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Living Arrangements of the Elderly in the Philippines
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ABSTRACT

The Philippines does not have a well-developed social security system for its elderly citizens. Historically, the Filipino elderly have been dependent on their children or co-resident kin for economic, social and physical support. However, it has been observed that as long as elderly parents own land or have means of support, they tend to maintain their own household. This household may either be nuclear or extended. In either case, they are able to retain their authority over their adult children.

In the Philippines, the elderly population has been steadily increasing in both size and proportion. The 2000 census enumerated about 4.6 million persons aged 60 years and over. This number represents 6 percent of the total population in 2000 (76.5 million). The 2000 figure is about 900 thousand larger than the 1995 census figure of 3.7 million. The 1995 proportion is slightly lower, at 5.4 percent. In 1960, only 4.3 percent of the 27.1 million Filipinos were in the ages 60 years and over.

This study aims at examining the living arrangements of persons 60 years old and over in the Philippines using data from the 2000 Census of Population, and their socio-economic status. The living arrangements will be described in terms of the type of the household they belong to and the position they hold in their households. That is, for instance, whether elderly person is the head of household, the spouse of the household head, the parent of the head, or 'other relative' of the head.

The socio-economic status will be described in terms of whether the elderly is a gainful worker or not, the tenure status of the housing unit or lot they occupy, and a poverty measure based on the 2000 census data on housing conveniences. The incidence of poverty among the elderly will be described. The study will determine if there is a difference in the living arrangement between elderly persons who are considered as economically well off and those who are not. The study will also examine if the living arrangement vary with advancing age. The analysis will be carried out in terms of the age groups 60-64, 65-69, 70-79 and 80 years or older.

I. Introduction

Demographers forecast a huge increase both in absolute numbers and in proportions of elderly people as a consequence of dramatic falls in both fertility and mortality rates. Population aging, which refers to the increase in the percentage of elderly people (60 and older or 65 and older), is already advanced in Western industrialized countries where the population aged 65 years and older was 14 percent of the total population in these countries in 1999 (Bongaarts and Zimmer, 2002). This proportion is projected to double by 2050 (United Nations

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1999, cited in Bongaarts and Zimmer 2002). Population aging is less pronounced in most of the developing countries because the transition to low levels of fertility and mortality is still underway. However, in a number of countries in East and Southeast Asia where fertility declines began relatively early and proceeded rapidly, the increases in the elderly population are occurring at rates that exceeded those experienced by most of the developed countries. Countries in the South East Asia (SEA) Region which tend to exhibit relatively rapid population aging are Sri Lanka, India, Indonesia and Thailand, where the proportion of the population aged 65 years and older in year 2000 ranged from 4.8 percent to 6.3 percent (Table 1). The proportion in the Philippines and Nepal in the same year was much lower at 3.8 and 3.7 percent, respectively. The proportion for the whole SEA Region was 4.8 percent. By year 2010, this proportion is projected to reach 5.6 percent, and that for the World population, 7.6 percent (United Nations 2000). This percentage has the potential to increase markedly because of the continuing improvement in survival chances and declining trends in fertility rate. Demographers believe that the most rapid acceleration in ageing will occur after 2010, when the large post-World War II baby boom cohorts begin to reach age 65.

Occurring at the same time as the population aging in many developing countries are demographic, social and economic changes which are widely viewed to have profound implications on families, households and kin networks and hence on the circumstances under which the elderly population will live. These changes include declines in fertility, greater longevity, increased participation of women in economic activities outside the home, physical separation of parents and adult children as a result of migration and urbanization, and ideational change through the mass media and schooling. Mason (1992) elaborated on how these changes may affect the care and support of the elderly in Asian nations. In summary, the reduction in fertility lowers the number of potential familial caregivers in the younger generation. The increased survivorship of the young may help counter this effect; however, the increased survivorship of the elderly would increase the potential population to be provided with care. The increased labor force participation of women (the predominant care-givers in many developing countries of Asia) makes these women less available as caregivers to elderly members of their families. The increased migration, which typically accompanies industrialization and urbanization, may involve the physical separation of the senior and the younger generation. Finally, increased schooling may break down the traditional values and norms relating to the family. Children spend less time receiving guidance from their parents and hence may feel less indebted to them.

