

Working Paper 542

**Intergenerational
Transfers in India:
Who Receives Money
and Who Gives Money?**

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Published and Printed by: Institute for Social and Economic Change
Dr V K R V Rao Road, Nagarabhavi Post,
Bangalore - 560072, Karnataka, India.

ISEC Working Paper No. 542

August 2022

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ISBN 978-93-93879-13-4

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The Institute for Social and Economic Change,
Bangalore

Working Paper Series Editor: **M Balasubramanian**

INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSFERS IN INDIA: WHO RECEIVES MONEY AND WHO GIVES MONEY?

Kinkar Mandal¹ and Lekha Subaiya²

Abstract

Rural to urban migration, urbanisation, industrialisation and westernisation impacted the strength of family ties and have reduced support from children to parents as well as from parents to children. Longitudinal Ageing Study in India (LASI, 2017-18), a nationally representative survey data, were used for this study to examine the monetary transfers between older parents and children in India. With the use of frequency distribution and logistic regression, our analysis shows that money transfers flow in both directions between children and older parents. The proportion of older persons receiving money from children is higher than that of older persons giving to children. Growing age is positively associated with the receipt of money from children. Socio-economic status has a role in explaining variations in money received and given to parents. Having higher wealth or land is positively associated with receiving and giving money. The currently working status of the older person is positively associated with giving money to the children. Older women have a higher probability to receive money exhibiting children possessing altruistic feelings. There are region-specific variations in the giving and receipt of money. Eastern state exhibits a higher per cent of older person receiving money while the northern states show a lower per cent. Simultaneously, Northeast state exhibits higher per cent of the older person giving money while the western states show lower per cent.

Keywords: Money; support; receive; giving; older person

Introduction

The rapid decline in fertility and mortality rate and the improvements in the life span have resulted in an increasing proportion of the older population in India (Subaiya & Bansod, 2014). According to the 2011 census, about 8.6 per cent of the population is in the 60 years and older age group (Registrar general, 2011). This proportion is projected to increase to 19 per cent by 2050 (Nations, 2015). Rapid economic and social development has brought about changes in the family structure and nuclearisation of the family is on the rise (Roy, 2009). The changes in the social structure have resulted in a small proportion of children being available to support their parents in their old age.

In the context of Asian countries, the family is the core institution which provides emotional, physical and financial support to its members. Children give physical support to parents by co-residing with them and financial support by providing money (John Knodel, 1996). In India, this intergenerational co-residence is decreasing, albeit marginally. For instance, living with extended family is a system of support during older age. This system is gradually changing due to rural-urban migration, nuclearisation of the family and an increase in the western styles of independent living (Roy, 2009). Many Indian states, as a consequence, have set up policies to provide financial support to the vulnerable among the older population. While this is a welcome step, however, the amount involved is

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meagre. Researchers and policymakers should therefore focus on the financial aspect of support for older persons.

Studies on the intergenerational exchange of money focus on the flow, amount, and frequency of money transfers between generations (Schwarz *et al*, 2006). In the context of European countries, money flows in both directions and the frequency of transfers is high from older parents to children (Marco Albertini, 2007). In the context of Asian countries, much research on the transfer of money comes from more industrialised countries such as China, Japan, South Korea and Taiwan (Martin, 2000). In China, for instance, children provide considerable economic and social resources to parents; this support is strongly associated with the financial well-being of children themselves (Lee, 1998). At the macro level, studies have shown that cultural and demographic factors and the political history of a country determine the transfer of money (Claudine Attias-Donfut, 2005). Nonetheless, very few studies have focused on the transfer of money (Marco Albertini, 2007) in both directions, and such studies are very rare in the context of India. We attempt to fill this gap in the literature and endeavor to examine the intergenerational transfers of money between children and older parents in the Indian context.

