The Role of Disruption Pathway, Subsequent Remarriage, and Duration Remarried or Unmarried on Parent-Child Contact

Dr. Anna Marie Hammersmith
Grand Valley State University
Department of Sociology

A growing share of older people experience divorce or widowhood at mid or later life and then remarry. Moreover, although widowhood is still commonplace, divorce to people over 50 is on the rise. Nonetheless, few researchers have examined how different disruption pathways, subsequent remarriage, and duration remarried or unmarried relates to parent-child contact. Using the 1992-2012 Health and Retirement Study, I investigate how disruption pathways, subsequent remarriage, and duration remarried or unmarried are linked to parent-child contact. Respondents multiple disruptions reported less contact relative to the divorced or widowed. Remarriage related to more parent-child contact for divorced men, however, remarriage tied to less contact among women after widowhood or multiple disruptions. Even though men with multiple disruptions had less contact than widowers, years remarried yield more contact for men with multiple disruptions. Women who remarry after widowhood reported more contact than the unmarried, but years remarried linked to greater contact.

Older adults today experience a wealth of demographic change, especially among marital behaviors. In the past, people married and remained in that union until the death of one spouse (Cherlin, 2009), however today, this pathway is less normative. In 2015, nearly 30% of married people age 50 and older were in a higher order marriage compared to less than one-fifth in 1980 (Lin et al., in press), suggesting a number of older people were divorced or widowed in early, mid, or later life. Although many older people experience widowhood, gray divorce—or divorce to people over age 50—is on the rise (Brown & Lin, 2012). Moreover, a number of these older people who have divorced or widowed go on to remarry (Brown et al., in press). All of these trends lead to an accumulation of marital transitions by the time people enter mid to later life. Marital biography is an innovative way to capture this rise in marital instability and encompasses current marital status, marital disruption, duration, timing, and sequencing (Zhang et al., 2016). Even though each of these components are useful when examining how marital biography relates to parent-child contact in later life, current marital status, marital disruption, and duration are particularly salient for investigating the well-being of older people, including contact with adult children (Albertini & Garriga, 2011; Daatland, 2007; Kalmijn, 2007, 2013, 2015; Noël-Miller, 2013; Shapiro, 2003; Ward et al., 2013).

Parents' bonds with biological children are one of the most enduring social ties situated within the life course (Seltzer & Bianchi, 2013). Parents provide support to children as they grow older and assist children as they enter adulthood. As parents age and face health declines, adult children provide financial, emotional, and time assistance (Silverstein & Giarrusso, 2010). Parent-child contact, including frequency of emails, telephone calls, and face-to-face interaction, is a pillar of intergenerational solidarity (Bengston & Oyama, 2010; Silverstein & Bengston, 1997). Contact reduces loneliness among older adults and promotes affection between parents

and children (Dykstra & de Jong Gierveld, 2006; Lawton et al., 1994; Mancini & Blieszner, 1989). Parent-child ties persist over time, but are subject to change, especially after shifts in the parent's life, like those related to marital biography (Connidis, 2010; Hammersmith, in press).

Prior studies of marital characteristics and parent-child contact show stable marriage and widowhood are positively related to parent-child contact whereas divorce and remarriage are negatively associated with contact (Albertini & Garriga, 2011; Daatland, 2007; Kalmijn, 2007, 2013, 2015; Noël-Miller, 2013; Pezzin & Schone, 1999; Roan & Raley, 1994; Shapiro, 2003). Nonetheless, only a handful of studies have considered how parent's disruption pathways (i.e., one divorce, one widowhood, or multiple disruptions) and subsequent remarriage could take a cumulative toll on parent-child contact. Further, fewer studies have investigated the role of duration remarried or unmarried after disruption (Ward et al., 2013). The parent-child relationship changes over time (Birditt, Miller, Fingerman, & Lefkowitz, 2009), and thus, it is likely duration remarried or unmarried after different disruption pathways could be variably linked to parent-child contact.

Using Health and Retirement Study data from 1992 to 2012, I address three research questions. First, how does remarriage after disruption relate to contact with biological children and what is the role of disruption pathway (i.e., one divorce, one widowhood, or multiple disruptions)? Second, is duration remarried or unmarried after different disruption pathways associated with parent-child contact? Finally, does remarriage after different disruption pathways and duration remarried or unmarried relate to contact with children differently across gender?

This research makes several contributions. First, I incorporate not only current marital status, but also marital disruption and duration remarried or unmarried. Research has mostly focused on singular dimensions of marital biography when assessing parent-child contact, like

divorce or repartnership, finding these marital transitions are negatively related to contact with one's biological children (Albertini & Garriga, 2011; Daatland, 2007; Kalmijn, 2007, 2013; Roan & Raley, 1994; Shapiro, 2003). Still, we know little about whether remarriage has different associations with parent-child relationships following different disruption pathways. There is also limited research about how duration remarried or unmarried following divorce, widowhood, or multiple disruptions relates to parent-child contact. Finally, this work also extends prior work through investigating gender differences. The contact men and women share with children varies by current marital status, and thus, remarriage following disruption and duration remarried or unmarried may differentially relate to contact women share with children relative to men.

Intergenerational Solidarity

Intergenerational solidarity describes closeness within family ties across generations, including relationships between parents and children (Bengston & Oyama, 2010; Silverstein & Bengston, 1997). Parents and children's lives are interwoven over the life course; parents raise children until they reach adulthood and maintain close ties with children after their offspring establish independent households (Rossi & Rossi, 1990). Likewise, children reach out to parents as they navigate older adulthood (Silverstein & Bengston, 1997). Intergenerational solidarity is multifaceted and consists of six dimensions (Bengston & Roberts, 1991; Silverstein & Bengston, 1997). Structural solidarity examines proximity between parents and children. Affectual solidarity captures emotional closeness between parents and children, whereas consensual solidarity measures shared opinions. Responsibility or obligation toward parents is examined by normative solidarity and functional solidarity captures help as well as support exchanged between parents and children. The sixth dimension and focus of this study is associational solidarity or contact between parents and children (Bengston & Harootyan, 1994; Bengston &

Silverstein, 1997). Associational solidarity is an integral component of intergenerational ties, especially as research indicates normative, affectual, and associational solidarity are interrelated, such that normative solidarity links to greater affectual solidarity, which relates to higher associational solidarity (Bengston & Roberts, 1991). Associational solidarity is a fundamental indicator of relationship strength and older adults' potential support avenues (Bengston & Oyama, 2010; Mancini & Blieszner, 1989; Silverstein & Bengston, 1997).

Contact between parents and children typically remains strong as parents and children grow older (Umberson, 1992). Yet, changes in the parent's life, like those related to marital biography are associated with parent-child contact (Connidis, 2010; Ward et al., 2013). For instance, certain marital statuses encourage closeness between parents and children, like continuous marriage and widowhood, promoting parent-child contact (Guiaux, van Tilberg, & Broese van Groenou, 2007; Roan & Raley, 1996; Waite & Harrison, 1992; Ward et al., 2009). Others, like divorce, remarriage, and never marrying foster weaker parent-child relationships, which relate to less contact between parents and children (Albertini & Garriga, 2011; Daatland, 2011; Dykstra & Gierveld, 2006; Kalmijn, 2007, 2013, 2015).

Marital Status and Parent-Child Contact

Older adults in a first marriage share more contact with children than any other marital status group, apart from the widowed (Dykstra & de Jong Gierveld, 2006; Kalmijn, 2013; Roan & Raley, 1996; Shapiro, 2003). Marriage fosters stability in parent-child ties, which facilitates contact (Kalmijn, 2013; Pezzin, Pollak, & Schone, 2008). Among other partnered groups, remarrieds and cohabitors report similar contact frequency with children (Noël-Miller, 2013; Wright, 2017). When comparing the remarried to the unmarried, it is important to distinguish by unmarried status as the widowed report more contact with children than the remarried, divorced,

and never married. Children rally around parents after the death of a spouse, promoting contact (Ha, 2008; Roan & Raley, 1996). When comparing the divorced with the remarried, prior work shows even though divorce lowers contact relative to marriage, remarriage jeopardizes parent-child contact even further, especially for fathers (Kalmijn, 2007; 2015; Noël-Miller, 2013; Pezzin & Schone, 1999). Parent-child contact among the never married has received limited attention due to few never-married older adults with children until recent increases in nonmarital fertility (Center for Disease Control and Prevention, 2009). Nevertheless, never marrieds are more socially isolated from social network members—like children—in later life than other marital status groups, sharing less contact with children than the widowed, divorced, and remarried (Dykstra & de Jong Gierveld, 2006).

