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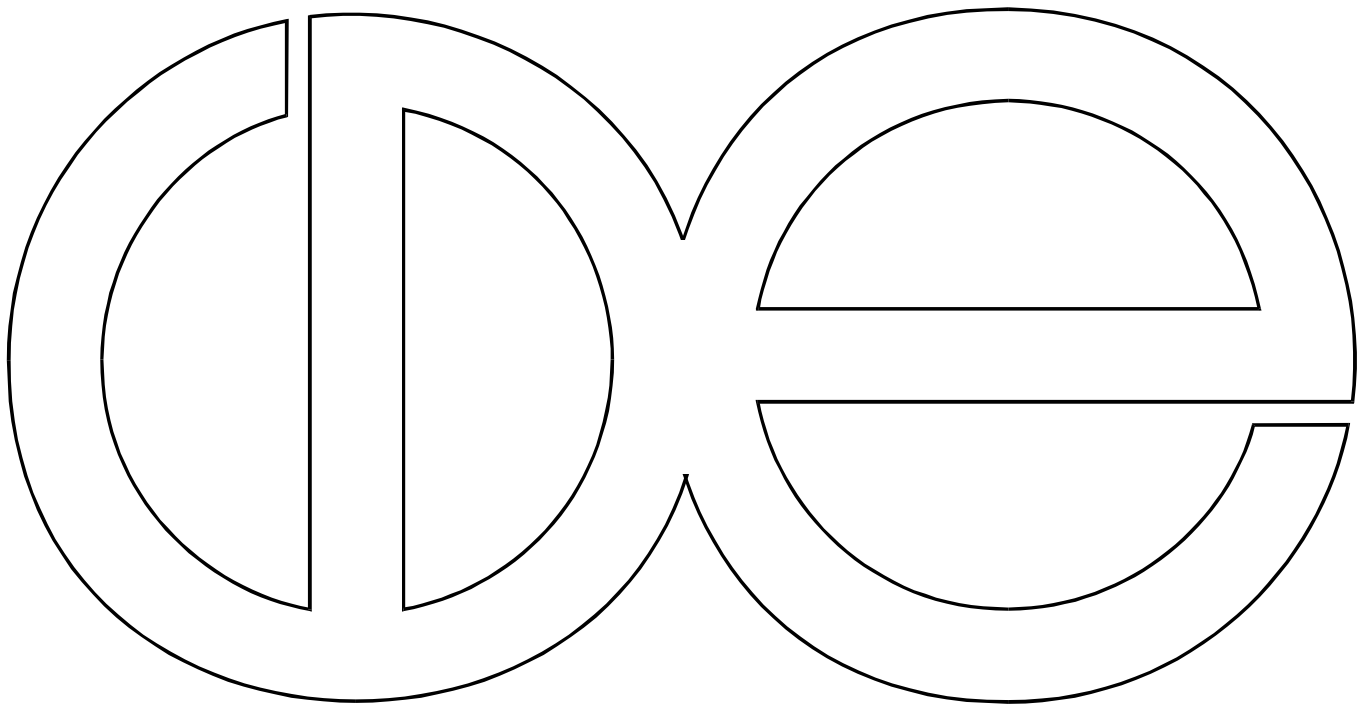
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**Gender Differences in the Exchange of Social Support
With Friends, Neighbors, and Coworkers at Midlife**

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ABSTRACT

People have always relied on their friends, neighbors, and coworkers as well as family members for social support, but support from outside the family may be increasingly important as high divorce rates persist and high levels of residential mobility continue to take people away from their relatives. Past research suggests that women give and receive more emotional support than do men, but little research has explored gender differences in overall patterns of exchanging social support. We use latent class analysis of data from the Wisconsin Longitudinal Study to show that there are four major patterns of social support exchange for both men and women at midlife. Three of these patterns—high exchange, emotional support exchange, and low exchange—are very similar for men and women. However, almost half of men can be characterized as low exchangers while almost half of women can be characterized as emotional support exchangers. Around 10 percent of both men and women are high exchangers. Multivariate analyses show that among both men and women, the unmarried are the most likely to be high exchangers after controlling for other factors that might possibly be related to the exchange of social support.

Keywords: Social Support; Marital Status; Gender; Friends; Neighbors; Coworkers

Exchanges of social support between friends are probably more important now than ever in American society, given high rates of divorce and extensive residential mobility away from family members. Married individuals can provide social support to one another, but the unmarried may turn to friends if other family members are not available, or even if they are. Friends are an important part of most people's personal networks; Wellman and Wortley (1989) found that more than half of the respondents' network members were non-kin. Thus, for many individuals in our society, a friend, neighbor, or coworker is likely to be especially accessible in a time of need, and their needs are also likely to be more readily apparent than are the needs of family members.

As key players in individuals' personal networks, friends, neighbors, and coworkers are able to provide help with both instrumental and emotional needs. Friends, whether nearby or not, can be important sources of emotional support for adults (Adams 1985\86). Neighbors and coworkers are near at hand and so they can provide instrumental support relatively easily (Litwak 1989; Wellman and Wortley 1990). Also, this constant contact can provide a setting for the exchange of emotional support. "Residential proximity fosters frequent contact, densely knit connections, mutual awareness of problems, and easy delivery of aid" (Wellman and Wortley 1990:568). Proximity at work could have the same effects.

Some research suggests that the patterns of social support exchanges with friends may be different for men and women. This work has focused primarily on gender differences in the exchange of emotional support, i.e. the exchange of advice, vocal support, and encouragement. Previous research has shown that women are more likely to be involved in exchanges of emotional support outside the nuclear family than are men (Barbee et al. 1993). And married people may be less likely to be involved in exchanges of instrumental support than are divorced

people since married people can rely on their spouses for such support. We know very little about gender differences in the exchange of instrumental support, e.g., the exchange of help with transportation, errands, yard work, and other household chores.

In this paper, we explore more carefully gender differences in patterns of exchange of both emotional support and instrumental support. We look at exchange at the individual level, i.e., we examine giving and receiving emotional and instrumental support by a focal individual without considering whether those who receive social support from the focal individual are the same people as those who give social support to the focal individual. Our analyses follow the approach of Hogan, Eggebeen and Clogg (1993) in their work on intergenerational support exchanged between parents and adult children. We first ask whether the patterns of the exchange of social support with friends, neighbors, and coworkers vary between men and women. We then describe the most typical social support patterns. Finally, we examine the extent to which marriage is associated with these patterns of exchange of social support for both men and women after controlling for other factors likely to be associated with the exchange of social support.

BACKGROUND

Our analysis focuses on gender differences in the exchange of social support among a sample of primarily white, middle-aged individuals, i.e., people in their early 50s. This is a time when the health of most is fairly robust, and the financial situation of most is fairly stable. Most of these individuals are also in a fairly stable marital status, e.g., they have been married or divorced for some time, or have never married. Most marriages, divorces, and remarriages take place earlier in life. The widowed are the most likely to have experienced a recent change in marital status. In sum, most of these individuals have well-established patterns of social support. They differ from the young in that many questions about friendships and family have been

answered in their personal lives. They differ from the old in that they are less likely to need extensive instrumental support due to health related reasons. They differ from American minorities in ways discussed below. In examining the role of gender and the role of marital status in patterns of social support for both men and women, we control for other factors that may be associated with gender or marital status and the exchange of social support.

