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# Reciprocity Revisited: Give and Take in Dutch and Immigrant Families

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# Reciprocity Revisited: Give and Take in Dutch and Immigrant Families

**Abstract**
Using data from the Netherlands Kinship Panel Study (N = 8,155), we analyzed patterns of reciprocity in the intergenerational support exchange among three ethnic groups. We distinguished between four varieties of reciprocity: high exchangers (giving and receiving much), receivers (giving little, receiving much), givers (giving much, receiving little), and low exchangers (giving and receiving little). The Dutch were more often low exchangers than the other two ethnic groups (Mediterraneans and Caribbeans), but the association between ethnicity and reciprocity type did not hold after introducing the other independent variables. Patterns of reciprocity were determined by socio-structural, cultural and relational factors.

## Classical theory on reciprocity

The idea that reciprocity is the basic principle underlying forms of social organization, among which the family, is as old as classical anthropology and sociology. The essence of the principle is that giving prompts receiving, thereby creating forms of ongoing exchange and durable cooperation. In his book *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1950 [1922]) Bronislaw Malinowski described in detail how "the principle of give and take" structured the exchange in archaic society. It was of vital importance that the circulating gifts were kept in motion. If a man kept a gift too long, he would develop a bad reputation. Malinowski further emphasized that gifts – both material and nonmaterial ones – can be differentiated according to the underlying feelings, and that these feelings were connected to the sociological dimension of kinship: gifts to close kin, which he called "pure gifts", are more often given disinterestedly, whereas more or less direct expectations of returns and elements of barter are more characteristic of gifts given to persons farther away in the kinship hierarchy. Also Marcel Mauss, in his famous *Essai sur le don* (1990 [1923]), argued that acts of gift exchange are at the basis of human bonding and solidarity. Gifts contribute to solidarity because they embody a threefold obligation: the obligation to give, the obligation to receive, and the obligation to return. As a consequence of these obligations a perpetual cycle of exchanges is set up within and between generations. Social ties are created, sustained and strengthened by means of gift exchange.

Some decades later Lévi-Strauss (1949) investigated the structural aspects of reciprocity and argued that the principle of reciprocity is universal, and not restricted to so-called primitive societies. Similar views about the crucial social role of exchange and reciprocity have been developed by Georg Simmel (1950 [1908]). Simmel called gift exchange "one of the strongest sociological functions": without it society would not come about. More than half a century later, Alvin Gouldner (1960) resumed the theme by exploring the "norm of reciprocity" as a mechanism to start social relationships. Gouldner, following Simmel, pointed to the fact that reciprocity does not necessarily mean equivalence. He argued that reciprocal exchange relationships may be very asymmetrical, one party giving much while the other does scarcely reciprocate, and the reverse. In addition to the norm of reciprocity, Gouldner (1973b) distinguished the "norm of beneficence", or, the norm of giving "something for nothing" (Malinowski"s "pure gift"): the expression of real altruism. This kind of giving is not a reaction to gifts received from others. It is a powerful correction mechanism in situations where existing social relationships have become disturbed, or where people need care or help, for instance children or frail elderly.

The connection between reciprocity and family relationships returns in the work of anthropologist Marshall Sahlins (1972), who distinguished between "generalized", "balanced", and "negative" reciprocity. In generalized reciprocity – the disinterested extreme

– the expectation of returns is indefinite, and returns are not stipulated by time, quantity, or quality. Like Gouldner and Malinowski, Sahlins mentions the circle of near kin and loved ones as an example. Feelings of altruism and solidarity supposedly accompany this type of exchange. Balanced reciprocity, a form of direct and equivalent exchange without much delay, is more likely in relationships that are emotionally distant than in closer relationships. Negative reciprocity – the unsociable extreme – is the "attempt to get something for nothing" (1972: 195). Sahlins (1972: 196) summarizes his model as follows: "kindred goes with kindness". (For a more complete overview of classical views on reciprocity, see Komter 2005.)

These various insights converge in their emphasis of the specific nature of reciprocity in the context of family relationships. The "pure" gift or "generalized exchange" – support given without clear expectations of return and without actual returns of help and care – will be a common pattern within families, in particular when caring for the needs of children or elderly parents is concerned. However, the picture of reciprocity in families may be more varied than the work of these classical authors suggests. The "pure gift" may not be the only reciprocity pattern existing within families; factors like age, partner status, proximity, but also cultural norms and values may have an impact on the type of reciprocity. For instance, when the parents of adult men and women are not completely dependent on their children and still able to offer support themselves, reciprocity with respect to their adult children may be more symmetrical than in the case of the "pure gift": adult children will not only give to but also receive from their parents. If reciprocity is symmetrical this does not necessarily mean that much is given and much received. A situation in which a low level of giving is paired with a low level of receiving can also be called reciprocal. Similarly, when reciprocity is asymmetrical there are two varieties: first, the "pure gift" implied in classical theory: giving much and receiving not much; and second, receiving much while giving little. Unfortunately, the classical authors do not provide us with such a more differentiated view of reciprocity in families. Moreover, they conceive of reciprocity predominantly or exclusively as a structural characteristic of human relationships. Although Gouldner emphasized reciprocity as being "a norm", he does not elaborate on the possibility that this norm is itself influenced by cultural factors like values and attitudes.

It is our assumption that the nature of reciprocity in families is varied and that this variety is conditional on socio-structural and cultural factors, and factors associated with the relationship. It will be argued in the following section, that although family research has taken into account the issue of reciprocity between generations, distinctions such as those made above are generally lacking. Reciprocity is considered an important dimension of intergenerational exchange but the nature of reciprocity as such remains largely uninvestigated.

## Modern views and findings about reciprocity in families

Among family researchers reciprocity is described and defined in various ways. Starrels, Ingersoll-Dayton, Neal, and Yamada (1995), for instance, see it as "A (..) dimension of caregiving relevant to functional solidarity" (p. 752) and "a fundamental component of the social relations of both men and women" (p. 753). Reciprocity has been studied both as a factor affecting family life, and as an outcome of other influencing factors. Although our main interest is in the latter, we will also review the first approach.

### *How reciprocity affects family life*

The impact of reciprocity on the well-being of elderly people has been researched from a perspective of exchange theory. It has been suggested that it is psychologically uncomfortable to be the dependent party in an exchange relationship (Lee 1985). Older participants in

intergenerational relationships may feel guilty as a consequence of their inability to reciprocate, in particular when they are physically impaired and depend on their children for assistance with activities of daily living. If elderly parents are able to reciprocate their caregiving children, this would have a positive effect on their well-being. Support for this hypothesis has indeed been found; research results show a negative relationship between reciprocation and depression among elderly parents (Stoller 1985) and a positive relationship between reciprocation and self-esteem (Wentowski 1981). Parents' morale seems to be positively affected by reciprocation, according to these studies. However, other researchers found that intergenerational exchange is not related to the morale of elderly people (Lee and Ellithorpe 1982; McCullough 1990). Mutran and Reitzes (1984) reported that widows' negative feelings are increased by providing aid to children and decreased by receiving aid from children. The picture arising from the studies on well-being and reciprocity in intergenerational exchange is ambiguous. Dwyer, Lee and Jankowski (1994) suggest that differences in sampling and/or measurement may account for the discrepancies. Another possibility, according to these authors, is that exchange theory does not apply in a straightforward way to intergenerational family relations (Lee 1985). They suggest that receiving assistance from a loved one may be both rewarding and costly in psychological terms. In their own study Dwyer et al. (1994) focus on the indirect effect of reciprocity on well-being via caregiver stress and burden. Their assumption, supported by previous research results (Dwyer and Miller 1990), is that reciprocity will lower the stress and burden by reducing the primary caregiver's total obligations and by freeing the caregiver to perform other tasks. They found that, indeed, reciprocity did not affect the satisfaction of older women in need of care, but did significantly reduce the stress and burden experienced by the caregiving daughters. Finally, in a study by Antonucci and Akiyama (1987) on sex differences in social support among older men and women, reciprocity was the only significant predictor of happiness for both genders.

