-0.34** (0.11)	-0.53*** (0.09)	-0.55*** (0.09)	0.06 (0.13)	-0.18 (0.16)	-0.57*** (0.11)
	<i>Associational (frequency of contact)</i>			<i>Structural (geographic proximity)</i>	<i>Functional (household assistance)</i>		
	In the company of family and/or household members	Visiting and receiving visits	Social life (face-to- face)	Journeys associated with activities included in other indicators	Household tasks	Childcare	Financial transfers
<i>Size of municipality (ref. province capital or > 100.000)</i>							
50.000-100.000 Inh.	-0.13	0.13	0.19***	0.14*	-0.03	-0.06	-0.12*

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Table 3

Logit models for the participation determinants observed in the different dimensions of intergenerational solidarity (continued).

	<i>Associational (frequency of contact)</i>			<i>Structural (geographic proximity)</i>	<i>Functional (household assistance)</i>		
	In the company of family and/or household members	Visiting and receiving visits	Social life (face-to- face)	Journeys associated with activities included in other indicators	Household tasks	Childcare	Financial transfers
<i>Size of municipality (ref. province capital or > 100.000)</i>							
20.000-50.000 Inh.	-0.14 (0.13)	0.16* (0.06)	0.11* (0.05)	0.09 (0.06)	0.14 (0.08)	0.11 (0.08)	-0.07 (0.05)
< 10.000 Inh.	0.10 (0.11)	0.12* (0.05)	0.24*** (0.04)	-0.16*** (0.04)	-0.10 (0.06)	-0.22*** (0.07)	-0.28*** (0.04)
<i>Household composition (ref. single-member)</i>							
Couple	5.63*** (0.18)	-0.48*** (0.09)	-0.12 (0.08)	-0.43*** (0.08)	-0.84*** (0.12)	0.26 (0.15)	0.71*** (0.07)
Father alone	4.60*** (0.18)	-0.74*** (0.16)	-0.36** (0.12)	-0.33** (0.12)	-0.34* (0.17)	-1.21** (0.38)	0.85*** (0.12)

Table 3

Logit models for the participation determinants observed in the different dimensions of intergenerational solidarity (continued).

	<i>Associational (frequency of contact)</i>			<i>Structural (geographic proximity)</i>	<i>Functional (household assistance)</i>		
	In the company of family and/or household members	Visiting and receiving visits	Social life (face-to- face)	Journeys associated with activities included in other indicators	Household tasks	Childcare	Financial transfers
Mother alone	4.51*** (0.15)	-0.37*** (0.10)	-0.14 (0.08)	-0.36*** (0.09)	-0.93*** (0.13)	-0.24 (0.17)	1.11*** (0.08)
With partner (over two members)	5.63*** (0.33)	-0.77*** (0.15)	-0.10 (0.12)	-0.72*** (0.12)	-1.45*** (0.16)	0.21 (0.23)	1.66*** (0.08)
Co-residence	5.22*** (0.15)	-0.64*** (0.09)	-0.11 (0.07)	-0.55*** (0.08)	-1.35*** (0.11)	-0.14 (0.15)	1.28*** (0.07)
<i>Children in the household (ref. no children)</i>							
Children under 3	1.21*** (0.27)	0.26** (0.09)	-0.01 (0.08)	0.36*** (0.08)	0.46*** (0.11)	5.45*** (0.15)	2.51*** (0.18)

Table 3

Logit models for the participation determinants observed in the different dimensions of intergenerational solidarity (continued).

