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Intergeneration transfers of the elderly in the Russian cities

Introduction

The essential components of economic transformation in Russian Federation are the reforms of social security and pension system. The macroeconomic aspects of these reforms are carefully analyzed and debated in the numerous publications (for example, Dmitriev and Travin, 1998; Shokhin, 1997). However, level of our knowledge about the elderly population as a whole makes us wish the situation were much better. In particular, such a key moment as their support exchanges with children, other relatives and friends remains explored a little. At the same time, some researches, literature and the biographies of people show, that solidarity was and is an important component of the Russians' life (Academy of Science, 1985; Rymashevskaya, 1991; Shapiro, 1983).

In this report the theme of intergenerational transfers of the elderly is the main. Types, sizes, donors and recipients of flows of material benefits and services, as from the elderly people to their close relatives, and in the opposite direction, were in the sphere of our interest. With the first question linked the following: spatial proximity of elderly and their children and parents. Additionally, the problems of state support of the elderly population and specificity of population ageing in Russia are affected in the research.

Data

For the purposes of study of the elderly people support, intra-family solidarity it is best of all to use data of special surveys based on national samples. The surveys pertinent to the matter in hand, such as National Longitudinal Care Demonstration (NLCD) or the Assets and Health Dynamics among the Oldest Old (AHEAD) were conducted in USA. In Russia, as well as majority of the countries of the world, unfortunately, similar surveys were not done. The budget surveys conducted by Goskomstat (State Statistical Office) and covering ~~of~~ 49 thousand households, give rather crude information about informal support of the elderly or other people.

Thus, the researcher is constrained to solve a problem of absence of the adequate data about inter generation transfer at a micro level by conducting his or her own special sample survey.

Besides, he should solve one more methodological problem. Traditionally, "family" has been linked to household, and family statistics describes parents and dependent children living in the same household (Hagestad, 1994, p.169). Such conception of family obviously does not correspond to the purposes of transfers study. The parents and children, even living separately, exchange things, money and services. Family, in this case, to treat more widely is a " network of relations and obligations defined by blood, marriage, or adoption and not simply the family of co residence" (Soldo and Freedman, 1994, p.195). In Russia for this purpose the concept of family group is used. It was developed by the authors of practically unique in former USSR research of bilateral contacts between the parents and their adult children irrespective of a place of their residence (Rugge, Eliseeva, Kadibur, 1983)[1].

The basis of our report was compounded with household-based sample survey – the NNTO, carried out in 1998 at three regional centers of the European part of Russian Federation: Nizhni Novgorod, Tver and Orel[2]. The purpose of this survey consists of receiving information necessary for study of different aspects of the elderly people's behavior: inter household transfers, spatial organization of the relatives, economic activity and level of the incomes of elderly, pension transition. During survey, the information about 1027 individuals and their households was selected Besides, the data about household members of the respondents, and their children and parents living separately (data on age, employment status, disability, marital status, number of living children, place of residence) were received. Finally we have got information about 1621 co-resident relatives, and about 1731 non co-resident children and parents. The age-sex composition of sample population is corresponding to the age-sex composition of these cities in 1996. The characteristics of sample population are presented in the annex 1. Household, marital and education composition of the sample does not differ considerably form corresponding characteristics of three cities revealed during micro census of 1994.

It is necessary to take into account that the definition of the elderly population in Russia differs from that accepted in majority of other countries in the world. As a rule, in governmental

[1] The definition of family group is almost equivalent to term "kin group" or the broader definition of family used in demographic literature. By family group we mean the group of people, related by blood, marriage or adoption, co-resident and living separately, linked by common material interests, moral and psychological and emotional relations, interested in reciprocal support, information and intercommunication.

[2] It was carried out with S. Roschin, associated professor at Moscow State University, under financial support from Ford Foundation. Nizhni Novgorod is one of the biggest cities in Russia, located to the East of Moscow with 1,4 million inhabitants; Tver is an ancient city between Moscow and St.Petersburg with population near 450 thousands; Orel is located to the South of Moscow (400 kilometers) with population near 350 thousands.

and scientific publications its lower age border is set by officially fixed age of a retirement - 55 years for the women and 60 for the men. In some researches the “threshold” was equal to 50 years (Ovcharova and Prokofyeva, 2001; questionnaires of the RLMS). Here pertinently to remind, that according to the observable regimen of death rate more than 40 % of the newborn boys will not survive till the age of 60 years. In our research NNTO the minimal age of the respondents was 5 years less than pension age – 50 years for women and 55 years for men, as we were interested, how the people prepare for a retirement.

As an additional source of the information, data of the eighth wave of Russian Longitudinal Monitoring Survey (RLMS) were used. Russian Longitudinal Monitoring Survey is a household-based survey designed to measure the effects of Russian reforms on the economic well being of households and individuals. The first round of this research was conducted in 1992, last, the ninth - in 1999. In August - September 1998 the eighth round was carried out, which in terms of time stands closely to the date of carrying out the author's survey of the elderly people. RLSM is a unique panel survey in Russia, which applies to be representative across the nation scale. The individual data RLMS are easily accessible. It is conducted by University of North Carolina in collaboration with the Institute of Sociology of Russian Academy of Science, Paragon Research International, and the Russian Center for Preventive Medicine (rounds I-IV only), the Russian Institute of Nutrition of Russian Academy of Medical Science, the State Statistical Office (Goskomstat, rounds I-IV only). The questionnaires of survey contain some questions concerning transfers. In total in eighth wave the number of the respondents in the age of 60-years and elder is 2019, the number of households with the people in this age equaled 1543.

To assess the demographic changes, concerned with population ageing, and the economic situation about the elderly some other sources of data were used: materials of the Soviet population censuses for 1959, 1970, 1979, 1989, population microcensus of Russian Federation for 1994, and current official demographic and economic statistics.

Features of population ageing in Russia

The growing interest to the problem of support transfers is linked to process of demographic ageing. This general direction of evolution of population age structure in the world, its regions and countries, is a result of lowering fertility and increasing life expectancy. As a result the quantitative interrelations between generations altered greatly. On the macro level it can be seen in increase of demographic burden on working population by the dependent population in old ages. Pension system and social security sensitively react to these changes in

age structure of the population. For maintaining intergenerational solidarity they require reforms. On micro level the composition of families is altered and their size decreases, the kinship nets are transformed, that entails changes in volumes and directions of transfer flows between the relatives. These trends affect an allocation of public and private resources between generations.

In Russia the process of ageing began a little bit later, than in the majority of the developed countries. In 1959 population at age 60 years and over amounted to 9.8 % of total population. By 2000 it has increased up to 20.5 %. In the same time the proportion of the elderly people in Sweden has increased from 17.3 % up to 22.5 %, in Italy - from 13.6 % up to 24.2 %, in Germany - from 17.3 % up to 23.2 %[4]. At the same time there are series of structural features of process of ageing in Russia, which influence living arrangements of the elderly and their kinship nets.

