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ABSTRACT

Two central issues relevant to services delivered to older adults by family members (including extended family) were analyzed: the method used in delivering the services and the geographic proximity required to deliver the service. The analysis involved a study of 1,400 people aged 65 and over and 800 of their helpers. Delivery of services was categorized according to telephone or face-to-face; the frequency of each was measured. Services were categorized as "household" (housekeeping, paying bills, making repairs) and "normal kin" (checking on persons, bringing meals, giving gifts, talking to them when they are depressed). The farther away the helper lived, the smaller the proportion who received household help. By contrast, kinship services were far less affected by geographic distance. Also, in terms of geographic proximity, it appears that when older people were both sick and single, they were more than twice as likely to live in the same household as their helper than those who were married or single and healthy. Also, those classified as poor made more daily face-to-face contacts with their helpers than those with high incomes, attributable to the fact that those in the unskilled labor class, not subject to the problems of occupational mobility, tended to live closer to their relatives. Finally, groups least incorporated into the modern economy (i.e., the poor and recent migrants) were more likely to adhere to a more traditional kinship structure and were least likely to be geographically distant. (KC)

TECHNOLOGY, PROXIMITY, GENDER, AND ETHNICITY AS FACTORS AFFECTING KINS' SERVICES TO THE AGED: AN ELABORATION OF THE MODIFIED EXTENDED FAMILY MODEL OF KIN STRUCTURE

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The modified extended family concept of kinship structure suggests that kin in modern society consists of a group of semi-autonomous marital households who can maintain exchanges across geographical and occupational distances (Litwak 1960a, 1960b, 1965). One reason this is possible is because modern means of technology permit services to be exchanged over distance. In this paper we should like to theoretically elaborate and empirically illustrate how different forms of technology effect the delivery of services across geographic distance.

A second point made in the formulation of the modified extended family concept is that there are two types of family exchange. There are the exchanges that take place between spouses within the marital household and those which take place between kin (adult children, siblings, and other relatives) who are geographically separated. Implied in this formulation is that exchanges vary in the degree to which they require continuous physical proximity (Litwak and Szelenyi 1969, Gordon 1977, Dono et al. 1979). Yet we have no systematic studies which seek to classify exchanges on the degree of proximity they require.

Both the problem of technology of exchange and the classification of services by the degree to which they require geographic proximity become central issues in the field of aging, because among the advanced aged there is a chronic breakdown of the marital household through death and disability. This confronts the larger kinship unit with the problem of how to provide marital household services requiring continuous proximity when kin do not share common households. In this paper we will provide some answers to this theoretical dilemma.

Technology, Proximity, and Frequency of Contact

Central to the modified extended family concept is that modern technology permits exchange over geographic distance. In this paper, three interrelated features of technology will be examined: (1) the extent to which the technology permits face-to-face contact, (2) the speed with which technology can cross geographic distance, and (3) the frequency with which it is used. To illustrate, technologies such as telephones and radios can cover great geographic distances speedily but cannot produce face-to-face contact. By contrast, technologies such as walking and cars cannot cover great geographic distances as quickly but they do permit face-to-face contact. Telephone, cars, and walking can be used frequently by most people in American society, while airplanes cannot.

Why is face-to-face contact so important? Because some services, such as providing daily meals, are both a frequent event and require face-to-face contact. Other services, such as talking to someone who is low and cheering them up, might be infrequent and often can be handled on the telephone. It is important to understand that speed in covering geographic distance is not always related to frequency. For instance, helping a person deal with the problems of everyday living while they are recovering at home from a broken hip is an infrequent event in any given individual's life. Yet, if the helper lives at some distance it is necessary to have a technology that can span that distance quickly, such as an airplane. To really understand modern technologies, it is necessary to assess all of these dimensions (that is, speed, face-to-face capacities, and frequency of use) simultaneously.

In this presentation, concentration will be on two general technologies: those which stress face-to-face contact and those which stress

non face-to-face contact, that is, the telephone. The former can be characterized by a variety of technologies going from the most basic such as walking to cars, trains, and airplanes.[1] To empirically measure these two general technologies, we look at a study of 1,400 people 65 and older and 800 of their helpers.[2] The older respondents were first asked, "How often will you talk with (name of helper) on the phone?" Following that question, they were asked: "How often will you see (him/ her) either at your home or their place or some other place?" The respondents were also asked how far away their chief helper lived.[3]

To understand the properties of the two types of technologies, we shall begin our analysis by plotting the percentage of people using each technology daily at each distance. What can be seen is that face-to-face technologies are used more frequently than telephone ones when older people live in the same household as their helpers (Table 1 and Figure 1). Ninety-seven percent of the older people have face-to-face contact with their helpers daily when they live in the same household while 76% of them talk to their helper on the telephone daily when they live in the same household. At extremely short distances, the technology of walking is more efficient than telephoning. This seems obvious as does the superiority of face-to-face technologies for those living on the same block, that is, 85% use face-to-face contact and 77% telephones. However, what is not so obvious is how a small increase in distance after this point greatly diminished the superiority of face-to-face contacts. The percentage who are in daily face-to-face contact goes from 85% among those living on the same block to only 44% for those who live from 2 to 5 blocks away. A trivial shift in distance from one block to 2 to 5 blocks produces a 41% decline in face-to-face contact. By sharp contrast, daily telephoning

over these short distances does not decline at all. Seventy-six percent make daily telephone contacts when living in the same house, 77% do so when living on the same block, and 79% do so who live 2 to 5 blocks away. Though all people are aware of the superiority of telephones in spanning great geographic distance, they may not be aware of the specific points at which this superiority manifests itself. This specific knowledge is central if one wants to know which services can be delivered at each distance.

More generally the question might be asked, if people require a service which demands a daily contact at what geographic point does the telephone become the equivalent of the face-to-face technology? Graphs such as those represented in Figure 1 could be used to solve this question. To illustrate, we will use the upper limit of each distance category as the best estimate of the time it takes people in that category. And for those categories described in blocks, we will assign one minute to each block. We will further assume that the percentages of people can be pro-rated to get estimates for distances for which we have no actual measures. Using these assumptions, it can be pointed out that people who live two minutes away from their helper have 76% who have daily face-to-face contact. This would be roughly equivalent to the percentage who made daily telephone calls and lived 5 minutes away (79%). In this case, people who use a telephone can live 3 minutes further and make the same number of contacts as those relying on face-to-face contacts. For older persons who live 5 minutes away, as noted above, 44% have daily face-to-face contacts with their helper. This is the same percentage of older people who make daily telephone calls and live 50 minutes away. In this case, a person making daily telephone calls can live 45 minutes

further away and still make the same number of contacts as a person relying on face-to-face contacts. Amongst older people who live 10 minutes away from their helper, only 25% have daily face-to-face contacts. This is equivalent to older people making daily telephone calls but who live 91 minutes away. Using the daily telephone gives the older person and their helper a 71 minute advantage. It can be seen that the equivalency of daily contacts and daily telephone calls alters dramatically depending at what geographical point one starts. The different impact of telephone and face-to-face technologies becomes very important if it is understand that there are many tasks which can be handled by either technology. For instance, checking to see if an older person in normal health is all right, could be handled by either technology. What can now be pointed out is that groups who live approximately an hour away and made daily telephone calls would have just about the same percentage managing this service as groups who lived 2 to 5 blocks away but relied on daily visits.

Tasks can also vary in their need for frequency of contact. Doing household laundry may be a weekly affair while cooking is a daily one. For tasks such as laundry, the question should also be raised: at what point in distance does a weekly face-to-face visit become the equivalent of a daily one? If one looks at weekly face-to-face visits (Figure 2, Table 1), they do not begin to decline until people live 6 to 10 blocks away, but it is only a modest decline of 9%. The really sharp decline does not take place until people live more than 30 minutes away. It can be argued that helpers who live as far as 30 minutes away and have weekly visits can manage services such as laundry at least as well as those who live 2 to 5 blocks away and have daily contact. This analysis can be

expanded to monthly and yearly visits as well (Figure 2).

So far we have compared daily visits with daily telephone calls as well as daily visits and weekly visits. The question might also be asked how do weekly telephone calls compare with weekly visits since there are services that can be handled on a weekly basis but do not require face-to-face contact? For instance, emotional support for a widow of several years may involve a weekly call. What happens if one compares weekly telephone contacts with weekly visits? As Table 1 and Figure 3 show, people who live 2 to 3 hours away are as likely to make weekly telephone contacts (54%) as people who live 31 minutes to an hour away are to make face-to-face visits (55%). Thus, for a task such as emotional support to a widow, it is possible that people who live 3 to 6 times the distance away and use telephones can perform as well as people who live from 31 minutes to an hour and use face-to-face visits (Figure 3). Most impressive of all on the virtues of telephoning is that almost half (47%) of our sample of people who live the furthest away are likely to make weekly telephone calls. This analysis can be expanded to deal with monthly and yearly contacts (Figures 4 and 5) since there are many meaningful activities which can be managed on a monthly basis (such as payment of rent, utilities, and medical bills), or as already mentioned on a yearly basis or less such as temporary home help for post-operative care or providing immediate emotional support at the death of a spouse. As can be seen, over three-fourths of our sample can manage services requiring such yearly services.

At this point we should like to provide some overall systematic estimates of the ability of each dimension of technology to reduce the effects of geographic distance. The reduction of the effects of geographic

distance will be measured by the difference in percentage of people making contact between any two adjacent points on the distance scale divided by the percentage at the closest point. The average of all such adjacent points will be the average rate of decline which we will use to provide our estimates.[4] The smaller this percentage the less the impact of distance. For technologies that require daily face-to-face contact, the average rate of decline is .73 as indicated in Table 2. For those making daily telephone calls the average rate of decline is 44% between any two adjacent distances. This means that daily visits are 1.7 times more constrained by geographic distance than daily telephone calls. A weekly telephone call has on the average only a .04 rate of decline while a weekly face-to-face contact has a decline rate of .18. At this frequency, the telephone is 4 1/2 times as impervious to geographic distance as the weekly face-to-face visit. Monthly telephone calls are over 14 times as impervious to geographic distance as monthly visits and yearly telephone calls are 3 times as impervious. Averaging these ratios over frequency of contact, it is possible to argue that telephone technologies have 5.9 times the effectiveness in reducing geographic distance.