*How family life affects reciprocity*

When we look at reciprocity as an outcome, what factors have been found to be of influence? From the various studies a number of factors arise that seem to have an impact on reciprocity. A study by Walker, Pratt and Oppy (1992) provides support for the view that care-receiving mothers are actively engaged in relational exchanges with their caregiving daughters. An important finding was that the daughters' perceptions of reciprocity are unrelated to their mothers' health: regardless of mothers' health, daughters reported that their mothers were contributing something of value to them. The women in this study appeared to work toward equitable relationships with their adult daughters. In their turn the adult daughters valued the aid received from their mothers. In their study on patterns of intergenerational assistance, Lee, Netzer and Coward (1994) found, to their own surprise, that aging parents' filial responsibility expectations were positively related to the amount of aid they give to their children but unrelated to aid received from children. They report a moderately strong positive association between aid given to children and aid received from children, even when parents' resources and opportunities for exchange are controlled. They interpret this as indicating that parents' assistance to children is frequently reciprocated (or the reverse): those who give more to their children receive more from them.

A few studies focus directly on the specific forms reciprocal exchanges among kin can take. For instance, Sarkisian and Gerstel (2004), in their study on kin support among American blacks and whites, distinguished between balanced (giving and receiving of the same type of support) and generalized (exchanging one type of support for another) forms of exchange, and one-way transfers (either giving or receiving). Similarly, Hogan, Eggebeen and Clogg (1993) took the structure of intergenerational exchanges of help and care as their main

focus. They attempted to explain various patterns of reciprocity discovered by a latent class analysis: high exchangers, low exchangers, givers and receivers. They found intergenerational assistance to be constrained by family structure and the needs and resources of each generation. Those in poverty were more often low exchangers and receivers than those with higher incomes. The quality of the relationship between parents and their adult children proved to increase the likelihood of being a high exchanger.

Antonucci and Jackson (1989, 1990) examined how reciprocity was affected by age, relationship status, income, race, gender and functional level. Age seems to be an important determinant: reciprocity appears to change over the life course but research results are not entirely consistent. Some researchers find that both very young and very old people receive the most (Hill 1970). In a study on gift giving in the Netherlands – among which giving help and care – we found that young adults were the greatest receivers of help and care whereas people over fifty years of age received the least; young and middle aged people gave more help and care than people over fifty (Komter 1996). Rossi and Rossi (1990) demonstrated that parental help to children declines over time, but children's help to parents continues at the same level. Other researchers suggest that both giving and receiving decline with age overall (Eggebeen 1992; Eggebeen and Hogan 1990; Cooney and Uhlenberg 1992).

Gender is consistently found to be related to giving assistance to elderly parents (Silverstein, Parrott, and Bengtson 1995; Starrels, Ingersoll-Dayton, Neal and Yamada 1995; Hogan, Eggebeen and Clogg 1993; Dwyer and Coward 1991, 1992). In our study on gift exchange we found that women were not only the greatest givers (of material as well as nonmaterial gifts like help and care) but also the biggest receivers, regardless of who the givers were (Komter 1996). This is consistent with other evidence showing that women are both giving and receiving more familial help (Brody 1990; Rossi and Rossi 1990). Women's role as caregivers has been explained by their centrality in kin keeping (Komter & Vollebergh 2002; Roschelle 1997; Marks and McLanahan 1993; Spitze and Logan 1990). Daughters are more likely to provide key assistance to their elderly parents than sons (Rossi and Rossi 1990). But also the gender of the care recipient is of influence: mothers have been found to receive more emotional support than fathers (Marks and McLanahan 1993).

Social economic status is related to both giving and receiving. In the same Dutch study we demonstrated that education was positively related to giving as well as receiving care or help: people with middle or higher educational levels were more likely to give and to receive care or help than the lowest educated people. Also one's financial position was related to giving and receiving: those who were unemployed and those living on a disability scheme or a retirement pension were the poorest givers as well as receivers; this finding applied not only to the material gifts but also to the giving and receiving of care and help (Komter 1996). A general finding of our study was that giving much meant receiving much, and being a low giver went along with being a low recipient. We concluded that the rule of reciprocity tends to disadvantage those who are already in the weakest social position, and called this the "Matthew-effect" after Merton (1968) who described the process of disproportionate accumulation of benefits to those who already have much (in his case academic fame) by referring to St. Matthew, "unto every one that hath shall be given". The results were consistent with the findings of Hogan, Eggebeen and Clogg (1993), who report a strong effect of being in poverty. They found that African-Americans were consistently less likely than whites to be involved in intergenerational exchange. Other researchers also argue that structural positions, in particular socio-economic resources, rather than cultural norms account for ethnic variations in intergenerational exchange (Sarkisian & Gerstel 2004; Lee and Aytac 1998).

Cultural norms are another factor of importance when studying intergenerational exchange and reciprocity. It is often assumed that Western cultures are more "individualistic"

and put more emphasis on personal choice and voluntary kin relations than do non-Western cultures where "collectivistic" values stressing familism and filial obligation would be more salient (Kagitçibasi 1996). Ethnic differences in cultural norms with respect to intergenerational exchange have been demonstrated in a study by Lee, Peek and Coward (1998). They found that blacks had higher filial responsibility expectations than did whites, even when socio-demographic, health and support factors were controlled. These results are consistent with those reported by Burr and Mutchler (1999), who found that blacks and Hispanics were more likely than non-Hispanic whites to agree that each generation should provide co-residence assistance when needed. This finding is in line with the often heard assumption that blacks in America have stronger kin networks, emphasize informal support systems more than whites and maintain higher levels of actual family support (Lee, Peek and Coward 1998; Mutran 1985). However, others have argued that parents in ethnic minority families invest less in their children due to limited resources (Berry 2001; Lee et al. 1998). Some authors have suggested that "the norm of reciprocity", giving prompted by receiving, is less salient among ethnic minorities than among members of the majority group; cultural norms of obligation and loyalty are supposed to override the "self-interest" implied by the norm of reciprocity (Katzner 2000). Sarkisian and Gerstel (2004), however, found indications of the contrary: black women were more involved in reciprocal support exchanges than white women. Similarly, a Dutch study comparing Surinamese and Antillean poor single mothers with their Dutch counterparts, found reciprocity among the first two groups to be more self-evident and less calculating than among the Dutch women (Ypeij & Steenbeek 2001).