The ageing of population in Russia is mainly the result of fertility decrease. For the last 30 years there was no progress in reduction of mortality in the senior ages. Moreover, in 1990-th the mortality even increased a little. As a result, life expectancy at 60 in Russia was slightly reduced, while, for example, in USA, Japan, Germany it increased by 20-30 %(see table 1). Therefore the share of population aged 80 years and over is enlarged slowly. Finally, in Russia the number and proportion of the oldest people (older than 80 years) grew extremely slowly. If in 1959 the proportion of oldest persons was estimated as 9.1 % of the people aged 60 years or over, in 2000 it increased approximately up to 11 %. During the same period the proportion has increased in Germany from 9.2 % up to 19.2 %, in Italy - from 9.6 % up to 17.0 %, in Japan - from 9 % up to 16%.

Table 1. Life expectancy at age 60 (years)

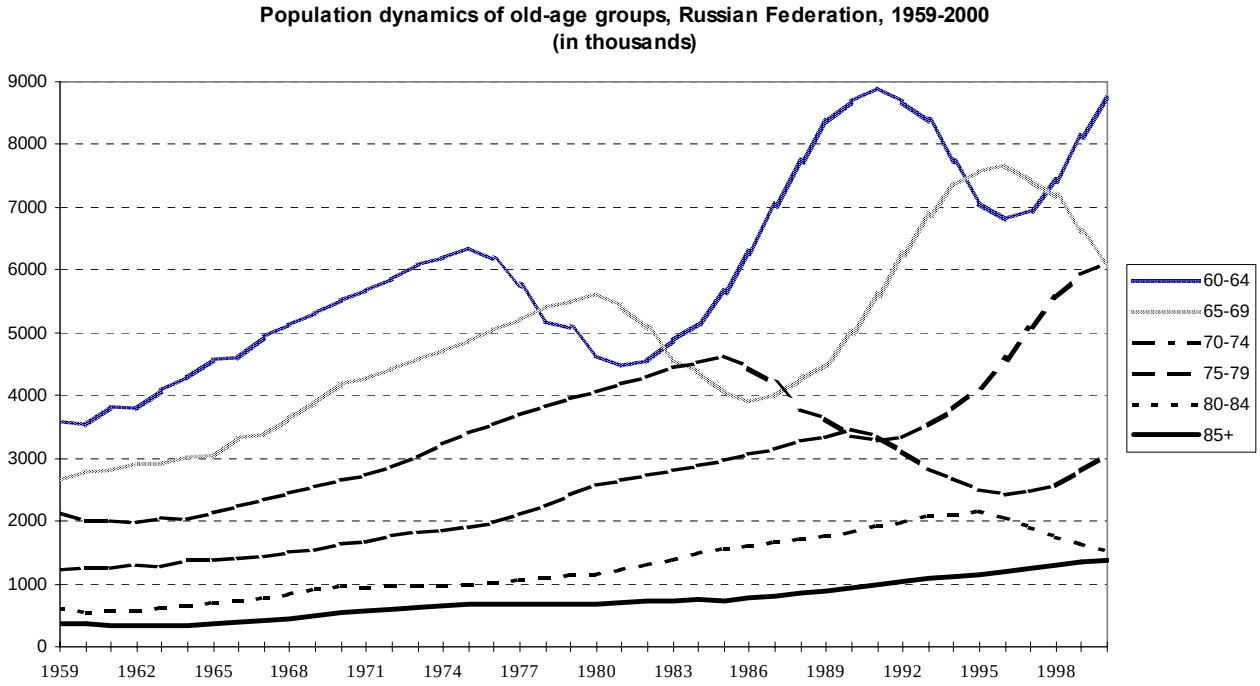
Countries	1970	1980	1990	1998
Males				
Russia	15.1	14.6	14.7	14.1
Germany	15.2	16.4	17.8	19.0
Japan	15.9	18.3	20.0	21.0
USA	16.1	17.4	18.5	19.6
Females				
Russia	20.0	19.8	19.5	19.0
Germany	18.9	20.8	22.2	23.3
Japan	19.3	21.9	24.4	26.4
USA	20.7	22.2	22.8	23.1

Sources: OECD Health Database, State Statistical Office of Russian Federation (Goskomstat)

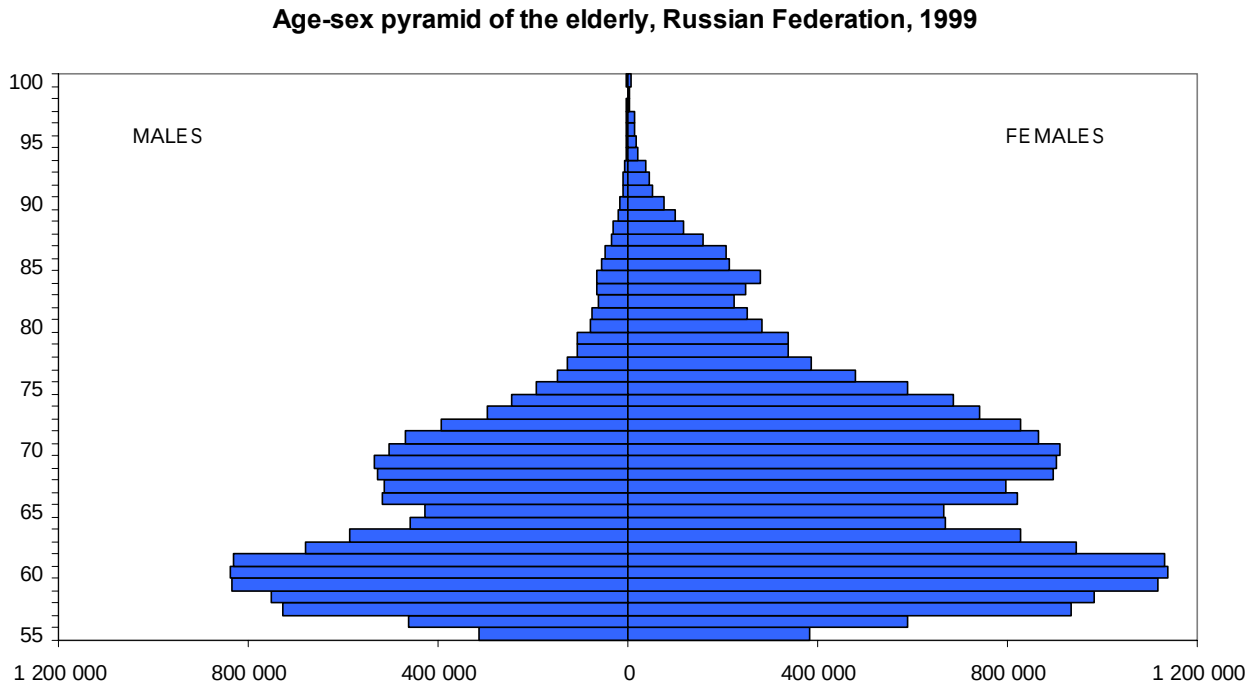
The process of ageing in Russia is complicated by a powerful demographic wave, which was generated by catastrophic events in the Soviet history. The appreciable fluctuations in generation size distinguish Russia from other European countries, including Germany and

[4] The source of information on age-sex structures of these countries, besides Russian Federation is United Nations, 2000. World Population Prospects, The 1998 Revision. Volume 1 and Volume 2. New York.