The Philippines, like many developing countries, does not have a government-funded institutional support for its elderly population. The Filipino elderly have historically been dependent on their children or co-resident kin for economic, social and physical support. The children, in particular, are expected to provide care and economic security to their parents in old age. This is because the children are said to incur "utang na loob" (a debt of gratitude) not

only for all the sacrifices their parents have made in the process of raising them, but for giving them life itself (Hollnsteiner 1973, cited in Lopez 1991). The elderly co-residing with at least one of their children are assumed to receive better economic support, and more importantly better physical care than those living alone or those living with non-relatives or even other relatives. It is believed that the traditional familial care and support for the elderly is still widely practiced. Also, it is generally assumed that physical care can only be given by co-resident children or kin. The living arrangements of the elderly can therefore provide a picture of their well-being.

II. Objectives, Data and Methodology

This study examines the living arrangements of elderly men and women in the Philippines, here defined as persons aged 60 years and older. In order to determine if the living arrangements of the elderly who are residing in a highly urbanized area differ from those living elsewhere in the country, the living arrangements of elderly people residing in the NCR, which is the most highly urbanized region in the country, in other urban areas and in rural areas are also investigated. The living arrangements are described in terms of the type of household they belong to and the position they hold in their households.

The study also aims to:

- examine the demographic characteristics and socioeconomic status of the Filipino elderly;
- examine if the living arrangements of the elderly vary with advancing age; and
- determine if the living arrangements of the elderly vary by socioeconomic status; the socioeconomic status is described in terms of whether they have gainful occupation, the tenure status of the housing unit they occupy, and the *poor* and *non-poor* classification constructed for the purpose of the current study.

This study mainly uses data from 10 percent sample of the 2000 Census of Population and Housing. The dataset used contains some 456,000 individual records of persons aged 60 years and older enumerated from households selected using probability sampling during the 2000 census. These households were interviewed using the census questionnaire for sample households called CPH Form 3, designed to obtain detailed information on the characteristics of population and housing in the Philippines. In this study, the data were weighted and summarized using cross tabulations and proportions.

Operational Definitions Used

1. Household and family household

The study adopts the definition of *household* employed in Philippine population censuses. A household is defined as a social unit consisting of a person living alone or a group of persons who sleep in the same housing unit and have a common arrangement for the preparation and consumption of food (National Statistics Office, 2000). It is important to mention that the current study excludes the so-called *institutional population*, which is defined in Philippines censuses as “persons who, at the time of census, were living in institutional living quarters like dormitories and lodging houses, or confined in institutions like hospitals and homes for the aged.

For the definition of *family*, this study will use the United Nations definition: “those members of the household who are related to a specified degree through blood, adoption or marriage” (United Nations 1973). By this definition, a household can comprise more than one family, but a family cannot comprise more than one household. In this study, common residence is an essential criterion for family membership because of the data used. The study identifies family members through the information on the relationship to the head of household. Because the members of a family are necessarily members of the same household, this study uses the term *family household* instead of *family*. Different types of household are defined based on the relationship of the members to the head of the household. The nuclear unit refers to that of the household head. The nuclear and extended types of family households are determined based on this nuclear unit. The types of households used in this study are: (a) nuclear family household, (b) extended family household, (c) household of related persons, (d) household of unrelated persons, and (e) one-person households.

2. Poor and non-poor classification of households

Households were classified in this study as *poor* or *non-poor* based on the responses in the 2000 census to the question regarding the presence in the household of a functioning radio, television set, refrigerator or freezer, video cassette/recorder, telephone or cellphone, washing machine and motorized vehicle. For each household convenience, the proportion of households in the entire country owning the item (e.g., radio) was calculated. A score equal to 1 minus the proportion of households in the country with the particular housing convenience was assigned to a household reporting the presence or ownership of that housing item; a score equal to zero to a household without one. For each household, a summary score was obtained by adding the individual scores on all housing conveniences cited above. All households were then arranged in descending order based on the summary score, with the household having the highest summary score at the top and that with the lowest at the bottom. The lowest 30 percent were classified initially as poor households, the upper 70 percent, non-poor. These bottom 30 percent were composed of households

without any of the housing conveniences cited and households with a radio only. However, further scrutiny revealed that there were households above the 30 percent cut-off which had a radio but without out the other items. Such households had to be classified also as *poor*.