Several studies point to the importance of familistic values and norms but often not in connection with actual support (e.g. Lee, Peek & Coward 1998). Previous studies have shown that norms and values with respect to intergenerational exchange are differentially associated with gender and education. Stein and Wemmerius (1998) present evidence that both young adult women and their middle-aged mothers had higher levels of felt obligation to their parents than did both generations of men. From the evidence presented by Lee, Peek and Coward (1998) it appears that education is negatively related to filial responsibility expectations. In the Bible as well as the Quran children's duties towards their elderly parents are specified. Therefore it is not far-fetched to assume that religious beliefs have an impact on attitudes toward intergenerational exchange (Tarakeshwar et al. 2003). Nevertheless, religiosity is rarely included in empirical research. It is striking that cultural norms, though frequently studied as a dependent variable in research on intergenerational exchange (Burr and Mutchler 1999; Lee, Peek and Coward 1998; Stein and Wemmerius 1998), are often not included as predictors of exchange. For instance, Hogan et al. (1993) focus entirely on the structural determinants of intergenerational exchange, while leaving out cultural explanations.

In an as yet unpublished study by Schans and Komter (2004) we showed that migrant groups in the Netherlands adhere more to traditional family and gender values than do the native Dutch. Contradicting the "ethnic family myth" (Roschelle 1997; Ishii-Kuntz 1997) which states that ethnic minority families are not only characterized by traditional family values but also by high levels of support for older people, we found that migrant groups did not differ significantly from the Dutch in the amount of support offered to their parents. Our study also demonstrated that women in all groups provided support more often and that mothers received more support, but in the Turkish and Moroccan groups these effects were very small or non-significant. Apparently, different patterns of reciprocity exist in different migrant groups.

Partner status of both caregiver and recipient as well as the presence of children have been found to be of influence but these factors do not lead to a clear overall picture. Parents are often an important source of support for single-parents (Eggebeen and Hogan 1990). Conversely, single (divorced or never married) parents appear to be giving more instrumental

support (Marks and McLanahan 1993). Adults with one living parent feel more obligation to provide assistance than adults with two living parents (Stein and Wemmerius 1998). Evidence presented by Hogan et al. (1993) shows that having young children was associated with being a receiver of support as well as with being a high exchanger. Starrels et al. (1995) found that respondents with more children had more reciprocal relations with their parents whereas married or cohabiting respondents had less reciprocal relations. The effect of the number and gender composition of children on the receipt of support by older persons was studied by Spitze and Logan (1990). They conclude that the presence of one daughter, rather than the number of children of either gender makes the key difference for visiting and helping parents.

Geographical distance reduces help between generations (Rossi and Rossi 1990). Health conditions and marital status of parents are important need-related reasons for support in old age. More health problems of parents have been found to be associated with an increase in support. Widowed mothers, but not fathers benefit from increased support from children (Silverstein, Parrott and Bengtson 1995). This is consistent with other evidence showing that widows tend to receive more support from adult children than do widowers (Lawton, Silverstein and Bengtson 1994).

Several conclusions can be drawn from this overview. First, with a few exceptions (Sarkisian & Gerstel 2004; Hogan et al. 1993) reciprocity has rarely been studied in its own right. Second, structural explanations of reciprocity have received more attention than cultural ones. Moreover, a systematic comparison of the relative impact on reciprocity of structural and cultural factors, and factors associated with the relationship is not yet available. Third, whereas both theoretical considerations and empirical results indicate that ethnicity is of crucial importance when investigating the nature of reciprocity, ethnic variation in intergenerational exchange has rarely been studied in its own right. Finally, the sociological relevance of studying patterns of reciprocity in the family as a key domain of social organization has not (explicitly) been acknowledged so far. Sociological theory on reciprocity could benefit from a detailed analysis of the phenomenon in a specific domain like the family.

*Aim and research questions*

It is the aim of this study to compare patterns of reciprocity in the exchange of support between adult men and women and their parents, who belong to various ethnic groups. By making this comparison we hope, first, to be able to provide an empirically substantiated contribution to sociological theory on reciprocity, and second, to supply existing family research on intergenerational support with some useful insights into the nature of reciprocity in families of various ethnic backgrounds.

We intend to improve on existing research in the following way. Different from Sarkisian and Gerstel, our dependent variable is not based on dichotomous measures of support (whether or not support is provided) but on a combination of variables measuring the amount of giving and receiving certain support (see under Methods). Whereas Hogan et al. (1993) focused on structural and relational variables, and Sarkisian and Gerstel (2004) on structural and cultural variables, we take the impact of all three categories of variables into account. In contrast to the study by Sarkisian and Gerstel (2004), this study focuses not on the exchange of support between extended kin but on adult children and their parents because the parent-adult child relationship seems to be the most important “stem” in the kin support network (Hogan et al. 1993).

Although prior research has certainly elucidated a number of factors affecting reciprocity in intergenerational support exchange, it is inconclusive as to the direction or strength of the effects on reciprocity. Gender stands out as one of the most consistent factors associated with intergenerational support exchange. Age seems to be an important determinant but research results are inconsistent as to its precise impact. Structural factors, in

particular income and education, have been found to be related to both giving and receiving but it remains unclear how they affect the various forms reciprocity can take. Cultural differences in norms and values clearly play a role but have rarely been studied in connection with the actual exchange of support. It is unclear whether the impact of ethnicity on support exchange is primarily attributable to differences in socio-economic resources or exerts an independent influence. Because theoretical and empirical foundations for research into reciprocity between adult children and their parents are not yet sufficiently developed to suggest predictions concerning the determinants of the different manifestations of reciprocity, we will not specify hypotheses in advance but will formulate some questions inspired by our review of the literature, that will guide our research.

Classical theory has mainly drawn attention to the "giving much and receiving little" variety of reciprocity. Like Hogan et al. (1993) we will distinguish four patterns of reciprocity: giving much and receiving much: high exchangers; giving little and receiving little: low exchangers; giving much while receiving little: givers; and finally, receiving much while giving little: receivers.

Our research questions are:

1. Are there any differences between ethnic groups in the nature of reciprocity?
2. What is the impact of socio-structural factors such as gender, education and income, and cultural factors such as religion and attitudes concerning family solidarity, on the nature of intergenerational exchange between adult children and their parents?
3. How do relational characteristics such as the quality of the relationship and whether or not children live in the same place as their parents, affect the nature of reciprocity?

We will include own age, age and gender of parent, marital status, and the presence of children as control variables.

## Methods

*Sample*

The data used for this study are from a recent, large-scale study of family relations: the Netherlands Kinship Panel Study (Dykstra et al., 2004). The NKPS is a nationally representative survey among 9,536 respondents between 18 and 79 years of age, in which the Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese and Antillean ethnic minorities were overrepresented ($N$ = 1392). Residents of care institutions, penitentiaries, homes for the elderly and holiday homes were excluded from the sample frame. Interviews were held with respondents at home using CAPI-interview schedules. Self-completion questionnaires for additional information were left behind and picked up later by the interviewer. The overall response rate was 45 percent, an about average rate for the Netherlands. During the oral interview detailed questions were asked about the relationships of the respondents themselves, or "anchors", with maximally nine "alters", including the parents, two randomly chosen siblings older than 15, and two randomly chosen children older than 15. Whenever this was possible, members of ethnic minorities were interviewed by an interviewer of the same ethnic background. We used both information from the CAPI-interview and from the self-completion questionnaire.