It is also the case that by reducing the frequency of contact one can also reduce the negative effects of geographic distance. Thus going from daily to weekly face-to-face contact causes the decline rate to go from .73 to .18 or four times (4.1). On the average, the shift from a higher frequency of face-to-face contact to a lower one reduces the impact of geographic distance four times (4.1). If similar figures are computed for telephone contacts, then it is the case that shifting from a higher frequency to a lower frequency of contacts reduces, on the average, the effects of geographic distance at least 5 times. On the average, the

change in frequency of contact (i.e., comparing figures down the columns) would not be quite as effective in reducing geographic distance as the shift from a face-to-face technology to a telephone one (i.e., looking across rows). Put another way, if one is confronted with the need to reduce the effects of geographic distance it is better on the average to switch to a telephone contact rather than reduce the frequency of face-to-face contacts. However, it must be kept in mind the relations are not linear, and these averages must be viewed with caution. The more one moves to yearly frequencies the less important the difference between telephone and face-to-face technologies and the more one moves towards very short distances (such as the same household) the less the advantage of telephone contacts.

To highlight the role of technology we have stressed services which can be managed by either face-to-face or by telephones as well as services that can be handled by more than one frequency of contact. However, the importance of technology often rests on the assumption that services vary in terms of the frequency with which they have to be performed and their requirement for face-to-face contact. In what follows we should like to illustrate these points through 9 services delivered to older people by their helpers. These services were in part chosen because four of them represented typical marital household services which according to the modified extended family concept should be strongly linked to continuous geographical proximity. There are five additional services which according to this same concept should involve normal kinship exchanges and not be as closely linked to geographic proximity. To measure the four household services, respondents were asked which of the following had been provided by their helpers within the last 6 months:

1. Help with light housekeeping like making beds, straightening up rooms

2. Storing things like seasonal clothes or valuables or taking care of laundry or cleaning

3. Help with money matters like keeping track of bills, medical payments, social security checks, bank accounts and things like that

4. Help fixing things around the place like putting up certain rods, unjamming stuck windows, screwing fixtures into the wall, fixing broken furniture

Henceforth these four activities will be referred to as "marital household" services. The five services which we will refer to as "normal kin" services because they can be managed by kin as well as spouses in marital units and do not require the same degree of continuous physical proximity are:

1. Checking on older person daily to see if they are all right

2. Helping them enjoy their meals by bringing them special food treats, or having them to dinner or taking them out to dinner, or cooking for them

3. Giving them things for their place which made it more homey like pillows, bedspread, pictures, plants, radios, or T.V.

4. Helping them keep in touch with children or relatives

5. Talking to them when they were feeling upset or low and making them feel better

These five services, like the previous four, were all performed within the last six months.

If the four tasks typically viewed as marital household tasks are examined in relationship to the distance their helper lives from the older person, it can be seen in Table 3 that the farther away the helper lives the smaller the proportion who receive help. The average rate of decline for each service ranges from .57 for light housekeeping to .40 for managing money matters. The average for the entire group of marital household

services is .47. By contrast, if the five "normal kinship" services are examined it can be seen that they are far less affected by geographic distance. The average rate of decline in receiving such services as a result of geographic distance is .21 and they range from .9 to .36. In short, typical marital household services are slightly over two times (2.2) as affected by geographic distance as the normal kinship ones.[5]

To highlight this difference two extreme services will be examined. On one extreme is light housekeeping which has a geographical decline rate of .57. On the other extreme is talking to someone who is feeling low and cheering them up, which has a geographical decline rate of .09. The latter service has six times the capacity to move over geographic restraints as the former service (6.3). This is in part because it permits a telephone technology while the former requires a face-to-face technology and it may involve a weekly or monthly frequency while the former may require a daily or weekly one. To make this point graphically clear, Figure 6 and Table 3 have been presented. When people live in the same household, those receiving emotional support when they are feeling low are only 1.1 times more frequently provided help than those receiving light housekeeping services (that is, .92 compared to .82). However, just by moving a short distance away from the household, that is, 1 to 5 blocks, those receiving emotional support when low have almost four times (3.8) as much chance of receiving services as those requiring light housekeeping help. This advantage of emotional support goes to 6 1/2 times (6.6) for older people living 6 blocks to 30 minutes from their helper and finally almost 12 times (11.7) for those living over 30 minutes away from their helper. The same trend occurs if the average geographic decline rates of the marital household services are compared with the average normal kinship services (Figure 7 and Table 3).

This analysis when coupled with the prior one on forms of technology should very much alert the reader to a range of fruitful research problems that are suggested once one takes very seriously the modified extended family concept. For instance, services such as light housekeeping have a geographic decline rate of .57 (Table 3) which comes closest to that of the daily face-to-face visit (Table 2). By contrast, talking to someone to cheer them up has a decline rate of .09 (Table 3) which comes closest to that of a weekly telephone call (Table 2). What clearly must be done is to specify for each service the form of technology it requires as well as the frequency. It takes little imagination, for instance, to point out that there are forms of emotional support that require far less frequent contacts but perhaps more intense contacts such as dealing with the problem of widowhood at the time of death. Once such specification has taken place then it will be possible to map the effects of geographic proximity on a range of services as well as anticipate what changes in modern technology of communication might do for kinship structure.

Kinship Structure and the Dynamics of Change

a. Advanced forms of aging. It was pointed out earlier that the modified extended family formulation leads to a seemingly logical dilemma in that, on the one hand, it says kin must maintain differential geographic mobility in order to permit formal organizations to rationally allocate labor and services while, on the other hand, it says when marital household units decline with advanced age only kin who live nearby can supply marital household services (Dono et al. 1979). The modified extended family construct suggests that geographic dispersion of kin is to a substantial degree based on the need for a rational distribution of labor. It further argues that one segment of the modified extended family (e.g., the ill,

retired elderly, Litwak 1965) could geographically coalesce because the elderly are out of the labor force.

The modified extended family construct suggests as older people move from healthy states to disabled ones the modified extended family should change their services from normal kinship services to a combination of normal kinship and marital services. This is to be accompanied by a geographic coalescence. The traditional family structure would argue for a geographic coalescence at all stages of the life cycle and for the delivery of both types of services at all stages of health and disability. The isolated marital concept suggests minimum kinship aid at all stages of disability.

To examine these alternative predictions the relationship between geographic proximity and disability will be examined. All older people living in the community were scored on a disability index based on the following: (a) ability to handle three daily tasks--shopping, taking public transportation, and going up stairs; (b) their hearing and seeing disabilities; and (c) the extent to which they were missing or had non-functioning limbs or were bedridden.[6]

In addition, all older people were classified as married or not (that is, widowed, divorced, separated, or never married). On the basis of these two classifications all people were divided into three groups: (1) healthy and married, (2) ill and married, or healthy and single; and (3) ill and single. If Table 4 is examined it can be seen that when older people are sick and single they are more than twice as likely to live in the same household as their helper (that is, 22% as compared to 10%). This is consistent with Longino's (1979) finding that people who are older and sicker tend to move out of retirement communities such as Florida to their state of origin where their children presumably live.

Let us now examine the second basis for differentiating the three alternative models, and that is the nature of services kin supply at different stages of disability. All older people were classified in terms of whether they received one or more of the normal kin services from their helper as well as one or more marital household services. This produces a fourfold classification as follows: (1) those who received both types of services, (2) those who received neither type of service, (3) those who received just marital household services, and (4) those who received just normal kinship services. Table 5 shows that where the older people are healthy and married they are most likely to receive only normal kinship services (55%). Virtually no one receives only marital household services (01%) and only 29% receive both types of services which would be predicted by the traditional family formulation. Only 15% received no kin services which would be predicted by the isolated marital household formulation. By contrast, when the older person is sick and single there is a sharp increase in the percentage receiving both types of services. It goes from 29% to 63%. Similarly there is a substantial drop in those receiving only normal kin services, that is, from 55% to 27%. The number receiving just marital household services remains constant (01%). Put another way, the delivery of normal kin exchanges is only slightly changed by household disruptions (84% to 90%) while the delivery of marital household services changes substantially (30% to 65%). Of the three main formulations on kin structure, it is only the modified extended one which can account for the shift in the forms of services with disability.

b. Dynamics of Change and Bureaucratic Occupations. There is yet another qualification in the formulation of the modified extended family. As noted, the push for differential mobility comes from a theory which argues

that it is difficult to find jobs for members of a large primary group at the same place and time since it is unlikely that in a modern society such members will have interchangeable occupational skills. However, it was pointed out in the early formulations of this theory (Fellin and Litwak 1963) that there was some major segment of the labor force such as unskilled labor which would be subject to demands for mobility but not be subject to demands for differential mobility. The assumption was made that unskilled laborers could easily work at a large variety of jobs, as long as the jobs required low skills. If one laborer found a better job in a distant community, they would all have training for that or other low level jobs in that community. As a consequence low skill workers are less subject to pressures of differential mobility. In addition, because low income people have less money to take advantage of bureaucratic resources, they must make use of kinship forms of help at a much earlier stage of disability. Thus healthy people who are poor might seek out kin aid to help in shopping when sick for a day or so whereas a wealthier person if sick for a day might call up the store and have food delivered or take a taxi. If one examines the relationship between the income of the helper and the distance they live from the older person, it can be seen (Table 6) that 25% of the lowest income groups live in the same household as their helper while this is true of only 5% of those older people with helpers in the highest income group (Table 6). More generally, 57% of the low income group lives within 10 blocks of their helper while this is true of only 20% of the very high income group.

If one now looks at the relationship between type of contact and income (Table 7) there are some interesting findings. First those older people with low income helpers are likely to have more daily face-to-face

contacts than those with high income helpers. The average superiority of the lowest income group for making daily face-to-face contacts over all other income groups is 23%. However, the advantage shrinks to 15% for weekly visits, to 6% for monthly visits, and for yearly visits the high income groups have a slight advantage. If one examines telephone contacts (Table 7), the low income groups only have an advantage for daily telephone contacts (7%). For all other frequency of telephoning the rich tend to have an advantage.