	<i>Associational (frequency of contact)</i>			<i>Structural (geographic proximity)</i>	<i>Functional (household assistance)</i>		
	In the company of family and/or household members	Visiting and receiving visits	Social life (face-to- face)	Journeys associated with activities included in other indicators	Household tasks	Childcare	Financial transfers
Children from age 3 to 5	0.85** (0.32)	0.29** (0.11)	0.08 (0.09)	0.87*** (0.12)	0.50*** (0.15)	5.66*** (0.21)	2.54*** (0.25)
Children from age 6 to 9	1.31*** (0.26)	-0.07 (0.09)	0.03 (0.07)	0.55*** (0.08)	0.38*** (0.10)	5.03*** (0.12)	2.27*** (0.14)
Children from age 10 to 14	0.60** (0.19)	0.03 (0.09)	0.09 (0.07)	0.36*** (0.07)	0.30** (0.10)	2.98*** (0.10)	2.29*** (0.17)
Children from age 15 to 18	0.76*** (0.16)	-0.11 (0.08)	-0.03 (0.06)	0.08 (0.06)	0.17* (0.08)	1.80*** (0.09)	1.14*** (0.07)
<i>Household income (ref. < 1,200 €)</i>							
From 1201 to 2000 €	0.37** (0.12)	-0.17** (0.06)	-0.17*** (0.05)	0.05 (0.05)	0.09 (0.07)	-0.13 (0.08)	0.07 (0.04)
From 2001 to 3000 €	0.08 (0.14)	-0.11 (0.07)	-0.08 (0.06)	0.08 (0.06)	0.21** (0.08)	-0.40*** (0.09)	0.26*** (0.07)

Table 3

Logit models for the participation determinants observed in the different dimensions of intergenerational solidarity (continued).

	<i>Associational (frequency of contact)</i>			<i>Structural (geographic proximity)</i>	<i>Functional (household assistance)</i>		
	In the company of family and/or household members	Visiting and receiving visits	Social life (face-to- face)	Journeys associated with activities included in other indicators	Household tasks	Childcare	Financial transfers
Over 3000 €	0.09 (0.17)	-0.22** (0.08)	-0.00 (0.07)	0.20** (0.07)	0.39*** (0.10)	-0.14 (0.11)	0.70*** (0.13)
NR/DK	0.04 (0.12)	-0.22*** (0.06)	-0.15** (0.05)	-0.14** (0.05)	-0.13 (0.07)	-0.32*** (0.08)	0.54*** (0.09)
<i>Employment situation (ref. employed)</i>							
Unemployed	0.09 (0.13)	0.42*** (0.07)	0.38*** (0.05)	0.75*** (0.06)	0.84*** (0.08)	0.30*** (0.09)	-0.11 (0.08)
Retired or with early retirement	0.46** (0.17)	0.35*** (0.08)	0.48*** (0.06)	1.00*** (0.07)	0.92*** (0.10)	0.70*** (0.11)	-0.20** (0.06)

Table 3

Logit models for the participation determinants observed in the different dimensions of intergenerational solidarity (continued).

	<i>Associational (frequency of contact)</i>		<i>Structural (geographic proximity)</i>		<i>Functional (household assistance)</i>		
	In the company of family and/or household members	Visiting and receiving visits	Social life (face-to-face)	Journeys associated with activities included in other indicators	Household tasks	Childcare	Financial transfers
Dedicated to household tasks	0.64** (0.21)	0.46*** (0.07)	0.43*** (0.06)	0.85*** (0.06)	2.04*** (0.18)	0.54*** (0.09)	-0.14 (0.10)
Other situations of inactivity	0.19 (0.14)	0.26** (0.08)	0.40*** (0.06)	0.45*** (0.07)	0.33*** (0.08)	0.09 (0.12)	0.04 (0.13)
<i>Marital status (ref. single)</i>							
Married	1.02*** (0.13)	0.30*** (0.07)	0.01 (0.05)	0.13* (0.06)	0.46*** (0.07)	0.82*** (0.10)	0.51*** (0.07)
Widowed	-0.58*** (0.17)	0.41*** (0.10)	0.23** (0.08)	0.09 (0.09)	-0.02 (0.12)	0.83*** (0.16)	0.35*** (0.08)
Divorced	-0.24 (0.16)	0.25* (0.10)	0.09 (0.08)	-0.06 (0.09)	0.19 (0.13)	0.82*** (0.14)	0.41*** (0.08)
<i>Level of education (ref. low education)</i>							

Table 3

Logit models for the participation determinants observed in the different dimensions of intergenerational solidarity (continued).