Poland - the countries that also has suffered during the Second World War (see graph 1). Age-sex pyramids in the older ages have considerable deformations (see graph 2). Differences in numbers of the adjoining generations are persistent and compelling feature of its lifetime environment . As every new cohort reaches each major juncture in the life cycle, the society faces with the problem of assimilating it. Any extraordinary size deviation is likely to leave its



Picture 1.



Picture 2.

It is worth to look at the sex ratio dynamics in the elder population. In the majority of countries of the world the number of the females per 100 males has enlarged. In Russia this sex ratio enlarged prior to the beginning 1980-th, and then began to reduce Thus in the group from 60 up to 80 years the decrease began earlier, than in the group of 80 years or over (table 2). Such a considerable deformation of a sex composition in the older ages is caused by appreciable human losses of Second World War years.

Table 2. Sex ratio (per 100 males) in the older population, Russian Federation

Age groups	1959	1970	1979	1989	2000
60-80	221	236	238	208	175
80+	286	334	380	424	388
60+	226	244	248	224	189

Source: Censuses of Population; Current demographic statistics of Goskomstat]

Family and Living Arrangements

The marital status of senior person is a dimension of family structure that deeply affects their living arrangements, support system and individual well being (Myers, 1994). Several factors formed the marital status composition of the elderly population. Historically, the marriage pattern of Russia was the following: early age at first marriage and high prevalence of marriage. The proportion of never married people always was small. The World War II rendered the considerable influence, which was stronger upon the generations born in the first quarter of 20-th century. Many people from these generations, mainly women, became widows. The contemporary marital status composition is influenced by the high mortality level especially among men in labor ages. As a result of combination of two forenamed factors, in Russia - for many years- we can see one of highest levels of widowhood among the European countries . It is interesting that the proportion of widows in the older ages for the last 20 years has even increased. The composition of marital was also affected by changes in matrimonial behaviour and family. Therefore, among the elderly the ratio of singles and divorced have slightly increased. As a result, in the end 20-th century, 82.5 % of men older than 60 years, was married, 12.7 % were widowed, others - divorced or never married. Among the women about 36 % were married and more than 50 % were widowed.

Unfortunately population censuses of USSR do not provide reliable information about household structure, because a family was a registration unit in them The difficulties of definition and application of this category in the Soviet statistics were in detail considered in publications (see, for instance, Volkov, 1985). The available published data allow to observe the dynamics of one-person households of the elderly for the last 40 years (see table 3). For the specified term the number of alone people has increased from 1,4 million up to 3,3 million, and their ratio in the total quantity of population aged 60 years or over – increased from 11,8 % up

to 22,4 %. Among the people living alone women were dominant. In 1970 about 92 % of all one-person households consisted of women. By 1994 this size was reduced up to 86 %.

Table 3. Share of the elderly (over 60) living alone

Sex	1959	1970	1979	1989	1994
Both sexes	11,8	17,8	21,7	20,6	22,4
Males		4,9	6,4	8,1	9,5
Females		23,0	27,9	26,2	28,8

Source: Censuses of population 1959, 1970, 1979, 1989; Microcensus of Population, 1994

The category household was used in Russia within the framework of population micro census of 1994. As a result the elderly people's households structure was estimated (table 4). Unfortunately, micro-census aggregated tables published and developed by Goskomstat do not contain some kinds of information for example - about family households, consisting only of elderly, or size of households, in which the elderly people live. It is possible to get additional information about housing and family environment of the elderly from different sample surveys. According to NNTO survey, the structure of households, where the people older than 60 years were living was the following: alone people – 23.7 %, married couple – 24.6 %, married couple with other relatives – 24.4 %, and other households – 27.3 %. The breakdown of household by the relationship with the respondent is the next: 39 % - respondents, 19.1 % - their spouses, 17.4% - their children; 4.9% - sons and daughters in law, 3.5 % - parents of the respondent and partner in law, 12.9 % - grandchildren; 3.2 % - other members of household.

Table 4. Living arrangement of the elderly by sex, 1994 (percentage)

Age groups	Total	One person household	Couple with children and/or other relatives	Multinuclear family	Mother (father) with children and/or other relatives	Other households
Males						
60-69	100	8,5	79,2	8,1	2,7	1,4
70+	100	12,3	73,5	6,8	4,9	2,5
60+	100	9,6	77,6	7,7	3,4	1,8
Females						
60-69	100	24,6	53,3	4,5	12,8	4,8
70+	100	34,2	37,7	3,0	17,3	7,9
60+	100	28,8	46,4	3,8	14,8	6,2
Both sexes						
60-69	100	28,9	46,3	3,9	14,3	6,6
70+	100	17,5	61,5	6,8	10,5	3,7
60+	100	22,4	56,8	5,1	11,0	4,7

Source: Goskomstat, Microcensus of population, 1994

The various contacts between the relatives overstep the bounds of households. The greatest intensity of contacts, as many researches show, could be seen among children and their parents. The NNTO survey reveals spatial structure of family group of respondents (man older

than 55 years, women older than 50 years), including their children and parents. From the point of view of frequency of family contacts it is important to emphasize that about 80 % of all children (including co-residents) live in one city with their parents (table 5). Proportion of those who does not have close relatives (marital partner, children, parents, grandsons) is insignificant among the seniors: 6.6 % from sample population or approximately 30 % from total number of the alone living respondents. Number of the alone people will reduce to 60 percents if we take into account children, living with them in the same city. Only 16 % of all only one-couple households of did not have living children at the moment of survey. Almost 75 % of one-couple household have their children in the same city. At the same time the interviewed people have 1784 grandsons, only 18 % of them live with grandparents

Table 5. Distribution of parents and children of the older people* by place of residence (percentage)

	Living with respondent	Live separately	Including		
			In the same city	In the same region	In other regions
Father (N=22)	18,2	81,8	22,7	22,7	36,4
Mother(N=141)	34,7	65,3	27,7	17,0	20,6
Father in law (N=16)	25,0	75,0	43,7	25,0	6,3
Mother in law (N=67)	22,4	77,6	46,3	19,4	11,9
Sons (N=705)	32,5	67,5	45,5	4,5	17,5
Daughters (N=780)	35,8	64,2	44,2	3,6	16,5

Note*: males – at age 55 or over, females – at age 50 or over

State, market and family transfers

The territorial proximity of the seniors to their children is one of conditions for installation of close contacts between them. The character of these contacts depends on life style and welfare of the people. There are three main sources of economic support of the elderly people - the family, the marketplace, and the state (Soldo, Freedman, 1994). A definite division of labor between them in the sphere of support of dependent, disable or poor people is observed in various epochs. As a whole, the process of ageing stimulates the substitution of formal services for informal (family) support (World Bank, 1994). However, under imperfection of the market or the state, the role of family in supporting the standard of life should increase or remain high even under the conditions of low fertility. The importance of role of friends and neighbors as donors of the help may grow under those conditions.