Remarriage, Disruption Pathways, and Parent-Child Contact

A growing number of older people experience at least one marital disruption through divorce and many still experience marital disruption through widowhood (Brown & Lin, 2012; Manning & Brown, 2011). Further, some divorced or widowed older people go on to remarry (Brown et al., in press). Although prior studies have investigated how marital events like divorce, widowhood, and remarriage separately relate to contact frequency between parents and children, only a few studies have focused on remarriage after different disruption pathways. For instance, some studies have shown divorce is negatively tied to contact with children, especially among fathers (Albertini & Garriga, 2011; Daatland, 2007; Kalmijn, 2013; Shapiro, 2003) whereas others discovered widowhood yields similarity in contact relative to continuous marriage (Roan & Raley, 1996). These studies are limited as they did not factor in the role of subsequent remarriage or the importance of different disruptions pathways for parent-child contact.

A few studies improve upon this work by incorporating not only how divorce relates to parent-child contact, but also the relationship between subsequent remarriage and parent-child contact. These studies uncovered not only is divorce related to less parent-child contact, but also remarriage lessens contact to an even greater extent, particularly for fathers (Dykstra & Fokkema, 2011; Kalmijn, 2007, 2015; Noël-Miller, 2013). Although findings from these studies render noteworthy conclusions about how divorce and remarriage link to parent-child contact, these studies did not consider different disruption pathways.

A handful of studies move beyond examining solely divorce and subsequent repartnership by accounting for disruption pathways through both divorce and widowhood as well as subsequent repartnership. Yet, these studies did not consider marital history to determine whether men or women had prior divorces or widowhoods before the most recent disruption. Therefore, these studies did not factor in multiple disruptions when investigating parent-child contact (Kalmijn, 2007, 2015). Pezzin and Schone (1999) extended these studies to look at contact for the widowed, divorced, and repartnered. They discovered relative to the widowed, the divorced shared less contact with children, and contact further deteriorated with repartnership. Similarly, Ward and colleagues (2014) examined contact of parents who remarry or remain unmarried following divorce and widowhood. This study advanced prior work by accounting for whether the parent remarried after divorce or widowhood. They found divorce related to less parent-child contact, but there was no association for widowhood or for parents who remarry following either disruption type. Despite these advancements to research on parent-child contact, this study is limited in several key ways. First, contact was operationalized as visitation, which is a less common event, especially among parents and children who live far from one another. Second, this study did not factor in multiple disruptions, which appear increasingly important

when investigating well-being in later life (Dupre & Meadows, 2007). Finally, this study encompassed a wide age range of respondents (ages 30 to 89), and thus, it is unclear whether the same findings would be unearthed in a sample of older adults.

To fill in these gaps, I propose several predictions about remarriage or remaining unmarried following disruption. Regardless of disruption pathway, older adults who remarry will have less contact with biological children. Remarriage often disrupts relationship norms as parents and children have to renegotiate relationships with one another (Kalmijn, 2015). Further, it is probable after one widowhood, parents will share more contact with children than older adults after one divorce or multiple disruptions. Widowhood is a stressful, but unifying event for the surviving spouse and children such that parents and children share more contact after widowhood (Guiaux et al., 2007; Roan & Raley, 1996). Divorce, however, can disrupt family norms and create strain, and thereby will be negatively associated with parent-child contact (Daatland, 2007; Nakonezny, Rodgers, & Nussbaum, 2003). Similarly, although there is no research on multiple disruptions, reporting multiple disruptions will likely be tied to less parent-child contact compared to one widowhood or one divorce as multiple disruptions may create more turmoil in the parent-child bond.

Duration Remarried, Duration Unmarried, and Parent-Child Contact

Accounting for disruption pathways and subsequent remarriage will offer more insight into the relationship between marital biography and parent-child contact. Yet, it is critical to incorporate duration remarried or unmarried when investigating parent-child contact, especially since parent-child relationships evolve over time, and thus, it is likely these ties continue to fluctuate with years after the parent's marital disruption or remarriage (Connidis, 2010). Nonetheless, the extent to which duration remarried or unmarried following different disruption

pathways relates to parent-child contact remains unknown. Moreover, the few studies that do consider duration remarried or unmarried following disruption have primarily focused on widowhood, obscuring the potential relationship between parent-child contact and duration remarried or unmarried through one divorce or multiple disruptions.

Guiaux et al. (2007) examined relationships between parents and children following bereavement. They found although contact between parents and children increased following widowhood, after about two and a half years, parent-child contact started to wane. This study yields noteworthy findings about duration following disruption, but it is limited in several aspects. First, this study only examined marital disruption through widowhood. Widowhood tends to promote contact between parents and children (Roan & Raley, 1996) whereas divorce (and likely multiple disruptions) lowers parent-child contact (Daatland, 2007; Kalmijn, 2007, 2013, 2015; Shapiro, 2003). Thus, the relationship between duration following divorce or multiple disruptions and contact with children likely differs from widowhood. Second, this study did not account for duration remarried after widowhood. Some older people remarry after divorce or widowhood (Brown et al., in press), and it is important to understand the implications of years remarried on parent-child contact. Even though prior work has not examined duration remarried versus unmarried, it is likely years remarried following different disruption pathways will yield less contact with children than years unmarried. This is because remarriage often strains parent-child ties, necessitating renegotiation of the parent-child relationship (Kalmijn, 2015; Nakonezny et al., 2003), likely yielding less contact relative to duration unmarried.

To better understand duration remarried or unmarried following various disruption pathways, I propose several predictions. Remarriage disrupts bonds between parents and children (Kalmijn, 2015; Nakonezny, et al., 2003), and thus, contact after remarriage may be lower and

each year remarried may be associated with less contact with children than for the unmarried. Additional years remarried will be associated with less contact than years unmarried. For disruption pathways, regardless of remarried or unmarried status, it is likely additional years widowed will be positively associated with parent-child contact relative to years divorced or following multiple disruptions. Even though widowed older adults will have greater contact with children when considering disruption pathway alone (Roan & Raley, 1996), as parents and children adjust to bereavement, contact with one another may decline more quickly relative to older adults after a divorce or multiple disruptions. Moreover, parents who have had one divorce or multiple disruptions, will likely have less contact with children due to disrupted relationship norms brought on by divorce or the strain of multiple disruptions. However, with additional years, parent-child contact will likely improve relative to parents with one widowhood.

Variation by Gender

Marital biography is influential for contact women and men share with children, but prior evidence indicates marital biography is more important when assessing men's contact with children versus women's (Aquilino, 1994; de Graaf & Fokkema, 2007; Kalmijn, 2013, 2015; Kaufman & Uhlenberg, 1998; Noël-Miller, 2013; Rosenthal, 1985; Shapiro, 2003; Silverstein & Bengston, 1997). Women are described as kin-keepers, meaning they have closer relationships with children than do men (Kalmijn, 2013; Rosenthal, 1985). Moreover, women often report more contact than men regardless of the marital status they occupy (Albertini & Garriga, 2011; Kalmijn, 2013, 2015; Pezzin & Schone, 1999; Shapiro, 2003).

Studies show divorce relates to less contact between parents and children relative to most other marital status groups and this relationship is particularly salient for men (Albertini & Garriga, 2011; Kalmijn, 2007, 2013; Pezzin & Schone, 1999; Shapiro, 2003). Although widowed

parents share more contact with children, some evidence indicates men do not report as much contact with children as do women following bereavement perhaps due to the loss of the female kin-keeper (Kalmijn, 2007). Further, men who remarry after divorce are disadvantaged in contact with children relative to women in the same status (Kalmijn, 2007; Pezzin & Schone, 1999). Thus, I hypothesize women will have more contact with children than men regardless of the disruption pathway or whether the parent remarries following disruption.

The relationship between duration remarried and unmarried after different disruption pathways and parent-child contact for men relative to women has received little attention in current literature. Given evidence that marital status, remarriage, and marital disruptions matter more for the men's relationships with children than women's, it is likely the role of duration remarried or unmarried after any disruption pathway will operate similarly. Specifically, I predict duration remarried or unmarried following any disruption pathway will be associated with less frequent contact between men and their children relative to women.