In this study we will compare three ethnic groups: the native Dutch, the Turks and Moroccans whom we will call "Mediterraneans", and the Surinamese and Antillean migrants, the "Caribbeans". Of the total Dutch population counting 16.3 million people, 19 percent is foreign born or of foreign descent. Over 10 percent of the population is considered non-Western. Among these the four largest groups are the former "guest workers" coming from Turkey and Morocco, and the migrants from the former Dutch colonies in the Caribbean area, the Surinamese and the Antilleans; together they make up 6.9 percent of the Dutch population. Whereas the guest workers from Turkey and Morocco were mostly unskilled male laborers who arrived without their family, did not speak the Dutch language, and were

predominantly Muslim, the Surinamese and the Antilleans show a more diverse picture. The first waves of migrants were often students or more highly educated people, including women. Due to the colonial ties with the Netherlands they often spoke the Dutch language and were considered to be more culturally similar to the Dutch (Vermeulen & Penninx, 2000). Both groups brought with them distinct family patterns and family values. The Turkish and Moroccan culture is known for its more traditional, patriarchal family structure and its strong emphasis on filial obligations, whereas the Surinamese culture has a more matrifocal focus, with a relatively large number of female headed households, a strong mother-daughter bond and more distant ties with fathers.

For this paper we created a dataset of respondents who belong to either the Mediterranean, the Caribbean, or the Dutch group; who have at least one living parent who is also living in the Netherlands, but not together with the respondent; whose parents are seventy-five years of age or younger; and for whom there was no missing information on the questions used to create the dependent variable.

These restrictions were necessary for the following reasons. Quite a large proportion of the ethnic minority groups have parents who live in their country of origin so that information about the exchange of support in these cases cannot be compared to reports on support exchange with parents who do live in the Netherlands. Moreover, adult children still living at their parents' home will show different patterns of support, and are therefore excluded. We decided to restrict the sample to respondents with parents 75 years of age or younger, for the following reason. The majority of the migrants arrived in the Netherlands in the sixties and seventies, when they were in their early twenties. Their children, the "second generation", are among the adult respondents included in the Netherlands Kinship Panel Study. Since the average age of their parents is considerably lower than that of the Dutch respondents, reports about the support exchange with their parents would not be comparable to those of the Dutch adults: the latter would pertain to a group of parents who are more frail on average due to their much higher age. Finally, each respondent was asked about the support exchange with one or two of their parents. In case both parents were still alive, one parent was randomly selected. Our final sample consisted of $N = 3{,}520$ respondents (241 Mediterraneans, 250 Caribbeans, and 3029 Dutch).

*Measurement of dependent variable*

For the construction of our dependent variable, "types of reciprocity", we used in total eight questions about the exchange of support, both instrumental and emotional, between adult children and their parents. The perspective of the adult respondent is taken as our starting point. Four questions pertained to giving support to parents, and four questions concerned the support received from parents. The two questions about giving instrumental support were: "In the last three months did you give help to your father/mother with practical things such as chores in and around the house, lending things, transportation, moving things?" "In the last three months did you give help to your father/mother with housework, such as preparing meals, cleaning, fetching groceries, doing the laundry?" The questions about giving emotional support were: "In the last three months did you give council or good advice to your father/mother?" and "Have you shown any interest in the personal life of your father/mother?" Identical questions were posed about the support received from parents. The answering categories were 1 (never), 2 (sometimes), 3 (several times).

The various types of support are clearly of a different nature, and some forms of support such as showing interest are exchanged much more often than others. Nevertheless, response patterns of the support variables were very similar, and correlations between the different forms of support given and received were all positive and significant, varying between $r = .13$ ( $p < .01$) and $r = .60$ ( $p < .01$). Since our main objective is to investigate the

determinants of the types of reciprocity – patterns in the amounts of total support given and received – rather than the determinants of the specific types of support, we decided to combine the different types of support given and received. We constructed the variable "types of reciprocity" in the following way. First, the answers to the questions about giving support were combined into a scale measuring the total support given to parents; the same was done for the questions about the support received from parents. The alpha-reliability coefficients of both scales were .68 and .62 respectively (the alpha-reliability of the combination of all giving and receiving items was .75). Next, both measures were split into two by defining scores below the median as low, and scores above the median as high (median "total support given" = 8, median "total support received" = 7). Finally, the variable "types of reciprocity" was created by distinguishing the four possible combinations: (1) high exchangers (high on both giving and receiving); (2) receivers (high on receiving and low on giving); (3) givers (high on giving and low on receiving); and (4) low exchangers (low on both giving and receiving).

*Measurement of independent and control variables*

A dummy variable was created for the three ethnic groups with the native Dutch as reference category. Dummies were also constructed for gender, being religious or not, and proximity, operationalized as "living in the same place as the parent" (unfortunately, a more sophisticated measure of "distance" was not available for the migrant sample). The original answering categories used to measure educational level (10) were transformed into the approximate number of years of schooling for completing the level (De Graaf & Ganzeboom 1993). Household income was measured by a variable consisting of 11 income categories, combining the sources of income of both the respondent and his or her partner, if present. A scale of "Family solidarity" was constructed by combining 7 statements about family obligations and commitment to one's family. The answering categories ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Examples are: "One should always be able to count on family"; "If one is troubled, family should be there to provide support"; "Children should look after their sick parents"; "If in old age, parents must be able to live with their children". The reliability of this scale is .80. Parental age was included, as well as a dummy for gender of the parent. The quality of the relationship was measured by the following question: "Over all, how would you describe you relation with your father/mother?" Answering categories ranged from 1 (not so well) to 4 (very well).

Age, gender, marital status, and the presence of children were used as control variables. Dummies were created for gender, being married or not, and having children or not.

*Analyses*

First, we provide descriptive characteristics both of our sample as a whole, and differentiated between the three ethnic groups. Prior to our main analyses of patterns of reciprocity, we give an overview of the response distribution for the eight support variables used to construct the dependent variable "type of reciprocity". We then proceed by presenting the response distribution of the types of reciprocity for the different ethnic groups.

Because our dependent variable is composed of four categorical outcomes, we use multinomial logistic regression analysis to generate maximum likelihood estimates of the effects of gender, ethnicity, socio-structural and cultural variables, and aspects of the relationship between adult children and their parents. The multinomial regression model shows how the probability of being in a particular outcome category (in our case: high exchanger, receiver, giver) versus the likelihood of being in the reference group (in our case: low exchanger) is modified by particular independent and control variables. We compare two models, the first one only including ethnic group membership, the second adding the independent and control variables. This allows us to determine whether ethnicity as such has

an impact on reciprocity as the literature suggests, and to what extent this impact still holds after controlling for the other variables.

## Results

*Descriptive results*

The descriptive characteristics of the sample variables are presented in Appendices 1 and 2. It appears that the Mediterraneans are the youngest of all three groups, and are more often married than the other groups; both the Mediterraneans and the Caribbeans have more often children than the Dutch group. The parents of the Dutch are the oldest of all groups, followed by the Caribbean and the Mediterranean parents. The Mediterraneans have the lowest level of education, followed by the Caribbeans and the Dutch. The Mediterraneans display higher levels of family solidarity than the other two groups, with the Dutch showing the lowest level. Mediterraneans are more often religious (even 98 percent indicates that they are religious), they report a higher relationship quality, and they more often live in the same place as their parents than the other two groups.

Table 1 compares the percentages of the various types of support exchange between adult children and their parents for the three ethnic groups, by gender and overall.