Theoretical framework for understanding intergenerational relationships of support

Research studies have focused on theorizing the motivation for giving support when resources are transferred between family members. Two concepts that have been used to understand the motives for transfers include *altruism and exchange*. Altruistic children transfer resources to older parents because they are concerned about the well-being of their older parents (Becker, 1981). On the other hand, the exchange model is based on rational choice theory wherein human beings are making rational decisions when they transfer resources. Children transfer resources to their older parents because parents invest in children when they are young, or children provide support to their older parents with an expectation of receiving money, and property after their death (Becker, 1981; Cox, 1987).

Sociological studies on the family focus on the concept of solidarity in the dynamics of family relationships. Bengtson (1991) and colleagues conceptualized solidarity as dynamic to understand the strengths and weaknesses of family relationships. They proposed six dimensions of intergenerational family solidarity. These dimensions of solidarity explain the strength of the familial bond, cohesion, and norms of filial obligation among the family members (i.e., consensual, effectual, structural, associational, normative, and functional solidarity) (Bengtson & Roberts, 2001).

Transfer of monetary support

Research on the transfer of money, in developed and developing countries, indicates that there is a huge variation in the levels of transfers of money. In Germany, the older generation provides financial support to both their children and grandchildren whereas children support their parents with instrumental help (Hoff, 2007). Compared with Germany, the Nordic countries are characterized by a higher level of support from parents to children (Hoff, 2007). Further, research has observed a shift in the trend of financial transfers away from adult children towards grandchildren between 1996 and 2002 (Hoff, 2007). In ten European countries including Sweden, Denmark, Netherlands, France, Germany,

Austria, Switzerland, Spain, Italy and Greece it was found that cash gifts were mainly flowing from younger generations to the older generation (Attias-Donfut *et al*, 2005). Further, the authors noted that almost 26 percent of the children gave 250 euros or more in the last 12 months to their older family members, and the amount of money transfer varied among the countries, for instance, 11 percent in Spain and 35 percent of children in Greece. In addition, they found that there is a relationship between growing age and decreasing financial transfers (Attias-Donfut *et al*, 2005). Another study conducted in the USA found that only 2 percent of children gave cash transfers to their disabled and impaired older parents (McGarry, 1997). National estimations from the USA indicate that in the late 1980s, about 20 percent of children received financial transfers from a parent or parent-in-law during the study period and fewer than 5 percent of children gave money to parents-in-law (Altonji *et al*, 1992). The average transfer of money ranged from \$1500 to \$2000, either to the child or from the child, for those involved in a transfer. Further, having a daughter is associated with receiving higher financial transfers than a son in the United States (Mary Beth Ofstedal, 1991). About ethnic groups, being White American is associated with receiving higher amount of money compared to being African American (Hogan, 1990).

Many studies on financial support have examined support from parents to children and vice versa. Parents transfer assets and land to their children and live with them, even though children are self-sufficient (Schwarz *et al*, 2006). Studies have found that socio-economic factors played a role in influencing intergenerational transfers of money. For instance, older persons who have poorer health are more likely to receive monetary support, while those with better health are more likely to give money to their children. Parent's income also affects the level and types of support. A higher level of income is associated with larger transfers to the children and a higher likelihood of living separately from the children (Altonji *et al*, 1992). Having more co-resident children or children-in-law increases the chance of receiving a financial transfer from children to parents. They also found the probability of receiving money and the amount of money associated with an increase in age (Soldo & Hill, 1993). A study on the transfer of money between non-coresident older parents and children found that children's wage rates and parental characteristics of older persons played a crucial role in the transfer of money. Children having higher wages are associated with more cash transfers to their non-coresident older parents (Couch *et al*, 1999).

A survey in seven states in India (BKPAI, 2011) found that almost 40 per cent of older persons living alone and 29 percent of older persons living only with their spouse and no children received money from their non-coresident children (UNFPA, 2012). A study by Sathyanarayana *et al*, (2012) found that 42 percent of female children and 36 percent of male children send money to parents living alone. In Indonesia, higher-income households give more private transfers to older persons compared to lower-income households whereas, lower-income households are more likely to receive transfers (Cox and Jimenez 1990). concerning children's marital status, unmarried non-coresident children (Philippines and Thailand) are more likely to transfer money than married children whereas married children are more likely to provide food or clothes to their older parents (Mary Beth Ofstedal, 1991). Female-headed households are more likely to receive transfers, in larger amounts than their male counterparts (Cox & Jimenez, 1990).