The Present Study

Parent-child bonds endure over the entire life course, and parent-child contact is a fundamental component of intergenerational solidarity (Bengston & Oyama, 2010; Silverstein & Bengston, 1997). Ties between parents and children shift over time, especially following changes in the parent's marital status (Connidis, 2010; Ward et al., 2014), which likely relates to parent-child contact. For instance, first married and widowed parents share more contact with children than the divorced, remarried, cohabiting, and never married (Albertini & Garriga, 2011; Kalmijn, 2013, 2015, Pezzin & Schone, 1999; Shapiro, 2003). Still, we know little about the role of remarriage following different disruption pathways when studying parent-child contact in later life. Moreover, few studies examine duration remarried or unmarried following different

disruption pathways. Additional years in status likely allow parents to repair relationships, which may positively relate to contact with children or if these ties erode further, linked to less contact.

To fill these gaps in the literature, I propose the following research questions. First, is remarriage after disruption related to less contact with biological children and what is the role of disruption pathway (i.e., one divorce, one widowhood, or multiple disruptions)? Second, is duration remarried or unmarried after different disruption pathways positively or negatively associated with parent-child contact? Finally, what is the role of remarriage after different disruption pathways and does duration remarried or unmarried yield more or less contact for women relative to men? The following hypotheses correspond to each research question.

Hypothesis 1a: Given the same disruption pathway, older adults who remarry will have less contact with children than unmarried older adults.

Hypothesis 1b: Among remarried and unmarried older adults, those after one widowhood will have the most contact with children, followed by parents after one divorce, and least by parents after multiple disruptions.

Hypothesis 2a: Duration unmarried will be linked to higher frequency in contact with children than duration remarried, no matter the disruption pathway.

Hypothesis 2b: With additional years in status, parents who have one divorce or multiple disruptions will likely report greater contact with children with each additional year in status relative to parents after one widowhood.

Hypothesis 3a: Disruption through widowhood, divorce, or multiple disruptions will be more negatively associated with the contact men share with children relative to women. Further, remarriage will be more detrimental for men than women, regardless of disruption pathway.

Hypothesis 3b: Duration remarried and unmarried will be more detrimental for contact between men and children compared to women regardless of the disruption pathway.

I also accounted for several covariates that may confound the association between marital biography and parent-child contact, including demographic characteristics, socioeconomic resources, health, and children's characteristics.

Demographic characteristics. As parents grow older, they report more contact with children as aging parents often have smaller social networks (Cartensen, 1992; Umberson, 1992). Older age also yields time to accrue marital transitions, or conversely, longer duration in the current marital status (Cherlin, 2009; Goldstein & Kenney, 2001). Minorities have more cohesive family networks, and thus, share more contact with children than do Whites (Lawton et al., 1994; Umberson, 1992). In addition, Whites and Hispanics have similar rates of marriage and marital stability (Amato, 2010; Bramlett & Mosher, 2002). In comparison, Blacks are less likely to marry than Whites and Hispanics, and when they do marry, they have a greater risk of marital disruption (Heaton, 2002; Manlove et al., 2012).

Socioeconomic resources. Education tends to be inversely related to contact with children. Families with highly educated members are often more spread out geographically, which relates to less contact (Lawton et al., 1994). The highly educated also have more stable marital biographies than the less educated as they delay marriage and remain in stable unions (de Graaf & Kalmijn, 2006; Heaton, 2002; Manning et al., 2014). Comparatively, the less educated have a higher incidence of marital disruption (Amato, 2010; Heaton, 2002). Financial resources (e.g., assets) are positively related to education, and thus, more wealth implies parents and children live farther from one another, potentially lowering contact. The wealthy enjoy more marital stability (Heaton, 2002), although greater marital stability positively relates to wealth as

well. Specifically, researchers have demonstrated financial costs of marital disruption, especially for the divorced (Hungerford, 2001; Lin et al., 2017). Contact with children tends to be positively tied to retirement (Damman & van Duijn, 2016). Retirement contributes to marital strain, leading to potential disruption, which fosters marital instability for retirees, although this has not received consistent support in recent studies (Lin et al., 2017; Dew & Yorgasen, 2010).

Health. Parents' poor health relates to more contact with children as offspring reach out to parents who are facing health problems or parents may ask adult children for more support (Ha, Khang, & Choi, 2017). The link between marital biography and health could also be reciprocal. Marital biographies that include many transitions like both divorces and widowhoods are associated with poorer health (Brockmann & Klein, 2004; Dupre, Beck, & Meadows, 2009; Dupre & Meadows, 2007; Hughes & Waite, 2009; McFarland et al., 2013), but poor health increases the likelihood of marital disruption (Karraker & Latham, 2015), despite some conflicting evidence suggesting there is no such association (Lin et al., in press).

Children's characteristics. Daughters are more likely to stay in contact with parents than sons (Umberson, 1992). Older adult children have more competing family demands than younger adult children, like employment, partners, and childcare, which are likely associated with less parent-child contact (Marks, 1998; Sarkisian & Gerstel, 2008). Children who are partnered or employed report less contact with children as partnership and employment add competing demands to children's lives, interfering with contact (Noël-Miller, 2013; Sarkisian & Gerstel, 2008). Finally, parents tend to report more contact with children from the most recent or current marriage versus a prior union, also known as swapping families (Manning & Smock, 2000).

Method

Data came from the Health and Retirement Study (HRS), spanning from 1992 to 2012 and the HRS RAND Family File from 2012. The HRS includes a nationally representative sample of adults age 50 and older. To be eligible, respondents must be noninstitutionalized at baseline and live in a household. Respondents are reinterviewed every two years. Every six years, the HRS incorporates a new cohort of older adults aged 51 to 56 to replenish the sample and maintain representativeness. Response rates for the HRS are relatively high. Baseline rates hover around 70-82%, increasing to about roughly 90% or higher for follow-up interviews. The HRS oversamples Blacks, Hispanics, and respondents living in Florida.

Marital biography measures were taken from the 1992 through 2012 HRS. Children's characteristics come from the RAND Family File to use information on each of the respondent's biological children. Current marital status, parent-child contact, and other covariates were from the 2012 core survey. I began sample selection by compiling a file with marriage information from 1992 to 2012, including marital history. The initial HRS sample included 37,495 respondents. First, I chose only respondents in the 2012 survey (n = 20,554). Next, I removed respondents under 50 in 2012, yielding 19,906 respondents. I excluded nursing home residents, leaving 18,829 respondents. I omitted respondents without valid information on children in the synthesized RAND Family File, resulting in 17,572 respondents. I excluded respondents without living, biological children over 17 years of age (n = 1,206). Last, I omitted respondents with missing values on contact with children, yielding a final sample size of 15,569 respondents with 43,842 children. Of the respondents, 9,076 were women and 6,493 were men.

Dependent Variable

Contact with children. Frequency of contact with each child came from a question asking about contact in person, by phone, or mail. Contact with children was coded as: *never* (coded 1),

less than once a month (coded 2), *more than once a month, but less than once a week* (coded 3), *once or twice a week* (coded 4), and *three times a week or more* (coded 5). The HRS did not query respondents about frequency of contact with children who live in the household, so parents were assumed to have daily contact with resident children (coded 5).

Focal Independent Variables

Marital status. Marital status included six categories: married, remarried (reference category), cohabiting, divorced, widowed, or never married in 2012.

Disruption Pathway. Marital disruption was used to construct pathways through which individuals arrived at their current marital status. This measure included the following categories: first married, remarried after one divorce (reference category), remarried after one widowhood, remarried after multiple disruptions, cohabiting, unmarried after one divorce, unmarried after one widowhood, unmarried after multiple disruptions, and never married. For those after multiple disruptions, 63% had two or more divorces, 22% had one divorce and one widowhood, 5% had two or more widowhoods, and 10% reported three disruptions including both divorces and widowhoods (e.g., two divorces and one widowhood). Respondents who were remarried after multiple disruptions made up a little over 5% of the full sample whereas the unmarried after multiple disruptions composed about 9% of the full sample.

Duration Remarried or Unmarried. Duration was a continuous measure that captured years in the current remarried or unmarried state following the most recent marital disruption.