All of this makes perfect sense once it is understood that face-to-face contacts are much more subject to constraints of geographic distance as are more frequent contacts. This becomes very obvious once contacts are standardized for geographic proximity (Table 8). For instance, the average advantage of the lowest income groups over the other income groups in daily face-to-face contacts shrinks from 23% to 2%. For weekly face-to-face contacts, the advantage of the low income groups shrinks from 15% to 0% while for monthly and yearly face-to-face contacts and for all telephone contacts, if anyone has an advantage it is the wealthier groups (that is, note negative average figures). In short, the advantage of the poor in maintaining family contacts seems to come almost completely from the fact that they live closer to their relatives. This in turn is very consistent with the view that the poor because of their unskilled labor are less subject to problems of differential mobility.

c. The Dynamics of Change, Pre- and Post-Industrial Groups. The formulations of the modified extended family suggest that in the United States those who migrated from pre-industrial societies dominated by agricultural economies are likely to adhere to a more traditional kinship structure.[7] This assumption is based on the following reasons. First, groups from

agricultural societies are more likely to have traditional kinship norms against differential mobility. Second, they are likely to come from a society with a foreign language and culture so they cannot easily use formal organizations and must rely much more on primary groups like kin. Third, their lack of language skills and the fact that they come from much poorer lands means they are much more likely to accept jobs at the lower end of the skill continuum and therefore are not as subject to differential mobility (Lieberson 1980). Finally, as new immigrants from poorer societies they are more likely to be discriminated against. This means that they will be offered only poorer paying jobs (Lieberson 1980) and they may be forced to live in geographically constricted areas (Warren 1975), that is, close to their kin. These then should be the groups in American society which should be least incorporated in the modern world and least likely to express a modified extended family structure.

With these thoughts in mind, respondents in this study were classified into six "ethnic-racial" groupings as follows: (1) Assimilated Americans, (2) West and Northern European countries, (3) East and Central European and Mediterranean countries, (4) Latin American and Caribbean countries, (5) Black Americans, and (6) Jewish people.[8]

If the relationship between ethnic groups and the provision of kin services is examined it can be seen that on the average (Table 9) the East European-Mediterranean groups and the Hispanic-Caribbean both have 17% more marital household services than the Assimilated Americans. Also the Black Americans have 13% more. By contrast, the Jewish and West European have virtually no differences from the Assimilated Americans (-.04 and .02, respectively). The same pattern holds for normal kin services with the figures being 18%, 19%, and 11% for the three "minority"

groups and -02% for both the West European and Jewish groups. At the same time it should be noted that all ethnic groups (including the Assimilated Americans) have on the average between 24% to 30% more people who supply normal kinship services than the marital household ones and in that regard they all conform to the modified extended family model.

The three groups which supply the most kinship service do have some central features which distinguish them from the Assimilated Americans, the Jewish, and the West European groups. First, the three minority groups all live closer to their helper than the Assimilated Americans (Table 10). For instance, 27% of the Hispanics-Caribbeans live in the same house as their helper, 20% of the East Europeans-Mediterraneans, and 16% of the Black Americans. By contrast, 9% of the Assimilated Americans, 11% of the West Europeans and only 5% of the Jewish group lives in the same house.

Second, two of these groups stresse traditional family values. We asked our respondents how important it was for married children to keep in touch with their parents and whether a married child should take a better job out of town even if it meant leaving their parents behind. From these two items an index of family orientation was derived as follows: (1) modified extended (those who said keep in touch but take the better job out of town); (2) traditional family orientation (those who said keep in touch with parents and do not take the better job out of town); and (3) isolated marital household orientation (those who said it is not important to keep in touch with parents and people should take a job out of town).[9] What can be seen (Table 11) was that all groups had a majority who embraced the modified extended family orientation. Thus we do not have any groups which purely or even modally represent a traditional family orientation.

However, within this larger frame there is a significant minority trend in the extent to which groups do endorse the traditional family orientation. Thus the Hispanics-Caribbeans had 27% who endorsed a traditional family orientation. This sharply contrasted with the Assimilated Americans who had only 4%. The same contrast occurred for the East Europeans-Mediterraneans who had 14% embracing the traditional family norm. It would suggest that these two groups might well be the closest contemporary representation we have of pre-industrialized societies. In this regard it is interesting to note that the Black Americans had only 8% who endorsed a traditional family value which was the same as the Jewish group.

A third factor which these three groups share in common is the percentage of them who are first generation and therefore most likely to be subject to pre-industrial norms as well as low income jobs. Thus as Table 12 indicates, 99% of the Hispanic-Caribbeans in the sample were first generation, 78% of the East Europeans-Mediterraneans; while this is true of 52% of the West Europeans and 44% of the Jewish people. The Assimilated Americans and the Black Americans are by definition not first generation. However, Lieberson (1981) makes a very plausible case for using as a definition of generation for Black Americans as the time of migration from the rural to urban areas. By this definition the Black Americans are also recent migrants.

A fourth factor these groups share, which is typically associated with ethnic groups from pre-industrialized societies, is low income. What can be seen is that the three minority ethnic groups have the lowest income of all (Table 13), the average income of the older persons being $3,136 for Black Americans, $4,659 for the Hispanics-Caribbeans, and $4,707 for the East Europeans-Mediterraneans. This contrasts very sharply

with the Assimilated Americans ($6,162), the West Europeans ($6,203), and the Jewish group ($5,513). However, it should be pointed out that of the three groups the Black Americans were distinctly lower in income than the other two minority ethnic groups. It could surely be the low income which accounts for the three minority groups not being subject to norms of differential mobility and therefore having more kinship aid than other ethnic groups.

There is yet another factor which should be taken into account and that is the degree of disability. It has been pointed out that people who are ill and single are likely to live closer to their kin and have more kin aid. If we examine ethnic groups by the stage of disability we find that the Black Americans have the most disabled of any group. That is, the Black Americans have close to 79% who are in the second or third stage of disability while the Assimilated Americans and most of the other groups have 66%. The one exception, and the surprise from our point of view, was the Hispanics-Caribbeans, who have only 50% who are disabled. It is possible that as the newest immigrants they are also the youngest and the healthiest.

These figures do suggest a basic difference between the Black Americans, East Europeans-Mediterraneans and Hispanics-Caribbeans. The latter two may be guided more by traditional family orientation, poverty and being unfamiliar with the language and culture while the former might well be guided by extreme poverty, poor health, and greater discrimination. In short, it could be argued that the Hispanics-Caribbeans and East Europeans-Mediterraneans are more likely to represent a culturally earlier stage while the Black Americans represent not so much an earlier cultural stage as a purely economic-health stage. This explanation would account

for the pattern of findings which occurs once services are standardized for geographic proximity. When this is done (Table 14), it can be seen that it is only the East Europeans-Mediterraneans that retain an advantage over the Assimilated Americans as far as delivery of marital household services. However, the advantage shrinks from 17% to 10%. For the Hispanics-Caribbeans, there is virtually no advantage once geographic proximity is taken into account, that is, it goes from 13% to 1%. The black ethnic group also seems to lose its advantage in delivering marital household services. It drops from an 11% to a 5% advantage. For normal kinship exchanges, there is again a drop in the use of kinship for all three groups, once they have been standardized for proximity. To provide an interpretation of this data, it was necessary to take several factors into account simultaneously, that is, disability, income, number of children, and proximity, and use regressions which are not completely suitable. However, if this is done it can be seen (Table 15) that the East European-Mediterranean groups tend to maintain a significant impact on three family household tasks associated with disability and the Hispanic-Caribbean groups tend to maintain a significant impact on those normal kin services not associated with disability. Whatever advantage Black Americans have in kin delivering services tends to disappear. We would venture the hypothesis that the East European and Hispanic groups stress traditional family values and it is this factor which permits them to maintain contact once proximity, disability, and income are taken into account. That is why the Black Americans do not play a role once these factors are taken into account. However, the greater states of health amongst the Hispanics-Caribbeans means that they are far less likely to have people providing marital household tasks than the East Europeans but

more likely to have people using normal kinship services--that is, those which are not associated with physical illness.

More generally the point is being made that the modified extended family formulation would suggest that where groups are representative of earlier societies in that they hold to traditional family values or are from part of the labor pool least subject to the demands of differential mobility (e.g., unskilled, disabled, first generation), they are least likely to be geographically distant and more likely to provide household services.

d. Gender Roles and Pre- and Post-Industrial Groups. This same point can be picked up from yet another perspective. Modern researchers have pointed out that women helpers tend to provide more aid to the elderly than males (Sweetser 1966, 1968, Komorovski 1964, Townsend 1965). There has generally been two lines of explanation. First, in a modern society, formal organizations take over many of the basic services such as income maintenance, medical services, and the only primary group help which older persons require are household services. These are traditionally women's services. This analysis could be joined to a second one, advocated by the isolated marital household theorist (Parsons 1944) which argues that there must be a permanent sex linked division of labor in which women manage marital household services if the modern marital household unit is to survive in a society dominated by large-scale formal organizations.

The point of view on gender which evolves from the modified extended family approach was developed by Litwak and Figueira (1970). It argues that modern science and technology are continuously taking things out and putting new things into the marital household unit. As a result, any permanent division of labor based on sex would be very disfunctional.

In such a constantly changing environment the most appropriate role concept is what they called "role substitutability." That is, husbands and wives should each know the entire gamut of roles that each can play and they should be prepared to exchange roles at any point in time. It may be the case that the husband will work at one time while the wife stays home while at a second time period it may be reversed, while at a third time period they may both work. This formulation would suggest that the "traditional" division of labor between husband and wife is more representative of a particular state of technological development, illustrated more by one stage of industralization.

The data from this study show that it is the case that women on the average are more likely to deliver marital household services to older people than male helpers (31% compared to 22%)(Table 16).[10] We also find that women provide more services than men for normal kin services (that is, on the average 64% of those with female helpers get normal kin services while this is true of 51% of those with male helpers)(Table 16). The modified extended family concept would suggest that such role differentiation would be more typical of groups least incorporated into modern American society, that is, the Hispanics-Caribbeans or the East Europeans-Mediterraneans. What can be seen (Table 17 and Table 12) is a strong relationship between groups where the female helpers provide most services and the percentage of the group which is first generation. Thus on one extreme are the East Europeans-Mediterraneans and Hispanics-Caribbeans who have 16% and 14% more people with female helpers getting services than those with male helpers. On the other extreme are the Assimilated Americans where this percentage shrinks to 5% and the Black Americans where older people appear to have more chance of getting help if they have a male helper than a female helper.[11]

The idea that sex role differentiation is a product of changing states of technology within a modified extended family context rather than a fixed sex-linked division of labor can be further illustrated by the mechanisms used by women helpers to achieve their superiority. Women helpers are able to deliver more household services to older people than male helpers because they live closer to the older people than males. Table 16 shows that both male and female helpers provide more services if they live closer to the older person while Table 18 shows female helpers live closer. Older people with female helpers have 20% who live in the same household while this is true of 12% of those with male helpers (Table 18). The vital role of geographic distance in differentiating male and female helpers can be seen if distance is standardized for each. Once they are matched on distance there is virtually no difference between male and female helpers delivering household services, that is, on the average, men have 34% who deliver household services while women have 36% who deliver household services (Table 16). The same trend is true for normal kin exchanges.