Gender

As we mentioned above, women are more likely than are men to give and receive emotional support. Men are unlikely to receive emotional support from male friends and are unlikely to have many female friends, so many rely on female family members for emotional support (Wellman and Wortley 1989). Male and female relationships with non-kin also differ in their foci. According to Bell (1991) and Aukett, Ritchie and Mill (1988), women's relationships depend on emotional closeness, while men's relationships focus on shared activities. This suggests why women may be more likely than are men to exchange emotional support. However, it also suggests men may be more likely than women to exchange instrumental support if this exchange is built around shared activities, e.g., sharing rides to work or helping with work in the yard. No research has examined whether this is or is not the case.

Further, women's ties have been found to be more reciprocal than men's (Burda, Vaux and Schill 1984; Weiss and Lowenthal 1975). Some research suggests that women are substantially more likely than men to provide support in general (House, Umberson and Landis 1988) and women have a greater propensity to seek social support (Thoits 1995). Gallagher (1994) found that women help a greater number of kin and friends than do men. We hypothesize that women's emphasis on emotional supportiveness, combined with their interest in reciprocal relations, means that women will be more likely than men to exchange emotional support with

their friends, neighbors, and coworkers. We also examine whether men are more likely than are women to exchange instrumental support.

Marital Status

Marital status has strong effects on the exchange of social support. Married couples are able to rely on one another for both emotional and instrumental support. Consequently, they may be less likely to exchange support with friends, neighbors, and coworkers than are the unmarried. A more negative view is that marriage is a socially isolating and “greedy institution,” especially for women (Coser and Coser 1974). Married women’s time and energy are focused on caring for those inside their immediate household, which limits their opportunities and resources for interacting with and helping those outside of it (Altegott 1985; Coser and Coser 1974; Gerstel 1988).

Previous research suggests that the compositions of networks for married and unmarried individuals differ significantly. In general, unmarried people have more non-kin ties and married people have more ties to kin in their networks (Fischer 1982; Wellman 1985; Gerstel 1988; Hurlbert and Acock 1990). Some researchers argue that being married increases network size, i.e., marriage integrates individuals into larger networks, particularly with kin, and provides opportunities and resources for giving and receiving care with relatives (Fischer 1982; Oliner 1989). The ability to rely on relatives other than a spouse would also lead to less reliance on non-kin for emotional and instrumental support.

Differences in network composition are found between types of unmarried people. Webster, Benson and Spray (1994) report that the formerly married (divorced, separated or widowed) have more friends in their networks than do either the currently married or the never married. In general the composition of networks for widows closely resemble those of married

people (Hurlburt and Acock 1990), though these networks and the support they offer often changes as the length of widowhood increases (Bankoff 1981).

Because of the domination of kin in their personal networks, we hypothesize that married people will be less likely than unmarried people to give or receive either type of social support with friends, neighbors, or coworkers. It is also possible that the divorced will be most involved in social support exchange with friends, followed by the widowed (who are still involved in their family networks), and finally the never married. Previous research suggests that the latter lead more isolated lives from both family and friends compared to those who have been previously married. We are unfortunately inhibited in our ability to examine differences among divorced, widowed, and never married people by the small numbers of widowed and never married individuals in our data.

Other Factors

In our models, we also control for a number of other factors shown to have important effects on giving and receiving social support. In addition to marital status, other characteristics of one's family situation may influence the exchange of social support with non-kin. Among the most important of these is the presence of other family members in the household. Young children are especially likely to constrain the formation of non-kin ties and thus affect the size and composition of their parent's friendship networks (Fischer 1982; Moore 1990; Waite and Harrison 1992:650). We expect that there is a difference between minor children and adult children (though the age-boundary is arbitrary) in terms of their effects on their parents' social support behavior. Minor children can be seen as a constraint on their parents' social ties because they need some supervision. They can also be seen as increasing their parents needs for outside

help, especially for childcare and carpooling. On the other hand, adult children do not usually need supervision and can often be helpful to their parents (Raphael and Schlesinger 1994).

Residing with an elderly parent can be very stressful and time-consuming as well (Raphael and Schlesinger 1994). Again, this increases the need for social support, but limits the time and energy necessary to reciprocate. We also control for the exchange of social support with relatives outside the household.

Other factors influence the opportunities to exchange social support with non-kin. Voluntary organization involvement, the availability of friends, informal socializing with friends, and being currently employed all may be seen as opportunities for giving or receiving social support to individuals outside one's family. These are all ways in which the size and the composition of a person's social network may be expanded and/or they are mechanisms that increase contact among network members. This means that as the levels of formal and informal involvement increase, individuals may have more information about situations in which people need help, they may have more connection to the people who need help, and more alters will know if the person needs help.

In addition to being an opportunity to exchange social support, being employed can also be thought of as a constraint on a person's ability to exchange social support. Work friendships are an integral part of the sense of meaning provided by employment (Lewittes 1989; Moore 1990), but time at work may detract from the time one can invest in friendships (Blau 1973). Pugliesi and Shook (1998:231) point out that "Employment ... is a time- and energy-consuming role that would be expected to diminish opportunities for contact with network ties." Among women, employment appears to decrease contact with friends (Waite and Harrison 1992:648).

Gallagher and Gerstel (1993) find that current employment is a significant predictor of the total number of friends helped.

Finally, we also control for socioeconomic status and health. Socioeconomic status affects the form and composition of individuals' personal networks (Campbell, Marsden and Hurlbert 1986; Fischer 1982; Moore 1990). However, there is contradictory evidence on the relationship between income and actual social support. Eggebeen and Hogan (1990) find that those with higher income give and receive more help. Gallagher (1994) and Gallagher and Gerstel (1993) find no effects; and Stack (1974) documents high levels of social support exchange among very poor Blacks.

Research results have been mixed with respect to the effect of education on individuals' network characteristics, contact with network members, perceptions of support from network members. There are also conflicting results about whether educational attainment affects giving and receiving social support; Eggebeen and Hogan (1990) find that it does, while Wellman and Wortley (1990) find that it does not.

Previous research has uncovered mixed results regarding a constraining effect of poor health on the exchange of support with friends (though extensive research has shown an effect of social support on health). Waite and Harrison (1992:648) found that poor health limits social contact with friends but has no effect on contacts with family, while Gallagher (1994) finds that health has no effect on the number of friends or kin helped. Adams (1989) shows that healthier individuals have larger social networks.

