A Comparative Study of Migrant Interactions with Elderly Parents in Rural Cambodia and Thailand

Zachary Zimmer
University of Utah

Kim Korinek
University of Utah

John Knodel
University of Michigan

Napaporn Chayovan
Chulalongkorn University

ABSTRACT

Internal migration in Southeast Asia raises questions about strains upon traditional systems of support for older adults. While remittances to origin households can play a role in rural household economies, uncertainty remains regarding whether and under which circumstances children interact with their elderly parents. This paper focuses on the adult children of older persons living in rural communities in two countries – Thailand and Cambodia – and examines the tendency and determinants of money remittances, more general forms of household support and personal visits. Data is from the 2004 SEC (Cambodia) and 1995 SWET (Thailand). Specifically, the analyses consider what spatially-dispersed children do to support parents, whether traits of parents, children, or households from which they originate, enhance or detract from these intergenerational interactions, and how determinants of intergenerational interaction vary across these two Southeast Asian countries. Comparisons of conditions and characteristics across Thai and Cambodian families allow for insights into refining notions of how social, economic and cultural forces motivate provision of support to aging parents.

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INTRODUCTION

The late 20th century has witnessed dramatic demographic and economic changes in parts of the developing world, including Southeast Asia. In many ways, these changes create challenges for older adults. For one, declines in fertility, in some cases more rapid and pervasive than expected, brought fertility levels close to, and often below, replacement in many countries (Bongaarts 2002). Consequently, the absolute and relative size of the elderly population has begun to accelerate within many Asian nations (Sagaza 2004; Sokolovsky 2001). In addition, rapid urbanization, a by-product of social and economic development and changes in labor and industry, and the subsequent selective out-migration of young adults from rural villages, has exacerbated population aging in rural locales (Knodel and Saengtienchai 2007; Kreager 2006; Watkins and Ulack 1991). The corresponding rise in elderly dependency ratios in rural communities of Asia, and the potential implications that this may have for the support of older adults, has led some to suggest that a potential catastrophe is looming (Chan 1999; Phillips 2000; UN 1999; World Bank 1994).

The voices of alarm reflect current questions and concerns about how a more mobile and modernizing working-age population will be equipped to provide the material and physical supports for an expanding population of older adults who continue to live in rural Asia, especially those in advanced stages of old age, ill health and weakened physical states. Traditionally, most Asian societies have relied heavily on intergenerational familial exchanges as a means of supporting the older generation, with resource transfers flowing toward older, dependent parents (Mason 1992). These family-based systems of support are premised upon the assumption that older adults have some living children, that at least some coreside or live nearby, and that they behave in a filial manner (Smith 1998). Yet, it is increasingly common to come across anecdotal evidence that points to a breakdown of support systems. It is thought that the structural transformations occasioned by population aging, urbanization, and development, undermine traditional, family-based systems of support and security for the aged in places where formal support structures are weak. But, while macro-level demographic and socio-economic shifts give legitimacy to concerns about intergenerational support systems, the impact of migration on family support networks have not, until very recently, been examined

systematically or very extensively. As a result, it is still difficult to deduce whether, and under which circumstances, "migration is a cause of vulnerability in old age" (Kreager 2006:38-39).

The analysis that follows in the current paper attends to a gap in the literature by focusing on several specific questions. First, to what extent are older adults being abandoned in rural areas? Second, what are the characteristics of migrating children and do they differ from those that live closer to older aged parents? Third, do interactions between adult children and their aged parents differ depending upon residential proximity? Fourth, what are the determinants of specific types of intergenerational interaction? These questions are being asked in relation to adult children and their older parents living in both Cambodia and Thailand. The value of comparative research for understanding the well-being of older adults has been recognized and illustrated in a series of recent publications (Albert and Cattell 1994; Bengtson et al. 2000; Chi, Chappell and Lubben 2001; Frankenburg et al. 2002; Liang et al. 1991; Melzer et al 2004; Minicuci et al 2004; National Research Council 2001; Su and Ferraro 1997). Jointly, these writings underscore the benefits that comparative research has for highlighting the diversity that exists in aging across cultures and geographical locations while questioning conventional wisdom. In addition to investigating the issue of support by migrating children, the contrast between Thailand and Cambodia allows us to gain some leverage on the implications of cultural norms versus economic and demographic realities for the well-being and support of older adults in rural areas.

Thailand and Cambodia share a common geography and many aspects of culture, such as bilateral kinship systems and popular Buddhism. Yet, they differ widely with respect to living standards, demographic background and historical circumstances. Thailand has witnessed particularly rapid economic growth, and the resultant social implications of this development have been wide ranging. Fertility in Thailand fell sharply since the late 1960s to below replacement by the 1990s, while fertility in Cambodia has remained high, with total fertility rates of above 5 until shortly before 2000 (United Nations 2005a). Cambodia has not experienced the same level of economic growth as has Thailand, although there has been some recent expansion of its garment industry in and around the capital city, Phnom Penh. As a result, Cambodia is far less developed than Thailand and rural areas of the country are particularly poverty stricken. The lack of

economic progress in Cambodia is at least in part an aftermath of years of civil war and the brutal and genocidal Khmer Rouge regime that controlled the country in the 1970s (Chandler 2000). The Khmer Rouge period has had other long-term impacts that are consequential for support of older adults. For instance, high mortality during the period has led to some depletion of support sources for today's older adults (Zimmer et al. 2006). The dataset for Thailand that we use is from 1995; therefore it was collected prior to the economic crisis of 1997 and indeed during a period of rapid economic growth. The data for Cambodia were collected in 2004. One likely implication of this difference for labor migration is that even in 1995 opportunities for working age adults of rural origin to find employment outside the agricultural sector, especially in urbanized areas, were greater in Thailand than they are in Cambodia today.

Migrant remittance has been examined in the Thai context from a variety of perspectives, including that of the migrant and parent in origin household, and with a variety of methodological approaches, from case studies to nationally representative surveys (e.g., Knodel & Saengtienchai 2007; Korinek & Entwisle 2006; Osaki 2003; Vanwey 2004). Other types of interaction between migrant children and parents have been studied less frequently. In the case of Cambodia, the residential arrangements and support relations that link elderly adults and their adult children remain largely unknown. By formulating a comparative perspective we do more than add Cambodia to the literature on intergenerational support in Southeast Asia. A cross-national comparison gives expression to common and distinctive approaches that emerge in the face of population migration (Lowenstein and Daatland 2006). Moreover, cross-national comparison of intergenerational interactions provides insights for refining theoretical perspectives on the social, economic and cultural forces that motivate migrants to remit and otherwise extend assistance to their origin households and aged parents.

BACKGROUND AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

In countries like Thailand and Cambodia, where formal forms of old-age assistance are weakly developed, and informal, family-based support has been the predominant form of security for older persons, socioeconomic and demographic changes have the potential to drive shifts in intergenerational interactions

(Aboderin 2005; Sokolovsky 2001). For instance, migration itself has been shown to have substantial impacts on living arrangements of elderly persons in the developing world (United Nations 2005b), while internal and cross-border migrations have given rise to concern that traditional modes of social and economic support will be eroded through diminished social contact and decay of normative patterns of intergenerational filial obligation (Apt 2001; Chan 1999; Hermalin 2002). Indeed, select voices from the scholarly community and popular press have suggested that older adults are increasingly being left behind by their mobile, individualistic minded children (Apt 1998; Charasdamrong 1992; French, 2006; United Nations 2002). For example, research in China (Ikels and Beall 1993) has suggested that intergenerational contracts of parental support by sons have been weakened by the pull of urban labor market opportunities, a decline in psychological and material incentives to support, and the erosion of village social controls to penalize neglectful children. Studies in other parts of the developing world have resulted in similar concerns (e.g., Goldstein et al. 1983; Watkins and Ulack 1991). These sentiments echo a long prominent notion among western social scientists and gerontologists that modernization contributes to abandonment of older people by their families (Aboderin 2004).

However, another body of literature paints a picture somewhat less dire (Knodel & Saengtienchai 2007). Rather than focusing solely on negative aspects, this research illuminates both the detriments and benefits of demographic change and migration for older adults (Mason 1992). These studies suggest that, even in settings of modernization, urbanization, and population mobility, it is the exceptional few elders who are completely abandoned. Migration may rather reflect a household economic strategy that produces benefits to older adults (Itzigsohn 1995; Stark and Bloom 1985; Stark and Lucas 1988). Although less pervasive than in decades past, coresidence with adult children remains common in many countries of Southeast Asia, even in the midst of heightened population mobility and urbanization (Chan 2005; Frankenberg et al 2002; Knodel and Debavalya 1997; Knodel et al. 2005; Ofstedal et al. 1999). Attitudinal research demonstrates strong, widespread adherence to the idea that children's primary responsibility is to care for their parents when they grow old (Wongsith 1994). Even when they migrate substantial distances from home, adult children may continue to be a source of valuable information and remittances (Velkoff

2001). Thus, despite demographic transformations that influence living arrangements, filial loyalty and intergenerational transfers may continue to be the prominent bases of elderly support systems across a wide range of Asian societies (Ofstedal, Knodel and Chayovan 1999). As Kreager (2006:56) explains, the combination of population aging and population mobility has "intricate and varied welfare implications," which can only be understood through thoughtful analyses of the economic and support relations in which elder adults are embedded.