In the Soviet period the state attempted to undertake maintenance of the dependent members of the society. However, universal pension system for the working population has developed only in the middle 1960-th (Lantsev, 1977). In 1965 the state pensions provided the workers of collective farms. In 1992 the new pension law was accepted and the following

approach was applied: the pension system covered even the never worked men (since 65 years) and women (since 60 years). However, gradually pension has turned to the small social service benefit. The sizes of pensions of different professional groups, behind small exceptions (for example, former military servicemen) did not essentially differ one from another. The Gini coefficient for pension payments in 1998 in accordance with the data of the RLMS is equaled 0.17, while for the salary it constituted – 0.43, and for the aggregate pecuniary income – 0.5.

The standard of life of the elderly people, as well as most part of the population of Russian Federation, was never high. However in transition period real incomes have decreased for the t major part of people due to economic crises and extremely rapid growth of inequality level. During the 1990-th general situation time and again raises a question: "How do the people live under such conditions?" The average size of pensions - main source of the incomes of the elderly - was below the official subsistence level[5]. The average size of assigned monthly pensions by the end of 1999 was equal to the sum 521.5 rubles (approximately 20 dollars) that constituted 77.8 % from a pensioner's subsistence level, while at the end of 1992 this relation constituted 118.5 %. (Goskomstat, 2001). The share of food in all consumer expenditures is more than 70 %. In 1999 22 % of women aged 55 years or over and 18 % of men aged 60 years or over lived under poverty line. It is less, than population as a whole, where the poverty level is equaled approximately 30 %. The highest levels of poverty are observed among children from 7 to 15 years (39,3%) and women from 31 to 54 years (36%). Thus, in accordance with data of official statistics, during reforms in Russia children and grandchildren found themselves under worse financial condition than their parents, grandmothers and grandfathers (Goskomstat, 2000). At the same time it is not worth idealizing the living standard of the elderly population in the Soviet period. In middle 70 years TsSU of USSR (Central Statistical Office of USSR) for the first time has carried out the survey of pensioners standard of life. The seal "top secret" immediately was imposed on it, when totals were received, because the picture was very dejecting (Sokolin, 1995).

Soviet state developed measures on intensification of care about the alone citizens and on improvement of well-being for the retired people and families living in need. After the collapse of USSR, in 1990-th the system of the social help is proceeding to act. However, under budgetary considerations the State could not essentially change the pensioners' standard of living. In 2000 in Russia there were 975 stationary nursing homes and hospitals for the elderly, where 203 thousand individuals lived. This number does not change during the last 40 years. It covers 1.9 % from the total number of the person aged 70 years or over. These stationary

[5] The criticism of official definition for subsistence level is presented in numerous publications in Russia (see, for example, Mozhina, 2001).

institutions have lack of more than 20 percents of the doctors, 10 percents of secondary and junior medical staff. Besides, in the country there are 1744 centers of social service for older people, including centers of temporary stay - 426, diurnal stay - 991. The number of the served persons was estimated as follows: at centers of temporary stay 44838 men; at centers of diurnal stay - 593911. Proportionally to the total number of the people in the age elder than 70 years these values are not so great – 0.4 % and 4.9 %. In 2000 the number of departments of a social domiciliary care for the elderly is equaled to 11444. The number of the served citizens has been only 1049 thousand of persons or 8.8 % of all people aged 70 or over.

The important factor influencing on well-being of households of the elderly, are the benefits, donations and privileges received in cash and non cash form. According to the Russian budget survey, in 1999 29% of the pensioners' households used benefits and donations for payment of transport services, 30 % of those households used donations and benefits for housing payment. In 1999 the size of the donation on payment of transport services per person for month has averaged 40 rubles (less than 2 dollars), the payment of housing - 36 rubles (Goskomstat, 2001). Other sorts of privileges and benefits (food, recreation, health services) were distributed to minor groups of the retiree (about 1-2 %).

Characteristic features of the Soviet economic system were: the deficit of the goods, undeveloped market of services and sphere of the credit with not high wages of the most part of employees. Under the conditions of almost universal female employment it, in particular, promoted engaging of grandmothers to nursing children, help in housekeeping.. The most part of services (washing, repair of clothes, daily cooking, etc.) was produced at home: many goods, housing obtainment, the access to services of the good doctors, teachers, etc. were realized through relatives and friendly channels. During reforms the deficit of goods was replaced by shortage of money. As a result of the prices increase on many elementary services - laundry, fashion house etc. - the size of their consumption was essentially reduced. The market of services of the elderly people and invalids nursing appeared. However the price level here was and is extremely high.

The credit is accessible only to richest part of the population. In the beginning of market reforms the elderly lost their saving due to the high rate inflation and financial pyramids. Low incomes prevent the most part of the elderly from considerable financial accumulation. According to the NNTO 35,7% of respondents have savings. The proportion of those who have savings increases with age. The average size of savings is 1,5 times more than median monetary income and 2 times more than median size of pension.

So, the limitation of resources and the defects in the mechanism of state economy, undeveloped market of services and credit provoke the people, with the purposes of maintaining a standard of life, in the greater degree use own resources, help of the relatives and friends. In Russia the elderly people tend to keep employment after retirement with the purpose of receiving additional income. In accordance with pension law dated 1992, the salary should be repaid to all working pensioners in complete size. In accordance with RLMS data, the proportion of working among the people of initial pension ages is 17.5% for women from 55 to 70 years, 22% for men from 60 to 70 years. By NNTO data these figures are equal correspondingly to 24,4% and 30%.