Covariates

Age was measured using three categorical variables coded into ages 50 to 64, ages 65 to 84 (reference), and ages 85 and older. Race and ethnicity comprised a categorical variable indicating whether the respondent identified as White (reference), Black, Hispanic, or of other

races. Education was coded into four categories: less than high school, high school (reference), some college, and college or more. The distribution of household assets was highly skewed, and thus, I employed a series of five categories to capture household wealth: in debt, $0 to $50,000 (reference), $50,001-$100,000, $100,001-$250,000, and $250,001 or more. An indicator of work status measured whether the respondent was currently employed full or part-time (1 = *Yes*, 0 = *No*). Mental health was captured by depressive symptoms, which summed eight items in which the respondent reported symptoms during the prior week: feeling depressed, everything was an effort, restless sleep, unhappiness, loneliness, not enjoying life, sadness, or unable to get going. Depressive symptoms ranged from 0 to 8 and the inter-item reliability was .80. Physical health was a continuous measure summing the number of the respondent's chronic conditions diagnosed by a physician and included psychiatric illness, diabetes, heart disease, cancer, lung disease, hypertension, stroke, and arthritis. Chronic conditions ranged from 0 to 8.

Several covariates were used to capture characteristics of the respondent's biological children for whom they reported contact frequency. Children's gender was coded 1 for sons and 0 for daughters. Children's age was measured in years. Partnership status measured whether children were married/partnered (coded 1) or unmarried (coded 0). I accounted for whether the child was working at least 30 hours a week (coded 1) or not (coded 0). Finally, I included whether the child was from the current marriage or most recently dissolved union (coded 1) or from a prior union (coded 0).

Analytic Strategy

I conducted two sets of analyses. First, I displayed descriptive statistics by gender for all variables included in the analyses. Second, I employed three ordered logit regressions to assess the relationship between marital biography and parent-child contact. I used multilevel models as

many respondents had more than one biological child. Biological children (Level 1) were clustered within respondents (Level 2). Multilevel modeling is appropriate as it accounts for dependence of observations, as children from the same family are likely more similar to each other than children from another family (Hedeker, 2008). The first model included current marital status to evaluate how status alone relates to contact. The second model examined disruption pathways as well as current marital status to determine the role of disruption and remarriage on parent-child contact. Finally, I estimated a model including duration, current marital status, and disruption pathways to examine the role of duration remarried or unmarried on contact. Interactions between duration and each marital status category were included in the model although only relevant comparisons were shown in Table 3.4 (complete results available upon request). Each of the multivariate models were estimated separately for men and women. This was done by pooling a model that included gender interactions with the components of marital biography. Missing values ranged from less than 1% on children's partnership status to about 8% on whether the child was from the most recent union. Missing values were imputed using the mean for continuous variables and mode for categorical variables due difficult model convergence when using data imputed through multiple imputation. Each model was weighted to correct for unequal probability of selection and sample attrition (Ofstedal et al., 2011).

Descriptive Results

Table 3.1 displays the weighted descriptive statistics for all variables included in the analyses for men and women. Most parents had contact with children at least three times a week, and, women had more frequent contact with children than men (57% of women versus 48% of men had contact with children at least three times a week). Over half of all men (about 51%) were in a first marriage compared to 38% of women. More men than women were remarried—a

little more than a quarter of men were in a remarriage compared to 17% of women. Among the remarried, about 67% of men were remarried after one divorce whereas close to 61% of women occupied this status. Similar shares of men and women were remarried after one widowhood (8% of men and about 9% of women). Slightly greater than one-quarter of men were remarried after multiple disruptions compared to 30% of women. Fewer women than men were cohabitors (2% versus 4%). More women than men were divorced (about 16% of women and 13% of men). Around a quarter of women were widowed whereas fewer than 7% of men reported being widowers. Among all unmarrieds, more men were unmarried after one divorce than women (37% versus 24%). More women than men were unmarried through widowhood— about 46% of women versus a little over one quarter of men. Nearly 37% of men were unmarried through multiple disruptions, whereas only about 30% of women occupied this status. Finally, less than 1% of men were never married versus a little over 2% of women. Men had spent slightly longer in their current marital status than women—about 31 years versus 28 years for women.

[Table 1 about here]

Men in the sample were younger than women on average. More men fell between the ages of 50 and 64 than women (50% of men versus 49% of women) whereas more women were aged 85 or older relative to men (7% of women versus 5% of men). A greater percentage of men in the sample were White than women (75% of men versus 73% of women) whereas more women were Black (12% of women versus 11% of men). Men were more educated than women, on average. A greater percentage of men had a college degree than women (30% versus 20%). Men reported more wealth than women. A greater percentage of men reported being in the top wealth category of $250,001+ than women (29% of men versus 24% of women). Fewer women were working than men—nearly 28% of women were currently employed whereas 38% of men

were working. Women reported worse physical and mental health than men. Women had about 2.4 chronic conditions on average compared to 2.3 for men. Women reported about 1.5 depressive symptoms in the week prior whereas men reported only 1.1 symptoms.

[Table 2 about here]

Among children, about half were sons. A little less than two-thirds of women and men's children were currently partnered. Men reported children who were 38 years old on average whereas women had children who are about 41 years old. Around 80% of men and women had children who were currently employed. Finally, about 68% of children were from men's most recent unions whereas a little under 72% of children were from women's most recent unions.

Multivariate Results

Marital Status and Parent-Child Contact

Table 3 considers how current marital status is related to parent-child contact. Among men, the first married reported greater contact with children compared to all other marital status groups, including the remarried (i.e., superscript refers to differences between the first married and "a" the divorced, "b" the widowed, and "c" the never married). However, remarried men did not report greater contact with children than cohabitors. The widowed reported more contact with children than the remarried while the divorced had less contact relative to the remarried. As predicted, never married men reported less contact than the remarried. Among unmarried older men, the divorced and never married had less contact with children than their widowed counterparts (superscript "e" refers to the difference between the divorced and widowed while "f" denotes the difference between the widowed and never married).

[Table 3 about here]

As for women, the findings also mirror conclusions from prior research. The first married reported more contact with children than remarried, cohabiting, and divorced women (superscript denotes differences between the first married and "a" cohabitors and "b" the divorced). Cohabiting women also had less contact with children relative to the remarried. For remarried women relative to unmarried women, the widowed reported more contact than remarried women. There were no differences between remarried women and the divorced or never married. Among unmarried women, widowed women reported more contact with children than divorced and never married women (superscript refers to differences between the widowed and "c" the divorced and "d" the never married). I also tested differences between men and women. First married and widowed men had more contact with children than their female counterparts whereas divorced, remarried, and never married women reported greater contact with children than their male counterparts (differences between men and women were denoted by underlined coefficients or table note).

Remarriage, Disruption Pathways, and Parent-Child Contact

Table 4 adds to the prior models by examining whether different disruption pathways and subsequent remarriage were associated with parent-child contact for men and women. In my first hypothesis, I expected given the same disruption pathway, the remarried would have less contact with children than the unmarried (Hypothesis 1a). Contrary to this hypothesis, compared to men who remarried after divorce, those who remained unmarried after one divorce had less contact. I also hypothesized among remarried or unmarried older adults, those who had one widowhood would report the greatest contact, followed by one divorce, and finally, least by parents who experienced multiple disruptions (Hypothesis 1b). Supporting my hypothesis, men who remarried after one widowhood had more contact with children than remarried men after one

divorce. Moreover, those who remarried after multiple disruptions had less contact with children than the remarried after one widowhood or after one divorce (difference denoted by superscript "a"). Also consistent with my predictions, among unmarried men, widowed men had more contact with children than divorced men and men who had experienced multiple disruptions (superscript refers to differences between unmarried men with one widowhood and "b" one divorce and "d" multiple disruptions). However, unmarried men who have experienced multiple disruptions reported more contact than divorced men (difference indicated by superscript "c").

[Table 4 about here]

For women, as hypothesized, being unmarried following one widowhood or multiple disruptions yielded more contact with children than their remarried counterparts (Hypothesis 1a) (superscript denotes differences between the remarried and unmarried for "b" the widowed and "c" individuals with multiple disruptions). As anticipated, compared to remarriage after one divorce or after one widowhood, women who remarried after multiple disruptions had less contact with children (Hypothesis 1b) (difference denoted by superscript "a"). Among the unmarried, women after one divorce or multiple disruptions had less contact than women who were unmarried after widowhood (superscript denotes differences between the unmarried after one widowhood and "d" after one divorce and "e" after multiple disruptions). I predicted all disruption pathways for men would be more negatively associated with parent-child contact relative to women (Hypothesis 3a). When testing this hypothesis, two differences between men and women emerged (gender difference indicated by underlined coefficients or table note). As expected, remarried men with one divorce had less contact with children relative to their female counterparts with one divorce. Moreover, in alignment with my hypothesis, men who remained unmarried after one divorce had less contact compared to women occupying the same status.