Continued intergenerational exchange after migration reinforces an altruistic framework that has often been used to elucidate children's remittance patterns to older parental households. Altruism assumes a co-operative familial organization and a mutual concern for family that engenders insurance in the face of risk or crisis (Becker 1974). Remittance and other forms of support are granted due to concern for the welfare of family members towards whom an individual feels a sense of filial obligation or affinity. If migrant children are part of a cooperative family-based arrangement that aims to ensure the welfare of all members, then all migrant children will not support parents in equal amounts, with equal regularity, or in similar ways. Rather, interactions with parents will be moderated by life circumstances faced by the migrant, the supportive acts of other family members, and the older parent's need for support and assistance. Children's propensity to support parents will be further conditioned by societal expectations and cultural norms, as is reflected in the gender disparities in remitting and parental support observed in some settings (Curran 1996; Osaki 2003; Vanwey 2004). Previous scholars have asserted that, where altruism motivates transfers, at any point in time characteristics indicative of need should be positively associated with the receipt of transfers in the form of remittance and/or instrumental support (Frankenberg et al. 2002; Kaufman and Lindauer 1986; Lee et al. 1994; Massey and Basem 1992). Altruistically motivated transfers, it is argued, are more important for household functioning in low income settings, and in these settings one is more likely to provide support to a family member whose income has fallen below a low, threshold level (Diaz and Echevarria 2002).

Related to an altruistic point of view is a vulnerabilities framework that recognizes risk in old age as being highly variable. Rather than treating chronological age as indicative of dependency and disablement for all older adults, or presuming that rising rates of old-age dependency represent demographic crises, the

framework advocates for attending to subgroups of older adults defined by characteristics indicative of social status, income security, family structure, social networks, physical health conditions, and other traits that relate to dependence (Kreager 2006:41; Schroder-Butterfill and Marianti 2006a). For example, an older adult's vulnerability and thus need for support is linked to factors such as their income generating potential, their physical and emotional health, and their current social situation, such as their marital status and living arrangements. For example, although widowhood often implies loss of an important social tie and loss of an economically productive spouse, the degree of vulnerability associated with widowhood depends on other factors – such as whether the widow is impoverished or childless, whether the widow coresides with children or other relatives, and the individual's physical functioning capabilities (Dreze 1990; Mason 1992; Sengupta and Agree 2002; Sokolovsky 2001). Moreover, an influence likely to mitigate the association of material assistance is that the adult children of the neediest older adults may be the least well off themselves; that is, there is likely an intergenerational transmission of poverty.

Although frequently discussed within these frameworks, the health and disability status of aged parents has not often been addressed in analytical models predicting remittance or other types of intergenerational interaction. It is especially important to attend to elderly parents' experience with physical disabilities that may inhibit both productive employment and self-care. Several studies (Frankenberg et al. 2002; Kreager 2006; Petrova 2003) have shown health and healthcare crises are salient factors influencing patterns of children's coresidence and intergenerational support. [Collectively, this research suggests that health and marital status are suitable proxies for parental need.] For parents facing physical difficulties in performing daily activities, the need for both remittance and instrumental support will be heightened. Not only is the ability to perform productive labor curtailed, but parents may require assistance even to complete activities necessary for daily survival, such as bathing and eating. The experience of physical disability, especially when elderly parents have a deficit of local social and economic resources, is a unique form of vulnerability to which altruistically-motivated children's support behavior will respond.

In the current paper, we begin descriptively, examining the extent to which migration of adult children results in older adults being 'left behind' in rural areas, the residential location of adult children vis-à-

vis their parent, and several forms of intergenerational interaction across residential location of adult children. Specifically, we consider whether the adult child visits their older parent in the rural area, provides general household assistance, or gives money to their parent. We then move on to assess factors that promote these various types of interaction. The perspective we adopt, which combines the altruistic and vulnerability frameworks, leads us to hypothesize that children are responsive to perceived levels of dependence and need being experienced by elderly parents. Therefore, when parents live in isolation and when their capacity for performing productive labor or generating income is restricted, the probability of visits, remittance and household support is heightened. However, the altruistic framework further suggests that support is generated in a cooperative way, and therefore intergenerational interaction is additionally a function of an adult child's own social circumstances and characteristics. Moreover, the presence of other kin, in particular working age siblings of the migrant, alleviates pressures to provide support. Consequently, parents, even when children have migrated, are thought to receive support and care through a variety of flexible co-residential and economic support arrangements. We also suspect that it will be a rare occasion in which older parents are left behind.

The comparative aspect of our analysis is also a focal point. Socioeconomic conditions being more favorable in 1995 in Thailand in comparison to 2004 in Cambodia, we expect remittances to be more substantial in Thailand. However, we would hypothesize that despite differences in actual levels of remittance, associations, such as those relating dependence and vulnerability of parents and the tendency to remit, are similar across countries.

DATA AND MEASURES

The comparative perspective that is adopted in this paper is made possible by parallel surveys implemented in neighboring countries of Thailand and Cambodia. Although the surveys are nine years apart, they employed similar lines of questioning and schemes of categorization, which allow for meaningful comparison across national boundaries. For Thailand, data are from the 1995 Survey of the Welfare of Elderly in Thailand (SWET). SWET involved a national probability sample of 7,708 individuals, age 50 years

and older, living in private households and usual residents of the household. The data has been utilized in a number of studies (e.g., Hermalin 2002; Knodel and Chayovan 2001; Knodel and Chayovan 1997; Sobieszczyk, Knodel and Chayovan 2003; Zimmer and Chayovan 2000). Detailed information on the survey methodology is available in these publications as well as in a SWET general report (Chayovan and Knodel 1997).

For Cambodia, data are from the 2004 Survey of the Elderly in Cambodia (SEC). Conducted in 2004, the SEC features a representative sample survey of 1,273 persons age 60 and older, residing in six provinces, including Phnom Penh. The six provinces are the most populated in the country and together contain over half of Cambodia's population. The SEC provides information on aspects of aging, material support and well-being particular to Cambodia's experience with civil war, genocide and other forms of violence and conflict. Detailed information on survey methodology and sample characteristics are described in detail elsewhere (e.g., Knodel et al. 2005; Zimmer et al. 2006).

In order to keep the analysis comparative, we confine the SWET sample to adults age 60 and older. In addition, the analysis concerns only older adults living in rural areas who have at least one child age 16 and older. The presence of children age 16 or older is used to delineate the relevant sample since survey results indicate that departures from the parental household begin at about the time children reach this age. Only small minorities of older Thais and Cambodians have no children age 16 or older.[1] These criteria limit the sample size to 3,202 older persons in Thailand and their 17,517 adult children and 777 older persons in Cambodia and their 3,751 adult children.

The SWET and SEC surveys interviewed older persons, but utilized separate rosters to gather information about children, both resident and non-resident. Older adults were asked where each of their living children currently resides. Responses were used to classify children's residential locations and proximity to the parental household. Specifically, each living child age 16 and older was coded as coresident, living next door, living in the same village, living in the same province, or living out of province. Given their similar degrees of parental proximity and the likelihood of daily face-to-face interaction, we combine those

[1] The Cambodian sample contains 23 individuals and the Thai sample contains 129 individuals without any children age 16 and older. These older adults without adult children age 16+ are omitted from all analyses.

coresiding and living next door into a single category and call it living nearby. A great majority of those living nearby actually coreside. Specifically, the 777 rural Cambodians who have at least one child age 16 and older together have 993 coresident children and only 119 living next door. The 3,202 rural older Thais have 3,063 coresident children age 16 or older and 1,923 who live next door. Both the Cambodian and Thai surveys include additional delineations for living within the same district or commune, and living out of country.

Due to the complex patterns of circular, seasonal and return migration which are often characteristic of rural populations in Southeast Asia, defining and identifying mobile individuals as migrants can be problematic (Bell et al. 2002). The continuum of parent-child geographic proximity encapsulates varying degrees of interpersonal contact with, and individual mobility from, the origin household. In this study we define an adult child as a migrant vis-à-vis the parental household if that child resides in another province or country. In both surveys adult children out of province are designated as migrants irrespective of their duration of absence from the parental household. By providing a descriptive analysis of the patterns of support and interaction that characterize children who are not only migrants in a conventional sense, but those living with varying degrees of distance from their parental households, we shed light on how different types of child residential mobility impact on intergenerational interactions, and potentially on parental well-being.