This finding suggests yet another thought. If people are best able to deliver household services to older people when they live in the same house or nearby, it is very likely the spouse will have to cooperate. In the extreme, if the older person lives in the same house the spouse must modify their way of life. Thus, the finding that older people with women helpers are likely to get more household services should probably be modified. They get more direct service from women but it is likely the husbands must provide indirect forms of help (Litwak and Kail 1981).

Summary

In summary, this paper has sought to point out that modern theories of family structure have implicitly suggested that all family exchanges can be classified in terms of the degree of proximity they require. That in turn means a classification in terms of the frequency with which they must be performed as well as the amount of face-to-face contact they require. It also requires an understanding of the various technologies of communication and their properties. In this paper we tried to show at what distances telephone contacts could equal face-to-face contacts and at what distances less frequent contacts would equal more frequent ones. In addition, we tried to assess the relative importance of reducing frequency of contact versus shifting from a face-to-face to a telephone contact if one wanted to reduce the impact of geographic distance. Our rough and ready measures only scratch the surface of these intriguing problems.

In the past, many investigators have used generalized measures such as frequency of contact as indicators of strength of kinship ties. What our analyses suggest is that such overall measures may obscure the understanding of kin exchanges. It is also the case that high frequency of kinship contact would not indicate strength of family ties, but weakness, if it was a consequence of kin delivering marital household services or those which belong to formal organizations. In short, the use of frequency of contact without specification of services can be very misleading. In this paper we have sought to illustrate that typical kinship exchanges vary significantly in terms of the extent to which they can be managed over geographic distance. It opens up a new field of study and that is the classification of kinship tasks and understanding why some can be handled at a distance and others cannot.

Finally, we tried to point out that there is a dynamic to kinship ties. At various points in time kin might be called upon to alter the basic nature of their exchanges and the distances they live from each other. In this paper we looked at advanced aged where there is a high probability of breakdown of the marital dyad coupled with the occupational retirement of the survivor. This means that there is a need for kin to provide services that require close proximity and there is less pressure from the occupational system for differential mobility. It is theoretically possible that there are other points in the life cycle which also lead to geographic coalescence, such as chronic illnesses, widowhood, divorce, and unemployment. Finally, we sought to account for deviant cases by showing that it is the group least incorporated into the modern economy (that is, the poor and recent migrants) who are least likely to fulfill modified extended family characteristics of differential mobility and role substitutability between husbands and wives.

In conclusion, we would hope that this analysis has opened up for future investigators the need to systematically investigate the properties of technology and to seek to classify family services on the basis of their need for proximity so that we might have a more precise understanding of how kinship systems operate in a modern industrial society.

FOOTNOTES

1. Such a grouping is not viewed as ideal but was necessitated by the limits of time and money in a survey in which technology of communication was not the central interest.

2. The names were gathered on a stratified random area sample of New York City, Long Island, Westchester, and Rockland County in New York State, and Dade and Broward Counties in Florida. The sample was stratified on two criteria, income and age homogeneity of residents, so that there were four equal groups, that is, age homogeneous middle class areas, age heterogeneous middle class areas, age homogeneous working class areas and age heterogeneous working class areas. Age homogeneous areas were defined as blocks which had 30% or more people over 65. The results presented in this paper have not been reweighted so they cannot be used to make population estimates. In addition, for 650 cases the chief helper was also interviewed. The chief helper was always a child if the respondent had any children. In 75% of the cases the older person had a child. Of those who did not, 15% chose relatives as their chief helper and 10% chose friends. Therefore, in 90% of the cases the chief helpers were children or other relatives. In this paper all these chief helpers will be treated as though they were kin. However, the removal of this group will not affect our basic findings since only older people without children can choose non-relatives and there are some who make the argument for the role of "fictive kin," so we have decided to treat this small group as kin. The original study included 400 institutionalized aged. In this paper we are looking at only those living in the community.

3. Their responses were classified as follows: same household, the same block, from 2 to 5 blocks, from 6 to 10 blocks, from 11 blocks to 30 minutes, from 31 minutes to one hour, from 61 minutes to 2 hours, from 121 minutes to 3 hours, from 181 minutes to 4 hours, from 241 minutes to one day, and more than one day away. In the future researchers should differentiate between time and distance rather than merge them into one scale.

4. This is a rough and ready indicator of how quickly the service reaches 0%. After the percentage reaches "0", all further distance points are calculated at declining at 100%. Since they generally involved 1% to 2% fluctuations, they were assumed to be error fluctuations. In the one case where contact consistently increased with distance (i.e., first 3 distances of telephoning, negative percentages were computed and averaged. One could also use regressions if each geographic point was treated as dummy variables and the living in the same household was the constant and the coefficients average. The results would parallel our present findings. (See Table A.) To treat proximity as a linear continuous variable would clearly violate the purpose of the analysis given the obvious floor effects and non-linear relation. Our measure also tends to eliminate the overall effect of more people initially using one technology or one service more than another. It tends to say, given all start out at the same place, which one will decline faster with geographic distance. It is clear that one can devise different

different measures for different purposes. If we are correct in our assertion that this is an important area, we assume specialists in measurement will specify the major alternatives and the consequences which flow from them.

Table A

Average Difference in Percentage Having Contact between Those Living in the Same House as Their Helper and Those Living at all Other Distances*

	Face-to-Face	Telephone
Daily	80	42
Weekly	51	09
Monthly	39	12*
Yearly	07	-13*

*A negative percentage means that on the average, those who live further away are more likely to have contacts than those who live in the same household.

5. What is equally important to recognize is that there is not a sharp dichotomy between the marital household tasks and the normal kinship tasks in terms of their relationship to geographic proximity. Rather there seems to be a continuum. That is why Litwak and Kulis (1981) argue that there are some marital household tasks which kin can take over more easily than others.

6. For the actual items used, see Litwak and Kulis (1981).

7. This is not meant to contradict historical studies which show the dominant role of the marital household unit in past societies (Smelser 1959, Furstenberg 1966). However, it is to argue that if one views the relation of the isolated marital household and the tradition extended family as a continuum rather than a dichotomy, then marital households in past societies were likely to live closer to relatives, and to stress norms of kin cohesion more than in modern society. In the modern society such "traditional kinship" systems are illustrated by Gans (1962) and Young and Willmott (1957) while Talmon-Garber (1970) and Marris (1970) provide illustrations from pre-industrial groups. In all cases the families consisted of separate marital households and separate occupations so they are clearly not the ideal extended family. At the same time, their desire to live in close proximity and their negative attitudes toward the universalism of formal organizations means they do not fit the model of the modified extended family.

8. Since our sample was drawn from the New York City and Fort Lauderdale-Miami area and included only people over 65 and their helpers, there was an extraordinary number of Jewish people. In the West European group was included England and all immigrants from English-speaking countries such as Australia and Canada as well as all European countries which are not part of the Soviet sphere and do not border on the Mediterranean. The only exception being France, which was classified as West European. The East European and Mediterranean included all European countries that were part of the Soviet sphere plus all countries that bordered on the Mediterranean, such as Italy, Spain, Greece, and Turkey. All people who identified as Jewish by religion or by a question on ethnic identification were classified as Jewish regardless of where they or their parents were born. People were identified as being in one of these groups by virtue of where they or their parents were born or by virtue of self-identification on a question which asked for their national, cultural, or racial groups.

9. The fourth logical category--do not keep in touch and do not take the job out of town--was thought to be a meaningless theoretical one and in fact had very few people in it.

10. This difference is in part a consequence of the nature of household tasks. If these are divided into tasks which are traditionally women's tasks, such as housekeeping and laundry, then women dominate much more--29% as compared to 15%. Tasks traditionally handled by men, such as small repairs around the house, are handled by men more than women, 40% versus 32%. However, what must be kept in mind is that men have far fewer tasks around the house than women, and that is why investigators generally find that women provide more help to older people than males. When the older persons get very ill and providing services becomes very time-consuming, then women tend to provide more help than men even for male tasks.

11. This finding would be consistent with the modified extended family orientation if it could be argued that the Black Americans differ from all other groups in the extent to which society has led to women being the major breadwinner. As such they represent, as a group, what might be one phase of role substitutability for all people in contemporary society. Insofar as black males are socialized to see the legitimacy of females working, they might also be socialized to see the legitimacy of males handling household tasks. Such speculations must await more detailed research.

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Table 1

% of Older People in Contact with Chief Helper
by Distance They Live from Each Other and Type of Contact

Frequency of Contacts	% of Older People in Contact with Helper Distance Older Person and Helper Live from Each Other										
	Same house	Same block	2 to 5 blocks	6 to 10 blocks	11 blocks to 30 min.	31 min. to 1 hour	More than 1 hour to 2 hours	More than 2 hours to 3 hrs.	More than 3 hours to 4 hrs.	More than 4 hours to 1 day	More than 1 day
	Telephone Contacts										
Daily	76	77	79	61	59	36	20	04	03	00	02
Weekly or more	78	85	96	91	95	88	78	54	49	44	47
Monthly or more	79	86	99	96	97	97	93	90	91	80	76
Yearly or more	79	86	99	96	98	97	96	91	93	83	84
	Face-to-Face Contacts										
Daily	97	85	44	25	14	02	00	01	01	00	00
Weekly or more	97	99	99	88	81	55	23	03	03	04	02
Monthly or more	99	99	99	100	95	91	65	14	12	14	10
Yearly or more	99	99	99	100	97	97	96	86	91	74	78
Sample Base	(172)	(128)	(71)	(76)	(259)	(187)	(91)	(114)	(76)	(80)	(49)

Table 2

Average Rate of Decline in Contacts as a Result of Geographic Distance, by Frequency of Contact and by Type of Technology

	Average Rate of Decline*	
	Type of Technology	
	Face-to-Face Contacts	Telephone Contacts
Frequency of Contact	Rate over 11 Distances**	
Daily	.73	.44
Weekly	.18	.04
Monthly	.14	.00
Yearly	.02	-.01***

*The rate of decline is computed by taking the difference in percentage of people making contact at two adjacent distance points. This difference is divided by the closest point. These in turn are averaged for all adjacent points to provide the average rate. Once a point reaches 0% the differences with succeeding points are assumed to be 100%.