Demographic and Socio-economic Profile of the Elderly

In 2000, there were about 4.6 million Filipinos aged 60 years, comprising 2.1 million males and 2.5 million females. This number represents 6 percent of the total population in the country during that year. This number is 1.4 million larger than the 1990 figure (3.2 million) and 3.0 million larger than the 1970 figure (1.6 million). The elderly comprised 4.5 percent of the total population in 1970 and 5.3 percent in 1990.

More than one-third (36 percent) of the elderly persons in 2000 were in the ages 60 to 64 years while one in every four (25 percent) were aged 65 to 69 years (Table 2). Those aged 80 years and older constituted 11 percent. There were more women than men aged 80 years and older. Because women outlive men, in 2000 there were only 31 widowed elderly men for every 100 widowed elderly women; in terms of marital status distribution, about two out of five elderly women were widowed compared to only 16 percent of elderly men. The largest proportion of elderly men, about four out of five, were married compared to one in two elderly women. Eighty-seven percent of elderly men were heads of their households while one-third of elderly women were household heads. A larger percentage of women compared to elderly men were parents or other relatives of heads of households they live with, again, reflecting the higher survivorship of women than men.

Eight out of 10 elderly men and women were literate. Data on highest grade completed shows that one out of 10 had no grade completed, more than half had, at most, elementary education (Table 3). Ten percent of the elderly had reached college or higher level of education. While almost nine out of 10 elderly men were regarded as the head of their households, only 62.6 percent had gainful occupation, 22.1 percent were without gainful occupation and may be receiving retirement pensions or getting support from their children or relatives. By comparison, only 19.2 percent of elderly women had gainful occupation. Two out of five elderly persons belonged to poor households.

The common living arrangements among elderly men and women: evidence from the 2000 Census

The living arrangements in this study are described in terms of the type of the household the elderly belongs to and the position he or she holds in the household. That is, whether he or she is the head of the household, the spouse, parent, or *other relative* of the household head, or a *non-relative*. The category *other relative* of the household head includes brothers, sisters, parents-in-law, children-in-law, uncles, aunts, and cousins.

The largest percentage of elderly men were heads of extended family households (37 percent) and the second largest percentage (27 percent) were heads of two-parent nuclear family households (Table 4). Those in nuclear family households composed of the couple only constituted 14 percent.

Among elderly women, the largest percentage were spouses of the heads of extended family households (20 percent) and the next largest percentages were comprised of spouses of two-parent nuclear family households (13 percent) and mothers of heads of extended family households (12 percent). The percentage of elderly women living in one-parent nuclear family households was higher than that for elderly men (7 percent versus 3 percent), again, owing to the higher survivorship of women than men. For the same reason, larger percentages of elderly women than men were living in households composed of related persons (7 percent versus 3 percent), and living alone (7 percent versus 5 percent). Close to 60 percent of elderly women living in households of related persons were widowed compared to only 38 percent of elderly men living in such households (table not shown). The widowed among the elderly women who were living alone comprised 77 percent compared to 56 percent for elderly men.

Table 5 shows that the living arrangements of elderly men and women vary with advancing age. In the age group 60-64, the largest percentage of elderly men were heads of nuclear family households (49 percent: 10 percent for *couple-only nuclear family household*, 36 percent for *two-parent family household*, 3 percent for *one-parent family household*); many were living in two-parent nuclear family households. This reflects the high level of fertility in the past. This conforms to the finding of Domingo and Casterline (1992) who noted that the cohorts of Filipino elderly in 1988 had large numbers of surviving children. Of the elderly men aged 60 to 64 years, those who were heads of extended family households were the second largest in proportion (39 percent)

The percentage of elderly men who were heads of extended family households declined with advancing age while the percentage of those who were parents and other relatives of the heads of this type of households increased with age. Likewise, the percentage of elderly men who were heads of two-parent nuclear family households were markedly lower for the older age groups of elderly men than for age group 60-64. The opposite pattern was observed in the percentage of those who were in couple-only nuclear family households, which increased at older ages. This increasing pattern reflects the life course stage of a nuclear family, the period when children may have formed their own families and have left their parental homes. Those living alone increased from about 4 percent for the age groups 60-64 and 70-74 to 7 percent for age group 80 years and older.