Data and Methods

Data for this study are from the Longitudinal Ageing Study in India (LASI) Wave-1 (2017-18), a nationally representative survey of all the states and union territories (except Sikkim) in India. The survey was undertaken by the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare (MoHFW), Government of India, the International Institute for Population Sciences (IIPS), Mumbai, with the collaboration of Harvard T.H.Chan School of Public Health (HSPH) and the University of Southern California (USC) and financially supported by MoHFW, National Institute on Ageing (NIA/NIH), USA and the United Nation Population Fund, India. The data was collected from a sample of 42,949 households with the use of a multistage stratified area probability cluster sampling design. A total of 31,464 older persons aged 60 and above from rural and urban areas form the basis of this study.

The survey has collected information on major aspects of the lives of Indians, including demography, work and economic status, health, health care, social relations, etc. Within these domains, they have collected information on the number of children, social and economic conditions, living arrangements and family relationships, ownership of land, daily living activities (ADL), instrumental activities of daily living (IADL), disability, self-reported health (SRH), health care utilisation, and utilisation of social benefits. The information regarding receiving money from the children has been collected from a question asking whether the older parent gets money from their children or not, and if so how much money they are getting from their children.

Empirical Estimation

Descriptive statistics are presented, including the percentage and frequency distribution of money transfers between older parents and children across socio-economic factors. This is followed by logit regression used to predict the likelihood of money transfers, whether the older person received or gave money. We used a dummy dependent variable that: 1 is receiving or giving of money and do not receive or giving of money is coded as 0. The explanatory variables used are living arrangement, age, sex, place of residence, marital status, number of children, religion, caste, and self-rated health. The types of living arrangements were grouped into two groups co-residence (living with children and others), and not co-residence (living alone and spouse) in which living alone and spouse is the reference group. Similarly, respondent age is grouped into three groups of 60-69, 70-79, and 80+ years where 60-69 years is the reference group. The sex of the older person, is dummy where if the respondent is male=1, female=0. The social group of the older person is divided into four groups such as Schedule Caste (SC), Schedule Tribe (ST), Other Backward Caste (OBC), and general castes, where, SC is the reference group. Similarly, religion is coded into four categories (Hindu, Muslim, Christian and other religions), where Hindu is the reference category. Although, the number of living children of the respondents is grouped into three such one child, two children are more than two children where more than three children is the reference group. Respondents' years of schooling are categorized into four groups of never, 1-4 years, 5-7 years and 8 and above years of schooling where never goes to school is the reference. The worked status is grouped into three categories of never worked, currently working and worked in past where never work is the reference category. Usually, wealth is measured by economic variable, which is divided into five categories of the poorest, poorer, middle, richer and richest

where the middle wealth index is the reference group. Further, older persons' land ownership is dummy have land=1, no land=0. Self-rated health is coded into five categories of excellent, very good, good, poor and fair health where good health is the reference group. The Activity of Daily Living (ADL) is a series of performances (bathing, dressing, using the toilet, mobility, continence and feeding) which are grouped into two such as needing at least one assistance=1, otherwise=0. Similarly, the respondent Instrumental Activity of Daily Living (IADL) is a series of performances (preparing meals, shopping, using the telephone, taking medicine, doing household work, managing money, getting around) which are grouped into two such as needing at least one assistance=1, otherwise=0. The above mansion models have been analysed by using STATA 12 software.