**This scale was based on the 11 points indicated in Table 1.

***A negative sign means that on the average (between adjacent pairs) those who lived further had more contacts.

Table 3

% of Older Persons Receiving Services from Chief Helper by Distance from Chief Helper and Type of Services

Type of Services	% of Older Persons Receiving Services — Distance Older Person Lives from Chief Helper: Same house	1 to 5 blocks	6 blocks to 30 mins.	Over 30 min.	Rate of Decline
	Marital Household Services				
Light housekeeping	.82	.26	.12	.06	.57
Storage/laundry/cleaning	.74	.23	.14	.09	.48
Manage household money, bills, social security	.58	.25	.20	.12	.40
Small repairs on house	.81	.39	.30	.14	.43
Average for all Marital Household Services	.74	.28	.19	.10	.47
	"Normal" Kin Services				
Check daily	.99	.85	.64	.20	.36
Take out for dinner or bring in dinner or cook	.82	.67	.59	.36	.23
Small household gifts	.79	.49	.47	.35	.22
Helps keep in touch with kin	.75	.44	.42	.42	.15
Talks to when low and cheers up	.92	.83	.79	.70	.09
Average for all "Normal Kin Services	.85	.66	.58	.41	.21
Sample Size	(179)	(202)	(335)	(598)	

Table 4

% Older People Living at Various Distances from Their Chief Helper by Stages of Disability

Older Person's Stages of Disability	Distance Older Person Lives from Helper			
	Same house	1 to 5 blocks	6 or more blocks	Total
Healthy and married	.10	.13	.77	100% (428)
Ill and married or single and healthy	.13	.17	.70	100% (642)
Ill and single	.22	.14	.62	100% (237)

Table 5

% Older People Receiving Combinations of Marital and "Normal" Kin Services by Their Stages of Health

Older Person's Services		% Receiving Services		
		Older Person's Stage of Health		
One or More Marital Household Services	One of More Normal Kin Services	Healthy and Married	Ill and Married or Healthy & Single	Ill and Single
No	Yes	.55	.45	.27
Yes	Yes	.29	.43	.63
No	No	.15	.11	.09
Yes	No	.01	.00	.01
		Sample Size		
		(439)	(657)	(225)

Table 6

Chief Helper's Income by Distance They Live from Older People

Helper's Income	Distance Older People Live from Helper					Total Sample Size*
	Same house	1 to 10 blocks	11 blocks to 30 min.	30 min. to 1 hr.	Over 1 hour	
0 to $9,999	.25	.32	.14	.09	.24	100% (118)
$10,000 to $19,999	.20	.21	.22	.17	.21	100% (193)
$20,000 to $29,999	.12	.16	.21	.15	.36	100% (159)
$30,000 or more	.05	.15	.20	.21	.39	100% (142)

*This is a much smaller sample since we had this information for only those whose helper was interviewed (approximately 40%) and even in those cases there were a substantial number who refused information on income.

Table 7

% Older People Having Contact with Their Chief Helpers by Helpers' Income and Technology of Contact

Frequency of Contact	% Older People Having Contact: Income of Helper — Zero to $9,999	$10,000 to $19,999	$20,000 to $29,999	$30,000 or More	Average Advantage of Low Income Groups Over All Others
	Face-to-Face Contacts				
Daily	.49	.38	.26	.15	.23
Weekly or more	.74	.71	.56	.50	.15
Monthly or more	.81	.82	.72	.71	.06
Yearly or more	.97	.98	.94	.97	-.01
	Telephone Contacts				
Daily	.53	.55	.43	.39	.07
Weekly or more	.74	.87	.79	.82	-.07
Monthly or more	.83	.92	.94	.95	-.07
Yearly or more	.85	.93	.95	.95	-.10
Sample Size					
	(118)	(193)	(159)	(142)	

Table 8

% Older People Having Contact with Their Helpers
by Their Helper's Income, Technology of Contact,
Standardized for Geographic Distance* from Their Helper

Frequency of Contact	% Older People Having Contact Standardized for Geographic Distances — Income of Helper: Zero to $9,999	$10,000 to $19,999	$20,000 to $29,999	$30,000 or More	Average Advantages of Low Income Groups
	Face-to-Face Contacts				
Daily	.37	.37	.35	.33	.02
Weekly or more	.69	.70	.68	.68	.003
Monthly or more	.80	.83	.83	.84	-.03
Yearly or more	.97	.98	.96	.99	-.01
	Telephone Contacts				
Daily	.44	.54	.54	.51	-.09
Weekly or more	.73	.86	.84	.87	-.11
Monthly or more	.84	.92	.93	.94	-.09
Yearly or more	.87	.93	.94	.94	-.07
Sample Size	(118)	(193)	(159)	(142)	

*Standardization was achieved by giving equal weight to the percentage at each geographic distance and averaging them for the total population estimate.

Table 9

% Older People Receiving Services by Type of Service Delivered in the Last 6 Months

Type of Service Delivered in Last 6 Months to Older Person	% Received Service					
	Ethnic Groupings					
	Assimilated Americans	West Europeans	Jewish	Black Americans	East Europeans and Mediterreneans	Hispanics and Caribbeans
	Marital Household Services					
Small home repairs, like putting up curtain rods	31	29	18	48	43	41
Light housekeeping like making beds, straightening room, etc.	16	21	12	39	35	32
Keeping track of household bills, social security check, etc.	19	19	22	25	36	35
Seasonal storage, laundry, cleaning	18	24	15	22	36	45
Average of Marital Household Services	21	23	17	34	38	38
	Normal Kin Services					
Checks daily to see if all right	46	42	49	64	67	73
Talks to older person when they are low and cheers them up	65	61	73	74	78	67
Helps them keep in touch with children and relatives	43	39	42	50	61	62
Takes them to dinner or brings over special food treats, or cooks for them	50	51	40	59	68	67
Providee small household gifts to make residence more homey	43	40	31	55	61	71
Average of Normal Kin Services	49	47	47	60	67	68
	Sample Size					
	(429)	(207)	(347)	(56)	(141)	(86)

Table 10

% of Older Persons Living at Each Distance
from Their Helper by Ethnicity

Ethnic Group	% Living at Each Distance: Distance Older People Live from Their Helpers — Same House	1 to 10 Blocks	30 min. to 1 hour	Over 1 hour	Total Population
Assimilated Americans	.09	.19	.38	.35	100% (429)
West Europeans	.11	.16	.39	.34	100% (207)
Jewish	.05	.14	.46	.35	100% (346)
East Europeans and Mediterraneans	.20	.28	.33	.19	100% (133)
Hispanics and Caribbeans	.27	.27	.33	.13	100% (86)
Black Americans	.16	.21	.46	.17	100% (61)

Table 11

% of Older Persons Holding Each Family Value by Ethnicity

Ethnic Group	% Holding Each Value: Family Values — Traditional Kinship Structure*	Modified Extended Structure*	Isolated Household Structure*	Population
Assimilated Americans	.04	.72	.23	(429)
West Europeans	.04	.72	.24	(207)
Jewish	.08	.76	.15	(346)
East Europeans and Mediterraneans	.14	.72	.12	(133)
Hispanics and Caribbeans	.27	.64	.09	(86)
Black Americans	.08	.64	.28	(61)

*Traditional is defined as those who say people should keep in touch with parents and should not take better jobs if it means they must move away from parents. Modified extended are those who say people should keep in touch and should take a better job even if it means leaving parents behind in different city, while isolated marital households are those who say it is not important to keep in touch with parents and people should take a better job even if it means leaving parents behind.

**The rows will not quite add to 100% because there is a small percentage of unclassifiable cases, that is, those who said people should not take a job if it means leaving parents behind and also said it is not important to keep in touch.

Table 12

% of Older People in Each Generation by Their Ethnic Group

Older Person's Ethnic Group	% in Each Generation: Generation of Older People — First Generation	Second Generation	Third Generation	Total	Population
Assimilated Americans	.00	.42	.58	100%	(429)
West Europeans	.52	.22	.26	100%	(208)
Jewish	.44	.52	.04	100%	(346)
East Europeans and Mediterraneans	.78	.21	.01	100%	(133)
Hispanics and Caribbeans	.99	.00	.01	100%	(88)
Black Americans	.08	.05	.87	100%	(61)

Table 13

% of Older People in Each Income Group

Older Person's Ethnic Group	Income Groups of Older People — $0,000 to $3,999	$4,000 to $6,999	$7,000 or More	Total	Average	Population
Assimilated Americans	.35	.30	.35	100%	$6,162	(429)
West Europeans	.35	.30	.35	100%	$6,203	(207)
Jewish	.40	.34	.26	100%	$5,513	(346)
East Europeans and Mediterraneans	.49	.34	.17	100%	$4,707	(133)
Hispanics and Caribbeans	.57	.21	.21	100%	$4,659	(86)
Black Americans	.75	.20	.05	100%	$3,136	(61)

Table 14

% Difference in Average Services Delivered between Assimilated Americans and All Other Groups by Type of Service and Standardized and Non-Standardized for Proximity

Older Person's Ethnic Group	% Differences from Assimilated Americans			
	Types of Service			
	Not Standardized for Proximity		Standardized for Proximity	
	Marital Household	"Normal" Kin	Marital Household	"Normal" Kin
Assimilated Americans	.23	.53	.32	.60
	Difference from Assimilated			
West Europeans	-.002	-.06	.02	-.04
Jewish	-.001	-.02	-.03	-.02
American Blacks	.11	.06	.05	-.01
Hispanics and Caribbeans	.13	.17	.01	.08
East Europeans and Mediterraneans	.17	.16	.10	.08