Of the 60-64 age group of elderly women, the largest percentage were spouses of heads of nuclear family households (31 percent) and the second largest percentage were spouses of heads of extended family households (26 percent). The percentage of elderly women who were spouses of heads of

extended family households declined with advancing age, from 26 percent in the 60-64 age group it declined to 17 percent in the age group 70-74 and 5 percent in the age group 80 and older. By comparison, the percentage of elderly women who were parents and other relatives of the heads of extended family households increased with advancing age. This is because women outlive their husbands. In the age group 80 and older, the largest percentage of the elderly women were parents of the heads of extended family households (28 percent) and the second largest were other relatives of the heads of such households (22 percent). Elderly women who were heads of extended family households were also at a significant percentage (16 percent). Those living alone comprised 10 percent, for both age groups 75-79 and 80 and older.

In sum, the most common living arrangement in 2000 for elderly men in the ages 60 to 64 years was to live with their spouse and children as heads in nuclear family households; and at more advanced ages, to live in extended family households as heads of these households or as parents of the head. In contrast, for elderly women in the ages 60 to 64 years, the most common living arrangement was to live as spouse of the head of a nuclear family household; and at the age 80 years or older, as parent or relative of the head of an extended family household.

Co-residence of parents and children

There is some belief that in the Philippines and even in other countries of South East Asia co-residence of elderly persons with any of their children might be declining because of substantial social and economic changes that occurred in these countries over the past decades. Some basic indicators of living arrangements of the elderly in selected countries for selected years are presented in Table 6. The data for the Philippines show that the percentage of the elderly living with any of their children declined in the late 90s. However, it cannot be ascertained from the data in Table 6 if there was a declining trend during the decade prior to the late 90s. The percentages for 1988 and 1996 are similar and the estimate for 1986 was based on a sub-national survey. This uncertainty and the modest changes in the other indicators do not provide evidence of any major change in the level of co-residence of the Filipino elderly and their children. The level of co-residence with any child was higher in Singapore and Thailand than in the Philippines. These were high enough to suggest that in these countries, there had been no substantial change in the level of co-residence of the elderly with their children.

Domingo and Casterline (1992) noted that the 1988 percentage of the elderly in the Philippines who co-resided with at least one of their children (68 percent) was low, considering the strong norms in the Filipino society about the obligations of the children to serve their parents in old age. According to them, one possible reason for the lower proportion than expected is the physical limitation of the dwellings, particularly, of poor households.

Nuclearity: the norm, but not in the NCR?

Table 7 reveals that the proportions who were in the couple-only nuclear family households (16 percent for elderly men and 13 percent for elderly women) and the proportions who were living alone (5 percent and 8 percent for elderly men and women, respectively) were higher among the elderly living in rural areas than those residing in the NCR and other urban areas. The percentage of the elderly who were heads of nuclear family households was 26 percent in rural areas compared to 22 percent in the NCR and 23 percent in other urban areas. The percentage of the elderly who were spouses in nuclear family households was 14 percent in rural areas compared to 11 percent in both the NCR and other urban areas. Abejo (1995) had a similar finding in her study which used the 1990 census data. The percentage of elderly persons who were in nuclear family households in 1990 was at its highest in rural areas (26 percent were heads and 13 percent were spouses). Likewise, the highest percentage of the elderly who were living alone in 1990 was noted for rural areas (6 percent).