We examine three types of interaction that take place between the children and their parents. The first is personal visits. Respondents in both Cambodia and Thailand were asked the frequency with which each child not living in the residence visits. We dichotomize the measure into those visiting at least monthly and those visiting less frequently. The second is a general measure of support, or a measure of support outside of giving money directly to the older adult. In Cambodia, respondents were asked whether the child provides general household support - the meaning of household support not being specified. This measure is dichotomously coded. In Thailand, there was no direct question on general household support, but respondents were asked whether a child provides food or goods to the parents, and if so, how regularly. It is likely that the provision of items such as food and other similar types of goods equates with general household support in some ways. While we do not compare these two items directly across surveys, we use

them to delineate a measure of non-cash support to the parents and/or their household. We dichotomize the measure in Thailand as those providing this type of support at least monthly versus others. Third is a measure of cash support. Respondents in both countries were asked if a child gives money directly to the older adult. If the answer was affirmative, respondents were asked to estimate the amount given within categories. Using this follow-up question, we are able to distinguish between those giving any money to parents and those giving a more substantial amount. A substantial amount is considered to be at least 100,000 Riels in Cambodia and 1,000 Baht in Thailand per year. Both amounts were equal to about $25.00 U.S. at the time the surveys were conducted. It is difficult to assess the meaning of very small and insignificant amounts of money changing hands, and thus we define giving money as giving an amount equivalent to $25 US, or more, a year.

The altruism and vulnerabilities frameworks, which we laid out earlier, suggest that the probability of interaction with parents is a function of a number of characteristics, including some that relate to the migrating child, which indicate their life situation and ability to provide support, and a number that relate to the parent living in a rural area, which indicate the parent's level of dependence and vulnerability. A series of variables representing these factors are included in multivariate equations where we examine the determinants of interactions from the perspective of the migrating child. Considered for the migrant child are their age, sex, level of education, marital status and number of own children. We expect those with higher education would have greater means to support parents, while those with fewer own children likely have less competition for resources and therefore are also able to provide support. Those who are older and those married may have greater resources, but older and married children may also have more competition for these resources, for example, from in-laws. These variables are coded categorically or dichotomously depending on the information.

For the parent, we first consider their age and sex. Marital status is measured as spouse present or not. Education is measured dichotomously as none versus any formal education. Main lifetime occupation is considered as working in agriculture or some other sector (including never worked), and work status as having worked in the past year versus not. Those without education and not working are likely to be more

vulnerable. Those in agriculture may also be more vulnerable if the alternative is work in a type of occupation that affords greater lifetime security. Yet, agriculture may also provide some current means of subsistence if the individual or other household members are still engaged in agricultural work.

Several standard disability questions were asked based on activities of daily living or ADLs (Katz et al. 1963). Ability to eat, dress, and bathe oneself were included in both the Cambodia and Thailand surveys. The fourth disability item diverged. In Cambodia it assessed ability and get up from bed unassisted and in Thailand it assessed ability to walk around the house unassisted. From both countries, we created a variable indicating number of disabilities reported by summing the number of items with which a respondent reports any difficulty in conducting the task and thus it has a minimum value of 0 and a maximum value of 4. The assumption is that a greater number of ADL difficulties relate to a higher level of disability, and a higher level of disability indicates more vulnerability and greater need.

Also measured continuously is the total number of children living out of province. Adult children whose parents have a large number of other migrant children may not be as pressured to provide support if that support is distributed across siblings living out of province.

Finally, we include a categorical measure for coresidence status with children and grandchildren. Having children nearby (i.e., coresident or living next door) is the comparison category. Other categories include having both children nearby and grandchildren coresident; having grandchildren coresident (that is, living in a skipped generation household); and, having neither children nearby nor grandchildren coresident.[2] We would assume that those without children nearby would have a higher level of vulnerability and therefore require greater degrees of support from the migrating child. Both living with grandchildren only and living without children or grandchildren can represent vulnerable situations. In the former instance, in supporting the household the migrant child may be supporting both their parent and their own children, if indeed the

[2] Note that the survey questions do not permit a perfect measurement for the skipped generation household arrangement. Our measure approximates the form, with the exception that households with a grandchild present and an adult child next-door (but not in the same household) would not be counted. In practice, this should not be a problem since a child living next door is in close enough proximity as to approximate a living situation that includes both children and grandchildren. In contrast, while the surveys identify grandchildren living in the grandparent's household, they do not identify those living next door.

grandchild is the child of the migrant. But, in some cases, the grandchild, if old enough, may be able to contribute to household support and thus lessen the vulnerability of the older adult.

RESULTS

Are older adults in rural areas being abandoned by their children?

We begin addressing the concern that migrant children leave parents isolated and devoid of interaction in rural areas by considering, in Table 1, older parents as units of analysis and examine the residential proximity of their adult children. Results are provided in four panels. Panel A shows the percent of older adults with at least one adult child living nearby, in village, out of village but within province, and out of province. In both countries, 83% of older adults report having an adult child nearby. In rural Thailand, as compared to rural Cambodia, a greater share of older adults report having children living in each of the other categories, including in another province, which often indicates a substantial distance from their own household. For instance, 49% of rural elderly in Cambodia have a child living out of province compared to 65% in Thailand. It should be noted that the greater proportion of Thai parents with a child in each of these other residential categories can be partially explained by Thai parents having a greater number of living adult children on average than Cambodian parents (5.65 vs. 5.04, respectively). In turn, this disparity is in part a reflection of the decades of violence and war in Cambodia in which many adults, now elderly, experienced the deaths of spouses and children (Huguet et al. 2000). The higher percentage of rural Thai elderly with a child outside the province also likely reflects, in part, more extensive employment opportunities for labor migration to urbanized areas.

Parents 'left behind' may be the approximately 17% of older adults in each country without a child living nearby. However, Panel B, which shows where the nearest child lives vis-à-vis the elderly parent, indicates that in most cases where a child does not live nearby, which is defined as being in the same household or next door, there is an adult child living in the same village. In Cambodia, only about 5% of older adults report having no children nearby or in the village, and for just 2% the nearest child lives out of province. The analogous proportions are only fractionally higher in Thailand.

Panel C shows where the nearest child lives given that the older parent has a child living outside of the village, out of the village but in the province, or out of the province. Here we see that the chances of having a child living nearby do not change even if the older adult has one or more children living out of the village or out of the province. For instance, almost 80% of older adults in both Cambodia and Thailand that have a child living out of province report at least one child still living nearby. It appears then that older adults who have migrating children are very likely to have a number of children, one or more of which is likely to live nearby.

This last notion is taken one step further in Panel D, which is provided to show whether an older adult's total number of children relates to the residential location of the nearest child. Indeed, it is true in both countries that those with fewer children are slightly more likely to have their nearest child living out of province. Sixteen percent of those in Cambodia and 17% of those in Thailand with only one living adult child report that this child lives out of province. But, very few older adults in either sample report having only one living adult child. As noted earlier, Thais and Cambodians who have no children age 16 or older are excluded from all analyses, but their numbers are extremely modest. Many older adults in rural Thailand and Cambodia have five or more adult children, and among those with greater numbers, the chances of having the nearest child living out of province are very small.

None of these above findings provide evidence of substantial parental abandonment in either country, at least with respect to geographic proximity. Moreover, despite their very distinctive demographic, economic and historical circumstances, Table 1 demonstrates that rural elderly in Thailand in 1995 and Cambodia in 2004 are fairly similar with respect to their residential proximity with adult children.

In Table 2 and the remaining tables children age 16 and older of rural older adults serve as the units of analysis. The perspective of the adult child is taken in order to examine how the elderly parents of adult children fare, in particular when children have migrated, and how adult children interact with their parents in rural communities. Table 2 provides a frequency distribution of adult migrant children (i.e. living out of province) according to the living arrangements of their rural parents, and describes the types of households in

which the rural parents reside.[3] In the Cambodian context, about 25% of older adults with a child out of province are living with a spouse, at least one other adult child, and at least one grandchild. About an equal proportion of rural elderly parents in Cambodia with out-migrant children do not live with a spouse but do live with an adult child and a grandchild. Only about 2% are living without a spouse, child or grandchild, and an additional 5% live without a spouse or child, but with a grandchild.

The distribution is somewhat different in rural Thailand. A larger proportion live with a spouse only (17% in Thailand versus 9% in Cambodia), and a smaller proportion live with children and grandchildren but no spouse (15% in Thailand compared to 26% in Cambodia). These divergent patterns are likely linked, in part, to Cambodia's history of war and related violence, which incurred very high rates of mortality and created many widows (Zimmer et al. 2006). A small proportion of the rural Thai parents live without spouse, child or grandchild (about 6%) or with grandchild only (about 1%). Table 2, then, reiterates the message of Table 1, but from the perspective of adult children who have migrated from the province of their parents' residence; that is, very few have left elderly parents behind to live alone or without a spouse or adult child nearby.

What are the characteristics of migrating children?