Important point of population adaptation to the new conditions of living is the development of domestic manufacturing, first of all food and services. In Russia the volume of production yielded by subsidiary farming on household plots increased in the 1990s by almost 25 %, while the common level of agrarian production has fallen at 40 %. According to NNTO survey data, more than 50 percents of the elderly inhabitants of three cities have a plot ("dacha") near cities. Due to this "Soviet" and post-soviet phenomenon in spring of 1998 65 % of households satisfied their needs in jam, about 60 % - in tinned vegetables and fruit, about 40 % - inpotatoes, more than 30 % - in other vegetables growing in an moderate climate of European Russia (cabbage, carrots, beet, onion, etc.). Certainly, the people in Russia change their consumer behavior, attempt to economize the financial resources under the conditions of new economy. In accordance with RLMS data in 1998 more than 60 % of the respondents in all age groups follow (accept) this strategy of behavior in purchase of food and durables.

At the same time, solidarity with relatives and friends is saved and developed. So, by RLMS data, 30 % of the men and 40 % of the women of the respondents in age groups 20-30 years old ask the relatives for material help. In age elder than 60 years such help are asked by only 5 % of the men and 12 % of the women. To look for support at friends are much rarely and as a rule among the respondents in the ages from 20 to 40 years. The help of the state is asked absolutely by few: among young people - only 3 % of respondents, and among seniors - 4 % of the men and 6 % of the women.

Two approaches to the explanation of motives for support transfers dominate in scientific literature: the altruism model of Becker and exchange-based model (Becker, 1994; Bernheim, Shleifer, and Summers, 1985; Cox, 1987; Holtz-Eakin and Smeeding, 1994). For Russia the altruistic model is preferable. Altruistic behavior was inoculated to the Soviet people by circumstances: it helped them to overcome difficulties of Civil and World War II, socialist transformation. Eventually the most part of the people dispossessed the properties and had only the most necessary things. The most part of earnings was left for current consumption and investments in children. Probably, people began to make real accumulations of money, purchase

durable goods, and real estate in the end of 1960. Then they gradually enlarged. However the size of these accumulations are small for the major part of population. It is difficult to say under such conditions that children provide care to their parents in exchange for financial help or the promise of an inheritance.

Sample and transfers

In survey, carried out in three Russian cities, intergenerational transfers of the elderly were measured by distinguishing several dimension of exchange - financial (gratuity), financial (loan), material, instrumental and functional. Giving and receiving support were separately ascertained for each of these dimensions, besides functional support. The first type of financial support represents gratuitous transfers of money during previous year. The second type of financial support consists of lending out money to the elderly and, vice a versa, grant by them of the loan to other people during previous year. Material transfers include exchange of various subjects (except food : by clothes, house-wares, durables, etc. during the previous year.

The survey provided us with information about frequency of gratuitous financial and material transfers between the older people, on the one hand, and their relatives, friends, other people, on another (table 6). On the whole financial and material support of the seniors is not widespread so much and is not so regular , in comparison with the support, which they provide their relatives and friends with.

Table 6. Frequency of financial and material transfers of the elderly aged 55 or over
(Percentage of respondents received/given support)

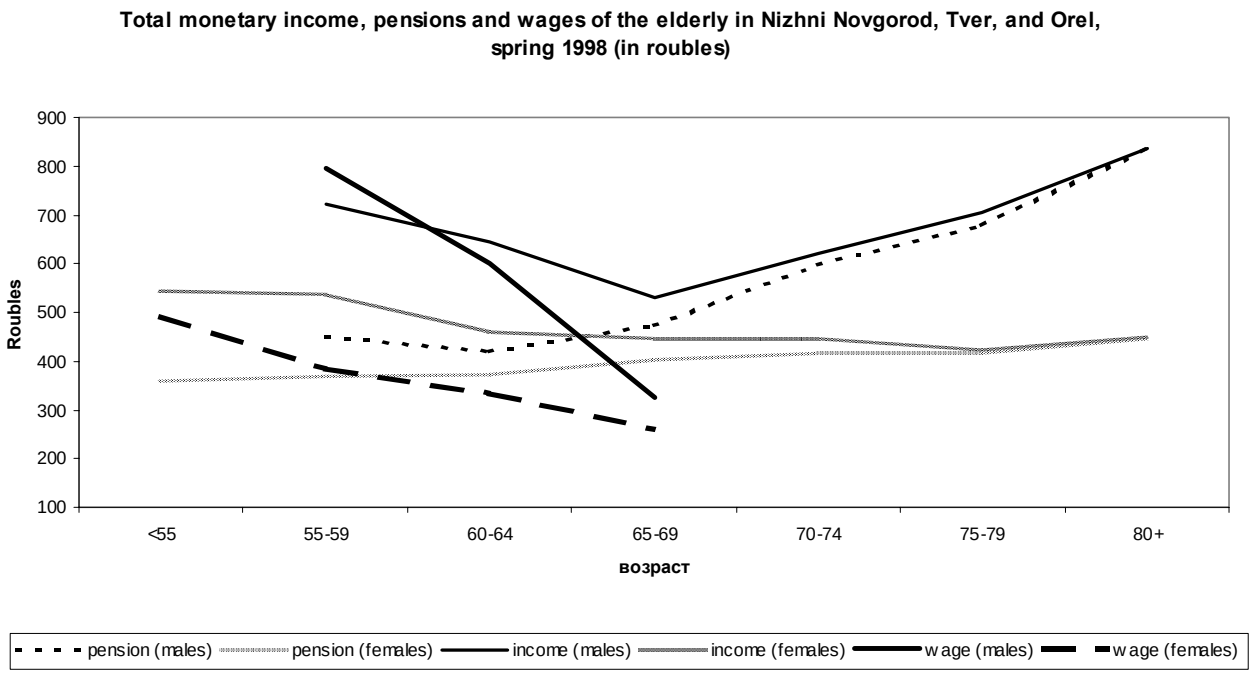
Type of transfers	Total in year	Including:		
		Every month	3-4 times in year	1-2 times in year
Financial support (gratuity)				
Received	7,4	11,8	11,8	76,4
Gave	26,4	42,2	24,2	33,6
Material support				
Received	21,9	3,0	23,2	73,8
Gave	40,2	9,9	49,3	40,8

Instrumental support received by the elderly was measured with the help of their answers about reception of instrumental activities dealing with everyday living (IADL) which include cooking, shopping, washing, cleaning the apartment. The elderly respondents were classified as recipients of instrumental support, if they received at least one of the IADL. Similarly, they were considered to be providers of instrumental support if they helped someone in the same activities mentioned above plus child caring. In this report respondent was considered to be a recipient or provider of instrumental support, if the cases of support were observed more often than one time

per month. Functional support received by the elderly was measured by the hygienic assistance (toilet, bathing, dressing) they received, according to their report, during sick period.

The characteristic of sampling and the common results of survey concerning transfers, are given in the annex 1. Expectedly the proportion of respondents who give different types of support, decrease with age, and the proportion of those, who receive the functional and instrumental transfers support is enlarged. A considerable part of people in the oldest age requires these types of help. In accordance with results of other surveys of elderly population, the greatest part receiving the functional and instrumental support is observed among those, who live with a spouse and/or children. The state of the elderly living alone is alarming enough. The most part of them does not receive functional and instrumental support. The rather low level of involvement in transfer exchange testifies to the high degree of social isolation of the elderly in one-person households.