[Table 1 about here]

The table shows that with the exception of advice, which is more often received than given, all forms of support are more often given than received. Although in general differences between ethnic groups are small, a few patterns worth mentioning. Overall, the Dutch give somewhat less household help to their parents than the other two ethnic groups, and tend also to receive less in return. The Dutch and the Caribbeans give less practical support to their parents compared to the Mediterraneans, but the Dutch receive more practical support in return compared to the other two groups. The majority of all three groups show interest to their parents but the Dutch tend to receive more interest in return, compared to the other two groups. The Dutch tend to give as well as receive less advice to their parents than the other two groups. Looking at gender differences it appears that compared to Dutch men, Dutch women give as well as receive more help of all kinds with the exception of practical help, which is more often given by men. Mediterranean women give more household and practical help to their parents and receive more in return, whereas Mediterranean men give their parents more advice but receive less in return than their female counterparts. Caribbean women give and receive more household help than Caribbean men, like in the other two groups. However, like the Dutch women they give less but receive more practical help from their parents than Caribbean men. There are no clear differences between Caribbean women and men with respect to the interest they show to their parents and receive in return. Like among the Mediterraneans Caribbean men give more advice to their parents than women, but receive less in return.

As stated previously, our main interest is in the reciprocity patterns that manifest themselves in the total amounts of help given and received by our respondents, rather than in the specific forms of support given and received. Which "types of reciprocity" can be discerned among our respondents? We found that from all our respondents 36.6 percent fall into the category of the low exchangers: those who give little and also receive little in return. The next category in terms of magnitude are the receivers: those who receive much while giving little; they consist of 28.2 percent of the sample. Those who both give and receive much, the high exchangers, form 26.5 percent of all respondents. The givers, those who give much but receive little in return, are the smallest group, consisting of 8.7 percent of the respondents.

Figure 1 shows some interesting differences in the reciprocity patterns existing within each of the ethnic groups.

[Figure 1 about here]

Of the Mediterraneans 35.3 percent belong to the high exchangers, as against 25. 3 percent of the Dutch, with the Caribbeans being in-between these two groups. The mirror image of this reciprocity pattern becomes manifest in the percentages of the low exchangers. Here the Dutch form the largest group, 37.2 percent, followed by the Caribbeans with 34.4 percent, and the Mediterraneans with 31.5 percent. It seems indeed that the Dutch are less often involved in highly intensive and symmetrical support exchange with their parents than the other two groups. They, moreover, are more often receiving much while not giving so much in return.

*Multivariate results*

Our multivariate models enable us to determine if the ethnic group differences in type of reciprocity are statistically significant and if these differences hold after we introduce our independent and control variables.

[Table 2 about here]

Model 1 in table 2 shows that ethnicity indeed significantly affects the likelihood of being a high versus a low exchanger. Both Mediterraneans and Caribbeans are more likely than the Dutch to be involved in an intensive intergenerational exchange. No significant ethnic differences are found with respect to being a receiver or a giver. After entering the other independent and control variables in Model 2 ethnicity looses its impact on the likelihood of being a high exchanger.[1] Apparently, ethnicity in itself is not enough to account for the variations in reciprocity among our respondents. In line with previous research, we find gender to be a particularly strong predictor of both being a high exchanger and being a receiver: women are more likely than men to fall into either of these categories. A higher educational level increases the likelihood of being involved in all three types of reciprocity. Compared to those with less education, adult children with more years of education are not only significantly more likely to have an intensive exchange of support with their parents, but also to receive one-sided support from them, and to give them one-sided support. Interestingly and contrary to previous research findings, income has an effect opposite to education; it significantly decreases the likelihood of being a high exchanger and a receiver. Those with lower incomes are more often high exchangers and also more often receivers, relative to the reference category of the low exchangers. The finding that high exchangers mostly have a lower income relative to the low exchangers becomes understandable when we realize that high exchangers are predominantly women, whose incomes are, on average, lower than those of men across all age groups. It also appears that younger people are significantly more often high exchangers; this is an additional explanation for the fact that high exchangers tend to have lower incomes.

Attitudes about family obligations and commitment are significantly affecting the likelihood of being a high exchanger but do not influence the likelihood of belonging to either of the other reciprocity types. Religion has no significant effect on the nature of the reciprocity between adult children and their parents. The older the parents, the more likely they are to receive help from their adult children. Mothers, like their daughters, are more likely to be involved in high exchange. In addition, they more often than fathers receive support from their adult children. Relationship quality is significantly and positively related to all three reciprocity types but the association is strongest with the high exchangers. When parents and children live in the same place, the likelihood of being involved either in intensive

[1] In the interpretation of these results it should be noticed that the number of respondents in both the Mediterranean and the Caribbean groups is substantially lower than the number of Dutch respondents ($N$ = 241, 250 and 3,520, respectively). This may affect the coefficients in our multinomial regression analyses in the sense that the likelihood of significant results for ethnicity is reduced in the models that include all independent and control variables.

support exchange or in one-sided support giving to their parents is significantly higher than when they live at a greater distance from each other. The relationship between age and the likelihood of being a high exchanger has already been mentioned. Age has a similar effect on the probability of being a receiver: young people are most often at the receiving end of the reciprocity relationship. No significant differences in the type of reciprocity are found between those who are married or not. Finally, those who have children are less likely to give support to their parents than those without children.

We repeated the multinomial regression for each ethnic group separately (results not presented here). In general, the patterns were similar to those for the entire sample. A few findings are nevertheless worth mentioning. Where as for the Mediterraneans and the Caribbeans there is a tendency to be more often a high exchanger when they do have children, for the Dutch the reverse seems to be true: the childless among the Dutch are somewhat more likely to belong to the high exchangers compared to those with children. Apparently, when the Dutch have children, this is more of an impediment for them to exchange support with their parents than it is for the other two groups. The married Caribbeans are significantly more likely to be involved in intensive exchange of support compared to those who are not married; this association does not apply within the other two groups. Among the Mediterraneans, those who are not married are more likely to be receivers than those who are married; this relationship is not found among the Caribbeans and the Dutch.

In table 2 the likelihood of being a high exchanger, a receiver or a giver versus the likelihood of being a low exchanger was depicted. Theoretically, the category receivers is particularly interesting since they are, so to speak, the "most unlikely category" among adult children. As sociological and anthropological literature suggests, they are supposed to be involved in either one-sided giving or in reciprocal exchange rather than to be in the role of one-sided receiving. In order to obtain a clearer insight into the characteristics of the group of receivers we changed the reference category into the high exchangers, and re-estimated the multinomial regression models for the entire sample. In table 3, the results for the receivers relative to the high exchangers are presented.

[Table 3 about here]

What factors condition the likelihood to be a receiver relative to a high exchanger? Like in the previous analysis (table 2), Mediterraneans and Caribbeans prove to be less likely than the Dutch to be receivers, as we can see in Model 1 of table 3; however, ethnicity is no longer significant after entering the other independent variables (see footnote 1). Different from our previous analysis where the low exchangers were the reference category, family solidarity and gender of the parent have a significant effect. Those who feel not very strongly committed to their family are more likely to be at the receiving end of family support, relative to the high exchangers; this holds in particular, when their parent is a father instead of a mother. With the high exchangers as reference category, it appears that being a receiver is also significantly related to having a lower relationship quality and to not living in the same place as the parent. Finally, having children increases the likelihood of being a receiver relative to a high exchanger.

To summarize our findings: the Dutch were less often high exchangers than the other two ethnic groups. However, the association between ethnicity and being a high exchanger did not hold after introducing the other independent and control variables. Adult women were more likely than men to be high exchangers and receivers. The same applied to their mothers. Education was positively related to all three reciprocity types: the more education, the greater the likelihood of being either a high exchanger, a receiver or a giver. For income an opposite effect was found: those with a higher income were more often low exchangers. No effect of religion on type of reciprocity was found. Family solidarity was found to be positively related to being a high exchanger. The better the relationship, the more often people were involved in

intensive exchange of support with their parents, and in receiving or giving one-sided support. Finally, those who live in the same place as their parents were more often either high exchangers or givers.