Table 15

Regression Equations for Variables Most Effecting Delivery of Service

	Constant	Number of Children	Married and ill or single and healthy	Single and ill	Institutional and healthy	Institutional and ill	West European	East European	Hispanic, Caribbean	Black American	Jewish	Proximity to Helper	Income of Older Person	R^2
Check daily to see if all right	.96	.03***	.003	.06	-.08	-.14**	-.05	.05	.14**	.08	.08**	-.11***	.006	= .40
Light housekeeping	.38	.03***	.03	.15***	-.04	-.03	.01	.12***	.05	.08	-.03	-.06***	.004	= .26
Laundry and storage	.37	.03**	.05	.18***	.18***	.35***	.007	.15***	.06	.02	-.03	-.05***	.003	= .19
Household money matters	.30	.04***	.13***	.32***	.25***	.47***	-.05	.11**	.07	-.02	.04	-.04***	-.01	= .21
Small "home repairs"	.54	.05***	.11***	.21***	-.12***	-.07	-.03	.03	-.02	.02	-.10***	-.06***	-.008	= .26
Take out for dinner	.69	.03***	.13***	.17***	.09	.23***	-.03	.08	.05	-.06	-.07*	-.06***	-.010	= .15
Small household gifts	.59	.06***	.05	.05	-.04	.10	-.05	.09	.16**	-.05	-.10**	-.04***	-.006	= .11
Help keep in touch with relatives	.41	.08***	.01	.04	.07	.24***	-.09*	.09	.11*	.005	.006	-.02***	.002	= .08
Talk to when feeling low	.89	.02*	.03	.08*	.07	.08	-.03	.08	-.03	.02	.08	-.03***	-.002	= .07

[a]When dummy variables are used the following groups are in the constant: Healthy and Married, and Assimilated Americans.

Level of significance:
*** .001
** .01
* .05

Table 16

% Older People Receiving Services by Gender of Helper and Distance they Live from Helper and Type of Service

Gender of Helper	% Older People Receiving Services: Distance Older People Live from Helper: Same Household	1 to 5 Blocks	6 Blocks to 30 min.	31 min. or more	Total receiving services	Total Standardized for Proximity
	Household Services					
Male helper	(26)* .69	(24) .35	(53) .21	(122) .10	(225) .22	.34
Female helper	(80) .82	(72) .34	(102) .19	(156) .10	(410) .31	.36
	Normal Kin Services					
Male helper	(26) .76	(24) .78	(53) .53	(122) .39	(225) .51	.62
Female helper	(80) .87	(72) .76	(102) .63	(156) .48	(410) .64	.69

*Population base for each % is in parentheses.

Table 17

% of Older People with Female Helpers Receiving Help Minus Those with Male Helpers by Ethnicity

Older Person's Ethnic Group	% Difference between Those with Female and Male Helpers: Type of Household Services		
	Marital Household	Normal Kin Services	All Services
Assimilated Americans	.01	.08	.05
West Europeans	.07	.10	.09
Jewish	.06	.07	.07
East Europeans and Mediterraneans	.10	.20	.16
Hispanics and Caribbeans	.15	.13	.14
American Blacks	-.26	-.06	-.15

Table 18

% Male and Female Helpers Living at Each Distance from Older Person

Gender of Helper	% Living at Each Distance: Distance Older Person Lives from Helper				Total	Population
	Same Household	1 to 5 Blocks	6 Blocks to 30 min.	31 min. or more		
Male helper	.12	.11	.24	.54	.100%	(225)
Female helper	.20	.18	.25	.38	.100%	(410)

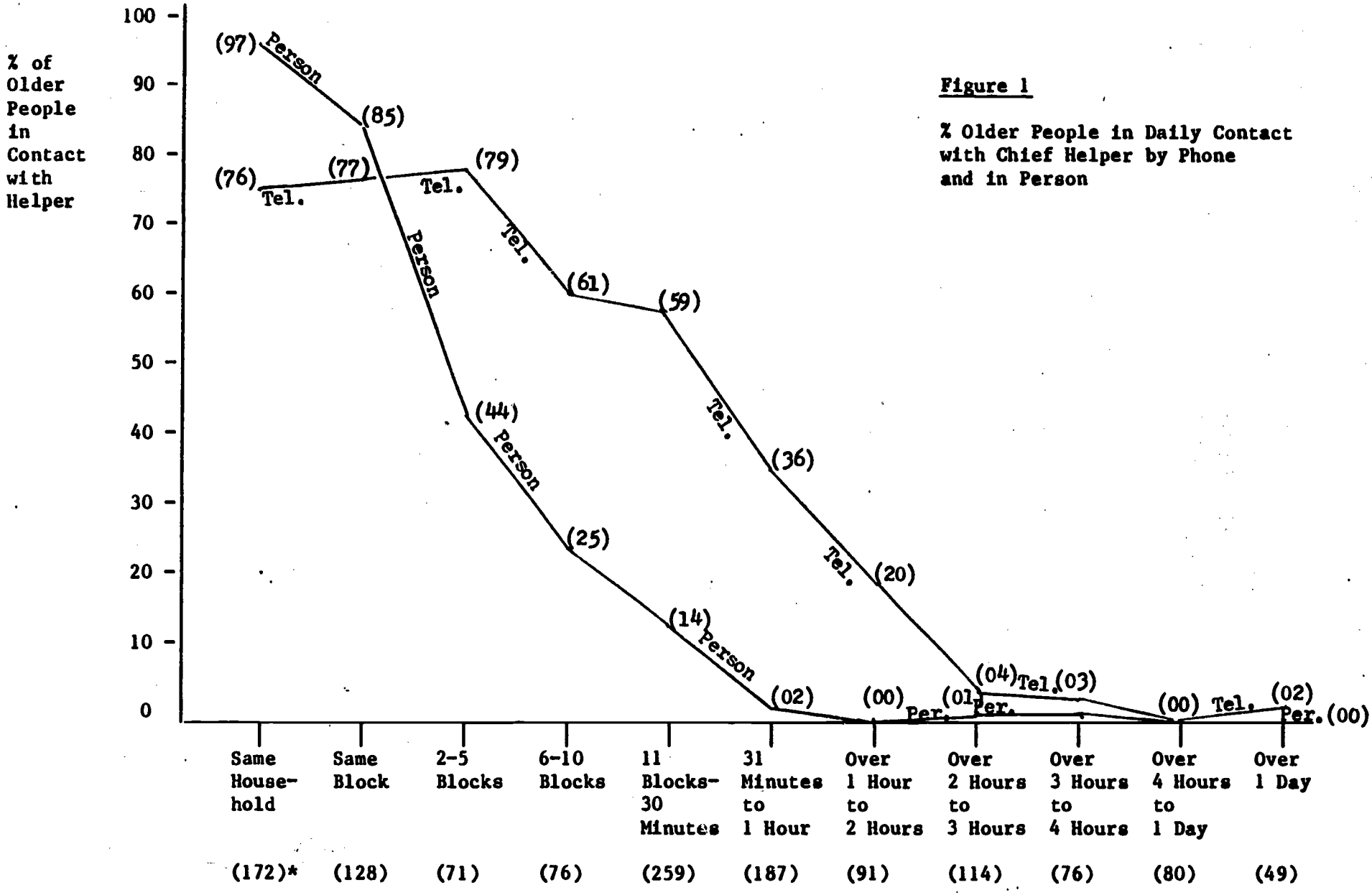

Figure 1

% Older People in Daily Contact with Chief Helper by Phone and in Person

*Sample size

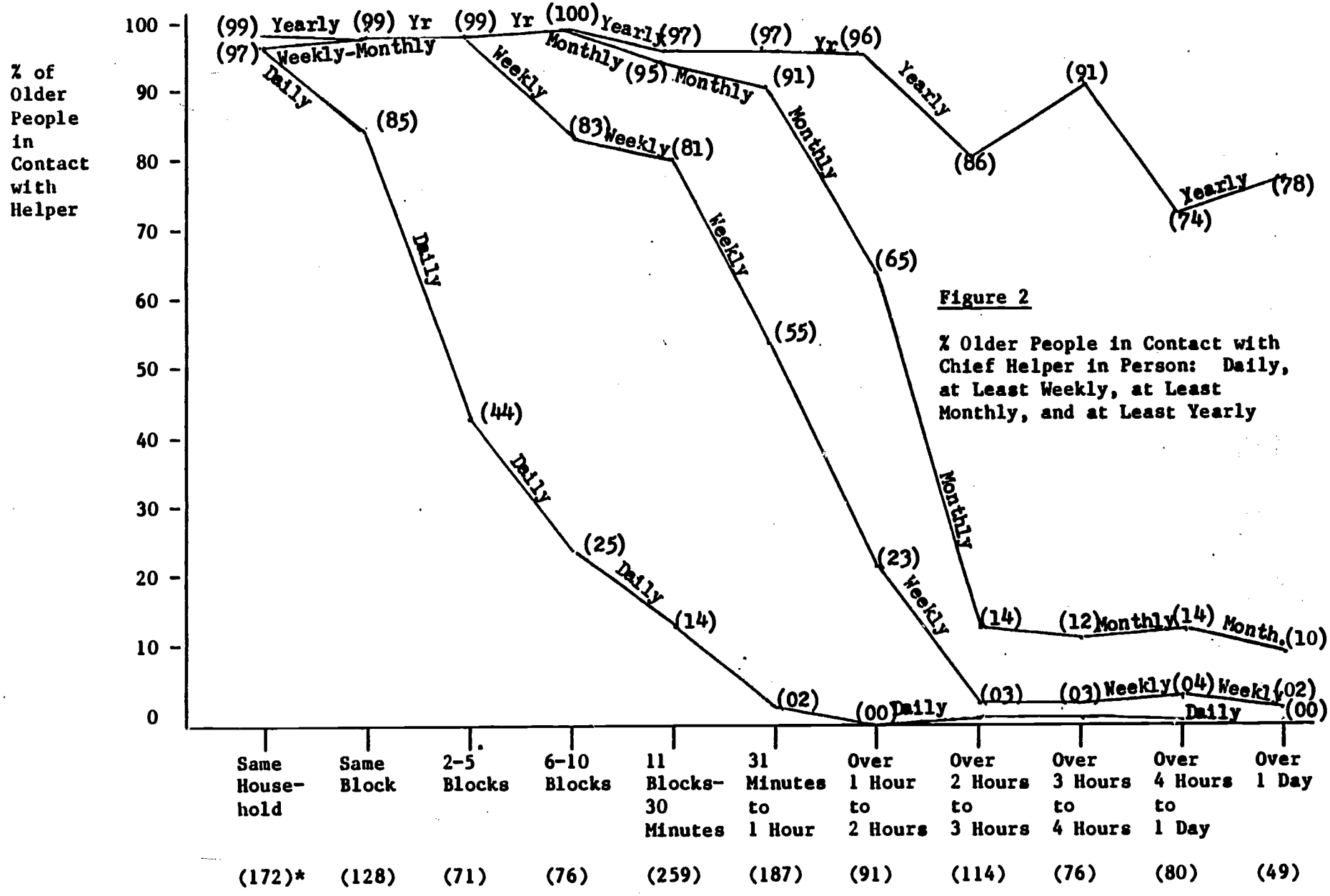

Figure 2

% Older People in Contact with Chief Helper in Person: Daily, at Least Weekly, at Least Monthly, and at Least Yearly