	<i>Associational</i> <i>(frequency of contact)</i>		<i>Structural</i> <i>(geographic proximity)</i>		<i>Functional</i> <i>(household assistance)</i>		
	In the company of family and/or household members	Visiting and receiving visits	Social life (face-to- face)	Journeys associated with activities included in other indicators	Household tasks	Childcare	Financial transfers
Medium education	-0.07 (0.10)	0.02 (0.05)	0.13** (0.04)	0.20*** (0.04)	0.18** (0.06)	0.18** (0.06)	0.12* (0.05)
High education	-0.07 (0.12)	0.20** (0.06)	0.22*** (0.05)	0.24*** (0.05)	0.32*** (0.07)	0.29*** (0.08)	0.24*** (0.06)
<i>Sex and nationality (ref. Spanish men)</i>							
Foreign birth	-0.89*** (0.14)	-0.25** (0.09)	-0.28*** (0.07)	-0.32*** (0.07)	-0.31*** (0.09)	-0.01 (0.10)	-0.22** (0.08)
Women	0.37*** (0.09)	0.26*** (0.04)	-0.01 (0.04)	0.08* (0.04)	1.65*** (0.06)	0.38*** (0.06)	0.23*** (0.05)
<i>State of Health (ref. very good)</i>							

Table 3

Logit models for the participation determinants observed in the different dimensions of intergenerational solidarity (continued).

	<i>Associational (frequency of contact)</i>			<i>Structural (geographic proximity)</i>	<i>Functional (household assistance)</i>		
	In the company of family and/or household members	Visiting and receiving visits	Social life (face- to-face)	Journeys associated with activities included in other indicators	Household tasks	Childcare	Financial transfers
Good	-0.18 (0.11)	-0.05 (0.05)	-0.08 (0.04)	-0.04 (0.05)	0.02 (0.06)	0.02 (0.07)	
Acceptable	0.09 (0.15)	0.04 (0.07)	-0.02 (0.06)	-0.08 (0.06)	0.00 (0.08)	0.03 (0.09)	
Poor	-0.03 (0.19)	0.03 (0.09)	-0.15* (0.07)	-0.57*** (0.07)	-0.69*** (0.10)	-0.32* (0.13)	
Very poor	0.02 (0.30)	-0.29 (0.16)	-0.46*** (0.13)	-1.28*** (0.13)	-1.72*** (0.15)	-0.69** (0.26)	
<i>Weekend</i>	0.11 (0.08)	-0.55*** (0.04)	-0.56*** (0.03)	-0.16*** (0.03)	0.01 (0.05)	0.20*** (0.05)	
<i>Constant</i>	-3.25*** (0.20)	-1.07*** (0.11)	0.16 (0.09)	0.70*** (0.10)	0.78*** (0.13)	-4.01*** (0.18)	-0.62*** (0.11)
# Observations	17663	17663	17663	17663	17663	17663	22197
Max. Likelihood	-2593.47	-8497.22	-11788.75	-10810.05	-6521.06	-5301.95	-10377.97

Source: Own elaboration based on the TUS 2009-2010 and the HBS 2010 microdata.

The asterisks indicate the statistical significance level of the obtained values. That is, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$ y *** $p < 0.001$

A result that may seem unexpected is that which has been obtained for the “financial transfer” indicator according to generations. What would be expected is a marginal positive (and significant) contribution of adults with respect to young persons (our reference group). When we carry out a sensitivity analysis, we can observe how this coefficient changes – becoming more negative – as we add explanatory factors (mainly by including “household composition” and “children in the household”). A plausible explanation would be that it is these factors –households with a larger number of members and children – that really would have favoured the financial transfers and that, at a generational level, we see only a greater propensity of the adult generation to be situated in households “where children are present” and where more individuals co-reside.

Likewise, it can be observed that the state of health deterioration had a negative and partial effect (on the indicators that require greater mobility and autonomy) only when the deterioration was significant. Nationality and sex also show a clear pattern: foreigners and men participated less in the addressed manifestations. Those with a higher level of education presented higher levels of participation, especially in the *structural* and *functional* dimensions. As for marital status, married people were the ones who participated more, with significant levels for some indicators of the *associative* dimension and for the three *functional* indicators. Widowed and divorced persons presented significant participation levels in childcare and financial transfers. The employment situation shows that the employed contributed less to different indicators, except in the case of financial transfers. Both the unemployed, such as retired people and those dedicated to household tasks, presented high levels of participation in the other manifestations, in line with what we have expounded in our hypothesis. This demonstrates how the different manifestations (time dedication versus financial transfers) are entirely complementary according to the circumstances of each individual.