Results

Level of monetary support

Table 1 represents the transfers of money between the generations according to the socio-economic characteristics of the older parent. A higher proportion of older persons living alone or with spouses are more likely to receive money from their children compared to the older person who co-reside with their children and other relatives. On the other hand, older persons living with spouses and children are more likely to give money than their counterparts. On average, men are slightly more likely to receive money than women (13.2 per cent and 11.0 per cent) whereas women are more likely to transfer money than men (4.4 per cent and 2.8 per cent) to their children. When looking at the age group the proportion of older persons receiving money is increasing with each consecutive age group. On the other hand, the proportion of giving money to children decreases when it comes to higher age groups. The comparison between rural and urban residents shows that older persons living in urban areas are more likely to receive money than those living in rural areas whereas giving money to children is not much different. Being widows or separated older persons is more likely to receive money than the currently married. On the other hand, widowed or separated older persons are less likely to give money. Having more children increases the likelihood of receiving money and giving money. A higher proportion of older persons who are less educated are more likely to receive money and highly educated older persons are more likely to give money to their children. The respondent's religion is an important predictor of the receipt and giving of money. For instance, a higher proportion of older person who belong to Christian and Muslim communities receive money compared to Hindus while there is no great difference in money transfer to the children. Similarly, among the social groups, the older people belongs to OBC and other castes are more likely to receive money than SC/ST whereas, the OBC caste are more likely to give money to their children.

Health status of the older person is strongly associated with receiving and giving money. A higher proportion of older persons who reported poor health (14.6 per cent) receive monetary support compared to their counterparts (10.1 per cent) whereas, there is no difference in giving money to children. Similarly, the older persons who reported difficulty with at least one IADL assistance are more likely to receive money and the older person who does not require assistance are more likely to transfer money to their children. Being in a higher wealth quintile and having land increases the chances of receiving and giving monetary transfers. The older persons living in a household which are in a higher

wealth quintile are more likely to receive money and this substantially increased with the increase in wealth. Similarly, an older person living in a household in a higher wealth quintile is more likely to send money to their children, which substantially decreased with the decrease in wealth. A higher proportion of older persons who live in households have own land receive and give more money. The results also show the regional variation in the transfer of money; the eastern states have a higher percentage of older persons (6.1 per cent) receiving money, whereas it is lowest (8.1 per cent) in the Northern states. On the other hand, older persons in the northeast and northern states are more likely to give money, whereas giving money to children is very low in the West and Southern states in India.

Table 1: Background characteristics of older persons according to whether they receive and provide monetary support

Variables	Receiving money	Giving money	Total
Living arrangements			
Living alone	22.3	3.1	1,787
Couple alone	14.5	3.4	6,397
Living with spouse and children	9.8	4.1	12,779
Living with children alone	12.0	3.2	8,696
Living with others	11.2	2.2	1,805
Sex			
Men	13.2	2.8	16,533
Women	11.0	4.4	14,931
Age (in years)			
60-69	11.6	3.7	18,410
70-79	12.7	3.6	9,501
80+	13.9	2.6	3,553
Place of residence			
Urban	13.4	3.6	22,196
Rural	9.3	3.4	9,268
Marital status			
Currently married	11.4	3.9	19,391
Widow/separated	13.4	3.0	12,073
Number of children			
One child	8.9	2.3	2038
Two children	8.7	2.6	4290
More children	13.7	4.0	23916
Education			
Never	13.0	3.1	17,782
1-4 years	12.2	3.6	3,598
5-7 years	12.2	3.6	3,526
8+ years	9.8	4.8	6,558
Work status			
Never worked	11.3	2.1	8,308
Currently working	10.4	4.3	9,679
Worked in past but currently not	14.0	3.9	13,469

Contd...