DATA

To investigate the social support exchange patterns of middle-aged Americans, we use the 1992/3 mailed questionnaire of the Wisconsin Longitudinal Survey (WLS). The WLS is a long-term study of a random sample of 10,317 men and women (virtually all of whom are white) who graduated from Wisconsin high schools in 1957. In 1992/3, when respondents were about 52 years old, the WLS interviewed 8,493 of the 9,741 surviving members of the original sample. Of these 8,493 people, 6,875 respondents answered the additional mail questionnaire, including questions on giving and receiving help to/from friends, neighbors and coworkers. An analysis of non-response to the mail questionnaire (Hauser et al. 1993) reveals that, as compared to those who responded to both surveys, those who did respond to the phone survey but did not respond to the mail survey are slightly more likely to be male, to be unmarried, and to live in Wisconsin, and had significantly lower average IQ in junior high school.

The WLS sample is broadly representative of white, non-Hispanic American men and women who have completed at least a high school education. Among Americans aged 50-54 in 1990 and 1991, approximately 66 percent were non-Hispanic whites who completed at least 12 years of schooling. Because of their age, education, and race, they have many resources for giving help to friends, neighbors or coworkers; in general, WLS respondents are white, have decades of work experience but are not yet retired, have relatively high levels of education, own a vehicle, and do not have young children. In other words, they have social status, wealth, and high earnings capacities. On the other hand, they also have many types of potential constraints. Their living parents are reaching old age and may need help, their children may be in high school or college and thus not financially independent, and/or their jobs may keep them very busy.

The WLS sample does not permit analyses of African Americans, Hispanics, or other racial and ethnic groups. Hogan et al.'s (1993) analyses reveal race differences in giving and receiving social support to and from elderly parents. They found that Blacks and Hispanics are much more likely to be low exchangers and less likely to be high exchangers than are Whites. However, minorities in their sample are much more likely to co-reside with elderly parents, which engenders another type of socially supportive intergenerational relationship. Minorities are also more likely to reciprocate support if it is given. One would likely find racial and ethnic variations in the exchange of social support with friends as well. We cannot examine such variations with these data. These data do, however, permit us to analyze a sizable group of people at mid-life when they are very involved in kin and non-kin networks, and are likely to have opportunities to exchange social support.

MEASURES

Table 1 contains descriptions of our measures of giving and receiving social support, gender, marital status, and the control variables, as well as the range, mean, and standard deviation of each. Note that the mean of a bivariate variable is the proportion of respondents who have the value of "1" on that variable.

Insert Table 1 about here.

Giving or Receiving Instrumental or Emotional Help: In the 1992 mail survey, WLS respondents were asked to complete two grids of questions about giving or receiving help. First, they were asked: "During the past month have you GIVEN the following types of help?" and they were instructed to "Check the box for EVERYONE that you GAVE each kind of help TO (other than spouse or young child)." Categories of help are (a) transportation, errands, or shopping; (b) housework, yard work, repairs, or other work around the house; (c) advice,

encouragement, moral or emotional support; and (d) baby sitting or childcare. The categories of people to whom help could be given are: (1) no one needed help; (2) friends, neighbors, or coworkers; (3) sons or daughters (19 and older); (4) parents; (5) brothers or sisters; and (6) other relatives. Next, respondents were asked to complete a parallel grid of questions about kinds of help they received from the above types of people, with the modification that “no one needed help” was replaced by “help not needed” and “no one available to help.”

In this article, we focus on giving and receiving help to/from friends, neighbors, and coworkers. We combine the questions about giving and receiving social support to/from family members into an independent variable “Social Support with Family,” which we discuss below. For the remainder of this article, when we talk about the support WLS respondents gave or received, we are referring to the support they share with their friends, neighbors, and coworkers.

Involvement in help with babysitting or childcare is rare among WLS respondents (who are all in their early 50s). Therefore, we exclude measures of help with childcare from our analyses, and focus instead on the other two types of instrumental help (transportation and work around the house). Involvement in emotional support with friends, neighbors, or coworkers is much more common than giving or receiving instrumental support. Over half (57 percent) of respondents gave emotional support and 42 percent received emotional support, while 30 percent gave help with transportation and 11 percent received help with transportation. Finally, 18 percent gave help with work around the house, and 10 percent received this type of help.

WLS respondents report giving more support than they report receiving. This is not unusual for people their age; Stoller (1985) found that older persons are more likely to report providing help than receiving it and Hill (1970) found that giving behavior is common among the middle-aged. The disparity between the reported level of giving and the reported level of

receiving might be caused by several things. First, this may be a period in life in which people are more likely to be able to help others and to actually help others than they are to need such help. Second, people in this privileged position (relatively well-off because they are relatively educated and white) may actually give more than they receive. Third, overreporting of giving may be a purposeful and self-serving response bias—“tis better to give than to receive.” Or, as Shumaker and Jackson (1979) point out, the discomfort caused by an inability to reciprocate can cause a person to re-evaluate the situation to decrease his/her perception of imbalance. In other words, the WLS respondents may have a better memory for help that they give than for help that they receive. Faced with a similar imbalance of reported social support, Amato (1993:254-5) points out that

“Although this finding suggests that the absolute level of helping should be viewed skeptically, it is problematic for present purposes only if a tendency to overestimate help giving and/or to underestimate help receiving is correlated with population size [his key independent variable]. Because there is no good theoretical reason to assume that this is the case, this bias is unlikely to affect the conclusions of the present analysis.”

Similarly, we have no reason to expect errors in reports of giving and receiving support to be systematically associated with gender or marital status. The relative homogeneity of the WLS population in terms of race, age, and education strengthens this assumption.

Gender and Marital Status: About 54 percent of the sample are women. This overrepresentation of women reflects women’s higher response rate and lower mortality rate. We divide our sample into four marital status categories: (1) currently married (83 percent of our sample); (2) separated or divorced (11 percent); (3) widowed (2 percent); and (4) single, never married (4 percent). The 11 respondents who refused to answer this question were put into a separate category but the coefficients for this category are not reported in most tables.

In our models, we also control for a number of other factors shown to have important effects on the exchange of social support.

Other Family Characteristics: Many of our respondents (86 percent) are involved in some giving or receiving of instrumental or emotional support with family (as compared with 73 percent who are involved in some social support with friends, neighbors, or coworkers). Only 2 percent live with their parents and 11 percent live with minor children. Most respondents are beyond the stage of life in which *very young* children are present at home, but a significant proportion have minor children with them (11 percent live with children aged 0-17). Almost 30 percent of respondents live with children aged 18 and older.

Social Involvement Outside the Home: Through the spread of information about needs, involvement in social life outside the home increases opportunities to both give and receive social support. We include three measures of social involvement outside the home: involvement in voluntary organizations, perceived availability of help from friends, and amount of informal socializing with friends.