Apparently, the elderly in the NCR appeared to have a greater tendency to live with their married children and relatives. This is reflected in the larger percentage of the elderly in the NCR who were living in extended family households as parents or relatives of the heads of such households (Table 7). This may be explained by the high cost of housing and of maintaining a separate household in this region. Table 8 shows that the rate of house ownership, for any type of households, was much lower in the NCR than in other urban areas and rural areas.

The higher incidence of elderly persons living in nuclear family households in the rural areas may suggest their preference to maintain their own households where they can retain their autonomy as long as they have income or other means to support themselves. Table 9 shows that the percentage of the elderly heads of households who had a gainful occupation during the year prior to the 2000 census was highest in rural areas. This pattern was true regardless of the type of household. The percentage was at its highest among the elderly who were heads of nuclear family households (73 percent). Earlier studies by Domingo, Feranil et al. (1990, cited in Domingo et al. 1993) and Abejo (1995) revealed a similar finding, that is, the percentage of the elderly who were working was higher among the rural elderly than among the urban elderly. This finding tends to show that the elderly in rural areas are less dependent on their children, if any, for economic support compared to the elderly in urban areas. There is qualitative evidence of the common practice of elderly parents extending economic support to their married children. A higher incidence of parents supporting their children was noted among the rural elderly compared to the urban elderly (Domingo et al. 1993).

Table 9 also shows a higher percentage who were engaged in a gainful economic activity among the rural elderly who were living alone (71 percent for men and 34 percent for women) than among the urban elderly (48 percent for

men, 27 percent for women). In both urban and rural areas, the percentage of gainful workers among the elderly who were living alone was larger than among the elderly who were living in family households as a spouse or relative of the head.

The living arrangements of the poor

There is some suggestion that elderly men and women who were living alone came from the most impoverished families and therefore were forced to support themselves. Because of poverty, their children, if any, were left with no option but to abandon them. Table 10 shows that poverty incidence was highest among the elderly who were living alone. This was true for all areas: NCR, other urban areas and rural areas. Data on house ownership confirm the finding that those living alone had the highest incidence of poverty. In all areas, the rate of house ownership was lower among the elderly living alone compared to those living in other types of household (Table 8).

The poverty incidence among the elderly who were living alone was highest in rural areas, where the overall incidence of poverty among elderly men and women was at the highest. In rural areas, the percentage of the elderly who were poor was 59 percent for men and 57 percent for women, compared to 11 percent for elderly men and women in the NCR, and 27 percent and 26 percent for elderly men and women, respectively, in other urban areas. These figures are based on the classification scheme adopted for this study, using the 2000 census data on housing conveniences (refer to "Operational Definitions" for details).

In rural areas, 85 percent of elderly men and 79 percent of elderly women who were living alone were poor. The next largest percentages were noted among the rural elderly who were living with their spouse only (69 percent for both men and women) and the rural elderly men who were lone parents in nuclear family households (69 percent). In all areas, the incidence of poverty was lower among the elderly living in extended family households than among those living in nuclear family households. This is to be expected because there are more gainful workers in extended family households than in nuclear family households. Based on the 2000 census, of all extended family households with at least one elderly member, those with three or more members who had a gainful work constituted 28 percent, compared to 16 percent for nuclear family households (table not shown).

III. Conclusion

The most common living arrangement in 2000 for the elderly in the ages 60 to 64 years was for the men to live with their spouse and children as heads in nuclear family households and for the women, as spouse of the head of the same type of household, that is a nuclear family household. At more advanced ages, the most common living arrangement for the elderly men was to live in

extended family households as heads, or parents of the head. In contrast, for elderly women in the ages 80 years and above, the most common living arrangement was to live as parents or relatives of the heads of extended family households. The living arrangements as portrayed by the 2000 Census of Population and Housing data (Table 5) suggest these patterns: (a) co-residence with a spouse only increases up to some older ages reflecting the life course process of children leaving parental home to establish their own households; (b) co-residence with a spouse declines at the oldest ages (more markedly for women than for men) owing to the death of the spouse; (c) owing to the death of the spouse, co-residence with relatives and even likelihood of living alone increases with age.