Duration Remarried, Duration Unmarried, and Parent-Child Contact

Table 4 accounts for duration remarried or unmarried to see whether parent-child ties recover with years remarried or unmarried following different disruption pathways. I expected duration unmarried to be positively tied to parent-child contact relative to duration remarried, regardless of the disruption pathway (Hypothesis 2a). I did not find support for this prediction for men. However, for women, contrary to my expectation, compared to women who remarried following widowhood, those who remained widowed had less contact with children with longer duration unmarried (denoted by superscript "d"). I expected additional years remarried or unmarried with a divorce or multiple disruptions, parents would recover contact relative to those after one widowhood (Hypothesis 2b). Supporting this prediction, among remarried men, each year of remarriage after widowhood yielded less contact with children relative to remarried men who have had multiple disruptions (indicated by superscript "d"). For women, no significant findings regarding duration among different disruption pathways emerged.

[Table 4 about here]

Across all of the models, the relationship between other covariates and parent-child contact remained relatively consistent. Based on the Table 4, relative to men aged 65 to 84, men who were 85 or older had more contact with children. Black men reported less contact with children. Having less than a high school education was also inversely related to contact between men and children than men with a high school education. Men reported less contact with sons and children who were currently partnered, employed, and older whereas men reported more contact with children from their most recent union relative to their respective counterparts.

As for women, those who belonged in the 85 and older age category in addition to employed women had more contact with children. Women who were Black or Hispanic had

more frequent contact with children than White women. College education was negatively associated with women's contact with children. Women had less contact with sons, partnered children, older children, or who were currently employed whereas women reported more contact with children who were from their most recent union.

Discussion

Parent's ties with children are crucial over the life course. Parents tend to be primary providers of support to children from birth through adulthood (Bengston & Oyama, 2010; Silverstein & Bengston, 1997). As parents age, they come to rely on children for financial, emotional, and social support (Rossi & Rossi, 1990; Silverstein & Bengston, 1997). Despite the strength of bonds between parents and children, transitions in the parent's life, like those related to marital transitions, can create change in the parent-child tie (Connidis, 2010; Hammersmith, in press), altering contact with children (Albertini & Garriga, 2011; Daatland, 2007; Kalmijn, 2007, 2013, 2015; Noël-Miller, 2013; Shapiro, 2003; Ward, et al., 2014). Parent-child contact promotes parental well-being and is indicative of strength of support avenues for older people (Bengston & Roberts, 1991; Dykstra & de Jong Gierveld, 2006; Lawton et al., 1994).

These findings indicate the remarried reported less contact with children than the first married and widowed, consistent with prior research (Dykstra & de Jong Gierveld, 2006; Kalmijn, 2013; Pezzin et al., 2008; Roan & Raley, 1996; Shapiro, 2003). Moreover, overwhelmingly, the divorced and never married had less contact with children than the widowed, which aligns with research suggesting parents and children come together following widowhood, promting contact (Roan & Raley, 1996). Interestingly, the findings also indicated remarried women reported more contact with children than cohabiting women. Further, divorced men reported less contact with children than remarried men. This finding is somewhat surprising

given prior studies showing remarriage is negatively related to contact with adult children (Kalmijn, 2007, 2015; Noël-Miller, 2013; Pezzin et al., 2008). Still, this model only considers current marital status, not disruption pathways. Therefore, this model did not account for differences among men who had remarried following divorce or widowhood. The findings regarding current marital status also indicate divorced and never married men had less contact with children than women whereas widowed and first married men reported more contact relative to their female counterparts. This finding is somewhat consistent with prior studies suggesting men tend to have less contact with children relative to women.

I also account for remarriage after different disruption pathways to add to our understanding of parent-child ties in later life. Specifically, I expected remarriage would be associated with less contact relative to the unmarried, no matter the disruption pathway (Hypothesis 1a). Among men, the results showed remarriage mattered, however, not in the direction hypothesized. Men who remarried after one divorce had more contact with children than men who remained unmarried after one divorce. This finding is counterintuitive as prior work suggests fathers who repartner after divorce have less contact with children than divorced fathers who remain unpartnered (Kalmijn, 2007; Noël-Miller, 2013). However, these prior studies did distinguish between other disruption pathways, specifically fathers who experience multiple disruptions. Thus, it is possible men who remarry after one divorce report more contact with children than their unmarried counterparts, as they gain a partner who prompts them to strengthen bonds with children through acting as a kin-keeper (Rosenthal, 1985). Remarriage relative to being unmarried also mattered for women. As predicted, women who remarried after one widowhood or after multiple disruptions reported less contact than their unmarried counterparts. It is possible when women remarry, parent-child ties become especially strained as

parents and children renegotiate their changing relationships, yielding less contact between mothers and their children (de Jong Gierveld & Merz, 2013).

Disruption pathways also matter, as posited in Hypothesis 1b. Whether remarried or unmarried, widowed men and women often had more contact with children compared to those after a divorce or after multiple disruptions. Generally, men and women after multiple disruptions had less contact with children relative to the widowed and divorced. These findings are supported by literature showing the widowed tend to benefit from more contact with children than other marital status groups (Roan & Raley, 1996). There was one notable exception. Unmarried men who had multiple disruptions were more likely to have greater contact with children relative to unmarried men after one divorce. This finding is perhaps explained by the fact that for most unmarried men (and women) with multiple disruptions, close to half had at least one widowhood (about 45%), and widoweds tend to have more frequent contact with children than other marital status groups (Roan & Raley, 1996). Moreover, I found unmarried men after one divorce had less contact with children compared to women. This finding is supported by prior work indicating divorce is more harmful for men's ties with children than women's (Daatland, 2007; Kalmijn, 2007; Shapiro, 2003).

This study adds to the current body of research by demonstrating duration remarried or unmarried after different disruption pathways is an important factor when explaining parent-child contact. In alignment with my predictions, duration remarried after multiple disruptions was positively associated with men's contact with children relative to remarried men after one widowhood (Hypothesis 2b). This finding suggests even though remarried men who have had multiple disruptions had less contact with children relative to men with one widowhood when just considering their disruption pathway, duration allows these men after multiple disruptions to

rebuild bonds with children leading to more contact. Despite this, Hypothesis 2b was not supported for women, suggesting no matter the disruption pathway, additional years in a particular status were not associated with variation in women's contact with their children.

I also expected duration remarried to link to less contact with children relative to the unmarried of any disruption pathway (Hypothesis 2a). On the contrary, duration remarried after widowhood among women related to more contact over time relative to years unmarried after one widowhood. Thus, when examining remarriage and disruption on their own (Hypothesis 1a) without factoring in duration, remarried women after one widowhood had less contact with children than their unmarried counterparts. These findings suggest women may rebuild bonds with children as duration remarried increases, which was positively related to contact with children relative to their unmarried counterparts. Remarriage is often accompanied by a period of adjustment for parents and children, and thus, additional years remarried may allow for parents and children to reconcile their new relationship norms (de Jong Gierveld & Merz, 2013; Nakonezny et al., 2003), thereby increasing contact. For men, there were no differences in whether years were spent unmarried or remarried following different disruption pathways. This may be attributable to strained relationships men report with children regardless of whether they experienced a marital disruption or a repartnership (Kalmijn, 2007, 2013; Noël-Miller, 2013).

This study has several limitations. First, I could not account for cohabitation following different disruption pathways due to small sample sizes of cohabitors in the HRS. Future research should incorporate cohabitation after different disruption pathways if data permit, as we know little about how marital histories of cohabitors relate to parent-child contact in later life. Second, the analyses relied solely on parent's reports of contact with children. Like any dyadic relationship, there are two sides of every story, and it is unclear whether children would agree

with the parent's assessment of the relationship (Lin & Wu, 2018; Shapiro, 2004). Finally, I did not account for stepchildren, but few stepchildren remain in contact with stepparents after separating from the child's biological parent (Noël-Miller, 2013).