Table 3 examines characteristics of children who have migrated out of province and compares them to children living in closer proximity. Given their relatively high levels of completed fertility, even though elderly parents in rural Thailand and Cambodia are highly likely to have an adult child living nearby, they are also quite likely to have a child living out of province. From the perspective of adult children, then, a sizable number have an elderly parent from whom they are separated by a significant geographic distance. About 29% of the adult children in both Cambodia and Thailand live nearby their elderly parent. About 20% of children of elderly parents in rural Cambodia and 29% in Thailand can be described as having migrated out of

[3] In keeping with other measures of coresidence, we consider living with an adult child to include situations in which the child lives next door, but living with spouse or grandchild refers to living in the same household. Also note that coresident persons other than spouse, children or grandchildren are ignored in the tabulation.

the province of their rural parents. Again, it is likely that the greater proportion of out of province migrant children in Thailand reflects a greater prevalence of employment opportunities in urbanized areas.

Table 3 also conveys an important association between sibship size and place of residence vis-à-vis elderly parents. First, in both countries, there is a consistent inverse association between sibship size and the probability of living nearby one's older parents. In Cambodia, 77% of those without siblings live near their parents, whereas only 26% of those who are one of at least five children live nearby parents. Similarly, in Thailand, the percent declines from 69% to 27% as sibship size increases from one to five or more. The jump in the percent that live nearby is especially pronounced between sibship sizes of one and two, suggesting that consideration of leaving a parent with no adult child nearby may be an important deterrent to moving further away. Second, for both countries, adults in larger sibships are most likely to live out of province. This tendency is notably stronger in Thailand than Cambodia.

Results in Table 3 further illustrate that the propensity of adult children to migrate out of rural provinces is influenced by life circumstances and socio-demographic characteristics. In both Cambodia and Thailand, sons are more likely to live at a distance from their parents, while daughters are more likely to live nearby. This pattern in part reflects cultural norms in both countries in which daughters, more so than sons, are expected to coreside with and provide instrumental support to elderly parents (Knodel and Ofstedal 2002; Zimmer and Kim 2001). We also observe an association between age and residential proximity that is country-specific. In both countries younger adults, between ages 16 and 24, are more likely to live nearby their older parents than are other adult children, no doubt the result of younger adults being less likely to be married and therefore less likely to have set up their own independent households separate from parents. When it comes to migrating out of province, however, Cambodian and Thai adult children differ. In Cambodia, the youngest adults in the sample (i.e., those ages 16 to 24) are least likely to be living out of province, while in Thailand there is an inverse association between age and living out of province. Hence, young individuals that do migrate do so earlier in life in Thailand than in Cambodia. Again, we may be seeing the influence of educational and employment opportunities.

Adults with high levels of education are most likely to be living outside the province of their parental residence. In Cambodia, one-quarter or fewer with less than college live out of province as compared to about 50% of those with college education. The percent of college educated living out of province is similar in Thailand. Highly educated adults are likely leave their parents' rural villages in order to take advantage of educational opportunities, and once educated, seek suitable employment opportunities, also outside the rural provinces in which their parents reside. Therefore, despite the possibility of differences in educational opportunities across countries, once an adult child has high education, they are equally likely to be a migrant.

In both countries, those living nearby parents are less likely to be married than their counterparts who have migrated out of province. However, the probability of living out of province is higher among the married in Cambodia and the non-married in Thailand. Recent research conducted among Thai migrants has demonstrated that labor migration has come to be a pervasive, pre-marital life course event, one that tends to hasten the transition to marriage among young adults in certain rural regions of Thailand (Mills 1999; Jampaklay 2006). In rural Cambodia, where urban labor market opportunities are not as developed as in Thailand, migration out of rural provinces appears to be undertaken more frequently by adults who have already married. It is also the case that in both Thailand and Cambodia, adult children without children of their own are more likely to be living nearby. Both of these results suggest that the decision about whether and when to migrate are likely influenced by life circumstances.

In sum, there are a host of similarities in the characteristics of out-of-province migrants across Thailand and Cambodia, as well as important differences. It is noteworthy that children with more siblings in both countries are more likely to be migrants than those with fewer siblings. This result, together with the fact that those without siblings are by far the most likely to live nearby a parent, suggests that decisions on the part of children to depart and migrate out of province may be dependent on the parent's living situation.

Do interactions with parents in rural areas differ by residential proximity?

For both Cambodia and Thailand, Table 4 displays the percent of adult children who visit their parents at least monthly and give money (equivalent to at least $25 yearly) to their parents according to

proximity of residence. For Thailand, the table also shows the percent that provide food or other goods at least monthly. For Cambodia, the table shows the percent that provide general household support.

In both countries, the tendency to visit a parent at least monthly declines the further away the child lives. In contrast, the tendency to give money is highest among those children living out of province. This relationship would support the idea that adult children living out of province are more likely to be adequately employed and employed in wage work in comparison to those who have remained closer to the parental household. They therefore may be better able to garner the resources necessary for remitting back to their household of origin. It may also suggest a household strategy of sending an adult child into out-of-province employment in order to earn income that can be used by the origin family in the rural village. This said, giving money to parents is something that is done with some regularity by migrant children in Thailand but not in Cambodia, a result that likely is a function of relative economic circumstances. For instance, about 11% of those living out of province remit at least $25 US per year to their parents in Cambodia. The corresponding figure for adult children who have migrated from homes in Thailand is 45%. Clearly, given the lower living standard and earnings level, remitting a quantity of $25 US per year represents a greater financial burden for Cambodian workers. It is true that smaller amounts of money are given to parents by the majority of adult children regardless of location in both Cambodia and Thailand and even somewhat more often in Cambodia (results not shown), but it is difficult to interpret remittance of money that may be quite minimal in amounts even when cumulated over the year.

In contrast, adult children are much more likely to provide general household support in Cambodia. General household support may be anything, such as food or clothing, and may be of any value. Nearly half of those living out of province provide this type of support in Cambodia. In Thailand, we examine a slightly more narrow definition of general support—the provision of food or goods, which was asked directly. Those living nearby parents provide this sort of support more frequently than those living farther away. Overall, the results indicate frequent interaction between parents and children, irrespective of residential proximity. However, the nature of interaction diverges according to the degree of parent-child residential proximity. In

both settings regular visits are more common by those children living in closer proximity and provision of money is more common among those living some distance away.

Table 5 further examines interactions with older parents in rural areas by illustrating the extent to which particular types of interactions occur in isolation or in combination with other forms of interaction. For instance, we ask whether those who visit are also more likely to give money or provide general support. If visiting is done in lieu of other types of support, we would expect those who visit to be less likely to give money or other things. However, this is not the case in either setting. Results indicate that among migrant children, one type of interaction with parents tends to be strongly and positively related to others. For instance, in Cambodia, about 69% of those who visit at least monthly also provide general household support, while only about 38% of those who do not visit monthly provide this type of support. Associations across forms of interaction appear to be even stronger in Thailand. Association between visiting and the provision of in-kind support appears to be especially strongly intertwined in Thailand. Seventy-two percent of those who visit at least monthly also provide food or goods, compared to only about 12% of those who do not visit. These results are further indication that although having an adult child out of province has become quite common for rural elderly in Thailand and Cambodia, these migrant children have not abandoned their elderly parents, but rather tend to provide multiple forms of support on a relatively regular basis.

What are the determinants of migrant children's interactions with elderly parents?

We now focus solely on migrant children, that is, those who have moved out of province, and examine the factors that influence visits, cash remittance, and more general support. Hypotheses derived from altruism and vulnerability frameworks lead us to examine characteristics of both the adult child and their parent as relevant factors. Results of several logistic regression models are provided in Table 6. Reported here are regression coefficients and levels of significance. We note that the smaller sample size in Cambodia has an impact on standard errors and therefore levels of significance. Therefore, we consider associations that are significant to a $p<.10$ level to indicate a likely association. Moreover, as noted above, a very small proportion of Cambodian children give at least 100,000 Riels per year to parents, and as such, coefficients

predicting this outcome are unlikely to be statistically significant even if sizeable. We therefore are more concerned with the direction of association for those coefficients that appear to be relatively large.

With respect to characteristics of the migrant child, we observe several similar effects across countries. In both settings, female children appear to be more likely to interact with parents than male children. In Cambodia, daughters are more likely to visit regularly, provide household support, and give money, and in Thailand they are more likely to provide food or goods monthly and give money. Second, higher education is associated with a greater tendency to interact with parents in both countries across all indicators except for the provision of food or goods in Thailand. Finally, having two or more own children seems to reduce the tendency of giving money to elderly parents in both countries, likely due, at least in part, to the competition for resources. This result achieves statistical significance only for giving money in Thailand.