To some extent, the living arrangements of the elderly in the Philippines as portrayed by the 2000 census data reflect the independence from their children of a large percentage of the elderly. According to Domingo et al. (1993), a strong attachment to one's own home and the desire to maintain one's autonomy are the two most compelling reasons for the preference of the elderly to stay in their own dwellings. They eventually live with their children when their health fails and their children would fulfill their moral obligation to care for and support their frail parents.

The elderly men and women who were living alone accounted for a small proportion of the total number of Filipino Elderly. The percentage has been increasing over time (Table 6). This percentage may increase markedly in the future if fertility and mortality continue to fall and if the current poverty situation persists. As mentioned at the beginning of this paper, the reduction in fertility lowers the number of potential familial care-givers in the younger generation while the increased survivorship of the elderly means an increased potential population to be provided with care. The highest incidence of poverty among the elderly was noted among those who were living alone. If the current poverty situation continues or worsen, there will be a substantial number of the elderly who will be living alone because in the midst of poverty caring for the elderly family member can become burdensome.

However, elderly men and women maybe living alone not necessarily because they have been deserted by their children. There are elderly widowed parents who would live in separate dwellings located close to their children. They would prefer to stay in their own homes and at the same time prefer that their children live close to them. There is empirical evidence which showed that a large percentage of the Filipino elderly who did not co-reside with one of their children had at least one child residing in the same barangay (Domingo and Casterline, 1992). If this were the case, then they could still be receiving the needed physical care from their children living nearby. There is qualitative evidence of the existence of this kind of living arrangement in the country. Grandchildren, for example, would act as companions to the elderly living in a separate dwelling (Domingo et al., 1993). Elderly persons in the rural areas could

be more likely to practice this living arrangement because it is lesser expensive in the rural areas to maintain a separate household.

On the other hand, co-residence with children does not necessarily mean economic dependence of parents on children. It could also mean dependence of children on parents. There is qualitative evidence of the common practice of married children remaining in parental homes because of economic difficulties (Domingo, et al. 1993). This means that the elderly would have to continue to engage in a gainful economic activity not only for themselves but also for their dependent children. There is also the increasing importance of senior family members as child-minders and houseworkers when wives work outside the home.

The study identifies family members through the information on the relationship to the head of the household and hence describes living arrangements in terms of co-residing spouse, children, parents and relatives of the household head. It is unable to provide information regarding the inter-action between the elderly and their children who do not live with them. Another concern worth considering in a study on the elderly is the effect on the welfare of the elderly of the increasing migration of Filipinos to other countries. Remittances from children working abroad are assumed to improve economic support to their parents. But what could be its effect in terms of the provision of physical care to elderly parents? The increasing migration of young women to other countries to work as caregivers reduces the number of potential familial care-givers of the elderly in their own families.

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In the Philippines, the elderly population has been steadily increasing in both size and proportion. The 2000 census enumerated about 4.6 million persons aged 60 years and over. This number represents 6 percent of the total population in 2000 (76.5 million). The 2000 figure is about 900 thousand larger than the 1995 census figure of 3.7 million. The 1995 proportion is slightly lower, at 5.4 percent. In 1960, only 4.3 percent of the 27.1 million Filipinos were in the ages 60 years and over.

This study aims at examining the living arrangements of persons 60 years old and over in the Philippines using data from the 2000 Census of Population, and their socio-economic status. The living arrangements will be described in terms of the type of the household they belong to and the position they hold in their households. That is, for instance, whether elderly person is the head of household, the spouse of the household head, the parent of the head, or 'other relative' of the head.

The socio-economic status will be described in terms of whether the elderly is a gainful worker or not, the tenure status of the housing unit or lot they occupy, and a poverty measure based on the 2000 census data on housing conveniences. The incidence of poverty among the elderly will be described. The study will determine if there is a difference in the living arrangement between elderly persons who are considered as economically well off and those who are not. The study will also examine if the living arrangement vary with advancing age. The analysis will be carried out in terms of the age groups 60-64, 65-69, 70-79 and 80 years or older.