Nevertheless, this study advances current research by deepening our knowledge of the relationship between marital biography and parent's contact with their biological children. Specifically, this work contributes to current literature by showing the importance of accounting for remarriage, different disruption pathways—specifically, multiple disruptions—as well as duration. Interestingly, remarriage did not operate completely as anticipated. Whereas unmarried women after one widowhood or multiple disruptions had more contact with children than their remarried counterparts, surprisingly, unmarried men after one divorce had less contact than remarried men after one divorce. These findings suggest remarriage may not be uniformly associated with less contact with adult children. As for disruption pathway, this study adds to current literature by showing older people after multiple disruptions almost always reported less contact with children relative to the divorced or widowed.

Finally, this research shows accounting for how parent-child contact may be more or less frequent with additional years remarried or unmarried contributes to our understanding of the relationship between marital biography and parent-child contact. Although remarried women had less contact with children than their unmarried counterparts when considering disruption pathway alone, factoring in duration changes our understanding of this relationship. Specifically, following one widowhood for women, remarriage can improve parent-child contact with additional years remarried. Moreover, for men, when accounting for disruption pathway alone, the remarried following multiple disruptions reported less contact than their male counterparts after one widowhood. When factoring in duration, I found additional years remarried following

multiple disruptions yielded greater contact with children relative to remarried men after one widowhood. This finding indicates even though older people after multiple disruptions face poorer well-being outcomes, they are likely able to rebuild ties with children, who then may provide social support as they age (Bengston & Roberts, 1991; Dupre & Meadows, 2007). Finally, consistent with prior work, the findings from this study regarding gender also suggest unmarried or remarried men after one divorce had less contact with children than did their female counterparts (Daatland, 2007; Shapiro, 2003). However, these were the only findings supported the predictions regarding differences between men and women, suggesting perhaps gender is less important when studying the association of marital biography with well-being in later life (Manzoli et al., 2007). In light of these findings and growing instability associated with marital biography in later life, it is essential to continue to understand how aspects of the parent-child bond relate to remarriage, different disruption pathways, as well as duration remarried or unmarried. Thus, this research informs researchers, policymakers, and practitioners on ways they can work toward identifying vulnerable groups of older people who may lack social support resources as well as work toward devising relevant interventions to well-being in later life.

Table 1. Weighted Means (Standard Deviations) and Percentages for Marital Biography Characteristics by Gender

Marital biography			
First marriage	50.89	38.21	***
Remarriage	25.65	16.50	***
After one divorce	66.90	60.85	**
After one widowhood	7.60	9.21	
After multiple disruptions	25.50	29.94	*
Cohabiting	3.47	2.43	***
Divorced	12.46	16.12	***
Widowed	6.69	24.47	***
Unmarried after one divorce	36.53	23.87	**
Unmarried after one widowhood	26.83	46.02	***
Unmarried after multiple disruptions	36.64	30.11	***
Never married	0.84	2.27	***
Duration in current status	30.86(16.8)	28.09(17.2)	***

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Table 2. Weighted Means (Standard Deviations) and Percentages by Gender

	Men	Women	
Contact with children			
Never	4.63	2.35	***
Less than 1 time a month	11.35	6.96	***
Less than 1 time a week, more than 1 time a month	9.74	7.20	***
Once or twice a week	26.59	27.03	***
At least three times a week	47.69	56.46	***
Demographic characteristics			
Age			
50 to 64	50.42	48.99	
65 to 84	44.70	43.87	
85 and older	4.88	7.14	***
Racial and ethnic background			
White	75.27	73.24	*
Black	10.62	11.97	***
Hispanic	10.40	11.70	
Other race	3.71	3.09	*
Socioeconomic resources			
Education			
Less than high school	18.77	22.4	*
High school	28.20	33.88	***
Some college	22.91	23.93	*
College or more	30.12	19.79	***
Wealth			
In debt	8.63	8.92	
$1 to $50,000	38.50	44.92	***
$50,001 to $100,000	9.99	8.96	
$100,001 to $250,000	13.93	13.20	
$250,001+	28.95	24.00	***
Currently employed	37.60	27.66	***
Health			
Chronic conditions	2.26(1.5)	2.36(1.5)	***
Depressive symptoms	1.09(1.8)	1.53(2.1)	***
Weighted percentages	44.75	55.25	
Number of parents	6,493	9,076	
Children's characteristics			
Son	50.71	49.27	*
Partnered	61.44	64.64	
Age	37.92(11.0)	41.41(11.7)	***
Full or part-time work	81.36	78.34	***
From recent union	68.44	71.54	
Number of children	17,869	25,373	

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Table 3. Coefficients (Standard Errors) from the Weighted Multilevel Ordered Logistic Regression Model of Marital Status on Contact with Children

	Men	Women
Marital biography		
First marriage	1.04 (.11) ***[abcd]	0.52 (.09) ***[ab]
Remarriage (ref)	--	--
Cohabiting	- 0.24 (.21) [a]	- 0.39 (.16) [a]*
Divorced	- 0.83 (.14) ***[be]	0.14 (.10) [bc]
Widowed	0.61 (.15) ***[cef]	0.56 (.09) ***[cd]
Never married	- 1.04 (.33) **[df]	0.14 (.23) [d]
Demographic characteristics		
Age		
50 to 64	- 0.16 (.10)	- 0.04 (.08)
65 to 84 (ref)	--	--
85 and older	0.42 (.11) ***	0.34 (.09) ***
Racial and ethnic background		
White (ref)	--	--
Black	- 0.35 (.11) **	0.29 (.08) ***
Hispanic	0.10 (.14)	0.21 (.09) *
Other race	0.25 (.19)	- 0.00 (.16)
Socioeconomic resources		
Education		
Less than high school	- 0.24 (.11) *	- 0.08 (.07)
High school (ref)	--	--
Some college	0.07 (.10)	- 0.02 (.07)
College or more	- 0.08 (.09)	- 0.31 (.07) ***
Wealth		
In debt	- 0.11 (.14)	- 0.07 (.10)
$1 to $50,000 (ref)	--	--
$50,001 to $100,000	0.08 (.12)	- 0.02 (.09)
$100,001 to $250,000	- 0.03 (.11)	0.06 (.08)
$250,001+	0.08 (.09)	0.00 (.07)
Currently employed	0.16 (.09)	0.19 (.08) *
Health		
Depressive symptoms	- 0.04 (.02)	- 0.02 (.01)
Chronic conditions	0.03 (.03)	- 0.02 (.02)
Children's characteristics		
Son	- 0.38 (.04) ***	- 0.75 (.04) ***
Partnered	- 0.25 (.05) ***	- 0.52 (.04) ***
Age	- 0.06 (.00) ***	- 0.05 (.00) ***
Full or part-time work	- 0.45 (.06) ***	- 0.34 (.05) ***
From recent union	1.40 (.10) ***	0.28 (.07) ***
Constant	2.52 (.16)	1.67 (.09)
Number of Respondent (Level 2)	6,493	9,076
Number of Children (Level 1)	17,869	25,373

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Note: Coefficients sharing same superscript letter denote significant differences in the same model at $p < .05$

Underlined coefficients denote significant differences between men and women at $p < .05$

Remarried men and women are significantly different at $p < .05$

Table 4. Coefficients (Standard Errors) from the Weighted Multilevel Ordered Logistic Regression Model of Marital Status, and Disruption Pathway on Contact with Children