As was to be expected, high income levels increased the probability of financial transfers. The presence of children in the household also affected the participation positively, above all in the *structural* and *functional* dimensions, while a household composition with more members favoured a greater participation in: shared time, visits, household tasks and journeys; and a greater participation in financial transfers.

Continuing with the proposed strategy, table 4 shows boundary values (maximum and minimum) obtained for each indicator by levels of intensity. As can be appreciated, the adjustment lies in high values (over 80%) in most cases. When this does not occur, we cannot differentiate more than two groups according to intensity (“Journey” and “Financial transfers”). Therefore, we group these groups in the corresponding estimate.

Table 4

Participation intensity cluster analysis (3 categories Low-Medium-High) of the contribution to the different intergenerational solidarity dimensions.

		Cut-off values			Goodness of fit (Adj. R2)
		<i>Min. Value</i>	<i>Max. Value</i>	<i>Median Value</i>	
In the company of family and/or household members	Low	0,17	5,33	3,15	0,86
	Medium	5,50	10,33	7,83	
	High	10,50	21,67	13,07	
Visiting and receiving visits	Low	0,17	1,33	0,63	0,80
	Medium	1,33	3,17	1,99	
	High	3,33	13,33	4,60	
Social life (face-to-face)	Low	0,17	2,00	0,94	0,82
	Medium	2,17	5,00	3,13	
	High	5,17	13,67	6,98	
Journeys associated with activities included in other indicators	Low	0,17	1,50	0,70	0,59
	Medium	0,17	1,67	0,70	
	High	1,67	16,33	2,49	

(continued)

Table 4

Participation intensity cluster analysis (3 categories Low-Medium-High) of the contribution to the different intergenerational solidarity dimensions (continued).

		Cut-off values			Goodness of fit (Adj. R2)
		<i>Min. Value</i>	<i>Max. Value</i>	<i>Median Value</i>	
Household tasks	Low	0,17	2,50	1,29	0,85
	Medium	2,67	5,50	3,94	
	High	5,67	15,50	7,28	
Childcare	Low	0,17	4,17	1,86	0,88
	Medium	4,33	9,33	6,69	
	High	9,50	19,83	12,24	
log (Financial transfers)	Low	0,40	11,30	7,92	0,67
	Medium	8,00	17,90	13,28	
	High	9,80	18,10	12,96	

Source: Own elaboration based on the TUS 2009-2010 and the HBS 2010 microdata.

All indicators, except financial transfers, are expressed in hours. In the case of financial transfers, we include the logarithm of the absolute financial value measured in the definition of this indicator.

Finally, table 5 shows the results obtained in the last stage. We could point out that: (1) the determinants obtained for each intensity level are different, indicating that they possess specific characteristics; (2) although employment favours a greater intensity of financial transfers made in the middle of the crisis, the rest of the groups – unemployed and retired persons or those dedicated to household tasks – collaborated more in terms of time contribution to the rest of the manifestations; (3) the income level only played a decisive role in the case of the financial transfers; (4) a married status favoured a greater intensity in time dedicated to family or household members. (5) Regarding household composition, those that lived in nuclear households (with partner, more than two members) and co-resided, presented a greater tendency to higher levels of financial transfers (6) at the same time that the presence of children in the household increased the tendency to medium-high financial transfer levels.

Table 5

OLS model for the intensity determinants observed in the different dimensions of intergenerational solidarity participation.