## Conclusion and Discussion

In this study we compared patterns of reciprocity in the exchange of support between adult children and their parents across ethnic groups. As stated previously, the family can be considered as one of the key domains of social organization. The family as an institution has proven to be a remarkably tight structure. Ongoing processes of support and other exchange occurring between family members within and between generations, and the feelings of mutual obligation that result from these processes ensure that a network of family ties is created, maintained and reinforced. Families are assumed to act upon shared values and a common core of felt obligations. No wonder that Durkheim regarded the family as the example of mechanical solidarity par excellence. Classical anthropologists and sociologists emphasized the idea that "kindred goes with kindness"; they assumed that the family would be the domain where the "pure" gift and generalized exchange would prevail: support given without any well-defined expectations of reciprocity and without actual acts of reciprocity. This study enabled us to put these theoretical assumptions to an empirical test.

Contrary to the assumption of the anthropologists and sociologists, we found that asymmetrical reciprocity in the form of the "pure gift", giving without receiving much in return, is in fact the most exceptional pattern of all. The reciprocity pattern where a low level of giving is paired with a low level of receiving is the most common pattern – more than one third of all respondents fall into this category –, despite the fact that in several European studies the level of intergenerational solidarity and support has been found to be still substantial (Komter & Vollebergh 2002; Knijn & Komter 2004). This finding is in line with the results of Hogan et al. (1993), who also found this category to be the largest in the USA. The reciprocity pattern of receiving much while giving little is the next most important category: more than one quarter of all are found to be receivers. Apparently, parents give their adult children a lot of support that is not necessarily reciprocated. This was also the second largest category in the study by Hogan et al. A slightly smaller group of Dutch adults are involved in an intensive mutual exchange of support with their parents, the high exchangers. As we have seen, the givers, consisting of less than one tenth of all respondents, are the smallest category. In America Hogan et al. found a different order of givers and high exchangers than we did: in their study high exchangers were the smallest category, while givers were the third group in terms of magnitude.

Our first research question concerned the effect of ethnicity on the nature of reciprocity. Our data show that the similarities between ethnic groups are greater than the differences, when reciprocity patterns between adult children and their parents are concerned. Although we found some differences between ethnic groups in patterns of support exchange, these are predominantly attributable to the structural, cultural and relational variables we included in our analysis. Gender, both of the respondents and of their parents, stands out one of the strongest predictors of the type of reciprocity, regardless of ethnic group membership. Ethnic group membership does affect reciprocity type in the sense that the Dutch are less often found among the high exchangers, but the effect disappears when specific characteristics of the adult children, their parents, and their relationship are taken into account. This finding supports our previous research results, which showed that although ethnic differences may have an impact on norms and values, they do not affect the actual exchange of support (Schans & Komter 2004). The migration experience and acculturation process may have reduced the intensity of habitual patterns of intergenerational support and

feelings of filial obligation, and have created more similarity between migrants and the native Dutch.

Our second and third research question focused on the way reciprocity is affected by socio-structural and cultural factors, and relational characteristics. Low exchangers, the largest category, tend to be lower educated males of a higher than average age and with a higher than average income, not to feel very committed to their family, to have a male parent with whom they do not have a particularly good relationship and not to live in the same place. Receivers of support are mostly young women with a higher level of education, a lower income, and a good relationship with their parent. High exchangers are generally young, female, highly educated, and have a less than average income; they feel highly committed to their family and have a female parent with whom they have a very good relationship. Givers are mostly found among the more highly educated and older respondents who don't have children themselves, who have an elderly female parent who lives in the same place, and with whom they have a good relationship.

Some limitations of this study should be mentioned. First, the questions used to construct the dependent variable did only include practical and emotional support, and not financial support or help with childcare. We omitted financial help both because this type of support was rather exceptional among our respondents, and because information on financial support was not entirely comparable for the Dutch and the minority groups. We did not include childcare because it is a one-sided form of help (only given by parents to their adult children). We felt that the distribution of giving and receiving between parents and adult children might become artificially skewed as a consequence. It can also be argued, however, that parents who do provide childcare to their adult children receive more practical and emotional help in return. The question whether adults with children reciprocate the help with childcare they receive from their parents by giving them comparatively more practical and emotional help deserves attention in future research.

A second limitation lies in the fact that we were not able to include certain independent variables that were nevertheless relevant to our topic. For instance, education, partner status and health situation of the parent are clearly important as possible determinants of reciprocity in support exchange, but information on these issues was not available for the minority groups.

Nevertheless, this study allows us to draw some conclusions and sketch some implications of our findings. A first conclusion is that there is not one type of reciprocity but four possible varieties. Reciprocity in the family can take various shapes: both a high and a low level of reciprocation can occur in response, respectively, to giving much and giving little support. In addition, there are patterns of one-sided giving and of one-sided receiving. An implication for empirical research is that since there are various types, it does no longer make sense to talk about reciprocity as such. Moreover, it can be expected that different reciprocity types exist within different types of family relationships. Among siblings, for instance, low exchange will be a more common pattern than among adult children and their parents, whereas between parents and their small children a pattern of one-sided giving will be more prevalent. However, implications are not restricted to family research. In specific types of social relationship specific types of reciprocity will prevail. For instance, among friends high exchange will be the most common type, whereas among business partners both one-sided giving and receiving, as well as low exchange can be expected. The results of the present study have illustrated that within the family reciprocity varies, among others, with gender, age, income, education, family values and relationship quality. It is likely that these factors are also important determinants of reciprocity within non-family relationships.

A second conclusion is that reciprocity is not merely a structural characteristic as the classical anthropologists and sociologists seemed to assume, but is influenced by cultural and

relational factors as well. Unlike Hogan et al. (1993) we found that people with a higher income are less likely to be involved in an intensive exchange of support than those with a lower income; those with a higher income are more likely to have a low level of exchange with their parents. Apparently, intergenerational exchange in the Netherlands is not constrained by family resources in the same way as it is in the USA. In addition, we found cultural factors to significantly affect the type of reciprocity. The more strongly people adhere to norms of family obligation and feel committed to their family, the more likely they are to be involved in intensive reciprocal exchange with their parents. Gouldner's (1960) idea that reciprocity has normative connotations has been proven true. Finally, characteristics of the relationship such as its quality and whether adult children live in the same place as their parents, influence the type of reciprocity that evolves between them.

Finally, we can conclude that different types of reciprocity are associated with distinctive patterns of background factors. Young people are more often receivers, whereas people with aged parents are more often givers. High exchangers are more highly educated than low exchangers, and are more often female. Low exchangers are more likely to be male, and to have a higher income. Family solidarity has a positive effect on the likelihood of being a high exchanger, and is negatively associated to being a low exchanger. Having a good relationship with one's parents positively affects all varieties of reciprocity except being a low exchanger, which is more often associated with a bad relationship.

Reciprocity remains an intriguing concept, as well as an extremely effective means to create social bonds and solidarity. In the end all human relationships, whether inside or outside the family, are based on the varieties of reciprocity researched and discussed in this article.