Religion			
Hindu	11.7	3.6	25,870
Muslim	15.0	3.8	3,548
Christian	16.8	3.7	900
Others	10.0	2.1	1,145
Caste			
SC/ST	11.5	3.3	8,502
OBC	12.3	3.8	14,227
Others	12.7	3.4	8,678
Self-rated health			
Excellent	6.7	4.0	964
Very good	9.0	4.0	4192
Good	10.8	3.3	10693
Fair	14.2	3.5	10331
Poor	15.4	3.8	4630
ADL			
Need at least one ADL	11.4	2.0	1,385
No need for ADL assistance	12.3	3.6	29,951
IADL			
Need at least one IADL	13.9	2.8	3,264
No need IADL assistance	12.1	3.7	28,031
MPCE quintile			
Poorest	11.1	2.7	6,829
Poorer	12.2	3.0	6,831
Middle	11.3	3.4	6,590
Richer	12.8	4.1	6,038
Richest	14.0	4.9	5,175
Land ownership			
Yes land	12.7	4.1	15,801
No land	11.9	3.1	14,829
Region			
North	8.1	4.1	3,960
Central	10.0	4.0	6,593
East	16.1	3.9	7,439
Northeast	12.7	4.2	935
West	14.6	2.8	5,401
South	10.3	2.9	7,136
India	12.2	3.5	31,464

Source: Calculated by the researcher using LASI data

Socio-economic Factors Associated with Receiving Money and Giving Money

In this section, the results of the logit regression estimating the likelihood of receiving money and giving money between children and older parents are discussed. Table 2 represents the logit model predicting the likelihood of older persons receiving monetary support from children. The regression results show that co-residence older persons are less likely to receive money from their children than the older persons who lived alone or with spouses. This relationship is negative and significant at the .001 level. It appears that living with the children (co-residence) had no association with the transfer of money from their children because the fact children are cooperative to share space with their children. The age

of the older person is shown a strong association with the received of money. For instance, older person aged 70-79 and 80+ years are more likely to receive money from their children and the coefficient was substantially increasing with the increase of age. The relationship is significant at the .001 level in all the age groups. Women are more likely than men to receive money from their children. This relationship is significant at the .001 level. An older person who lost their spouse is more likely to receive money from their children. This relationship is significant at the .001 level. Therefore, data show that children are concerned about the well-being of widowed older women in India. The number of children has a significant association with the likelihood of receipt of money. Older persons who have one child or two children are less likely to receive money from their children compared to parents who have more than two children. Having more than one child increases the likelihood of older parents receiving money.

In comparing the religious groups, it has found that the older persons who belong to the Muslim and Christian communities are more likely to receive monetary support from their children than Hindus. This suggests that Muslims have different kinship patterns which they can call upon for support. In the case of social groups, older persons who belong to the general caste are less likely to receive money compared to those belonging to other caste categories. The educational status of the older person is a significant determinant of receiving financial support. For instance, older persons with more years of schooling are less likely to receive money whereas older persons with fewer years of schooling are more likely to receive money. On the other hand, working status and land ownership are associated with the receipt of money. The older persons who are working in the past are more likely to receive money whereas currently working older persons are less likely to receive money from their children than never worked. Ownership of land has a strong positive association with the receipt of money from their children. The older persons who have land (cultivated and non-cultivated land) are more likely to receive money from their children compared to older person who does not have land. This land resource increases the likelihood of receiving money. Similarly, the wealth quintile of the older adult is associated with the receipt of money. Those older persons who live in a household in a higher wealth quintile are more likely to receive money from their children, compared to those older persons who belong to the middle wealth quintile, whereas the relationship is negative for the poorest wealth quintile. Respondents who reported excellent and very good health have less likelihood of receiving money whereas fair and poor health older persons have a higher likelihood of receiving money. There is enough evidence to support the hypothesis that children were more supportive when their parents were in poor health. Further, the older persons who required at least one IADL assistance received more monetary support from their children than their counterparts.

Factors associated with the receipt of money

Table 2: Likelihood of monetary support from children to older parents: logit result