	Associational dimension (frequency of contact)									Structural			Functional							
	In the company of family and/or household members			Visiting and receiving visits			Social life (face-to-face)			Journneys			Household tasks			Childcare			Financial transfers	
										associated with activities included in other indicators.										
	Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High	Low-Medium	High	Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium-High	
Generation (ref. young persons)																				
Adults	(-)	(+)***	(+)*	(+)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)*	(-)*	(-)	(-)	(+)*	(+)	(+)	(+)	(-)	(-)*	(+)	(+)*	(-)**
Pivot	(-)	(+)***	(+)	(+)	(-)	(-)	(+)	(-)	(-)**	(-)*	(-)	(+)*	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)**
Elderly	(-)**	(+)***	(-)	(+)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)*	(-)*	(-)**	(-)*	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)**
Size of municipality (ref. province capital or > 100,000)																				
50,000-100,000 inh.	(+)	(-)	(+)	(-)	(+)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)*	(-)	(-)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(-)	(-)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)
20,000-50,000 inh.	(+)	(-)	(-)	(+)	(+)	(-)	(+)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(-)	(-)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)
10,000-20,000 inh.	(+)	(-)	(-)	(+)	(+)	(-)	(-)	(-)*	(-)*	(-)	(-)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(-)	(-)*	(-)	(+)	(+)	(+)
< 10,000 inh.	(-)	(+)	(-)**	(-)	(+)	(-)	(+)	(+)	(-)*	(-)*	(-)**	(-)	(-)**	(+)**	(+)	(-)	(+)	(-)	(+)	(+)
Household composition (ref. single-member)																				
Couple	(-)	(+)***	(+)	(+)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(+)	(-)	(-)	(+)	(-)	(-)	(+)*	(-)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(-)
Father alone	(-)	(+)***	(+)	(+)	(-)	(-)	(+)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)*	(+)	(+)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(+)	(-)	(-)
Mother alone	(-)	(+)***	(+)	(-)	(+)	(-)	(+)	(-)	(-)	(-)	***	(+)	**	(+)	(-)*	(+)	(-)**	(+)	(-)	(+)**
With partner (over two members)	(-)	(+)***	(+)	(-)	(-)*	(-)	(-)	(-)	(+)	(+)	(-)	(+)	(-)	(-)	(-)**	(+)	(-)	(+)	(+)	(-)**
Co-residence	(-)	(+)***	(+)	(+)	(-)	(-)	(+)	(-)	(+)	***	(-)	(+)	(+)	(-)	(-)**	(+)	(-)	(+)	(+)	(-)**
Children in the household (ref. no children)																				
Under 3	(+)	(+)***	(+)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)**	(-)*	(-)	(+)*	(+)	(-)*	(-)	(+)**	(+)	***	(-)	(-)**	(+)	***
From age 3 to 5	(-)	(+)**	(+)*	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)**	(-)	(+)*	(+)	(+)	(-)*	(-)	(+)	(+)	***	(-)	(-)**	(+)	***
From age 6 to 9	(-)	(+)*	(+)**	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)**	(-)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(-)	(-)	(+)*	(+)	***	(-)	(-)**	(+)	***
From age 10 to 14	(-)	(+)*	(+)**	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)**	(-)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(-)	(-)	(+)*	(+)	***	(-)	(-)**	(+)	***
From age 15 to 17	(-)	(+)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(+)	(-)*	(-)	(-)*	***	(+)*	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)**	(+)	(-)	(-)**	(+)	***
Household income (ref. < 1,200 €)																				
From 1201 to 2000 €	(+)	(-)	(+)	(-)	(+)	(-)	(-)	(+)	(-)	(-)	(+)	(-)	(-)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)**	(+)**
From 2001 to 3000 €	(-)	(+)	(-)	(-)	(+)	(-)	(-)	(+)	(-)	(+)	(+)	(-)	(+)	(-)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(-)	(+)	(+)
Over 3000 €	(+)	(+)	(-)	(-)	(+)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(+)	(-)	(-)	(+)	(-)	(-)	(+)	(-)	(-)**	(+)	***
NR/DK	(+)*	(-)*	(-)	(-)	(+)*	(-)*	(-)	(+)*	(-)	(+)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(+)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)*
Employment situation (ref. employed)																				
Unemployed	(+)	(+)*	(+)*	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)*	(-)	(-)	(+)*	(+)*	(+)*	(+)	(+)*	(+)*	(+)*	(+)	(-)	(-)	(-)*
Retired or with early retirement	(+)	(+)*	(+)*	(+)	(+)	(-)	(-)*	(-)	(+)	(+)*	(+)*	(+)*	(+)	(+)	(+)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)
Dedicated to household tasks	(+)	(+)*	(+)*	(+)	(+)	(-)	(-)*	(+)	(+)	(+)*	(+)*	(+)*	(+)*	(+)*	(+)*	(+)*	(+)*	(+)*	(+)	(+)
Other situations of inactivity	(+)	(+)*	(+)*	(+)	(-)	(-)	(+)*	(-)	(-)	(+)	(+)	(+)*	(+)	(+)	(+)	(-)*	(+)	(-)	(-)	(-)

Source: Own elaboration based on the TUS 2009-2010 and the HBS 2010 microdata.