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Figure 1 Types of Reciprocity by Ethnic Group

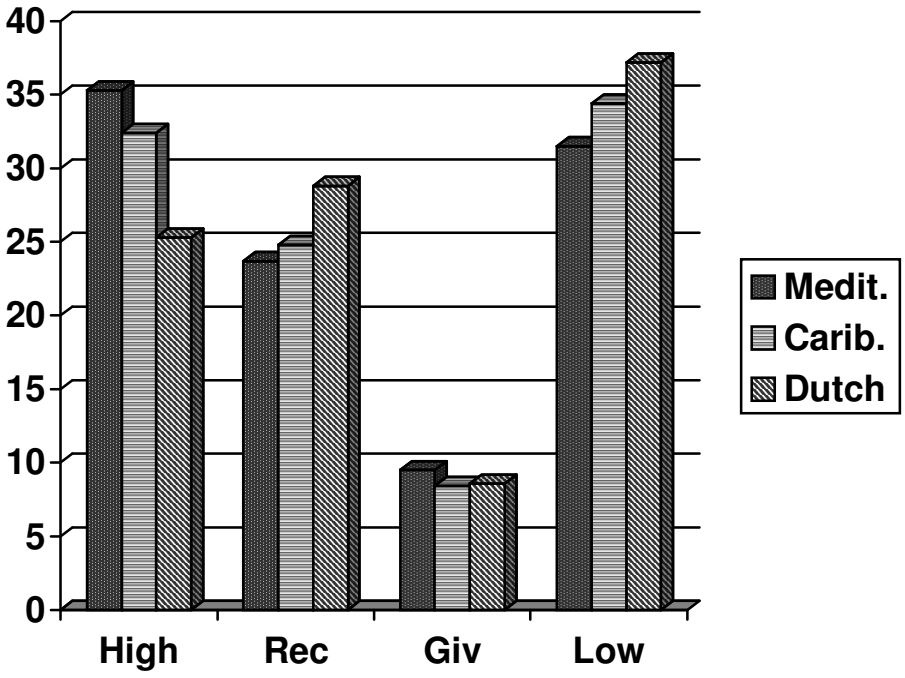

Table 1 *Response Distribution for Giving and Receiving Household Help, Practical Help, Interest and Advice by Gender and Ethnic Group* (*N* = 3,520)

| | Men (%) | | | Women (%) | | | All (%) | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Types of help* | Mediter. | Caribbean | Dutch | Mediter. | Caribbean | Dutch | Mediter. | Caribbean | Dutch |
| Household help given | | | | | | | | | |
| Not at all | 51.6 | 54.5 | 65.2 | 42 | 48.7 | 57.8 | 46.9 | 50.8 | 60.6 |
| Once or twice | 26.2 | 16.8 | 22.4 | 30.3 | 32.2 | 25.7 | 28.2 | 26 | 24.4 |
| Several times | 22.1 | 28.7 | 12.5 | 27.7 | 19.5 | 16.5 | 24.9 | 23.2 | 14.9 |
| Household help received | | | | | | | | | |
| Not at all | 63.9 | 71.3 | 76.3 | 58 | 66.4 | 67.7 | 61 | 68.4 | 71 |
| Once or twice | 22.1 | 11.9 | 14.8 | 29.4 | 18.8 | 17.9 | 25.7 | 16 | 16.7 |
| Several times | 13.9 | 16.8 | 9 | 12.6 | 14.8 | 14.3 | 13.3 | 15.6 | 12.2 |
| Practical help given | | | | | | | | | |
| Not at all | 44.3 | 48.5 | 38.4 | 42.9 | 53.7 | 55.9 | 43.6 | 51.6 | 49.1 |
| Once or twice | 34.4 | 28.7 | 39.5 | 31.1 | 26.8 | 28.9 | 32.8 | 27.6 | 33 |
| Several times | 21.3 | 22.8 | 22.1 | 26.1 | 19.5 | 15.2 | 23.7 | 20.8 | 17.9 |
| Practical help received | | | | | | | | | |
| Not at all | 67.2 | 67.3 | 59.6 | 59.7 | 61.7 | 50.8 | 63.5 | 64 | 54.2 |
| Once or twice | 23 | 12.9 | 26.6 | 29.4 | 25.5 | 29.7 | 26.1 | 20.4 | 28.5 |
| Several times | 9.8 | 19.8 | 13.8 | 10.9 | 12.8 | 19.4 | 10.4 | 15.6 | 17.3 |
| Interest given | | | | | | | | | |
| Not at all | 9.8 | 9.9 | 9.6 | 10.1 | 13.4 | 5.4 | 10 | 12 | 7 |
| Once or twice | 24.6 | 23.8 | 30.7 | 11.8 | 19.5 | 21 | 18.3 | 21.2 | 24.8 |
| Several times | 65.6 | 66.3 | 59.6 | 78.2 | 67.1 | 73.6 | 71.8 | 66.8 | 68.2 |
| Interest received | | | | | | | | | |
| Not at all | 12.8 | 14.9 | 8.7 | 10.1 | 14.8 | 6.9 | 11.2 | 14.8 | 7 .6 |
| Once or twice | 27.9 | 21.8 | 24 | 17.6 | 14.1 | 18.6 | 22.8 | 17.2 | 20.7 |
| Several times | 59.8 | 63.4 | 67.3 | 72.3 | 71.1 | 74.4 | 66 | 68 | 71.7 |
| Advice given | | | | | | | | | |
| Not at all | 26.2 | 21.8 | 35.3 | 33.6 | 30.2 | 29.4 | 29.9 | 26.8 | 31.7 |
| Once or twice | 35.2 | 41.6 | 44.6 | 31.1 | 24.2 | 45.7 | 33.2 | 31.2 | 45.3 |
| Several times | 38.5 | 36.6 | 20.1 | 35.3 | 45.6 | 24.9 | 36.9 | 42 | 23 |
| Advice received | | | | | | | | | |
| Not at all | 23.8 | 29.7 | 29.6 | 19.3 | 24.8 | 24.9 | 21.6 | 26.8 | 26.7 |
| Once or twice | 32 | 32.7 | 41.7 | 30.3 | 25,5 | 41.2 | 31.1 | 28.4 | 41.4 |
| Several times | 44.3 | 37.6 | 28.7 | 50.4 | 49.7 | 33.9 | 47.3 | 44.8 | 31.9 |

Table 2 *Multinomial Logistic Regression Models of Types of Reciprocity*[a] (*N* = 3,520)

| Independent Variable | High exchanger versus Low Exchanger | | Receiver versus Low Exchanger | | Giver versus Low Exchanger | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Model 1 Exp (B) | Model 2 Exp (B) | Model 1 Exp (B) | Model 2 Exp (B) | Model 1 Exp (B) | Model 2 Exp (B) |
| *Ethnic Group*[b] | | | | | | |
| Mediterranean | 1.647** | .977 | .969 | .888 | 1.303 | 1.671 |
| Caribbean | 1.387* | 1.381 | .932 | .955 | 1.051 | 1.486 |
| **Child Characteristics** | | | | | | |
| Gender (male = 0) | | 1.784*** | | 1.818*** | | 1.008 |
| Education in years | | 1.128*** | | 1.100*** | | 1.074* |
| Household income | | .962* | | .961* | | .952 |
| Family solidarity | | 1.038** | | 1.005 | | 1.004 |
| Religious | | 1.184 | | 1.022 | | 1.109 |
| **Parent Characteristics** | | | | | | |
| Age | | 1.013 | | 1.005 | | 1.085*** |
| Gender (father = 0) | | 2.341*** | | 1.123 | | 2.511*** |
| **Relational Characteristics** | | | | | | |
| Quality relationship | | 4.254*** | | 2.910*** | | 1.893*** |
| Living in the same place | | 2.217*** | | 1.080 | | 1.687** |
| **Control variables** | | | | | | |
| Age | | .937*** | | .934*** | | .994 |
| Married | | .942 | | .782 | | 1.307 |
| Having children | | .760 | | 1.086 | | .524** |
| **Constant** | -.387 | -6.937 | -.256 | -3.024 | -1.460 | -9.789 |
| -2 Log Likelihood | 55.529 | 6771 | | | | |
| Model $X^2$ (df) | 17.119** (6) | 1128*** (42) | | | | |
| Nagelkerke's Pseudo $R^2$ | .005 | .33 | | | | |