*Sample size

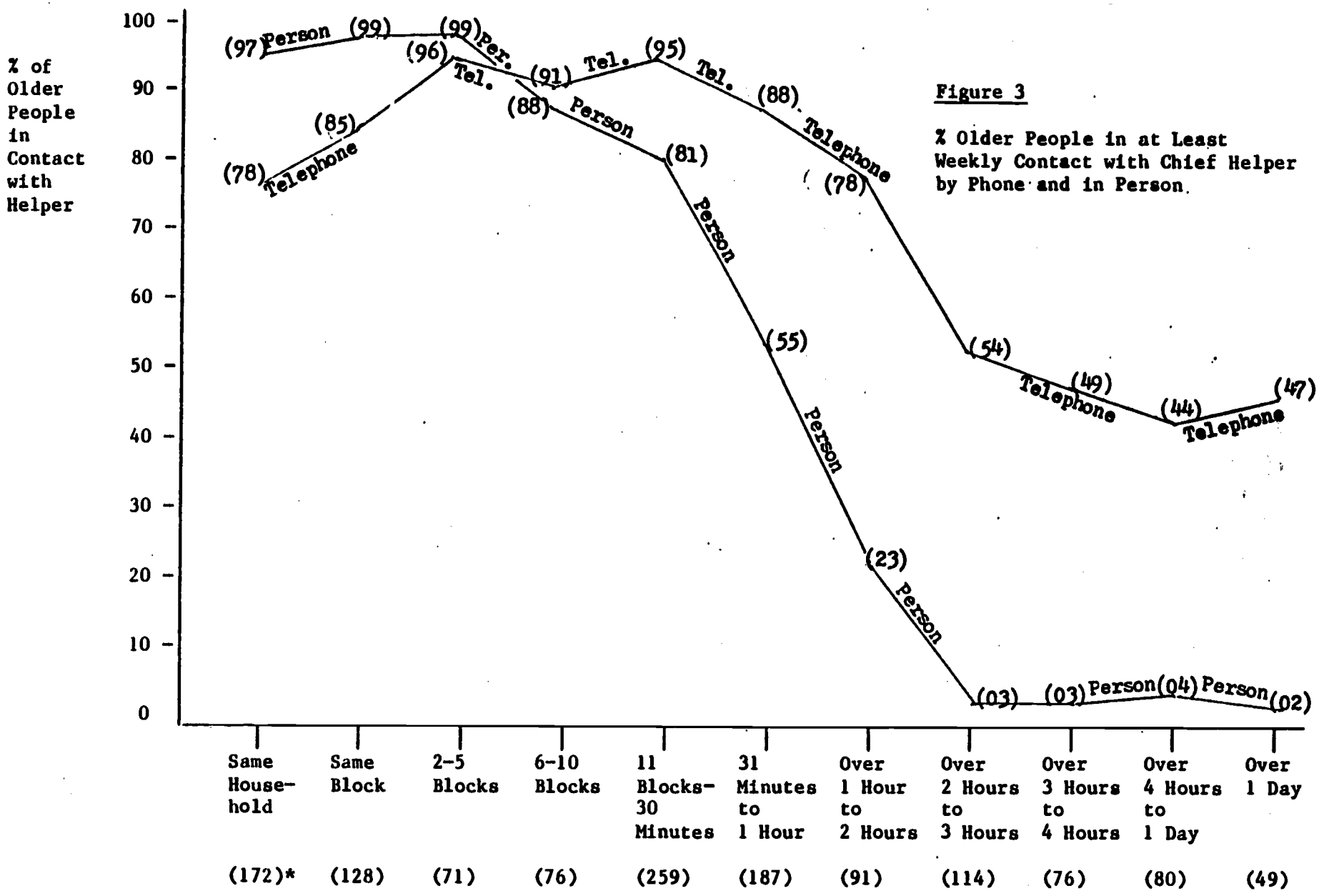

Figure 3

% Older People in at Least Weekly Contact with Chief Helper by Phone and in Person.

*Sample size

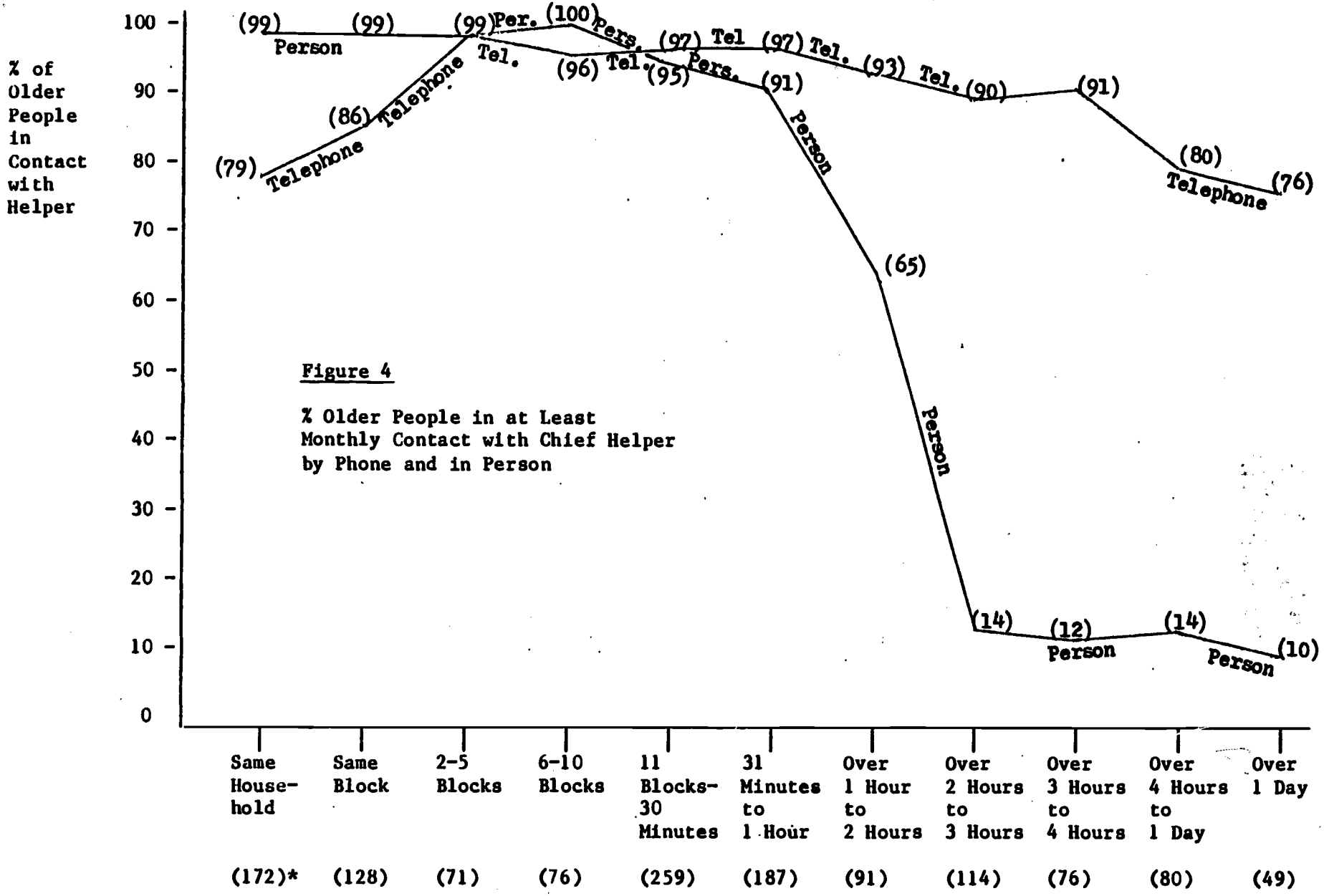

Figure 4

% Older People in at Least Monthly Contact with Chief Helper by Phone and in Person