The asterisks indicate the statistical significance level of the obtained values. That is, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$ y *** $p < 0.001$.

Table 5

OLS model for the intensity determinants observed in the different dimensions of intergenerational solidarity participation (continued).

	Associational dimension (frequency of contact)									Structural Journeys		Functional							
	In the company of family and/or household members			Visiting and receiving visits			Social life (face-to-face)			associated with activities included in other indicators.		Household tasks			Childcare			Financial transfers	
	Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High	Low-Medium	High	Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium-High
<i>Marital status (ref. single)</i>																			
Married	(-)	(+) ***	(+) ***	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(-)	(+)	(+)	(-)	(+) **	(+)	(+)	(-)	(+)	(+) ***
Widowed	(-)*	(-)*	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(-)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(-)	(+)	(+) ***
Divorced	(+)	(-)	(+)	(+)	(-)	(-)	(+)	(-)*	(-)	(+)	(+)*	(-)	(-)	(-)	(+)	(+)	(-)	(+)	(+) ***
<i>Level of education (ref. low education)</i>																			
Medium education	(-)	(+)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(+)	(-)	(-)	(+)	(+)*	(+)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(+)	(+)**	(+)***
High education	(+)	(+)	(+)	(-)	(+)	(+)	(-)	(-)	(+)	(+)	(+)*	(-)*	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(+)	(+)**	(+)***
<i>Sex and nationality (ref. Spanish men)</i>																			
Foreign birth	(-)	(-)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(-)	(+)	(-)*	(-)	(+)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(+)	(-)	(-)	(+)
Women	(+) ***	(+) ***	(+)	(-)	(+)	(-)	(-)*	(-)	(+)	(-)* ***	(+)	(+) ***	(-)	(+) ***	(+)*	(-)	(+)**	(+)	(+)
<i>State of Health (ref. very good)</i>																			
Good	(+)	(+)	(-)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(+)	(+)	(-)	(-)*	(-)	(-)	(+)	(+)
Acceptable	(-)	(-)	(-)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(-)	(-)**	(-)*	(-)	(-)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(+)	(+)
Poor	(-)	(-)	(-)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)*	(+)	(+)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(+)	(+)
Very poor	(+)	(-)	(+)	(-)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(+)	(-)**	(+)	(-)	(+)	(+)	(+)
<i>Weekend</i>																			
Constant	(+) ***	(+) ***	(+) ***	(+) ***	(+) ***	(+) ***	(+) ***	(+) ***	(+) ***	(+) ***	(+) ***	(+) ***	(+) ***	(+) ***	(+) ***	(+) ***	(+) ***	(+) ***	(+) ***
# Observations	4265	5533	5668	2053	271	1181	4719	549	2480	5908	5823	5639	2304	6876	1578	2273	1096	3738	11515
R ²	0.028	0.101	0.039	0.024	0.138	0.037	0.035	0.122	0.030	0.325	0.029	0.071	0.037	0.085	0.106	0.120	0.064	0.202	0.35

Source: Own elaboration based on the TUS 2009-2010 and the HBS 2010 microdata.

The asterisks indicate the statistical significance level of the obtained values. That is, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01 y *** p<0.001 .

Conclusions

Time and money transfers that take place among members of a family belonging to different generations and that can be considered intergenerational solidarity manifestations, have aroused a growing interest in literature and policymakers. A global analysis of some of these manifestations for a case like the Spanish one, insufficiently explored up until now, just when the indicators of the economic crisis began to heighten (2009-2010), allow us to nuance one of the most wide-spread opinions: that certain groups have been net benefit recipients during the crisis.

The results of the approach by generations does not enable us to corroborate the first hypothesis: data does not allow confirmation of the fact that in 2009-2010 some of the generations prevailed in general, not in intensity nor in participation of contributions. Therefore, it is not possible to affirm that in one of the most critical moments of the crisis in Spain, it is the pivot generation that has contributed more to the intergenerational family solidarity addressed. Transfer participation and intensity seems to have been favoured rather by a household composition with a larger number of members and with the presence of children.