[a]Low Exchangers = reference category
[b]Dutch = reference category
* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Table 3 *Multinomial Logistic Regression Models of Types of Reciprocity*[a] (*N* = 3,520)

| *Independent Variable* | Receiver versus High Exchanger | |
|---|---|---|
| | Model 1 | Model 2 |
| | Exp (B) | Exp (B) |
| *Ethnic Group*[b] | | |
| Mediterranean | .588** | .909 |
| Caribbean | .672* | .692 |
| **Child Characteristics** | | |
| Gender (male = 0) | | 1.019 |
| Education in years | | .975 |
| Household income | | .999 |
| Family solidarity | | .968** |
| Religious | | .863 |
| **Parent Characteristics** | | |
| Age | | .992 |
| Gender (father = 0) | | .480*** |
| **Relational Characteristics** | | |
| Quality relationship | | .684*** |
| Living in the same place | | .487*** |
| **Control variables** | | |
| Age | | .996 |
| Married | | .830 |
| Having children | | 1.430* |
| **Constant** | .131 | 3.913 |
| -2 Log Likelihood | 55.53 | 6771 |
| Model $X^2$ (df) | 17.12** (6) | 1127*** (42) |
| Nagelkerke's Pseudo $R^2$ | .005 | .33 |

[a]High exchangers = reference category
[b]Dutch = reference category
* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Appendix 1 *Description of Sample Variables* (*N* = 3,520)

| *Variables* | **M** | **SD** | Range | α |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Practical support given | 1.70 | .76 | 1 - 3 | |
| Household support given | 1.57 | .75 | 1 - 3 | |
| Advice given | 1.94 | .75 | 1 - 3 | |
| Interest shown | 2.61 | .63 | 1 - 3 | |
| Practical support received | 1.61 | .76 | 1 - 3 | |
| Household support received | 1.42 | .71 | 1 - 3 | |
| Advice received | 1.42 | .71 | 1 - 3 | |
| Interest received | 2.63 | .63 | 1 - 3 | |
| *Ethnic group* | 2.79 | .55 | 1 - 3 | |
| *Child characteristics* | | | | |
| Gender (0 = male) | .60 | .49 | 0 - 1 | |
| Education in years | 13.31 | 3.37 | 3 - 18 | |
| Household income | 7.33 | 3.18 | 1 - 11 | |
| Family solidarity | 22.69 | 4.63 | 7 - 35 | .80 |
| Religious | .52 | .50 | 0 - 1 | |
| *Parent characteristics* | | | | |
| Age | 62.3 | 8.04 | 37-75 | |
| Gender (0 = father) | .60 | .49 | 0 - 1 | |
| *Relational characteristics* | | | | |
| Quality relationship | 3.24 | .84 | 1 - 4 | |
| Living in the same place | .45 | .50 | 0 - 1 | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Control variables* | | | |
| Age | 34.15 | 7.21 | 18 - 67 |
| Married | .49 | .50 | 0 - 1 |
| Having children | .57 | .50 | 0 - 1 |

Appendix 2 *Description of Sample Variables per Ethnic Group (alpha in parentheses)* (*N* = 3,520)

| | Mediterranean | | | Caribbean | | | Dutch | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Variables** | *M* | *SD* | Range | *M* | *SD* | Range | *M* | *SD* | Range |
| Practical support given | 1.80 | .79 | 1 - 3 | 1.69 | .79 | 1 -3 | 1.69 | .76 | 1 - 3 |
| Household support given | 1.78 | .82 | 1 - 3 | 1.72 | .82 | 1 - 3 | 1.54 | .74 | 1 - 3 |
| Advice given | 2.07 | .82 | 1 - 3 | 2.15 | .82 | 1 - 3 | 1.91 | .74 | 1 - 3 |
| Interest shown | 2.62 | .66 | 1 - 3 | 2.55 | .70 | 1 - 3 | 2.61 | .62 | 1 - 3 |
| Practical support received | 1.47 | .68 | 1 - 3 | 1.52 | .75 | 1 - 3 | 1.63 | .76 | 1 - 3 |
| Household support received | 1.52 | .72 | 1 - 3 | 1.47 | .75 | 1 - 3 | 1.41 | .69 | 1 - 3 |
| Advice received | 2.26 | .79 | 1 - 3 | 2.18 | .83 | 1 - 3 | 2.05 | .76 | 1 - 3 |
| Interest received | 2.55 | .69 | 1 - 3 | 2.53 | .74 | 1 - 3 | 2.64 | .62 | 1 - 3 |
| *Child characteristics* | | | | | | | | | |
| Gender (0 = male) | .49 | .50 | 0 - 1 | .60 | .49 | 0 - 1 | .61 | .49 | 0 -1 |
| Education in years | 9.29 | 4.53 | 3 - 18 | 12.26 | 3.91 | 3 - 18 | 13.72 | 2.96 | 3 - 18 |
| Household income | 5.97 | 2.25 | 1 - 11 | 5.98 | 3.07 | 1 - 11 | 7.55 | 3.20 | 1 - 11 |
| Family solidarity | 28.62 (.70) | 3.81 | 16 - 35 | 23.59 (.80) | 5.41 | 9 - 35 | 22.09 (.78) | 4.23 | 7 - 35 |
| Religious | .98 | .14 | 0 - 1 | .61 | .48 | 0 - 1 | .46 | .50 | 0 - 1 |
| *Parent characteristics* | | | | | | | | | |
| Age | 58.25 | 7.93 | 40 - 75 | 59.04 | 8.82 | 38 - 75 | 62.89 | 7.82 | 37 - 75 |
| Gender (0 = father) | .53 | .50 | 0 - 1 | .67 | .47 | 0 - 1 | .59 | .49 | 0 - 1 |
| *Relational characteristics* | | | | | | | | | |
| Quality relationship | 3.52 | .72 | 1 - 4 | 3.18 | .97 | 1 - 4 | 3.23 | .84 | 1 - 4 |
| Living in the same place | .82 | .38 | 0 - 1 | .48 | .50 | 0 - 1 | .42 | .49 | 0 - 1 |
| *Control variables* | | | | | | | | | |
| Age | 30.80 | 6.79 | 18 -57 | 33.08 | 7.68 | 18 - 54 | 34.50 | 7.13 | 18 -67 |
| Married | .67 | .47 | 0 - 1 | .24 | .43 | 0 - 1 | .50 | .50 | 0 - 1 |
| Having children | .68 | .47 | 0 - 1 | .70 | .46 | 0 - 1 | .55 | .50 | 0 - 1 |