Membership and level of involvement in 19 types of clubs or churches was measured on a zero to four scale from “not involved” to “a great deal.” For our analyses, we created a scale of voluntary group involvement that is a sum of the respondent’s scores on these 19 questions. The average score on this variable is 7. We then took the natural log of this count variable to normalize its distribution.¹

¹ We include a dummy variable to indicate those individuals who have no club or church involvement; 12 percent of the sample is in this category. Only a small fraction of WLS respondents refused to answer this question (this dummy variable denoting mean substitution for non-respondents is not reported in our tables).

Respondents were asked whether they have a friend to whom they could turn to for instrumental help or for emotional help. Most respondents perceived social support to be available from their friends, neighbors, or coworkers.

We measure informal socializing with friends using responses to the question: “How many times, if at all, during the past four weeks have you gotten together with friends? We mean like going out together or visiting in each other’s homes.” We coded this variable categorically because of its unusual distribution. Almost 60 percent of respondents socialized with friends 1-4 times in the past four weeks, while 13 percent did not socialize at all.

Employment Status: 85 percent of our sample were employed at the time of interview, and 4 percent had never been employed.

Vehicle Ownership: Almost all of our respondents owned a car, truck, camper, boat, or RV (97 percent). The few who did not are probably less likely to provide (and more likely to need) help with transportation, errands, or shopping. However, vehicle owners also share rides and participate in carpools.

Household Income: We measure income as the natural log of per-capita household income (+ \$100). The mean per-capita household income (for the 4,715 people in our sample who responded to the question) is about \$32,500. This relatively high income reflects respondents’ age (near the peak of their earning capacity), relatively high level of education, and race. For the non-respondents, we substituted the mean and marked them with a dummy variable (not reported in tables). Because of the high non-response to this income question, alternative measures of social standing (i.e., educational attainment and occupational status) are all the more important.

Educational Attainment: We measure educational attainment using four categories: (1) high school graduate (the minimum education level in the WLS and 57 percent of our sample); (2) 1 to 3 years of college (16 percent); (3) 4 years of college or bachelors degree (14 percent); and (4) more than 4 years of college or master's degree (14 percent).

Occupational Status: We include occupational status in our analyses as a good measure of socioeconomic status (in tandem with education and income) because occupation is usually reported and is relatively stable. We measure the occupational status of the respondent's current or last occupation using the occupational education scale developed by Hauser and Warren (1997).²

Physical Health: Our measure of physical health is based on the individual's self-reported health status. Over three-quarters of our sample reported they were in good or excellent physical health.

Residence in Wisconsin: About two-thirds of the sample currently live in Wisconsin, the state in which all respondents graduated from high school. Other preliminary analyses (not reported) show that there are no significant rural-urban differences in social support behavior. Hogan et al. (1993) also found no rural-urban differences in intergenerational help exchange.

² An occupation's "occupational education" is the proportion of people in that occupation (as of the 1990 census) who have completed at least some college. The mean occupational education of WLS respondents in our sample is 0.40. People who have never held a job do not have an occupational education score. For these 285 people (4 percent) in our sample, we substituted the mean and marked them with a dummy variable (unreported in most tables).

METHODS

We do two sets of analyses in our examination of the patterns and structure of social support exchange between friends, neighbors, and coworkers. First, we use latent class analysis to examine the structure of exchange of social support. As shown in Table 1, we are working with six questions about giving and receiving help. The purpose of using latent class models is to determine the principles of the relationships between the respondents and their friends, neighbors, and coworkers that underlie the observed responses to these six questions. The cross-classification of these six variables yields 64 cells with each respondent assigned to a single cell. Latent class models (Clogg 1995; Hogan et al. 1993; McCutcheon 1987) can then be used to determine the minimum number of latent classes needed to represent the association among items. Because of differences in patterns of support (Table 2, below) we determine latent classes for women and men separately (Table 3 and Table 4, below).

The latent class model characterizes a categorical latent variable (X) that represents the underlying types of relationships with friends, neighbors, or coworkers. We refer to the six items as A , B , C , D , E , and F , whose levels are indexed by g , h , i , j , k , and l , respectively. Let $\pi_{gh\dots l}$ denote the probability that a respondent is in cell (g, h, \dots, l) of the cross-classification of the six items. The latent class model with T latent classes is, then,

$$\pi_{gh\dots l} = \sum_{T=1}^T \pi_X(t) \pi_{A|X=t}(g) \pi_{B|X=t}(h) \dots \pi_{F|X=t}(l), \quad (1)$$

where $\pi_X(t)$ is the probability that $X=t$, and $\pi_{A|X=t}(g)$ is the conditional probability that item A takes on level g , given that latent variable X is at level t ; the other conditional probabilities are defined similarly. The model assumes that the items are mutually independent given X .

Respondents are assigned to latent classes³ using estimates of the model parameters to calculate the probability that latent variable X takes on level t given the observed items are at particular levels. Each respondent is assigned to the latent class that is modal for his or her pattern of responses to the six social support questions. One can use likelihood ratio and BIC statistics to determine how many latent classes are needed to fit the data. In each of our gender and marital status groups, patterns of social support exchange with friends, neighbors, or coworkers are best described by four latent classes per group, as we discuss below.

Once individuals are assigned to a latent class, the set of latent classes can be used as an independent or dependent variable in multivariate analyses. In our analyses (which follow the style of Hogan et al. 1993), we use the set of latent classes as the dependent variable in multinomial logistic regression analyses (Table 5A-5B) as we examine factors that are associated with belonging to a specific latent class of social support behavior.

RESULTS

Table 2 shows the percentages of giving and receiving each type of support by gender and marital status. White, middle-aged women and men show few differences in the proportion that give or receive instrumental support, with one exception: women are much less likely to give help with work around the house. On the other hand, women are much more likely than are men to give and receive emotional support.

In general, married and widowed respondents show similarly low levels of providing support of any type, but widows receive much more support than do married people. Given the relative youth of WLS widows, their spouse's death may be fairly recent; patterns of help

³ We use the latent class analysis program MLLSA, created by Scott Eliason.

exchange among these widows may change as they spend more time in this marital status (Bankoff 1981). Divorced WLS respondents are highly involved in social support and those who have never married are also relatively involved in social support exchanges with their friends, neighbors, and coworkers.

There is some interaction in the effects of gender and marital status. Single women are more likely to give and to receive emotional support than are single men. Gender differences in social support behaviors are muted among married respondents, though they do persist. Widowed men are generally similar to widowed women in their support behaviors, except that they are much less likely to give or receive emotional support.

In sum, among whites in their early 50s, women are more likely to exchange emotional support and men are more likely to give help with work around the house. Single people and divorcees exchange social support with friends more so than do married or widowed people. And young (early 50s) widows give social support like married people but receive it like divorced people.

Insert Table 2 about here.