Age has an impact on giving money and providing other support to elderly parents in both countries, although the age at which this type of exchange is most frequent differs. In both countries, children aged 16 to 24 are by far less likely to be providing these types of support than older children. In Cambodia, migrant children age 40 and older are the most likely to give money to elderly parents, while in Thailand those between ages 25 and 39 are most likely to give money. Recall that rural migrants tend to be younger in Thailand than in Cambodia. Further recall the economic realities in place and that rural migrants in Cambodia may face greater difficulties than their counterparts in Thailand in locating employment that is stable and sufficiently remunerative to permit substantial remitting. Accordingly, it may take some time in Cambodia for adult children to accumulate the monetary resources necessary to begin providing remittance to parents living in rural areas. It is only once rural-urban migrants have become self-sufficient in the destination that they can remit money to alleviate the economic pressures in their rural homes and respond to the vulnerabilities of their rural parents.

Turning to the characteristics of the parents, the results are more mixed and only at times support our altruism and vulnerabilities frameworks. Those who have parents that have worked in the past year and those whose parents have more children living out of province are generally less likely to provide monetary

and other support to parents and are less likely to visit. We interpret these results as consistent with the frameworks which guide our analyses. Elderly parents still involved in productive employment are likely in less vulnerable economic situations, all else being equal, than those who are not working, hence their need to rely upon migrant children should be less. From the migrant child's perspective, even when elderly parents are facing economic difficulties and need assistance, the presence of several other migrant children in the family should distribute the burden across a wider number. In other words, the altruistically motivated behavior of any one migrant child should be interpreted in light of the family collectivity, with the needs of potentially vulnerable elderly parents being met through combined efforts of resident, local, and migrant children.

In addition, there are some associations with child or grandchild coresidence that support the overall hypotheses. Having a grandchild in the household without children nearby increases the probability of visits in Thailand. Having neither a child nor a grandchild nearby increases the probability of visits in Cambodia. In the case of rural Thai elderly, the absence of both children and grandchildren increases the probability that migrant children give food or goods and give money. Where children and/or grandchildren are not present, elderly parents may be relatively vulnerable to feelings of loneliness; the labor demands of operating a household; insufficient sources of income; and other factors that threaten their sense of well-being. These results suggest that patterns of interaction between adult migrant children and their rural elderly parents are responsive, in part, to the absence of close kin in the origin household.

There are also results that are either inconsistent between countries, or, at least on first inspection, inconsistent with the general framework. For instance, where a spouse is present in the household of the older parent in Cambodia, children are more, rather than less, likely to interact with parents across all indicators. In Thailand, the presence of a spouse has little impact on the probability of a migrant child's interaction. The physical disability measure has practically no impact on these interactions in either country, and if anything, decreases the odds of providing monetary support in Thailand, although this finding is not statistically significant.

Although these latter results appear contrary to expectations, the vulnerability perspective maintains that vulnerable states are encountered as a result of complex and cumulative processes at the individual, familial and community level (Butterfill-Schroder and Marianti 2006). It is therefore reasonable to suspect that the nature of vulnerability may derive from a multifaceted set of individual and contextual factors and the interaction of these factors, which are not fully captured in the present model. In particular, we are concerned that a non-finding with respect to disability may be a function of its connections with other factors that are present in the model. Accordingly, we further consider a series of statistical interactions between the disabilities and other factors indicative of need. Consistently, across both countries, we observe significant interaction effects between an elderly parent's number of disabilities and child/grandchild coresidence in predicting: a) visits in both countries; b) provision of general household support in Cambodia, and; c) provision of food and goods support in Thailand. These effects are displayed in Figures 1 to 4. Figures 1 and 2 show that in Cambodia, number of parental disabilities has a very strong, positive impact on the odds of visiting and general household support in those cases where the parent has neither a child living nearby nor a grandchild in the household. Although the number of cases in which there is neither a child nor a grandchild living with the parent is small, our results indicate that general household support is almost guaranteed in these cases when the parent has multiple disabilities. We observe a statistically significant interaction of a slightly different nature in Thailand. Figures 3 and 4 show that disabilities increase the odds of visiting and provision of food and goods in cases where older adults live with grandchildren only (i.e., in skipped generation households). In both instances, the findings do lend some support for the organizing framework.

The reason for the specific difference between countries with respect to interaction effects is difficult to surmise, and we must acknowledge the small numbers of cases that are captured within the combination of multiple disabilities and specific residential arrangements. Still, the interaction effects that we report in Figures 1 to 4 are based only on those that are statistically significant. Proceeding cautiously in interpreting these results, we might conjecture that coresiding grandchildren are more likely to be providing support to the older adult in rural Cambodia than would be the case in rural Thailand, possibly due to the fact that children

living elsewhere are faced with greater economic demands and in turn limited ability to provide support to parents in origin households. Indeed, leaving a grandchild behind may be a strategic decision with the intended purpose of providing support, especially when older adults face physical disabilities that impair self-care and employment. In Thailand, where the general economic situation is better, the skipped generation household may represent circumstances where the adult child migrated for the distinct purpose of finding employment and supporting the household they left behind. Under this arrangement, both the migrant's own children require support, as do their own old-aged parents. The skipped generation household would demand the migrant child's assistance especially in those scenarios where the elderly parent is incapacitated by physical disabilities. Hence, it is possible that each result makes sense given particular socio-economic realities in place in Cambodia in 2004 and Thailand in 1995.

CONCLUSIONS

Economic and demographic changes occurring rapidly throughout the developing world have enormous potential for driving social and structural transformations that can influence older members of society. Some have warned that an increasingly mobile population seeking opportunities in urban areas may leave older adults in rural areas fending for themselves without the traditional means of familial support that have previously guaranteed material and physical security. In the current study, we examine the migration of adult children from their rural parent's homes and the types of interactions that they engage in with their older parents in rural areas of Cambodia and Thailand. The comparative angle provides insights for understanding institutions of support for rural elderly, given that the neighboring countries are characterized by marked cultural similarities, such as strong notions of filial obligation, as well as stark differences, such as economic conditions that favor Thailand.

In general, our comparative analyses provide little evidence to support an alarmist perspective about rural elderly being deserted by migrant children. Our results indicate that although migration by adult children out of rural provinces is commonplace in Thailand and Cambodia, isolated rural elderly are not. On a simple proximity basis, we found no evidence in either country of older adults being 'left behind'. Quite to

the contrary, more than 80% of older adults in both countries were living with or next door to at least one child. Although having numerous adult children translated into a higher probability of living near an adult child, substantial majorities of rural elderly with only one child were living either with this child nearby or within the same village. Moreover, from the perspective of adult children, those without siblings were much more likely to coreside or live next door to their older aged parent than those with many siblings. Thus, although we do not have data that would allow us to test the idea directly, our findings are suggestive of the notion that migration decisions are made with the needs of older adults in mind.

The organizing framework adopted for our analysis of the determinants of children's interactions with older parents centered on notions of altruism and vulnerability. The altruistic perspective suggests that family members work collectively with the goal of preserving the well-being of all members. Therefore, adult children of older adults that are more vulnerable, meaning they display greater degrees of dependence and need, are more likely to interact with and provide support to their older parents. Still, the collective nature of altruism also suggests that interactions with older parents depend additionally on the life circumstances of adult children. Those adult children that are in a better position to provide assistance will do so, and support will be spread across family members. We find some support for this framework. For example, migrant children in Thailand and Cambodia are more likely to interact with parents that are not presently engaged in economic activity. We reasoned that parents' disability status would a have significant impact on interactions with adult migrant children since diminished capacity to conduct daily activities is a strong indicator of need. Our results on this matter were mixed. Parental disability appears to influence the provision of support by migrant children, but the disability variable works in concert with child/grandchild coresidence, and the nature of the association differs between countries. In Cambodia, disability increased visits and general household support among older parents that live without children or grandchildren. In Thailand, by comparison, disability increased visits and provision of food and goods among older parents living in skipped generation households where grandchildren, but not children, were present.

Dissimilar determinants of parent-child interaction across settings may result, in part, from the distinctive economic structures of these countries. In our estimation, however, they also point to

complexities in distinguishing vulnerability across economic, demographic and social settings. The vulnerability of older adults, a result of complex and cumulative processes, has several different dimensions including the physical, economic, social and psychological (Schroder-Butterfill and Marianti 2006b). Our results suggest that these dimensions interact in complex ways across locales, thereby leading to distinctive patterns of engagement between rural elderly and their adult children. Following previous research, we recognize that although many rural elderly face crises and conditions that threaten their well-being, many others are embedded in social networks and economic circumstances that are protective and secure (Schroder-Butterfill and Marianti 2006b). Further exploration of categories of dependence and their overlap in the lives of older adults could assist in modeling the determinants of intergenerational interaction between older parents in rural areas of developing societies and their children living elsewhere. Identifying the determinants of children's support to older adults is further complicated by the network structure in which older adults are embedded. Most of the adult children in the current study have siblings who may also be providing various types of support to the elderly parent. As past research has shown, the nature of intergenerational interactions with a particular child may be a function of a complicated set of reciprocal exchanges that involve a larger kinship network, and may further be influenced by socio-economic conditions characteristic of a particular country or setting (Agree et al. 1999). Indeed, there are likely to be trade-offs both with respect to provision of any support, types of support provided, and the timing of support vis-à-vis one's economic position and life circumstances, that are complicated to model.