In the survey the disability was defined in accordance with official definition accepted in Russian Federation. The respondent was considered to be a disable person, if he/she was included in one of three groups of disability by the Bureau of medical-social expertise. Those respondents, who have a permanent job at the moment of interview, have got a status of a employee. The distribution of respondents' income by sex and age is represented very interesting. Extra ordinance of a situation consists in parabolic change of the level of the incomes for the men (picture 3). First, it is linked with the cohort effect: the veterans of the World War II (alongside with the former servicemen) receive the highest pensions. Secondly, in ages from 55 to 59 years the majority of the men works. The similar distribution of income by age and sex can be seen in the RLMS data.



Picture 3.

Totally the proportion of respondents, who have received and have given financial (gratuitous) support, is 7.4 % and 21.9 %; financial (loan) support – 30.1 % and 27,6 %; material supports – 26.4 % and 40.2 %; instrumental support – 60.2 % and 46 %. The functional help are received about 30 % of the respondents. For information we turn to the data on transfers of the elderly taken from other surveys, which were carried out in Russia. The comparative analysis here is impossible, because the surveys differed by the questionnaires, sample size and structure, methods of interview. At the same time, it extends the representation dealing with the scales of intergenerational transfers of the elderly people in Russian Federation.

According to the data of "Taganrog - three and a half " survey carried out in 1994, 40 % of the respondents (men aged 60 years or over, women aged 55 years or over) gave financial and material support care to children and grandsons (Rimashevskaya, 1997). By the results of survey in St.-Petersburg devoted to problems of poverty, 23 % of households, consisting of couples without children where the husband aged 50 years or over, received material support from the relatives and friends (Ovcharova and Prokofyeva, 2000). In accordance with the results of survey of alone people aged 60 years or over carried out in 1999 in Moscow (N=76), 25 % of the respondents received material support from children, 11.7 % - instrumental help, 56.6 % - care during illness (Rimashevskaya, 2001). It is possible to install from the RLMS that during 30 days before interview 20.2 % of the respondents' household with the elderly aged 55 years and over received gratuitous financial and material support from the relatives, who are not the members of these households. At the same time 24.9 % of households with the elderly gave such support to

the relatives living separately from them. More than 14.5% of households received gratuitously money from organizations, 5.2 % - from their friends.

Recipients and providers of support

One of the tasks of the analysis of transfer flows consists in determination of their origin and destination. For this purpose the respondents were questioned about - who gave them support and to whom they gave support. They should specify only one, main helper and one, main receiver for their instrumental and functional transfers. In the case of financial and material flows the respondent should specify as many counteragents as he/she considered necessary. The analysis of the information about directions of transfer flows reconfirms the idea, that in the network of the relatives and friends there was an original division of labor on rendering reciprocal support (Curtis, Bucquet and Colvez, 1992; Dooghe, 1992). The informal support of the seniors goes out of the border of household and even kin group.

Almost in half of cases the main donors of the gratuitous financial help are not the relatives (table 7). It, perhaps, is an exclusive sphere, where the formal organizations have such a noticeable influence. Really, it is necessary to make a specification: the gratuitous financial help does is not so widespread, as the other forms of support. The role of the non-relatives – friends and neighbors - is very significant in the sphere of the micro credit relations. More than 80% of the respondents are connected with them in this sphere.

Table 7. Distribution of recipient and provider relationships by types of transfers

Relationship	Financial (gratuity) support		Material support		Financial support	
	Providers	Recipients	Providers	Recipients	Providers	Recipients
Parents	-	6,5	-	5,9	1,7	-
Children co-resident	8,7	17,6	25,6	37,3	3,2	5,6
Grandchildren co-resident	-,	0,8	2,5	1,5		
Children non-resident	37,7	74,2	54,2	73,5	9,7	14,9
Siblings living separately	-	6,9	6,4	15,1	7,6	4,0
Other relatives	4,3	7,3	4,4	10,2	11,9	8,5
Friends	1,4	2,0	6,9	13,7	30,9	28,2
Neighbors	2,9	1,6	-	1,9	52,9	54,0
Others	-	2,4	-	1,9	5,8	5,6
Former place of Job	27,5	-	7,4	-	-	-
Organizations	20,3	-	-	-	-	-

Note: columns do not sum to 100 percent because of several variants of answer given by one respondent

The elderly people in Russian province more often create the relations with children on a gratuitous basis. Children are the main objects of the material and financial care from the side of the elderly people. At the same time, 80 % of the respondents, received material support, have specified children as main providers of this support; 47 % of the respondents, received gratuitous

financial support, have mentioned children among the main sources of it. In common, material transfers, versus financial, are distributed in the most cases by relative channels. An interesting fact attracts attention:, non co-resident children are more often named among sources or purposes of the material support, than co-resident children. As a rule in the surveys similar to the NNTO are taken into account the material and financial flows, which exist between children and parents living separately. These flows, connected with co-residence, both on the part of children, and on the part of the parents are not taken into account in less size. Co-residence is an important dimension of the support exchange system between generations (Saad, 1998). Judging by data in the table 8, it is possible to assume, that there is an asymmetry between flows of transfers, going from the respondents both their relatives and friends. It is reconfirmed by quantitative estimation as well. So, the elderly have taken in the debt within one year almost twice more money, than have granted another: 49455 rubles against 26456.

The relatives are main characters in providing instrumental and functional support. More than 85 % of such cases in our survey were connected with the respondents' spouse or children. However, the participation in support exchange depends from living arrangement of respondents (table 8, 9). For the alone people non-relatives are an important source of the care. In a married couple, naturally, main helper is the spouse. In the households which consist of unmarried respondents and other relatives, main sources of the functional or instrumental care are co-resident children.