	Men	Women
Marital biography		
First marriage	0.91 (.11)	0.46 (.11)
Remarriage		
After one divorce (ref)	--	--
After one widowhood	0.49 (.17) **[a]	0.12 (.17) [ab]
After multiple disruptions	- 0.64 (.16) ***[a]	- 0.38 (.14) **[ac]
Cohabiting	- 0.36 (.21)	- 0.49 (.16)
Unmarried		
After one divorce	- 1.09 (.18) **[bc]	- 0.03 (.13) [d]
After one widowhood	0.49 (.17) [bd]	0.62 (.11) [bde]
After multiple disruptions	- 0.55 (.17) [cd]	0.19 (.11) [ce]
Never married	- 1.18 (.33)	0.08 (.24)
Demographic characteristics		
Age		
50 to 64	- 0.16 (.10)	- 0.04 (.08)
65 to 84 (ref)	--	--
85 and older	0.42 (.12) ***	0.29 (.09) **
Racial and ethnic background		
White (ref)	--	--
Black	- 0.36 (.11) **	0.28 (.08) ***
Hispanic	0.09 (.14)	0.19 (.09) *
Other race	0.22 (.18)	- 0.01 (.16)
Socioeconomic resources		
Education	--	--
Less than high school	- 0.21 (.11) *	- 0.08 (.07)
High school (ref)	--	--
Some college	0.06 (.10)	- 0.02 (.07)
College or more	- 0.07 (.09)	- 0.31 (.07) ***
Wealth		
In debt	- 0.12 (.14)	- 0.07 (.10)
$1 to $50,000 (ref)	--	--
$50,001 to $100,000	0.07 (.12)	- 0.01 (.09)
$100,001 to $250,000	- 0.03 (.11)	0.06 (.08)
$250,001+	0.05 (.09)	- 0.01 (.07)
Currently employed	0.16 (.09)	0.19 (.08) *
Health		
Depressive symptoms	- 0.04 (.02)	- 0.02 (.01)
Chronic conditions	0.03 (.03)	- 0.02 (.02)
Children's characteristics		
Son	- 0.38 (.04) ***	- 0.76 (.04) ***
Partnered	- 0.25 (.05) ***	- 0.52 (.04) ***
Age	- 0.06 (.00) ***	- 0.05 (.00) ***
Full or part-time work	- 0.45 (.06) ***	- 0.34 (.05) ***
From recent union	1.42 (.10) ***	0.23 (.08) **
Constant	2.50 (.16)	1.66 (.09)
Number of Respondent (Level 2)	6,493	9,076
Number of Children (Level 1)	17,869	25,373

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Note: Coefficients sharing same superscript letter denote significant differences in the same model at $p < .05$

Underlined coefficients denote significant differences between men and women at $p < .05$

Men who are remarried after one divorce and women are significantly different at $p < .05$

Table 5. Coefficients (Standard Errors) from the Weighted Multilevel Ordered Logistic Regression Model of Marital Status, Disruption Pathway, and Duration on Contact with Children

	Men	Women
Marital biography		
First marriage	1.31 (.30)	0.83 (.29)
Remarriage		
After one divorce (ref)	--	--
After one widowhood	0.79 (.31) *[a]	- 0.07 (.33) [a]
After multiple disruptions	- 0.95 (.29) **[a]	- 0.10 (.29)
Cohabiting	0.43 (.33)	0.07 (.30)
Unmarried		
After one divorce	- 1.09 (.36) [b]	0.22 (.29) [c]
After one widowhood	0.40 (.29) [bc]	0.85 (.24) ***[abc]
After multiple disruptions	- 0.48 (.27) [c]	0.29 (.23) [b]
Never married	- 1.44 (.38) ***	0.20 (.31)
Duration	0.01 (.01)	0.01 (.01)
Remarried after one divorce (ref)	--	--
Remarried after one widowhood	- 0.02 (.01) [d]	0.01 (.01) [d]
Remarried after multiple disruptions	0.02 (.01) [d]	- 0.01 (.01)
Unmarried after one divorce	- 0.01 (.01)	- 0.01 (.01)
Unmarried after one widowhood	- 0.03 (.01)	- 0.01 (.01) [d]
Unmarried after multiple disruptions	- 0.01 (.01)	- 0.00 (.01)
Demographic characteristics		
Age		
50 to 64	- 0.19 (.10)	- 0.05 (.09)
65 to 84 (ref)	--	--
85 and older	0.51 (.12) ***	0.31 (.09) ***
Racial and ethnic background		
White (ref)	--	--
Black	- 0.29 (.11) *	0.30 (.08) ***
Hispanic	0.11 (.14)	0.20 (.09) *
Other race	0.24 (.18)	- 0.01 (.16)
Socioeconomic resources		
Education		
Less than high school	- 0.22 (.11) **	- 0.07 (.07)
High school (ref)	--	--
Some college	0.04 (.14)	- 0.02 (.07)
College or more	- 0.10 (.09)	- 0.32 (.07) ***
Wealth		
In debt	- 0.10 (.14)	- 0.08 (.10)
$1 to $50,000 (ref)	--	--
$50,001 to $100,000	0.08 (.14)	- 0.01 (.09)
$100,001 to $250,000	- 0.02 (.11)	0.06 (.08)
$250,001+	0.07 (.09)	- 0.01 (.07)
Currently employed	0.16 (.09)	0.19 (.08) *
Health		
Depressive symptoms	- 0.04 (.02)	- 0.02 (.01)
Chronic conditions	0.03 (.03)	- 0.02 (.02)
Children's characteristics		
Son	- 0.38 (.04) ***	- 0.76 (.04) ***
Partnered	- 0.25 (.05) ***	- 0.52 (.04) ***
Age	- 0.06 (.00) ***	- 0.05 (.00) ***
Full or part-time work	- 0.45 (.06) ***	- 0.34 (.05) ***
From recent union	1.59 (.11) ***	0.26 (.08) **
Constant	2.48 (.16)	1.65 (.09)
Number of Respondent (Level 2)	6,493	9,076
Number of Children (Level 1)	17,869	25,373

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Note: Coefficients sharing same superscript letter denote significant differences in the same model at $p < .05$

Underlined coefficients denote significant differences between men and women at $p < .05$

REFERENCES

Albertini, M., & Garriga, A. (2011). The effect of divorce on parent-child contact: Evidence on two declining effect hypotheses. *European Societies, 13,* 257-278.

Amato, P. R. (2010). Research on divorce: Continuing trends and new developments. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 72,* 650-666.

Aquilino, W. S. (1994). Impact of childhood family disruption on young adults' relationships with parents. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 56,* 295-313.

Bengtson, V. L., & Harootyan, R. A. (Eds.). (1994). *Intergenerational linkages: Hidden connections in American society.* New York, NY: Springer.

Bengtson, V. L., & Oyama, P. S. (2010). Intergenerational solidarity and conflict. In M. Cruz-Saco & S. Zelenov (Eds.), *Intergenerational Solidarity* (pp. 35-52). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan US.

Bengston, V. L., & Roberts, R. E. L. (1991). Intergenerational solidarity in aging families: An example of formal theory construction. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 53,* 856-870.

Birditt, K. S., Rott, L. M., & Fingerman, K. L. (2009). 'If you can't say something nice, don't say anything at all': Coping with interpersonal tensions in the parent–child relationship during adulthood. *Journal of Family Psychology, 23,* 769-778.

Bramlett, M. D., & Mosher, W. D. (2002). Cohabitation, marriage, divorce, and remarriage in the United States. *Center for Disease Control and Prevention.* Retrieved from: http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/series/sr_23/sr23_022.pdf

Brockmann, H., & Klein, T. (2004). Love and death in Germany: The marital biography and its effect on mortality. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 66,* 567-581.

Brown, S. L., & Lin, I.-F. (2012). The gray divorce revolution: Rising divorce among middle-aged and older adults, 1990-2010. *The Journals of Gerontology, Series B: Psychological and Social Sciences, 67,* 731-741.

Brown, S. L., Lin, I.-F., Hammersmith, A. M., & Wright, M. R. (forthcoming). Later life marital dissolution and repartnership status: A national portrait. *The Journals of Gerontology, Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences, 00*, 1-11.

Cartensen, L. L. (1992). Social and emotional patterns in adulthood: Support for socioemotional selectivity theory. *Psychology and Aging, 7*, 331-338.

Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. (2009, May). *NCHS data brief: Changing patterns of nonmarital childbearing in the United States* (No. 18). Hyattsville, MD: National Center for Health Statistics.

Cherlin, A. J. (2009). *The marriage-go-round: The state of marriage and the family in America today.* New York: Random House, Inc.

Connidis, I. A. (2010). Divorce and union dissolution: Reverberations across three generations. *Canadian Journal on Aging, 22,* 353-368.

Daatland, S. O. (2007). Marital history and intergenerational solidarity: The impact of divorce and unmarried cohabitation. *Journal of Social Issues*, *63*, 809-825.

Dew, J., & Yorgasen, J. (2010). Economic pressure and marital conflict in retirement-aged couples. *Journal of Family Issues, 31*, 164-188.

de Graaf, P. M., & Fokkema, T. (2007). Contacts between divorced and non-divorced parents and their adult children in the Netherlands: An investment perspective. *European Sociological Review, 23,* 263-277.

de Graaf, P. M., & Kalmijn, M. (2006). Change and stability in the social determinants of divorce: A comparison of marriage cohorts in the Netherlands. *European Sociological Review, 22,* 561-572.