Receive money from children	Model-1	
Living arrangement (Ref: living alone and spouse)		
Co-residence	-0.621 (0.041)	***
Age (Ref: 60-69)		
70-79	0.150 (0.042)	***
80+	0.202 (0.061)	***
Sex (Ref: Men)		
Women	0.214 (0.048)	***
Place of residence (Ref: Urban)		
Rural	0.199 (0.047)	***
Marital status (Ref: Currently married)		
Widow/separate	0.173 (0.043)	***
Number of children (Ref: More than two children)		
One child	-0.225 (0.078)	**
Two children	-0.246 (0.057)	***
Religion (Ref: Hindu)		
Muslim	0.487 (0.055)	***
Christian	0.412 (0.066)	***
Other religion	-0.243 (0.099)	**
Caste (Ref: SC)		
ST	0.072 (0.072)	
OBC	0.087 (0.058)	
General	0.150 (0.062)	**
Educational status (Ref: Never)		
1-4 years	0.039 (0.059)	
5-7 years	0.106 (0.061)	*
8 years and above	-0.019 (0.059)	
Work status (Ref: Never work)		
Currently working	-0.024 (0.058)	
Work in the past	0.142 (0.049)	**
Land ownership (Ref: No land)		
Yes land	0.105 (0.042)	**
Wealth quintile (Ref: Middle)		
Poorest	-0.076 (0.059)	
Poorer	0.012 (0.058)	
Richer	0.081 (0.057)	
Richest	0.119 (0.058)	**
Self-rated Health (Ref: Good)		
Excellent	-0.532 (0.156)	***
Very good	-0.170 (0.063)	**
Fair	0.179 (0.044)	***
Poor	0.292 (0.055)	***
ADL (Ref: Do not need any assistance)		
Need at least one ADL assistance	0.030 (0.047)	
IADL (Ref: Do not need any assistance)		
Need at least one IADL assistance	0.305 (0.042)	***
Constant	-2.483 (0.103)	***
Log-likelihood	-10439.081	
Pseudo R-square	0.0383	
Number of observations	29884	

Source: Calculated by the researcher using LASI data

Notes: Dependent variable is money. The figures in parentheses are t values

Significant levels: *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Table 3 represents the logit model predicting the likelihood of giving monetary support to the children. The result shows that older person resource has a significant effect on monetary support to the children. Older persons living with children have a positive relationship with the likelihood of giving money to the children. This relationship is significant at the .001 level. It is seen that co-residence with the children had a strong association with transferring money. Age has a negative relationship with the likelihood of giving money to the children. Simultaneously, being an older woman and having more children have a significant negative relationship with the likelihood of giving monetary support to the children.

Muslim and Christian older persons are more likely to give money to their children than Hindus; the coefficient for the older person belonging to other religious groups is negatively significant. Education showed a strong positive association with giving money; the coefficient is higher among the 8+ years of schooling older persons compared to those with no education (less than one year). At the same time, the effect of coefficient value is substitutional increasing with the increase in education.

There is a strong association with working status. Older persons who are currently working and those who worked in the past are more likely to give money to their children. Controlling for the effects of all other variables, ownership of land and having higher wealth are strongly associated with giving money to the children. The older person who has land is more likely to transfer money to their children compared to those elders who do not have land. This relationship is strongly significant at the .01 level. The wealth quintile also shows a positive relationship, with the coefficient increasing substantially with an increase in the wealth quintile. Interestingly, having land and more wealth are significant predictors of giving monetary support to the children. Respondents who reported fair health status are less likely to give money to their children, whereas respondents with very good health are more likely to give money to their children compared to good health. Older persons with at least one ADL difficulty are less likely to give money to their children whereas, older persons with at least one IADL difficulty are more likely to give money to their children. In contrast, place of residence, marital status and social groups does not have a significant relationship with monetary transfer to children.

Table 3: Likelihood of monetary support from older parent to children: logit result