*Sample size

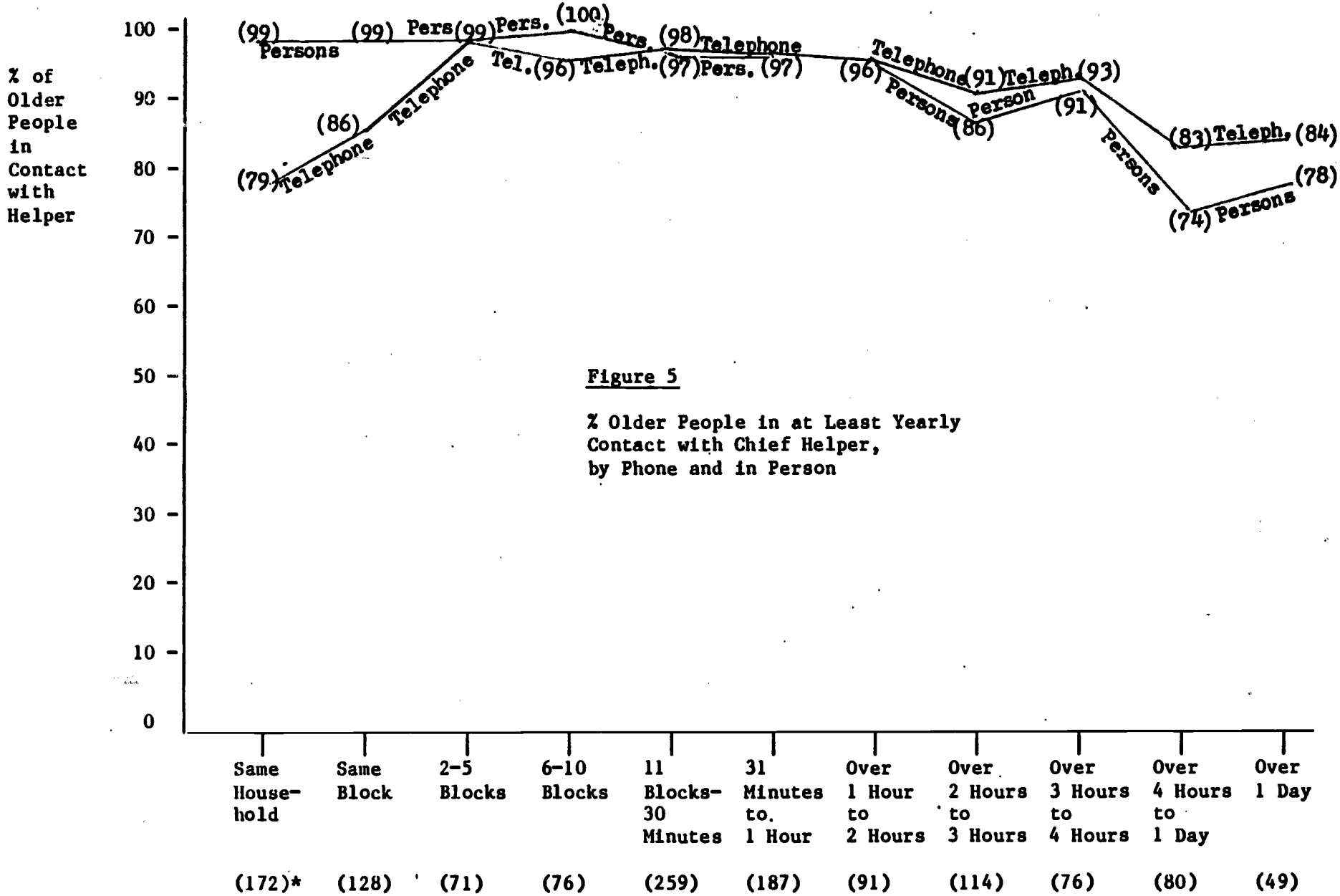

Figure 5

% Older People in at Least Yearly Contact with Chief Helper, by Phone and in Person

*Sample size

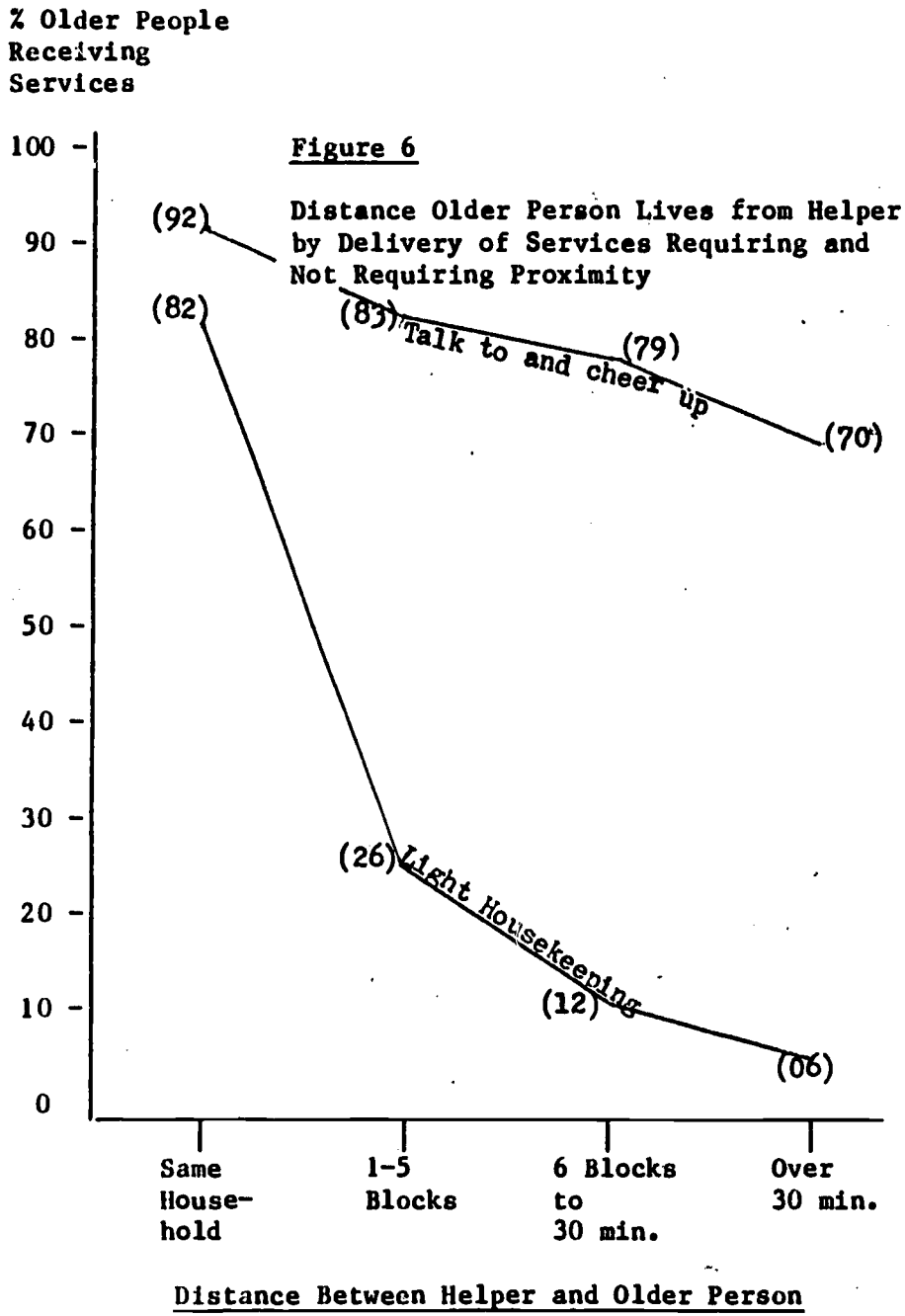

Figure 6

Distance Older Person Lives from Helper by Delivery of Services Requiring and Not Requiring Proximity

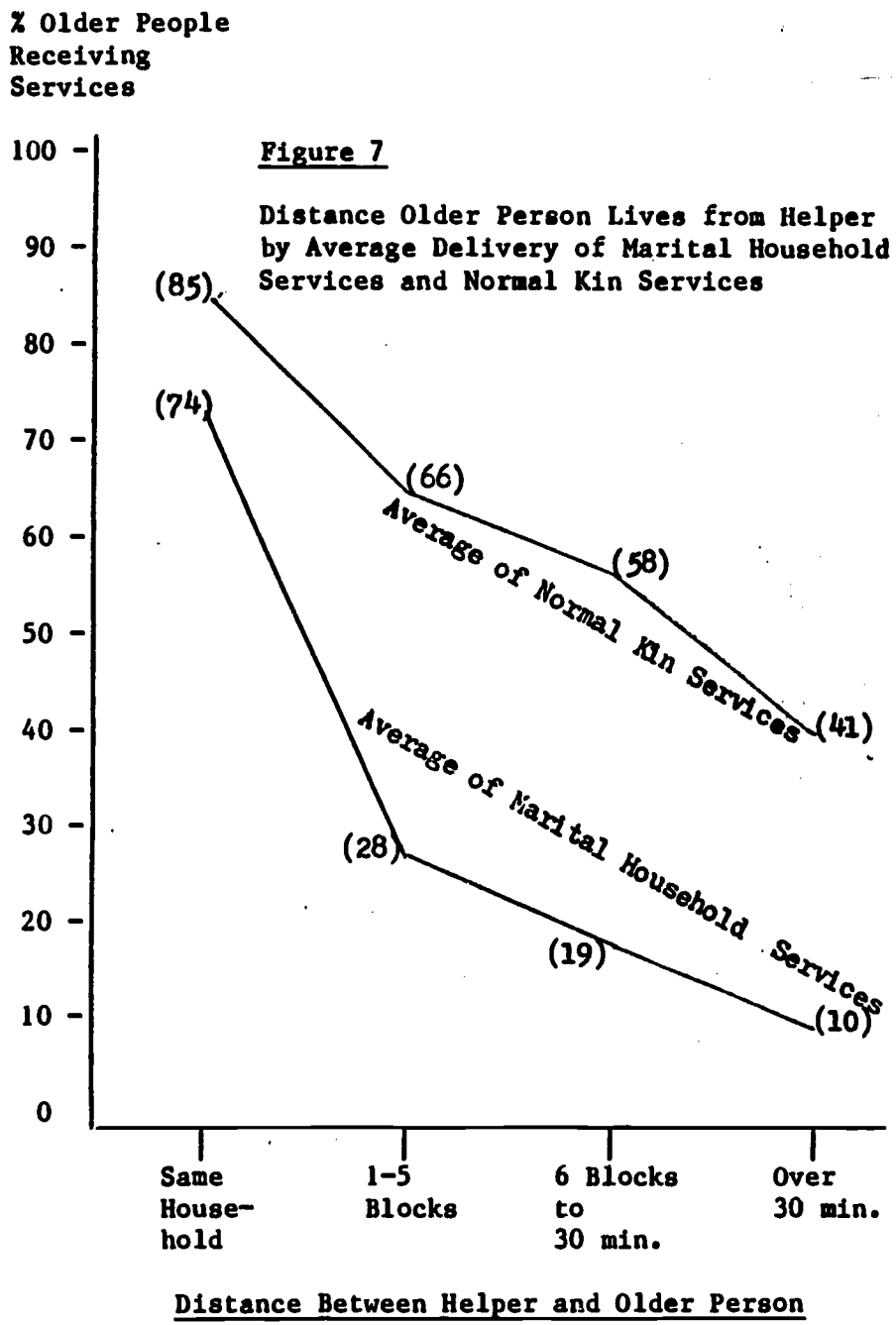

Figure 7

Distance Older Person Lives from Helper by Average Delivery of Marital Household Services and Normal Kin Services