Table 8. Distribution of instrumental helper relationships by living arrangement
(Percent of helpers)

Relationship	Single	Couple	Couple and other	Other	Total
Spouse	-	97,8	74,5	-	54.9
Children co-resident	-	-	21,8	69.4	28.1
Grandchildren co-resident	-	-	1,4	8.5	3.0
Children non-resident	32,7	2.0	0.2	5.1	4.1
Grandchildren, non-resident	4,7	-	-	-	0.3
Siblings	6,5	-	-	2.7	1.2
Child-in- law	3,7	0.2	1,9	11.0	4.2
Other relatives	7,5		0,2	3.3	0.6
Other person	44,9	-	-		2.6
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Table 9. Distribution of functional helper relationships by living arrangement
(Percent of helpers)

Relationship	Single	Couple	Couple and other	Other	Total
Spouse	-	92.8	75,0	-	50.0
Children co-resident	-	-	22.4	66.2	25.2
Grandchildren co-resident	-	-	-	11.7-	3.3
Children non-resident	63.5	6.0	-	9.1	11.1
Siblings		1.2		5.2	1.9
Child-in- law	6.1	-	-	3.9	1.9
Other relatives	12.2			3.9	4.4
Other person	18.2	-	-	-	2.2
Total	100	100	100	100	100

As we can see in table 10, the individual providing instrumental or functional support is substantially more likely to be female than male, regardless of the relationship. Similar gender difference is marked in many researches. There is an asymmetry of duties in 'couple without relatives' household. A wife plays more essential role as helper than a husband. Besides, in all other households the main assistant is the daughter. Other assistants are also females (sister, granddaughter, daughter in law, etc.). But the role of the daughter is great even in those households, which, besides a couple, include children and other relatives.

Table 10. Percentage of females among helpers by relationship of helper

Relationship	Instrumental	Functional
Spouse	78.0	80.9
Children	87.5	83.8
Grandchildren	78.7	77.8
Siblings	95.5	100
Child-in- law	94.9	100
Other relatives	91.7	100
Other person	100	100

Characteristics of respondents and transfers

Direction and size of transfers of the elderly people depends on many factors. Some of them are determined by personal and behavioral characteristics of the elderly people; others refer to their informal environment; third reflect the influence of various formal organizations and institutes on them. We tried to estimate the effect of some individual characteristics of the respondents on their inclination to be involved in support exchange of all types (instrumental, material, functional, and both financial). To realize this goal a set of logistic models was used. Dependent variables in these models are binary response on several covariates - independent variable. Their value was equal to 1, if the respondent received or gave support, and to 0 otherwise. As independently variables were used listed in the table attributes of respondents (annex 1). The detailed description of variables is given in the table 11. There are some new variables - POVERTY, DAUGHTER, CHILD_SPR.

Table 11. Definition of the variables related to the elderly for logistic models of support transfers

Variables	Definition
Sex	1 if respondent is a woman
AGE_1	1 if respondent is in the age group from 55 to 65
AGE_3	1 if respondent is in the age 75 and more
MARRIED	1 if respondent is married
WIDOWED	1 if respondent is widowed
DIVORSED	1 if respondent is divorced
ALONE	1 if respondent lives in one person household
DISABILI	1 if respondent is disable person
WORK	1 if respondent is working
EDUC_1	1 if respondent graduated university or college
EDUC_3	1 if respondent has less than 10 years of school
DAUGHTER	1 if respondent has a daughter
CHLD_0	1 if respondent has not living children
CHLD_3	1 if number of living children is 3 and more
CHILD_SPR	1 if respondent has non co-resident living children
POVERTY	1 respondent spent for basic needs more than 80% of his income
INCOME_1	1 respondent's income is less than 400 roubles per month
INCOME_3	1 respondent's income is more than 700 roubles per month

The variable POVERTY is used as indicator of standard of life to proxy the potential of financial and material transfers. As is known, the size of monetary incomes, without correction on the size of household and the needs of its members, does not give a complete picture of well-being of that household. To estimate of well-being it was applied the share of expenditure on basic needs in total monetary income of the respondent. Actually, it was picked out the group of the poorest, which includes 40 % of the respondents, spent more than 80% of their incomes only on basic needs. The variable DAUGHTER reflects the fact, that in most cases main functional and instrumental helper of the elderly people, who are not married, is a daughter. The variable CHILD_SPR helps to estimate the role of non co-resident children in transfers exchange.

The estimated coefficients of the logistics regression are shown in annex 2. Separate equations were estimated for each class of transfers. As this table indicates, the sex of the respondent has a substantial effect on receiving of the help and practically has not effect on providing support for the relatives and friends. The women receive the financial support rather than men, and the men will be rather provided with the functional and instrumental help. The age of respondent influences on the propensity to receive support. There are statistically significant effects of AGE_1 on material and financial (loan) support, and AGE_3 – on functional and instrumental support. It is not a surprise to see the negative effect of being in the older age group on receiving loans.

Marital status practically does not influence on propensity to any kind on transfer support. Unless only divorced respondents has statistically significant effect on giving material

support to the children and other relatives. Not marital status but living arrangement of the seniors is important factor of transfers. It effects essentially on the propensity to provide and receive instrumental and financial support. Apparently, that the people living in household with the spouse, children or other relatives, have more chances to be involved in exchange of the services (time), than people living alone.

It is strange, but the substantial role of disability and employment in the system of transfers is appears only in the financial help. Certainly it should be connected with defects in the official definition of disability in Russia and unsatisfactory characteristics of health of the elder population as a whole. It is observed a negative effect of the working status on receiving of the financial help. However, there are not statistically significant connections with all other positions. In some sense, the results for educational variables were unexpected for us. The people with a low educational level have the large propensity to help children. It is possible to put forward several hypotheses explaining that phenomenon. Probably, it is explained by a rural origin and more traditional behavior of the persons with a low educational level. May be, their children live in more serious financial condition.

Tendency to participate in transfer exchanges does not depend on amount of living children. Russian families, in the majority, are small with one or two children. As it was demonstrated, main caregivers for the elderly, especial for men, are the spouses. If there are not children and spouse, then in the case of co-residence grandsons support their grandparents. The variable CHILD_SPR has more importance than other child variables. The presence of non co-resident children has a significant effect on financial and material flows of their elderly parents. Probably by that way non co-resident children compensate the deficit of instrumental support for their parents.

The variable POVERTY has more important effect on transfers than the rest income variables. As one would expect it has a negative effects on providing material and two financial support, and positive effect on receiving financial support (loan). The positive dependence between poverty and functional support requires deeper analysis. The low level of total incomes limits possibilities of the elderly people to provide with financial support the relatives and friends. But at the same time, it is observed the negative effect of low income on the propensity to receive material and financial support. High incomes influence on propensity of receiving and providing of transfers support not so strongly as it was expected. But the difference between incomes of the rich and poor elderly people is not so considerable - only about 20 dollars according to NNTO survey.

Conclusion

Intergenerational transfers continue to play important role in life of the elderly in Russia. The basis of the research is the data collected during the sample survey “Economic behavior of the seniors", carried out in 1998 in Nizhni Novgorod, Orel and Tver. The parents as a whole help their children more, except for the most senior ages. While the cases of instrumental support are more frequent among the co-residing relatives, the financial and material transfers are more frequent among the separately residing parents and children. The instrumental transfers are most widely spread, within them strong gender differences are observed. The cases of the gratuitous financial support are relatively few. Compared to financial transfers, twice as much respondent were involved in the exchange of products and things. The lonesome people receive the same level of material and financial support as other elders. The social policy in Russia should be directed towards rising of incomes and development of free-for-all high-quality system of public health services. If their incomes grow, some 36% of the respondents answered they will nourish better, 25% - will spend money for medical treatment, 13% - will help their children more.