Giving money to children	Model-1I	
Living arrangement (Ref: living alone and spouse)		
Co-residence	0.271 (0.073)	***
Age (Ref: 60-69)		
70-79	0.065 (0.070)	
80+	-0.099 (0.115)	
Sex (Ref: Men)		
Women	-0.148 (0.079)	*
Place of residence (Ref: Urban)		
Rural	0.118 (0.077)	
Marital status (Ref: Currently married)		
Widow/separate	-0.046 (0.074)	
Number of children (Ref: More than two children)		
One child	-0.236 (0.129)	*
Two children	-0.534 (0.100)	***
Religion (Ref: Hindu)		
Muslim	0.301 (0.091)	***
Christian	0.237 (0.108)	**
Other religion	-0.547 (0.178)	**
Caste (Ref: SC)		
ST	0.109 (0.116)	
OBC	0.040 (0.093)	
General	-0.134 (0.102)	
Educational status (Ref: Never)		
1-4 years	0.109 (0.100)	
5-7 years	0.239 (0.099)	**
8 years and above	0.554 (0.086)	***
Work status (Ref: Never work)		
Currently working	0.629 (0.100)	***
Work in the past	0.423 (0.093)	***
Land ownership (Ref: No land)		
Yes land	0.139 (0.068)	**
Wealth quintile (Ref: Middle)		
Poorest	-0.211 (0.101)	**
Poorer	-0.145 (0.098)	
Richer	0.163 (0.093)	*
Richest	0.440 (0.091)	***
Self-rated Health (Ref: Good)		
Excellent	-0.094 (0.186)	
Very good	0.187 (0.086)	**
Fair	-0.148 (0.074)	**
Poor	-0.060 (0.098)	
ADL (Ref: Do not need any assistance)		
Need at least one ADL assistance	-0.158 (0.085)	*
IADL (Ref: Do not need any assistance)		
Need at least one IADL assistance	0.336 (0.069)	***
Constant	-4.155 (0.176)	***
Log-likelihood	-4899.2895	
Pseudo R-square	0.0334	
Number of observations	29884	

Source: Calculated by the researcher using LASI individual-level data

Notes: Dependent variable is money. Figures in parentheses are t values

Significant levels: *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Discussion

Economic development and social transformation have had an impact on the family structure and have changed the traditional living arrangement patterns in India. In this context, it is important to understand the situation of older persons' support relationship with their children. The present study aims to examine the relationship between parents and children in receiving and giving monetary support. The analysis shows that while the transfer of money is flowing in both directions the amount of transfer is higher in the upward direction from children to older parents. Our study also reflects the same patterns as in the context of the Philippines and Thailand, where the older persons received more money from their single-non-coresident children than give money to children (Beth *et al.*, 1999). Whereas in European countries the flow of money transfers is more frequent from parents to children than children to parents (Albertini *et al.*, 2007).

We also examine the individual socio-economic characteristics in receiving money. The result confirms that socio-economic resources have a role in the shaping of receiving money. In general, being men, living alone or with a spouse, living in an urban area, having more children, less education, working in past, being a Christian, those of OBC and other castes, having poor health, need at least one ADL and IADL assistance, having higher wealth, having land are more likely to receive money from their children. On the other hand, the socio-economic characteristics of older persons play a role in the decision to give money to the children. For instance, living with a spouse or children, living in urban areas, currently married, having more children, highly educated, currently working, being Muslim, having higher wealth and having land are more likely to give money to their children. Despite this, we also considered the cross-region variations in receiving money in India. It has been found that receiving money is higher in eastern states and low in northern states. Similarly, giving money is high in northern states and very low in northeastern states. The result suggests that the eastern societies have stronger family norms and traditions whereas other regions have restricted intergenerational transfer due to the nuclear family.

The multivariate analysis of the transfer of money between parents and children shows that an older person's resources are important factors in influencing receipt and giving transfers. In general, an older person who lives alone or with a spouse is more likely to receive money whereas older parents who live alone or with a spouse are less likely to give money. There is evidence of reciprocity for living alone parents are more likely to give money to the children and less likely to receive money from the children. Thus, living with the children would not provide money because they co-reside with their children and co-residence is one type of support or structural solidarity (Silverstein, Cong, & Li, 2006). Evidence in the context of European countries is the opposite direction where the co-resident older persons are more likely to transfer money to their children than received money (Albertini *et al.*, 2007).