The results, however, do support the second hypothesis: even though in some dimensions of intergenerational family solidarity unemployed and retired persons presented less tendency to contribute and with a lower intensity than the rest, in others it was not so, demonstrating that it is not enough to consider merely financial assistance, given that there is a wide range of assistance and transfers that circulate among family members. In this way, the employed only present greater participation and intensity with regards to the financial transfer indicator, but for the rest of the indicators that account for other types of family solidarity manifestation, both the unemployed as the retired, as well as those dedicated to household tasks, present higher levels of participation and intensity in terms of the time dedicated. This indicates that when it comes to time and financial assistance to other family members, it is the actual life situation, according to the available resources, that leads to contributions of one type or another.

Likewise, although the elderly participated less in the addressed manifestations of solidarity, in some of them, such as instrumental

(household) tasks and time dedicated to other family and household members, the intensity of their contribution was considerable.

Nevertheless, this study presents some limitations that ought to be taken into account. First, although the data of the used surveys allow us to obtain results that are more representative for the study case, they do not allow us to discriminate with full precision what percentage of the contributions really has an intergenerational nature, that is, takes place among members of different generations within a family. We understand that they can be considered manifestations of intergenerational solidarity to the extent that the family constitutes the quintessential sphere for encounters *between generations*. In the same way, the available data do not allow us to know the direction of some of the transfers: in the variables of the *associative* dimension it is not possible to identify whether the persons accompany – if they are time givers – or if they are being accompanied, in which case they would be recipients of solidarity. Second, due to the lack of data about the children or parents of the surveyed persons, it is not possible to construct dyads of givers and recipients for the different manifestations addressed. It has only been possible to analyse the individual determinants of those that carry out the transfers, to the neglect of the characteristics of the recipients. Third, the use of transversal data has only allowed us to capture the contributions of family members with regard to solidarity manifestations at a specific point in time.

Despite this, our article contributes important research about transfer flow – financial, instrumental and of assistance – by moving some of the dimensions from a theoretical model of intergenerational family solidarity to a concrete empirical case in the context of economic crisis. It constitutes therefore an interesting wager because it values the multidimensionality of the resource flow that circulates within a family and that constitutes complementary manifestations of this solidarity. It analyses systematically a case of interest, Spain, and it does so by expanding the database catalogue usually employed in this area, combining two statistical sources that guarantee representativeness of the obtained results. It is possible in that way to value the different manifestations of intergenerational family solidarity that the unemployed and other groups generally under question have shown in a critical moment of the recent economic crisis.

Notes

As of the first trimester of 2009, a steep rise in the unemployment rate is recorded, from 13,79 to 17,24, reaching 20 points by the end of 2010; the highest levels were recorded in 2013, with rates higher than 26% ((INE 2016b).

² Before the beginning of the crisis, mid 2007, the number of households without any earners amounted to 365.300. From that moment on a slow rise began that sped up at the end of 2010 (525.500), and peaked at the end of 2013, with levels over 770 mil ((INE 2016a).

³ This theoretic approach serves as a foundation for the development of other theoretic perspectives that incorporate intergenerational conflict (Bengtson et al., 2002) and ambivalence ((Luescher and Pillemer 1998)). For a further development of the theoretic discussion, see: (Connidis and McMullin, 2002a; 2002b; Lüscher, 2002)). During the first decade of the 2000s, most sociological studies that addressed this issue did so using both perspectives ((Silverstein and Giarrusso, 2010)).

⁴ Go to <https://solidush2020.eu/en/about/> for further details about this project.

⁵ It is frequent that studies carried out with this material only address some of the dimensions of the original model. See, for example, Hank (2007), on a European level, and (Calzada and Brooks, 2013), who partly use the same dimensions as we do. Meil (2011) addresses more model dimensions for Spain, but by using multiple data sources of a sample nature, prior to the crisis and without the representativeness of official statistics.

⁶ Regarding the Spanish case we only know of one study that applies the “geographic proximity” variable – family members that live at a distance of more or less 30 minutes – but by using survey data prior to the beginning of the crisis with a sample of 1200 people (Encuesta Redes Sociales y Solidaridad, 2007, cit. by (Meil Landwerlin, 2011).

⁷ Several alternatives can be suggested for defining the indicator “financial transfers” according to whether, for example, the transfer of a dwelling is included. Here we have opted for a “conservative” definition that, at any rate, could be considered a “lower threshold” within the variability that we could observe in the measurement of this phenomenon.

⁸ This generation has not been included in the models.

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