Over the course of our investigation for the current study, we examined various other relationships that we do not report here for the purpose of parsimony. Already mentioned was the examination of smaller amounts of money given to elderly parents. We also examined various other statistical interactions in our multivariate modeling. Most were insignificant and therefore not reported. It is worth mentioning, however, that in Thailand we observe additional associations between physical disability and spousal presence in predicting children's support to parents. In some instances, we found three-way statistical interactions between parents' disabilities, spousal presence and child/grandchild coresidence. In general, the interactions suggest that disability in older adulthood has a much greater positive impact on receipt of money remittance

when a spouse is not present. We did not find these spousal interactions with physical disability to be significant predictors of children's support in Cambodia.

A number of weaknesses characterize the current analyses and should be recognized. First, the nine year period between the Thai and Cambodian surveys presents obstacles for making comparisons across countries. Nonetheless, we would not expect much change in the overall findings if we utilized a more recent Thai dataset. If anything, Thailand has continued its economic development and today would present an even greater contrast with Cambodia. Therefore, we might expect that dissimilarities found in the current study that are a function of variation in level of socio-economic development would be even greater given more recent Thai data. Second, both surveys provide rather limited information on the migrant children of elderly parents and the nature of their migrations. Previous research suggests that the duration of migration and the distance separating migrants from their origin households influence patterns of remittance and interaction. We do not have information in either survey about the specific location of the migrant children, besides the fact that they live out of province, nor do we know how long they have lived out of province. Third, given that previous research (e.g., Agree et al. 1999; Frankenberg et al. 2002) has shown that exchanges often flow in both directions across time and life course, we recognize that our cross-sectional analyses of unidirectional measures of support do not fully capture the nuanced, time-variant nature of intergenerational interaction. Finally, our analyses do not take into account the broader kinship and support networks that also influence the living standards and needs for support of older adults in rural areas. Older adults may, for instance, be living amongst a wide variety of kin in addition to, or in lieu of, spouse, children and grandchildren, and many may be getting support from other sources, such as neighbors or others in the community. Although we begin to sketch the patterns and predictors of support provided to rural elderly by their migrant children, we recognize that cross-sectional survey data collected solely from the perspective of elderly adults limit our ability to reach definitive conclusions about the individual and contextual variables that influence migrant children's provision of support to elderly parents.

In sum, a moderate degree of optimism is suggested by the patterns of living arrangements and provision of support to rural elderly found across the Thai and Cambodian settings - settings that can be

described as culturally similar but economically distinct. In particular, we note that older adults across both settings are, as of yet, not being left behind, completely unsupported, in rural areas. If economic and demographic changes taking place in these settings are altering the specific forms of interaction that take place between adult children and their older parents, in particular, creating physical distance between older adults and some of their children, we do not find evidence that this is creating social abandonment. Many of our results are consistent with the notion, derived from an altruistic perspective, that migrant children are inclined to support their aged parents, especially when those parents possess characteristics indicative of vulnerability, dependence and need, e.g., the absence of involvement in productive employment. It is also instructive to observe strong similarities across countries in the characteristics of migrant versus non-migrant children, and in the association between intergenerational interactions and the proximity of children. The current research only begins to unpack the concept of "vulnerability" as it impacts upon the livelihoods of rural elderly, the nature of intergenerational relations, and the pressures experienced by younger adults to provide support across multiple generations and households. While the interactions between adult migrant children in Thailand and Cambodia and their older parents do appear to be responsive to parents' needs and motivated by filial piety, social structural and economic burdens may, in certain cases, constrain acts of support. In Cambodia, in particular, part of what contributes to the vulnerability of the elderly are the past decades of violence and upheaval which have reduced numbers of middle-aged children and increased the incidence of widowhood. By adopting a multigenerational perspective researchers may consider whether, under certain circumstances, vulnerability carries over across generations, such that the younger adult generation is made more vulnerable in their attempts to meet the needs of vulnerable elderly parents and kin.

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Table 1. The residential proximity of the children age 16+) of rural parents age 60+ Cambodia 2004 and Thailand 1995 [1]

		N[2]	Nearby[3]	In village	Out of village but in province	Out of province	Total
A.	*% of older adults with 1+ adult child living…*						
	Cambodia	777	82.7	67.7	47.4	49.1	n.a.
	Thailand	3202	82.8	86.9	61.1	64.5	n.a.
B.	*Where nearest child lives*						
	Cambodia	777	82.7	12.0	3.2	2.0	100.0
	Thailand	3202	82.8	9.3	4.5	3.4	100.0
C.	*Where nearest adult child lives, given that at least one adult child lives…*						
	Cambodia						
	Out of village	553	80.7	11.9	4.5	2.8	100.0
	Out of village/in province	364	81.1	12.1	6.8	0.0	100.0
	Out of province	380	78.9	11.7	5.3	4.1	100.0
	Thailand						
	Out of village	2762	81.1	9.8	5.2	3.9	100.0
	Out of village/in province	1836	83.0	9.7	7.3	0.0	100.0
	Out of province	2128	78.4	10.3	6.1	5.3	100.0
D.	*Where nearest child lives by number of children age 16+*						
	Cambodia						
	1	64	76.5	4.9	2.5	16.0	100.0
	2	74	72.3	18.1	7.4	2.1	100.0
	3	82	71.7	18.2	9.1	1.0	100.0
	4	124	84.1	11.6	3.0	1.2	100.0
	5+	433	86.8	11.4	1.5	0.3	100.0
	Thailand						
	1	150	69.2	7.0	7.0	16.8	100.0
	2	237	66.1	16.7	8.4	8.8	100.0
	3	346	82.5	7.0	5.6	5.0	100.0
	4	433	77.8	13.2	5.1	4.0	100.0
	5+	2036	86.5	8.2	3.7	1.6	100.0

1 The Cambodian sample contains an additional 23 individuals, and the Thai sample contains an additional 129 individuals without any children age 16+. These individuals are omitted.
2 N's are unweighted; results are weighted
3 In same household or next door

Table 2. Percent distribution of migrant children age 16+ of rural parents age 60+ according to the parents' living arrangements, Cambodia 2004 and Thailand 1995

	Cambodia (N=756)	Thailand (N=5520)
Lives with spouse and lives with		
1+ children and 1+ grandchildren	24.8	22.3
1+ children	19.4	25.3
1+ grandchildren	7.8	2.5
neither children nor grandchildren	9.2	17.2
Does not live with spouse and lives with		
1+ children and 1+ grandchildren	25.9	15.4
1+ children	5.5	10.4
1+ grandchildren	5.1	1.2
neither children nor grandchildren	2.2	5.9
Total	100.0	100.0

Note: migrant children refer to those aged 16 and older who live outside the province in which the parents reside.

Table 3. Residential location of children age 16+ of rural parents age 60+, by children's characteristics, Cambodia 2004 and Thailand 1995

		N[1]	Nearby[2] (N=1,112)	Village (N=1,214)	Province (N=669)	Out of province (N=756)	Total (N=3,751)
Cambodia Total		3,751	28.7	33.1	17.9	20.4	100.0
Total # children in sibship[3]	1	64	76.5	4.9	2.5	16.0	100.0
	2	148	43.1	28.7	10.7	17.6	100.0
	3	244	30.5	34.6	16.9	18.0	100.0
	4	489	32.8	35.1	22.2	15.1	100.0
	5+	2,806	26.2	33.4	18.6	21.7	100.0
	$\chi^2 = 144.4$ p <.00						
Sex	Son	1,729	18.5	33.9	24.1	23.5	100.0
	Daughter	2,022	37.6	32.3	12.4	17.6	100.0
	$\chi^2 = 280.4$ p <.00						
Age	16-24	547	64.5	16.0	7.0	12.5	100.0
	25-29	449	32.7	31.4	16.8	19.1	100.0
	30-34	619	22.1	32.8	18.4	26.8	100.0
	35-39	756	21.4	36.4	19.2	23.1	100.0
	40-44	638	20.2	42.5	18.9	18.4	100.0
	45-49	393	18.5	34.2	25.5	21.8	100.0
	50+	349	23.2	36.3	21.7	18.9	100.0
	$\chi^2 = 613.9$ p <.00						
Education[4]	None	630	31.4	38.6	15.8	14.2	100.0
	Inc. prim.or pagoda	1,543	26.5	37.8	17.6	18.2	100.0
	Comp. prim.	515	28.9	32.0	21.1	18.0	100.0
	Secondary	914	32.3	25.0	17.7	25.0	100.0
	Beyond	64	29.7	7.9	12.9	49.5	100.0
	$\chi^2 = 197.6$ p <.00						
Married	Not	852	75.7	7.8	3.5	13.0	100.0
	Married	2,899	15.3	40.2	21.9	22.5	100.0
	$\chi^2 = 1594.0$ p <.00						
# children	None	781	68.5	7.9	5.7	17.8	100.0
	One	496	29.1	33.3	15.4	22.2	100.0
	Two +	2,474	16.1	40.9	22.2	20.8	100.0
	$\chi^2 = 200.3$ p <.00						