The Latent Structure of Giving and Receiving Social Support: The results in Table 2 reveal gender differences in giving and receiving specific types of support. These differences tell us nothing, however, about combinations or patterns of giving and receiving across different types of support. For example, we cannot tell from Table 2 if there are individuals who give and receive very little of any kind of support and whether the prevalence of such individuals is higher among men or women. To uncover the underlying structure of social support in mid-life, we performed a latent class analysis of our six social support variables (give/receive transportation, give/receive work around the house, give/receive emotional support) and then used the resulting

classes as categories in multinomial logit regression analyses. Following Clogg and Goodman (1984) and McCutcheon (1987) we performed tests of latent class similarity for men and women. These tests showed that women and men have similar sets of latent classes and the conditional probabilities of giving or receiving the specific kinds of support are similar for men and women given their membership in a specific latent class. However, the prevalence of these classes varies significantly between men and women. To give a specific example, a low exchange class exists among both men and women. These individuals exchange little of any kind of support with non-kin, and the probabilities of giving and receiving specific types of support are very similar for both male and female members of this latent class. However, the probability of belonging to this group is much higher for men than it is for women. Because of these gender differences, we performed the remaining analyses separately for men and women. Fit statistics, including BIC statistics and indexes of dissimilarity, are presented for women in Table 3, Panel A and for men in Table 3, Panel B. The BIC statistics indicate that a four-class model is most appropriate for both men and women. In general, the indexes of dissimilarity are about 0.03, indicating that using this set of latent classes to predict people's responses to the six dichotomous support variables results in misclassifying only approximately 3 percent of the cases.⁴

Insert Table 3 about here.

In Table 4, panels A and B, we present the four latent classes for men and women. Although the particular meanings and sizes of the groups vary by gender, each gender has three latent classes in common: (1) "low exchangers" – those who are not very involved in socially

⁴ We attempted to estimate models with more than four classes, but the results for these were very unstable. That is, the fit statistics and other estimates in the models varied widely depending on the starting values given for the probabilities.

supportive relations with friends, neighbors, or coworkers (2) “emotional support exchangers” – those who are involved in reciprocal exchanges of emotional support/advice with non-family and (3) “high exchangers” – those who are involved in multiple types of social support exchanges with non-kin. The fourth group can be labeled “give all, get emotional support” among women (8 percent of women are in this group); these people give both emotional and instrumental support, but receive primarily emotional support from friends, neighbors, and coworkers. Among men, this group is more appropriately labeled “givers” (20 percent of men are in this group) because they give more help than they receive and thus are apparently not involved in reciprocal exchanges of social support.

Insert Table 4 about here.

Roughly half (49 percent) of men are best characterized as low exchangers, whereas just over one third (35 percent) of women are so classified. About 10 percent of women and men are likely to exchange all types of support (i.e., they are high exchangers). There is great gender variation in the proportion whose social support pattern is best described as emotional support exchangers; 43 percent of women and only 17 percent of men are in this category. As mentioned above, men (20 percent) are much more likely than women (8 percent) to be in the “give all” or “give all, receive emotional support” category.

Hogan et al. (1993) conducted a similar latent class analysis of help exchanged between parents and their adult children, revealing four latent classes of intergenerational support behavior. They found that 53 percent of the American population are “low exchangers” with their parents, including 60 percent of men and 46 percent of women in their sample; 11 percent of individuals in their sample (10 percent of men and 19 percent of women) give and receive high levels of several types of support and are labeled “high exchangers.”

In sum, our latent class analysis suggests that there are patterns of giving and receiving social support in our data that are not obvious if one just looks at the frequencies for the six support variables in Table 1 and Table 2. Though several patterns of social support behaviors are present for both men and women, exchanging emotional support is much more popular among women than men. Men are, on the other hand, much more likely than are women to be low exchangers and to report that they give support without receiving support.

Marital Status, Gender, and Patterns of Exchange: Next, we use the latent classes for men and women as categorical dependent variables in two separate multinomial logistic regression models (shown in Tables 5A and 5B). For example, the first column of Table 5A presents the effects of marital status and other independent variables on the likelihood of a woman being an emotional support exchanger rather than a low exchanger. The purpose of these analyses is to examine the effects of marital status and other factors on latent class membership.

Insert Table 5A and Table 5B about here.

Among women, there is no significant variation across marital statuses in the likelihood of being an emotional support exchanger relative to being a low exchanger. Unmarried women, on the other hand, are much more likely than married women to be high exchangers than they are to be low exchangers. Among men, an emotionally supportive exchange pattern is more likely among divorcees and those who have never married than it is among widowers or the currently married. Divorced and never-married men are much more likely than are married men to exchange high levels of support with their friends, neighbors, and coworkers. These results suggest that marriage plays a somewhat different role for men and women in differentiating who exchanges emotional support from those who exchange little support. On the other hand, marital

status plays a similar role for both men and women in differentiating those who are high exchangers from those who are low exchangers.

The results for other variables suggest that a number of factors help differentiate who is in the different latent class categories. Men who gave or received any social support to/from a family member are more likely to exchange emotional support or high levels of all types of support with their friends (Table 5B) rather than exchange little support with friends. Among women, however, exchanging social support with family members does not significantly affect patterns of social support exchange with non-family (Table 5A).

Other factors affect patterns of involvement regardless of gender or marital status. For example, for both men and women, involvement in voluntary organizations, relationships with friends, and informal socializing with friends are strongly related to being involved in the patterned exchange of social support. Each of these factors reflects the size of the networks in which people are involved and the associated opportunities for giving and receiving social support. This result verifies that an important aspect of having friends is involvement in some pattern of emotional and/or instrumental support exchange.

Women who are in good or excellent health are especially unlikely to be high exchangers, relative to their odds of being low exchangers. The other coefficients for health are not significant. This runs contrary to research showing a positive relationship between the amount of social support and good physical health (e.g., Anderson, Deshaies and Jobin 1996; Seeman 2000). However, Hogan et al. (1993), similarly, find that “The pattern of kin support is only weakly related to the reported health status of each generation” (p.1445).

In general, people with higher levels of education and/or occupational status are especially likely to exchange emotional support with their friends rather than to exchange little

support. Women with higher levels of education are also relatively likely to exchange high levels of social support, as compared to their counterparts with only a high school education. Surprisingly, women and men who live in Wisconsin (the state where they went to high school) are quite a bit less likely to be involved in social support exchanges with their friends, neighbors, or coworkers than are those people who live outside of Wisconsin.

DISCUSSION

The exchange of social support with non-kin is likely to be an important feature of American social life for some time in the future given the high divorce rate and the high level of geographical mobility that increases the distance that kin live from one another. Previous research suggested that women were more likely than men to exchange emotional support with non-kin, but past research has revealed very little about gender differences in the giving and receiving of instrumental support. Our research confirms previous work on gender differences in exchanging emotional support. Over 60 percent of women report giving emotional support and close to half report receiving emotional support compared to 51 percent of men who report giving emotional support and one third who report receiving it. When we look at more complex patterns of the exchange of social support, we find that just over one third of women exchange relatively little social support with non-kin compared to close to half of men who are in the low exchanger category. Among both men and women, participation in voluntary organizations, having friends, socializing with friends, having higher education, and working in higher status jobs differentiates those who are in one of the three exchanging classes relative to those who are low exchangers. Around 10 percent of both men and women are in a group that gives and receives almost all of the types of emotional and instrumental support included in our analysis.