De Jong, Gierveld, J., & Merz, E.-M. (2013). Parents' partnership decision making after divorce or widowhood: The role of (step)children. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 75,* 1098-1113.

Dupre, M. E., Beck, A. N., & Meadows, S. O. (2009). Marital trajectories and mortality among U.S. adults. *American Journal of Epidemiology, 170,* 546-555.

Dupre, M. E., & Meadows, S. O. (2007). Disaggregating the effects of marital trajectories on health. *Journal of Family Issues, 28,* 623-652.

Dykstra, P. A., & de Jong Gierveld, J. (2006). Gender and marital-history differences in emotional and social loneliness among Dutch older adults. *Canadian Journal on Aging*, *23,* 141-155.

Dykstra, P. A., & Fokkema, T. (2011). Relationships between parents and their adult children: A West European typology of late-life families. *Aging and Society, 31,* 545-569.

Goldstein, J. R., & Kenney, C. T. (2001). Marriage delayed or marriage forgone? New forecasts of first marriage for U.S. women. *American Sociological Review, 66,* 506-519.

Guiaux, M., van Tilburg, T., & Broese van Groenou, M. (2007). Changes in contact and support exchanges in personal networks after widowhood. *Personal Relationships, 14,* 457-473.

Ha, J.-H. (2008). Changes in support from confidants, children, and friends following widowhood. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 70*, 306-318.

Ha, J.-H., Kahng, S. K., & Choi, N. (2017). Reciprocal effects between health and social support in older adults' relationships with their children and friends. *Research on Aging, 39,* 300-321.

Hammersmith. A. M. (In press). Life interrupted: Parents' positivity and negativity toward children following children's and parents' transitions later in life. *The Gerontologist, 00,* 00-00.

Heaton, T. B. (2002). Factors contributing to increasing marital stability in the United States. *Journal of Family Issues, 23,* 392-409.

Hedeker, D. (2008). Multilevel models for ordinal and nominal variables. In J. de Leeuw & E. Meijer (Eds.), *Handbook of Multilevel Models* (pp. 237-274). New York, NY: Springer Science+Business Media, LLC.

Hughes, M. E., & Waite, L. J. (2009). Marital biography and health at mid-life. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 50,* 344-358.

Hungerford, T. L. (2001). The economic consequences of widowhood on elderly women in the United States and Germany. *The Gerontologist, 41,* 103-110.

Kalmijn, M. (2007). Gender differences in the effects of divorce, widowhood, and remarriage on intergenerational support: Does marriage protect fathers? *Social Forces, 85,* 1079-1104.

Kalmijn. M. (2013). Adult children's relationships with married parents, divorced parents, and stepparents: Biology, marriage, or residence. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 75*, 1181-1193.

Kalmijn, M. (2013). Long-term effects of divorce on parent-child relationships: Within-family comparisons of fathers and mothers. *European Sociological Review, 29*, 888-898.

Kalmijn, M. (2015). Relationships between fathers and adult children: The cumulative effects of divorce and repartnering. *Journal of Family Issues, 36*, 737-759.

Karraker, A., & Latham, K. (2015). In sickness and in health? Physical illness as a risk factor for marital dissolution in later life. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 56*, 59-73.

Lawton, L., Silverstein, M., & Bengston, V. (1994). Affection, social contact, and geographic distance between adult children and their parents. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 56,* 57-68.

Lin, I.-F., Brown, S. L., & Hammersmith, A. M. (2017). Marital biography, social security receipt, and poverty. *Research on Aging, 39,* 86-110.

Lin, I.-F., & Wu, H.-S. (In press). Early-life parent-child relationships and adult children's support of unpartnered parents in later life. *The Journals of Gerontology, Series B: Psychological and Social Sciences, 00,* 00-00.

Mancini, J. A., & Blieszner, R. (1989). Aging parents and adult children: Research themes in intergenerational relations. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 51,* 275-290.

Manlove, J., Wildsmith, E., Ikramullah, E., Ryan, S., Holcombe, E., Scott, M., & Peterson, K. (2012). Union transitions following the birth of a child to cohabiting parents. *Population Research and Policy Review, 31*, 361-386.

Manning, W. D., & Brown, S. L. (2011). The demography of unions among older Americans, 1980-present: A family change approach. In R. A. Settersten & J. L. Angel (Eds.), *Handbook of Sociology of Aging* (pp. 193-210) New York: Springer.

Manning, W. D., & Smock, P. J. (2000). "Swapping" families: Serial parenting and economic support for children. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *62*, 111-122.

Manzoli, L., Villari, P., Pirone, G. M., & Boccia, A. (2007). Marital status and mortality in the elderly: A systematic review and meta-analysis. *Social Science & Medicine, 64,* 77-94.

Marks, N. (1998). Does it hurt to care? Caregiving, work-family conflict, and midlife well-being. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 60*, 951-966.

McFarland, M. J., Hayward, M. D., & Brown, D. (2013). I've got you under my skin: Marital biography and biological risk. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 75*, 363-380.

Nakonezny, P. A., Rodgers, J. L., & Nussbaum, J. F. (2003). The effect of later-life parental divorce on adult-child/older-parent solidarity: A test of the buffering hypothesis. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *33*, 1153-1178.

Noël-Miller, C. M. (2013). Repartnering following divorce: Implications for older fathers' relationships with their adult children. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 75*, 697-712.

Noël-Miller, C. M. (2013). Former stepparents' contact with their stepchildren after midlife. *The Journals of Gerontology, Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences, 68,* S409-S419.

Ofstedal, M. B., Weir, D. R., Chen, K. T., & Wagner, J. (2011). *Updates to HRS sample weights* (HRS Report No. DR-013). Retrieved from University of Michigan, Health and Retirement Study website: http://hrsonline.isr.umich.edu/sitedocs/userg/dr-013.pdf

Pezzin, L. E., Pollak, R. A., & Schone, B. S. (2008). Parental marital disruption, family type, and transfers to elderly, disabled parents. *Journal of Gerontology: Social Sciences, 63B,* S349-S358.

Pezzin, L. E., & Schone, B. S. (1999). Parental marital disruption and intergenerational transfers: An analysis of lone elderly parents and their children. *Demography, 36*, 287-297.

Roan, C. L., & Raley, R. K. (1996). Intergenerational coresidence and contact: A longitudinal analysis of adult children's response to their mother's widowhood. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 58,* 708-717.

Rosenthal, C. J. (1985). Kinkeeping in the familial division of labor. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 4,* 965-974.

Rossi, A. S., & Rossi, P. H. (1990). *Of human bonding: Parent-child relations across the life course.* New York, NY: Walter de Gruyter, Inc.

Sarkisian, N., & Gerstel, N. (2008). Till marriage do us part: Adult children's relationships with their parents. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 70*, 360-276.

Seltzer, J. A., & Bianchi, S. M. (2013). Demographic change and parent-child relationships in adulthood. *Annual Review of Sociology, 39,* 275-290.

Shapiro, A. (2003). Later-life divorce and parent-adult child contact and proximity: A longitudinal analysis. *Journal of Family Issues, 24*, 264-285.

Silverstein, M., & Bengston, V. L. (1997). Intergenerational solidarity and the structure of adult child-parent relationships in American families. *American Journal of Sociology, 103*, 429-460.

Silverstein, M., & Giarusso, R. (2010). Aging and family life: A decade in review. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 72*, 1039-1058.

Umberson, D. J. (1992). Relationships between adult children and their parents: Psychological consequences for both generations. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, *54,* 664-674.

Waite, L. J., & Harrison, S. C. (1992). Keeping in touch: How women in mid-life allocate social contacts among kith and kin. *Social Forces, 70,* 637-654.

Ward, R. A., Deane, G., & Spitze, G. (2014). Life-course changes and parent-adult child contact. *Research on Aging, 36*, 568-602.

Zhang, Z., Liu, H., & Yu, Y. (2016). Marital biography and health in middle and late life. In J. Bookwala (Ed.), *Couple relationships in the middle and later years: Their nature, complexity, and role in health and illness* (pp. 199-218). Washington D.C.: American Psychological Association.