Continued on next page

Table 3. Continued

		N[1]	Nearby[5] (N=4986)	Village (N=3414)	Province (N=3597)	Out of province (N=5520)	Total (N=17517)
Thailand							
Total		17517	29.4	19.8	21.6	29.2	100.0
Total # of children							
16+ in sibship	1	150	69.2	7.0	7.0	16.8	100.0
	2	474	42.5	15.4	18.6	23.6	100.0
	3	1038	43.3	16.3	18.0	22.4	100.0
	4	1732	34.3	17.2	20.0	28.5	100.0
	5+	14123	27.2	20.6	22.2	30.0	100.0
χ^2 = 310.8 p <.00							
Sex	Son	8639	24.9	19.5	24.2	31.3	100.0
	Daughter	8878	33.7	20.1	19.1	27.1	100.0
χ^2 =223.8 p <.00							
Age[6]	16-24	1582	43.7	7.6	10.6	38.1	100.0
	25-29	2388	35.3	13.0	15.5	36.1	100.0
	30-34	3294	30.4	18.6	21.0	30.0	100.0
	35-39	3617	26.6	23.3	23.5	26.6	100.0
	40-44	2866	24.9	24.1	26.1	25.0	100.0
	45-49	1687	23.7	24.8	26.0	25.5	100.0
	50+	1634	24.7	26.2	29.7	19.4	100.0
χ^2 =1021.2 p <.00							
Education[7]	None	725	32.0	24.0	19.3	24.7	100.0
	Inc. prim.or pagoda	535	35.5	20.8	21.5	22.2	100.0
	Comp. prim.	12936	30.6	22.4	21.7	25.2	100.0
	Secondary	2128	26.0	9.7	20.0	44.3	100.0
	Beyond	1027	19.0	6.5	23.9	50.6	100.0
χ^2 =844.1 p <.00							
Married[8]	Not married	3427	49.2	6.8	9.0	35.1	100.0
	Married	14083	24.5	23.1	24.8	27.7	100.0
χ^2 =1510.6 p <.00							
# children[9]	None	3825	43.2	5.8	12.0	39.0	100.0
	One	3316	29.9	17.3	20.7	32.2	100.0
	Two +	10294	23.9	26.3	25.7	24.1	100.0
χ^2 =1654.7 p <.00							

[1] N's are unweighted; results are weighted.
[2] Includes 993 living in same household plus 119 living next door.
[3] Refers to number age 16+ in the sibship
[4] Excludes 85 cases where parent does not know the education of their child.
[5] Includes 3063 living in same household plus 1923 living next door.
[6] Excludes 449 cases where parent does not know the age of their child.
[7] Excludes 166 cases where parent does not know the education of their child.
[8] Excludes 7 cases where parent does not know the marital status of their child.
[9] Excludes 82 cases where parent does not know how many children their child has.

Table 4. Percentage of children age 16+ engaging in selected forms of interactions with rural parents age 60+, by child's residential location, Cambodia 2004 and Thailand 1995

Where Adult Child Lives	N[1]	Visits at least monthly	Provides general household support[3]	Provides food or goods at least monthly[4]	Gives money[5]
Cambodia					
Nearby[2]	1,112	n.a.	73.9	n.a.	10.0
Village	1,214	97.3	45.3	n.a.	2.1
Province	669	59.2	35.4	n.a.	1.7
Out of province	756	23.6	45.0	n.a.	10.6
Chi-square		1,591.1 p<.00	429.6 p<.00	n.a.	155.4 p< .00
Thailand					
Nearby[6]	4932	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.[7]	33.5.
Village	3385-3411[8]	91.9	n.a.	46.7	18.0
Province	3582-3596[8]	63.9	n.a.	30.9	26.2
Out of province	5498-5507[8]	18.9	n.a.	11.3	45.1
Chi-square		5258.2 p<.00	n.a.	1523.9 p<.00	879.6 p< .00

[1] N's are unweighted; results are weighted.
[2] Includes 993 living in same household plus 119 living next door.
[3] Not asked in Thailand.
[4] Not asked in Cambodia.
[5] At least 100,000 Riels in Cambodia and 1,000 Baht in Thailand.
[6] Includes 3063 living in same household plus 1923 living next door.
[7] Not calculated since questions not asked about coresident children.
[8] Some missing responses exist. Range represents maximum and minimum number of cases across response.
n.a. Not applicable.

Table 5. Percentage of children age 16+ and older who live out of province engaging in selected forms of interactions with rural parents age 60+ by whether they visit, provide money ,or provide other support, Cambodia 2004 and Thailand 1995[1]

	N[2]	Visits at least monthly	Provides general household support[3]	Provides food or goods at least monthly[4]	Gives Money[5]
Cambodia					
Visits at least monthly					
Yes	165	---	69.1	---	13.1
No	591	---	37.5	---	9.9#
Provides general household support					
Yes	330	36.2	---	---	17.6
No	426	13.2	---	---	5.1
Gives money					
Yes	81	29.1	73.9	---	---
No	675	23.0#	41.5	---	---
Thailand					
Visits at least monthly					
yes	1089	---	---	42.6	58.7
no	4409	---	---	3.9	42.0
Provides food or goods at least monthly					
yes	692	71.9	---	---	67.6
no	4815	12.2	---	---	42.2
Gives money					
yes	2565	24.6	---	16.9	---
no	2941	14.3	---	6.7	---

[1] All results are statistically significant to p<.01 except as noted by # , which indicates not significant to p<.10.
[2] N's are unweighted; results are weighted.
[3] Not asked in Thailand.
[4] Not asked in Cambodia.
[5] At least 100,000 Riels in Cambodia and 1,000 Baht in Thailand.

Table 6. Logistic regression coefficients for visiting at least monthly, providing general household support, providing food or goods at least monthly and giving money to rural parents age 60+, among children age 16+ who live out of province, Cambodia 2004 and Thailand 1995

	Cambodia			Thailand		
	Visits	Provides household support	Gives money[1]	Visits	Provides food or goods at least monthly	Gives money[1]
Characteristics of migrant child						
Female	.470*	.652**	.282	.059	.411**	.311**
Age (vs. under 25)[3]						
25-29	-.302	.407	1.113	-.155	.368	.352*
30-34	.153	.438	.984	-.141	.494*	.380**
35-39	-504	.563	1.329^	-.038	.428^	.489**
40-44	-.117	.501	1.780*	-.310	.246	.229
45-49	-.539	.008	1.723*	-.074	.049	.150
50+	-.629	.153	.930	.053	.394	.215
Education (vs. none)[4]						
Incomplete primary (vs. none)	-.059	-.160	-.716^	-.925^	-.604	.551
Complete primary	-.020	.536	-.665	.076	.116	1.081**
Secondary	.985**	1.007**	.143	.708*	.596	1.553**
More than secondary	2.496**	1.057^	1.161^	.967**	.583	1.582**
Is married[5]	-.272	.353	.704	.103	-.152	-.042
# Own children (vs. 0)[3]						
1	.350	-.026	.622	.002	.149	-.190
2	.016	-.357	-.592	-.073	.030	-.469**
Characteristics of parent						
Age (vs. 60-64)						
65-69	-.455^	.160	.244	.030	.152	.009
70-74	-.737*	.372	.692	.117	-.090	-.333**
75+	-.268	.665*	.636	.001	.124	-.008
Female	.182	.724**	1.234**	.059	0.52	.195*
Spouse present	.478^	.415^	.343	.415^	-.022	-.037

Table 6. Continued

	Cambodia			Thailand		
	Visits	Provide household support	Give money[1]	Visits	Provide food or goods	Give money[1]
Any education	-.216	.665**	.408	.050	.239^	.487**
Occupation agriculture	.183	-.992*	.513	-.499**	-.696**	.001
Worked in past year	-1.209**	-.380*	.296	-.178^	-.288*	-.274**
Number of disabilities	.087	.147	.037	-.007	-.078	-.200**
Number children living out of province	.237**	.086^	-.113	-.122**	-.095**	-.047**
Child/grandchild coresidence (vs. children nearby)[2]						
Children nearby and grandchildren in hh	.205	.206	-.027	.103	.159	-.044
Grandchildren in hh without children nearby	-.239	.371	-.053	.517**	.114	.127
Neither children nearby nor grandchildren in hh	.673^	-.104	-.369	.125	.340*	-.215*
Constant	-1.921	-2.797	-4.982	-1.056	-2.164	-1.576
LL	-337.2	-465.7	-230.2	-2514.5	-1832.7	-3542.9
Δ –LL (model)	120.7	85.8	62.1	152.8	122.6	269.9