Marital status is strongly associated with the patterns of exchange for both men and women. Among men and women, the unmarried are much more likely than the married to be in the high exchanger category relative to the low exchanger category. On the other hand, marital status does not differentiate emotional support exchangers from low exchangers among women while it does so among men.

Our results have some limitations. First, the sample is limited in that it contains individuals in a small age range who are high school graduates of one state, and who are racially homogeneous. This makes us cautious about generalizing from the results, and prohibits the analysis of variations with age, race, and ethnicity. On the other hand, the sample provides an opportunity to observe social support among individuals in mid-life, a time when marital status and friendships are well established and long lasting for most individuals. Consequently, the sample is well suited for getting a picture of giving and receiving social support among whites in middle age. Second, the questions about help around the house do not distinguish among types of instrumental help. Gender differences, for example, in giving help with yard work and housework probably exist. Third, most of the variables are probably exogenous to social support, i.e., they affect the exchange of social support but the exchange of social support does not affect them. This may not, however, be true of social involvement and the exchange of social support with family members. That is, those who are more likely to exchange social support may also be those who are more likely to be socially involved. So, social involvement may be merely associated with the exchange of social support rather than promoting greater exchange of social support.

Despite these limitations, our research is valuable. Our research is among a limited amount of work that has looked at patterns of both giving and receiving social support simultaneously. Although it is useful to look at gender differences in giving emotional or

instrumental support, and in receiving emotional and instrumental support, it is also worthwhile to examine the joint occurrence of giving and receiving social support. Latent class analysis makes it possible to uncover patterns that are not apparent from looking at gender differences in giving and receiving particular forms of support. These patterns provide a more interesting and insightful picture into the patterns of exchange that characterize contemporary life.

Perhaps the most significant feature of the results is that they illustrate the systematic nature of giving and receiving social support to and from friends, neighbors, or coworkers among middle-aged adults. These results suggest that many middle-aged adults are involved in patterns of exchange of social support with non-family members that can be described in a sociologically meaningful fashion. These patterns of exchange vary with marital status and gender, as well as with social involvement and socioeconomic status. An intriguing question is whether giving and/or receiving social support has an impact on mental and physical well-being, and if so, is women's better health in middle and later ages in part due to greater involvement in giving and receiving social support. Further, can friends, neighbors, and co-workers as well as family members outside the immediate household provide the emotional and instrumental support for unmarried people that married people receive from their spouses? Although Waite and Gallagher (2000) report that married people are healthier than unmarried people, social scientists have yet to investigate carefully whether non-marital relationships, both intimate and Platonic, can play an important role in promoting wellbeing. Given the increasing age at marriage, high rates of divorce and extensive geographical mobility in our society, social scientists should look more carefully at the roles that friends, neighbors, and co-workers play in social life.

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Table 1

Variable Construction and Descriptive Statistics: Wisconsin Longitudinal Study 1992/3^a

Description of Variable	Specific Variable(s)	Values	Analysis Sample ^a	
			Mean	St. Dev.
Social Support	1. Gave help with transportation ^b	0/1, 1=yes	0.299	
	2. Received help with transportation ^b	0/1, 1=yes	0.116	
	3. Gave help with work around the house ^c	0/1, 1=yes	0.176	
	4. Received help with work around the house ^c	0/1, 1=yes	0.101	
	5. Gave help with emotional support ^d	0/1, 1=yes	0.570	
	6. Received help with emotional support ^d	0/1, 1=yes	0.416	
Marital Status	1. Single, never married	0/1, 1=yes	0.042	
	2. Currently married	0/1, 1=yes	0.830	
	3. Currently separated or divorced	0/1, 1=yes	0.105	
	4. Widowed, not married	0/1, 1=yes	0.022	
	5. Marital status not ascertained or refused	0/1, 1=yes	0.002	
Sex	1. Female	0/1, 1=female	0.536	
Social Support with Family	1. Gave or received any help to/from any family	0/1, 1=yes	0.864	
Co-resident Parent	1. R's mother or father lives with R	0/1, 1=yes	0.021	
Co-resident Child	1. There is a co-resident child aged 0-17	0/1, 1=yes	0.112	
	2. There is a co-resident child aged 18+	0/1, 1=yes	0.293	
Voluntary Organization Involvement	1. Log of total involvement in clubs & churches	0 - 3.76	1.836	0.728
	2. No club or church involvement	0/1, 1=yes	0.118	
	3. Club & church involvement not ascertained or refused	0/1, 1=yes	0.009	
Relationships with Friends	1. Friend to Loan Money or Friend to Help if Sick (Instrumental)	0/1, 1=yes	0.651	
	2. Close Friend or Friend R Can Talk To (Emotional)	0/1, 1=yes	0.837	
Informal Socializing with Friends	1. Did not socialize with friends in the past 30 days	0/1, 1=yes	0.134	
	2. Socialized with friends 1-4 times in the past 30 days	0/1, 1=yes	0.588	
	3. Socialized with friends 5+ times in the past 30 days	0/1, 1=yes	0.272	
	4. Informal socializing with friends not ascertained or refused	0/1, 1=yes	0.006	
Current Employment	1. Currently employed	0/1, 1=yes	0.850	
Vehicle Ownership	1. R owns a car, truck, camper, boat, or other RV	0/1, 1=yes	0.968	
	2. Vehicle ownership not ascertained or refused	0/1, 1=yes	0.005	
Physical Health	1. R is in good or excellent health at the present time	0/1, 1=yes	0.884	
Log of per-capita household income + \$100	1. Transformation of per capita household income	4.6 - 12.6	10.134	0.622
	2. Incomplete info. on household income (excl. from lncpinc)	0/1, 1=yes	0.314	
Educational Attainment	1. HS Grad, Less than one year of college or refused	0/1, 1=yes	0.566	
	2. 1-3 years of college	0/1, 1=yes	0.158	
	3. 4 years of college or bachelor's degree	0/1, 1=yes	0.137	
	4. More than 4 years of college or master's or higher degree	0/1, 1=yes	0.139	
Occupational Education	1. Proportion of occupational incumbents with some college ^e	0.2 - 0.99	0.395	0.279
	2. R has never been employed so excluded from occ. educ.	0/1, 1=yes	0.041	
Wisconsin Resident	1. Currently lives in Wisconsin	0/1, 1=yes	0.690	

^aData are the 1992/3 Wisconsin Longitudinal Study (WLS). The analysis sample (N=6,875) is comprised of people who answered the 1992/3 phone survey, the 1992/3 mail survey, and the mail survey questions on giving and receiving social support to/from friends, neighbors, or coworkers.

^bHas given (received) any help with transportation, errands, or shopping to (from) friends, neighbors, or coworkers in the past month.

^cHas given (received) any help with housework, yard work, repairs, or other work around the house to (from) friends, neighbors, or coworkers in the past month.