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ANNEX 1

Sample distribution and proportion of elderly received support by attributes and type of support, Nizhni Novgorod, Tver and Orel, 1998.

Attributes of the Elderly	Sample Size		Material Support		Financial (gratuity) support		Financial (loan) support		Functional	Instrumental support	
	Absolute	%	Received	Gave	Received	Gave	Received	Gave	Received	Received	Gave
Age											
50-54	99	9.6	32,7	59,6	12,5	28,8	44,2	30,4	19.4		
55-65	476	46.3	23,7	48,3	7,4	28,8	38,0	30,6	26.0	59.7	56.7
65-75	308	30.0	19,2	37,7	8,8	25,0	24,3	24,5	28.6	59.1	40.3
75+	144	14.0	21,5	18,8	4,9	20,1	17,4	20,8	45.1	64.6	22.9
Sex											
Male	326	35.1	21,2	43,9	4,0	29,1	24,1	29,7	39,0	79.8	49.1
Female	602	64.9	22,3	38,3	9,3	24,5	33,6	25,6	24,9	49.7	44.4
Marital status											
Single	41	4.4	5,0	14,6	7,3	7,3	14,6	29,3	20,0	34.1	26.8
Married	461	29.7	21,0	45,6	5,9	32,8	28,3	30,1	37,0	76.4	55.5
Divorced	108	11.6	27,8	49,1	5,6	23,1	42,6	19,4	16,0	37.0	47.2
Widowed	318	34.3	23,7	32,5	10,4	20,1	31,0	23,6	26,7	48.1	34.3
Living Arrangement											
Alone	222	23.9	18.9	31,8	12,2	23,0	30,6	26,7	16,3	18.5	19.4
Only spouse	224	24.1	22,9	50,0	6,7	39,3	19,7	32,6	38.0	76.3	58.0
Spouse and others	222	23.9	18,5	43,7	4,5	26,6	36,4	30,6	34,8	78.4	53.2
Others	260	28.0	26,6	36,7	6,5	18,1	33,3	20,2	30,2	66.5	52.3
Living Children											
None	123	13.3	17,1	21,1	12,2	8,9	26,0	26,2	25,6	43.1	27.6
1	351	37.8	21,1	38,3	5,4	25,8	29,6	27,7	28,9	58.7	52.1
2	377	40.6	22,3	48,0	8,5	30,3	34,7	27,7	29,2	65.8	48.3
3+	77	8.3	31,2	41,6	3,9	35,1	15,6	23,4	44,2	67.5	36.4
Education											
University and college	147	15.8	22,4	23,1	9,5	15,6	31,5	22,8	42,2	61.9	31.3
High school	376	40.5	19,7	37,5	5,9	23,1	34,9	23,5	30,3	57.4	46.3
Basic	405	43.6	23,8	49,0	8,1	33,3	25,2	32,2	24,9	62.2	51.1
Working Status											
Currently Working	164	17.7	25,2	55,8	7,9	37,2	32,3	35,3	24,4	60.3	44.2
Not working	764	82.3	21,2	36,8	5,5	23,8	29,8	25,3	31,0	59.8	54.3
Disability											
Yes	315	33.9	24,4	38,7	9,5	26,7	29,3	27,9	36,5	65.1	40.0

No	613	66.1	20,6	40,9	6,4	25,9	30,7	26,6	26,4	57.7	49.1
Income (roubles)											
<400	421	38.0	16,2	36,1	5,5	20,7	33,3	22,9	25,4	53.9	47.0
400-700	353	45.4	27,1	38,1	10,5	26,6	30,7	24,9	34,3	62.0	42.5
700+	154	16.6	26,0	56,5	6,5	41,6	20,3	44,3	32,0	73.4	51.3
Total	928		26.4	40.2	7.4	21.9	30.1	27.6	29.6	60.2	46.0

Note: not including women younger 55 years besides attribute “Age”
Numbers may not sum to 100 due to rounding

ANNEX 2

Table Estimated coefficients from logistic regression of the elderly to be involved in support transfers, Nizhni Novgorod, Tver, Orel

Variables	Support received					Support given			
	Financial (gratuity)	Material	Financial (loan)	Functional	Instrumental	Financial (gratuity)	Material	Financial (loan)	Instrumental
SEX	1,012**	0,064	0,43*	-0,474**	-1,058***	0,322	0,133	0,171	0,311
AGE_1	0,432	0,777**	0,585**	0,119	-0,069	0,195	0,393	0,44	0,443*
AGE_3	-0,637	0,259	-0,757**	0,759***	0,71**	-0,141	-0,419	-0,101	-0,222
MARRIED	0,745	0,051	0,343	0,659	0,4	0,378	0,608	0,107	0,089
WIDOWED	0,806	0,527	0,602	0,251	0,127	-0,317	0,494	-0,231	-0,139
DIVORSED	0,077	0,702	0,689	-0,003	-0,341	-0,176	0,871*	-0,657	-0,05
ALONE	0,645	-0,446	-0,006	-0,811***	-2,334***	0,31	-0,269	0,327	-1,484***
DISABILI	0,55*	0,292	0,199	0,21	0,105	0,091	0,09	0,157	-0,302
WORK	-0,999*	-0,023	0,002	-0,23	-0,111	0,003	0,132	-0,02	0,072
EDUC_1	-0,715	-0,222	-0,171	-0,446*	-0,287	0,324	0,396	-0,258	0,356
EDUC_3	-0,312	-0,033	-0,613*	-0,679**	-0,01	0,661*	0,727**	-0,002	0,606**
DAUGHTER	0,472	0,203	0,126	0,163	0,463*	0,104	0,051	-0,076	-0,011
CHLD_0	1,062	0,467	-0,032	0,201	-0,056	-0,733	-0,39	-0,112	-0,406
CHLD_3	-0,682	0,447	-0,659	0,285	-0,155	0,387	0,234	-0,13	-0,328
CHILD_SPR	0,278	0,528*	0,055	0,019	-0,402	0,765**	0,431*	0,053	0,068
POVERTY	0,143	-0,208	0,328**	0,603***	-0,031	-0,659***	-0,826***	-0,593***	0,134
INCOME_3	0,345	-0,361	-0,411	0,073	-0,038	0,262	0,096	0,579*	-0,171
INCOME_1	-0,775*	-0,971***	-0,129	-0,211	-0,327	-0,484*	-0,381*	-0,296	-0,095
Constant	-4,173***	-1,976***	-1,595***	-1,097*	1,669***	-1,994***	-1,31**	-0,871	-0,505

Significance level: * - p<0.05; ** - p<0.01; *** - p<0.0001