** p < .01 * p < .05 ^ p < .10

[1] At least 100,000 Riels per year in Cambodia and 1,000 Baht in Thailand

[2] Nearby means children living in the household or next door

[3] Category for parent does not know included in the equation but not reported for Thailand

[4] Category for parent does not know included in the equation but not reported for both Cambodia and Thailand

[4] Excludes 7 cases where parent does not know the marital status of child

Figure 1: Probability of visiting at least monthly by number of disabilities and child/grandchild coresidence, Cambodia 2004

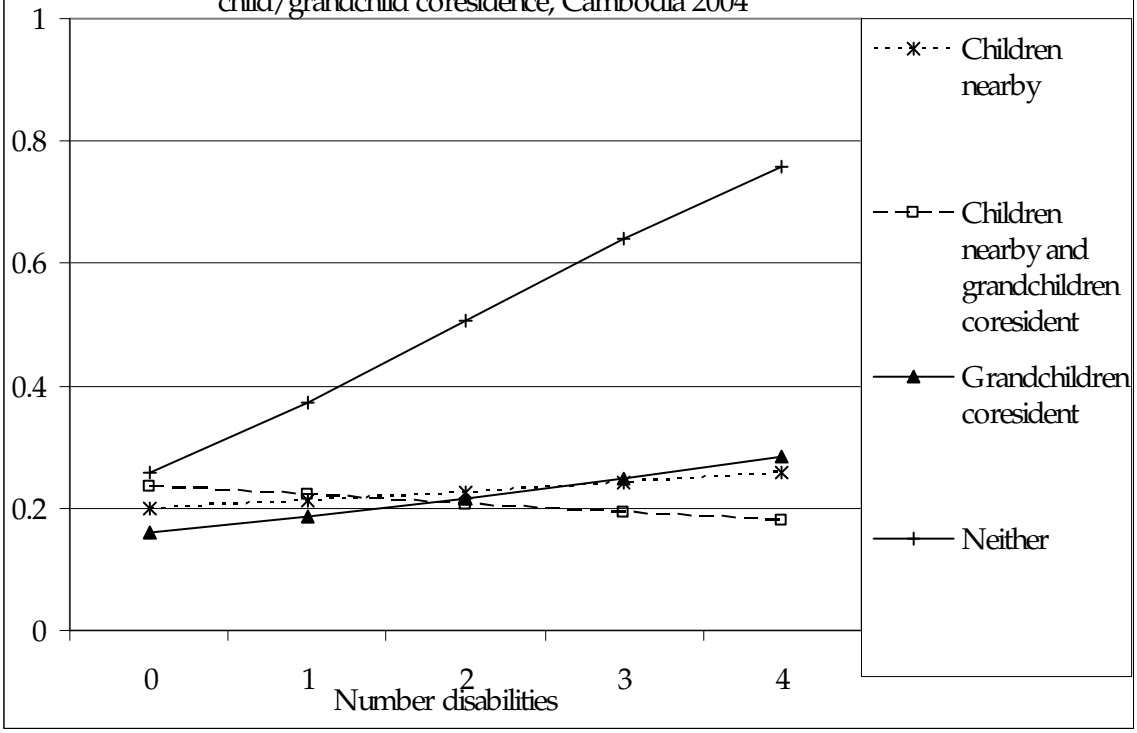

Figure 2: Probability of providing household support by number of disabilities and child/grandchild coresidence, Cambodia 2004

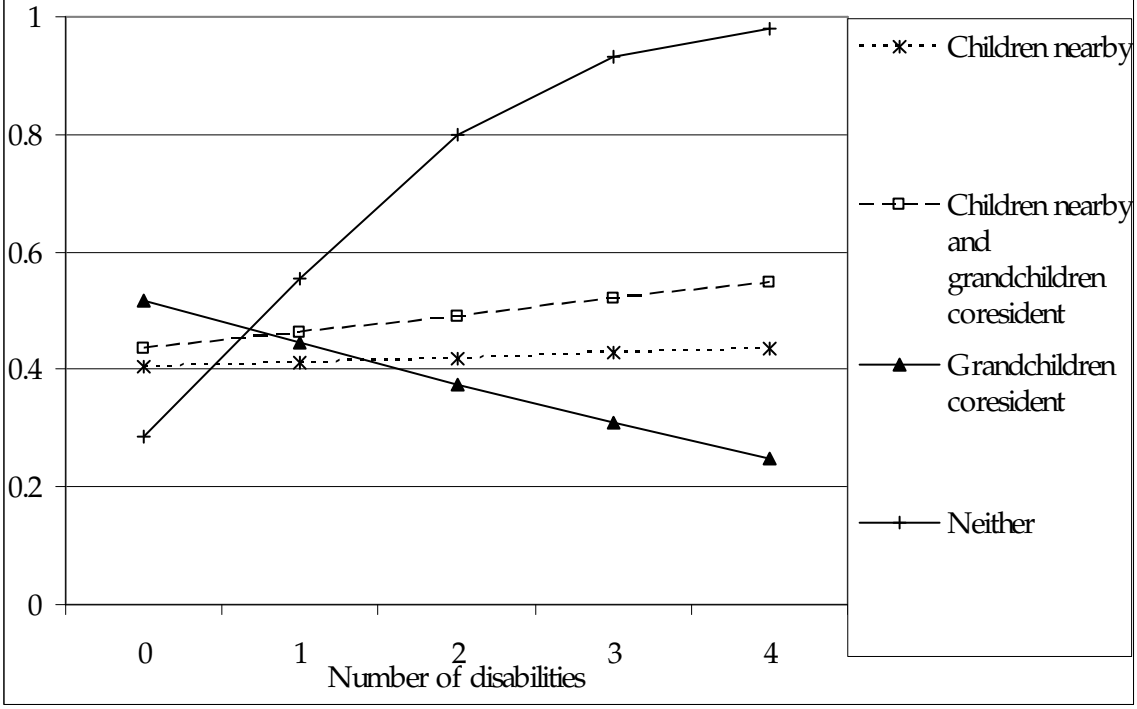

Figure 3: Probability of visiting at least monthly by number of disabilities and child/grandchild coresidence, Thailand 1995

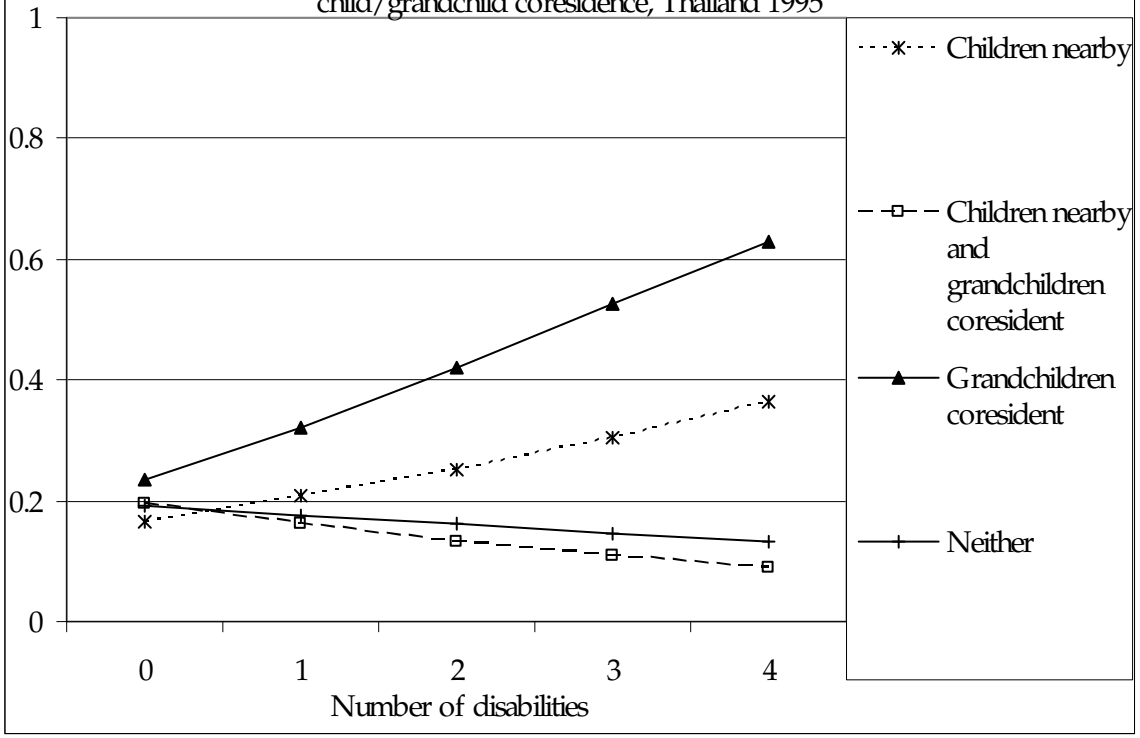

Figure 4: Probability of providing goods or food regularly by number of disabilities and child/grandchild coresidence, Thailand 1995