^dHas given (received) any help with advice, encouragement, moral or emotional support to (from) friends, neighbors, or coworkers in the past month.

^eOccupational education scores were computed by Hauser and Warren, 1997.

Table 2

Percent of WLS Respondents Who Give or Receive Instrumental or Emotional Support to or from Friends, Neighbors, and/or Coworkers, by Gender and Marital Status

	<i>n</i>	Transportation, Errands or Shopping		Housework, Yard Work or Repairs		Advice, Emotional, or Moral Support	
		Give to	Get from	Give to	Get from	Give to	Get from
Women	3,682	29.6%	10.9%	11.6%	9.5%	61.9%	49.1%
Men	3,193	30.3%	12.3%	24.5%	10.8%	51.4%	33.0%
Single, Never Married	287	33.5%	18.1%	23.0%	18.8%	66.2%	51.2%
Married	5,703	28.2%	9.6%	16.3%	7.7%	55.2%	38.6%
Divorced	722	42.5%	22.7%	25.6%	22.3%	67.6%	58.9%
Widowed	152	29.0%	21.1%	17.8%	24.3%	58.6%	54.6%
Non-Respondent ^a	11	18.2%	9.1%	27.3%	0.0%	63.6%	45.5%
Single Women	153	38.6%	20.9%	22.2%	24.2%	79.1%	62.8%
Married Women	2,966	27.6%	8.4%	10.1%	6.0%	59.5%	45.6%
Divorced Women	426	40.4%	21.6%	16.7%	23.5%	72.8%	65.5%
Widowed Women	132	28.8%	21.2%	16.7%	25.0%	62.1%	57.6%
Single Men	134	27.6%	14.9%	23.9%	12.7%	51.5%	38.1%
Married Men	2,737	28.8%	10.9%	23.0%	9.6%	50.6%	31.0%
Divorced Men	296	45.6%	24.3%	38.5%	20.6%	60.1%	49.3%
Widowed Men	20	30.0%	20.0%	25.0%	20.0%	35.0%	35.0%

^a 5 women and 6 men in the sample refused to answer questions about their marital history.

Table 3A

Fit Statistics for Alternative Latent Class Models of **Women**
Exchanging Help with Friends, Neighbors, and Coworkers

Number of Latent Classes	Likelihood Ratio χ^2	<i>df</i>	Index of Dissimilarity	<i>BIC</i>
1 (independence)	2112.6	57	0.283	1644.6
2	460.5	50	0.106	49.9
3	193.0	43	0.049	-160.0
4	98.2	37	0.031	-205.6

Note: The latent class analysis program MLLSA was used with a tolerance of 0.00001.

Table 3B

Fit Statistics for Alternative Latent Class Models of **Men**
Exchanging Help with Friends, Neighbors, and Coworkers

Number of Latent Classes	Likelihood Ratio χ^2	<i>df</i>	Index of Dissimilarity	<i>BIC</i>
1 (independence)	1925.9	57	0.275	1466.0
2	452.7	50	0.125	49.2
3	216.1	43	0.076	-130.9
4	112.1	36	0.038	-178.4

Note: The latent class analysis program MLLSA was used, with a tolerance of 0.0001.

Table 4A

Exchanging Instrumental and Emotional Support with Friends, Neighbors, and Coworkers:
Characteristics of Latent Classes: Women Only

Mnemonic for the Latent Class Category	Latent Class Probability	Number of Women in this Latent Class	Percent of Women in this Latent Class	Percent of Latent Class Members who DID Give/Receive this Type of Support to/from Friends, Neighbors, or Coworkers in the Past 30 Days					
				Transportation, Errands or Shopping		Housework, Yard Work or Repairs		Advice, Emotional, or Moral Support	
				Give to	Get from	Give to	Get from	Give to	Get from
Low Exchangers	39.3%	1293	35.1%	7.2%	3.0%	2.8%	3.9%	0.0%	15.7%
Emotional Support Exchangers	43.4%	1777	48.3%	29.8%	5.6%	0.0%	4.5%	98.1%	62.1%
Give All, Get Emotional Support	7.1%	280	7.6%	62.1%	0.0%	100.0%	10.0%	82.9%	63.2%
High Exchangers	10.2%	332	9.0%	87.7%	78.9%	33.4%	57.2%	91.6%	97.0%

Note: Data are the 1992/3 Wisconsin Longitudinal Study (WLS). The statistics are shown for the analysis sample only (N=3,682) which is comprised of women who answered the 1992/3 phone survey, the 1992/3 mail survey, and the mail survey questions on giving and receiving social support to/from friends, neighbors, or coworkers. The latent class analysis program MLLSA (with a tolerance of 0.00001) was used to assign latent classes. BIC = -205.6, Index of Dissimilarity = 0.031.

Note: The "latent class probability" is an expected value while the other statistics are observed values.

Table 4B

Exchanging Instrumental and Emotional Support with Friends, Neighbors, and Coworkers:
Characteristics of Latent Classes: Men Only

Mnemonic for the Latent Class Category	Latent Class Probability	Number of Men in this Latent Class	Percent of Men in this Latent Class	Percent of Latent Class Members who DID Give/Receive this Type of Support to/from Friends, Neighbors, or Coworkers in the Past 30 Days					
				Transportation, Errands or Shopping		Housework, Yard Work or Repairs		Advice, Emotional, or Moral Support	
				Give to	Get from	Give to	Get from	Give to	Get from
Low Exchangers	45.1%	1577	49.4%	7.5%	0.0%	6.9%	1.6%	24.6%	0.0%
Emotional Support Exchangers	16.7%	627	19.6%	15.8%	6.1%	12.4%	4.2%	79.4%	100.0%
Givers	27.3%	634	19.9%	68.6%	24.0%	53.6%	19.9%	65.8%	11.2%
High Exchangers	10.8%	355	11.1%	88.7%	57.5%	71.6%	47.0%	95.5%	100.0%

Note: Data are the 1992/3 Wisconsin Longitudinal Study (WLS). The statistics are shown for the analysis sample only (N=3,193) which is comprised of men who answered the 1992/3 phone survey, the 1992/3 mail survey, and the mail survey questions on giving and receiving social support to/from friends, neighbors, or coworkers. The latent class analysis program MLLSA (with a tolerance of 0.000015) was used to assign latent classes. BIC = -178.4, Index of Dissimilarity = 0.038.

Note: The "latent class probability" is an expected value while the other statistics are observed values.