The correlates of receiving money are positively affected by age and giving money is negatively affected by age. Older people have fewer resources at higher ages to transfer their children. This goes along with the finding of Soldo and Hill (1993). Being women are more likely to receive financial transfers but, inconclusive when giving money to children. Hence, children are more altruistic feeling toward their older mothers. Mother has a close emotional bond with the children. Similarly, the older persons who lost their spouse or separated were more likely to receive money than give money. It

is expected that they are unable to give transfers to their children. We expected that older persons with more children wish to get more support and give less support than single-child parents. In such considerations, more children played a role in the higher network of support but single-child older persons maybe staying with them and have less network of support.

We also investigate whether there is a link between a social group and the intergenerational transfer of money. It was found that among the social groups, receiving money is high in upper-caste categories. While we urged that our findings would have similar to the ethnic difference in America, where white Americans were receiving more money (Hogan, 1990). In the context of religious groups, Muslims and Christian receive more money and give more money to their children. The relationship between educational attainment and transfers of money is significant. As expected, respondent with never goes to school are more likely to receive money transfers. At the same time, older persons who attend higher years of schooling are more likely to make money transfers. Highly-educated elders may be the wealthiest to transfer monetary support. Older persons who own land are more likely to receive and give monetary transfers. When considering wealth, there is clear evidence that having a higher wealth quintile older persons are more likely to receive and give money. The resources of land and wealth were linked to transfer motive where the children have an altruistic feeling toward their parents because they will inherit the land after the death of their parents (Schneider, 2011). The relationship between working history and money transfers is significant. As expected, for older persons of never worked are more likely to receive money while the older persons currently working are more likely to give money transfers. Concerning the relationship between health and functionality in money transfers, it is clear that older persons who suffer from poor health are more likely to receive money, whereas healthy older persons are more likely to send money to their children. But studies also found that the medical expenditure of older persons depended on the older person's economic contributions to the household (Kochar, 1999).

Conclusion

This study examines the relationship between parents and children in receiving and giving money. Data shows that many older persons who lived alone or with their spouse only received money from their children. It also argued that if age goes up the likelihood of getting support also increased. An older person's gender and marital status influence children to provide support. Similarly, fewer years of schooling are positively associated with receiving money. The chances of receipt transfers increased when the older persons have land and a higher wealth quintile. At the same time, higher chances to receive money were observed by the respondents who reported poor health. Land is a resource that motivates the children to transfer money. This indicates that children respond to their economic needs for integrational transmission of wealth from older parents (Schneider, 2011). On the other hand, persons with poor health received transfers which are altruistic feelings toward the older parents from the children. Simultaneously, more children and working status are positively associated with money transfers from children.

The analysis on giving money transfers to the children indicated that many older parents transfer money to their children. For instance, co-residence older persons have higher chances to

transfers money to their children than those living alone or with spouses. Similarly, land ownership, currently working status, and higher wealth are positively associated with giving transfers. The land is a resource that motivated the older parents to give money transfers. The working status reflects that currently working and working in the past older person are self-supported through independent income and they are capable to transfer money to their children. This indicates that economically able older parents have altruistic feelings toward their children. At the same time, the older persons who have a higher wealth quintile and higher years of schooling are more likely to give transfers to their children. Because of the higher wealth quintile and high years of schooling older persons have higher economic security than others. Health is negatively associated with giving transfers. If older persons have poor health they are less likely to give support.

In general, the social group is a significant predictor of transfers of money. Wealth quintile and land ownership are important factors in the family dynamic of intergenerational transfers and an important motive of transfers. At the same time, health and gender are significant factors in receipt transfers. The older persons in the later life stage are more likely to receive money than to give money to the children. On the other hand, family solidarity values are higher in the case of needy older persons (Kohli, 2013). With the lack of public support, India is moving towards westernisation of living independently, large-scale rural-urban migration and urbanisation. Older persons require support from their children as well as from the government. The government should frame policies so that older persons get a higher old-age pensions. At the same time, the government should increase the number of old-age homes in the country. This study provides only the transfer of money from both directions in a cross-sectional way. In future research, one can study the pattern of intergenerational transfers of money over time from an individual life-course perspective.

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