Table 5A

Multinomial Logistic Regression Model of the Structure of Instrumental and Emotional
Support Exchanged by **Women** with Friends, Neighbors, and Coworkers

Latent Class Categories:^a Low Exchanger Comparison

Independent Variable ^b	Emotional Support Exchangers (vs. Low Exchangers)		Give All, Get Emotional Support (vs. Low Exchangers)		High Exchangers (vs. Low Exchangers)	
	Relative		Relative		Relative	
	Risk Ratio	Z	Risk Ratio	Z	Risk Ratio	Z
Marital Status (Married Omitted)						
Single, Never Married	1.617	1.92	2.833	2.95	5.437	5.16
Divorced	1.250	1.59	1.237	0.89	4.421	7.87
Widowed	0.865	-0.65	1.028	0.07	3.869	4.64
Social Support with Family						
Gave or Received Any Help to/from Any Family	0.983	-0.12	0.898	-0.44	1.083	0.32
Coresidence						
Co-resident Parent	1.257	0.86	1.115	0.23	0.738	-0.63
Co-resident Child, 0-17	1.030	0.20	0.753	-1.04	1.624	2.04
Co-resident Child, 18+	1.022	0.24	0.717	-2.00	1.100	0.60
Voluntary Organization Involvement						
No Involvement in Clubs or Churches	0.570	-4.80	0.325	-4.31	0.375	-3.73
Log of Club/Church Involvement Score	1.264	3.95	1.959	6.27	1.964	6.31
Relationships with Friends						
Friend to Loan Money or Friend to Help if Sick	2.169	9.22	2.380	5.40	4.660	8.19
Close Friend or Friend R Can Talk To	2.338	6.56	2.421	2.92	4.255	3.31
Informal Socializing with Friends (1-4 Occ. Omitted)						
0 Occasions in the Past Month	0.895	-0.85	0.713	-1.10	0.521	-1.74
5+ Occasions in the Past Month	1.165	1.63	1.976	4.54	2.101	5.08
Employment Status						
Currently Employed	1.609	4.18	1.151	0.74	1.183	0.86
Vehicle Ownership						
R Does Own a Vehicle	1.668	2.14	1.918	1.46	0.851	-0.50
Physical Health						
Good or Excellent Health	0.942	-0.48	1.020	0.09	0.607	-2.46
Household Income						
Log of Per Capita Household Income + \$100	0.981	-0.25	0.606	-4.64	0.719	-2.87
Educational Attainment (HS Grad. Omitted)						
1-3 Years of College	1.520	3.57	1.001	0.01	1.679	2.64
Bachelors or 4 Years of College	1.262	1.63	0.878	-0.52	1.731	2.45
Masters or 5+ Years of College	1.453	1.99	1.317	0.92	2.304	3.07
Occupational Status						
Occupational Education	1.753	2.85	1.112	0.31	1.266	0.73
Never Employed	1.166	0.87	1.025	0.08	0.664	-1.20
Wisconsin Resident						
Lives in Wisconsin	0.709	-3.69	0.758	-1.75	0.552	-3.99
Constant	0.140	-2.43	1.487	0.34	0.153	-1.49
Log Likelihood	-3658.6					
df	84					
N	3,682					

Note: Data are the 1992/3 Wisconsin Longitudinal Study (WLS). The statistics are shown for the women in the analysis sample only (N=3,682) which is comprised of women who answered the 1992/3 phone survey, the 1992/3 mail survey, and the mail survey questions on giving and receiving social support to/from friends, neighbors, or coworkers. Results in **bold** are significant at the $p < 0.05$ level.

^a See Table 4A for descriptive statistics about the latent class categories for women.

^b Variables denoting missing data on voluntary group membership, socializing with friends, vehicle ownership, marital status, and income were included in the model but are not reported here.

Table 5B

Multinomial Logistic Regression Model of the Structure of Instrumental
and Emotional Support Exchanged by **Men** with Friends, Neighbors, and Coworkers

Latent Class Categories:^a Low Exchanger Comparison

Independent Variable ^b	Emotional Support Exchangers (vs. Low Exchangers)		Givers (vs. Low Exchangers)		High Exchangers (vs. Low Exchangers)	
	Relative		Relative		Relative	
	Risk Ratio	Z	Risk Ratio	Z	Risk Ratio	Z
Marital Status (Married Omitted)						
Single, Never Married	1.702	2.03	0.968	-0.11	2.300	2.47
Divorced	1.599	2.33	2.105	4.04	7.051	9.82
Widowed	0.382	-1.21	0.201	-1.52	1.627	0.75
Social Support with Family						
Gave or Received Any Help to/from Any Family	1.422	2.54	1.152	1.09	1.805	3.05
Coresidence						
Co-resident Parent	0.469	-1.73	0.456	-1.74	0.218	-2.29
Co-resident Child, 0-17	1.081	0.54	0.986	-0.10	1.248	1.20
Co-resident Child, 18+	1.014	0.12	0.842	-1.53	1.132	0.85
Voluntary Organization Involvement						
No Involvement in Clubs or Churches	0.693	-1.84	0.508	-3.45	0.366	-3.18
Log of Club/Church Involvement Score	1.333	3.95	1.537	6.01	2.301	8.02
Relationships with Friends						
Friend to Loan Money or Friend to Help if Sick	1.522	3.43	1.590	3.97	3.477	6.02
Close Friend or Friend R Can Talk To	2.700	6.57	1.501	3.10	2.638	4.11
Informal Socializing with Friends (1-4 Occ. Omitted)						
0 Occasions in the Past Month	0.960	-0.28	0.691	-2.42	0.717	-1.40
5+ Occasions in the Past Month	1.354	2.37	1.384	2.64	2.224	5.45
Employment Status						
Currently Employed	1.340	1.28	0.877	-0.69	0.948	-0.21
Vehicle Ownership						
R Does Own a Vehicle	1.028	0.08	1.232	0.57	0.900	-0.26
Physical Health						
Good or Excellent Health	0.918	-0.51	0.867	-0.93	0.722	-1.56
Household Income						
Log of Per Capita Household Income + \$100	0.910	-1.06	0.772	-3.00	0.704	-3.39
Educational Attainment (HS Grad. Omitted)						
1-3 Years of College	1.496	2.70	1.015	0.10	1.133	0.62
Bachelors or 4 Years of College	1.755	3.46	0.853	-0.92	1.615	2.27
Masters or 5+ Years of College	1.691	2.99	0.894	-0.62	1.337	1.26
Occupational Status						
Occupational Education	1.962	3.01	1.084	0.36	1.470	1.31
Never Employed	1.873	0.96	3.174	1.96	1.090	0.08
Wisconsin Resident						
Lives in Wisconsin	0.739	-2.70	0.757	-2.44	0.606	-3.48
Constant	0.084	-2.52	1.659	0.54	0.162	-1.59
Log Likelihood	-3522.9					
df	84					
N	3,193					

Note: Data are the 1992/3 Wisconsin Longitudinal Study (WLS). The statistics are shown for the men in the analysis sample only (N=3,193) which is comprised of men who answered the 1992/3 phone survey, the 1992/3 mail survey, and the mail survey questions on giving and receiving social support to/from friends, neighbors, or coworkers. Results in **bold** are significant at the p < 0.05 level.

^a See Table 4B for descriptive statistics about the latent class categories for men.

^b Variables denoting missing data on voluntary group membership, socializing with friends, vehicle ownership, marital status, and income were included in the model but are not reported here.

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