I. Introduction

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1999, cited in Bongaarts and Zimmer 2002). Population aging is less pronounced in most of the developing countries because the transition to low levels of fertility and mortality is still underway. However, in a number of countries in East and Southeast Asia where fertility declines began relatively early and proceeded rapidly, the increases in the elderly population are occurring at rates that exceeded those experienced by most of the developed countries. Countries in the South East Asia (SEA) Region which tend to exhibit relatively rapid population aging are Sri Lanka, India, Indonesia and Thailand, where the proportion of the population aged 65 years and older in year 2000 ranged from 4.8 percent to 6.3 percent (Table 1). The proportion in the Philippines and Nepal in the same year was much lower at 3.8 and 3.7 percent, respectively. The proportion for the whole SEA Region was 4.8 percent. By year 2010, this proportion is projected to reach 5.6 percent, and that for the World population, 7.6 percent (United Nations 2000). This percentage has the potential to increase markedly because of the continuing improvement in survival chances and declining trends in fertility rate. Demographers believe that the most rapid acceleration in ageing will occur after 2010, when the large post-World War II baby boom cohorts begin to reach age 65.

Occurring at the same time as the population aging in many developing countries are demographic, social and economic changes which are widely viewed to have profound implications on families, households and kin networks and hence on the circumstances under which the elderly population will live. These changes include declines in fertility, greater longevity, increased participation of women in economic activities outside the home, physical separation of parents and adult children as a result of migration and urbanization, and ideational change through the mass media and schooling. Mason (1992) elaborated on how these changes may affect the care and support of the elderly in Asian nations. In summary, the reduction in fertility lowers the number of potential familial caregivers in the younger generation. The increased survivorship of the young may help counter this effect; however, the increased survivorship of the elderly would increase the potential population to be provided with care. The increased labor force participation of women (the predominant care-givers in many developing countries of Asia) makes these women less available as caregivers to elderly members of their families. The increased migration, which typically accompanies industrialization and urbanization, may involve the physical separation of the senior and the younger generation. Finally, increased schooling may break down the traditional values and norms relating to the family. Children spend less time receiving guidance from their parents and hence may feel less indebted to them.

The Philippines, like many developing countries, does not have a government-funded institutional support for its elderly population. The Filipino elderly have historically been dependent on their children or co-resident kin for economic, social and physical support. The children, in particular, are expected to provide care and economic security to their parents in old age. This is because the children are said to incur "utang na loob" (a debt of gratitude) not

only for all the sacrifices their parents have made in the process of raising them, but for giving them life itself (Hollnsteiner 1973, cited in Lopez 1991). The elderly co-residing with at least one of their children are assumed to receive better economic support, and more importantly better physical care than those living alone or those living with non-relatives or even other relatives. It is believed that the traditional familial care and support for the elderly is still widely practiced. Also, it is generally assumed that physical care can only be given by co-resident children or kin. The living arrangements of the elderly can therefore provide a picture of their well-being.

II. Objectives, Data and Methodology

This study examines the living arrangements of elderly men and women in the Philippines, here defined as persons aged 60 years and older. In order to determine if the living arrangements of the elderly who are residing in a highly urbanized area differ from those living elsewhere in the country, the living arrangements of elderly people residing in the NCR, which is the most highly urbanized region in the country, in other urban areas and in rural areas are also investigated. The living arrangements are described in terms of the type of household they belong to and the position they hold in their households.

The study also aims to:

- examine the demographic characteristics and socioeconomic status of the Filipino elderly;
- examine if the living arrangements of the elderly vary with advancing age; and
- determine if the living arrangements of the elderly vary by socioeconomic status; the socioeconomic status is described in terms of whether they have gainful occupation, the tenure status of the housing unit they occupy, and the *poor* and *non-poor* classification constructed for the purpose of the current study.

This study mainly uses data from 10 percent sample of the 2000 Census of Population and Housing. The dataset used contains some 456,000 individual records of persons aged 60 years and older enumerated from households selected using probability sampling during the 2000 census. These households were interviewed using the census questionnaire for sample households called CPH Form 3, designed to obtain detailed information on the characteristics of population and housing in the Philippines. In this study, the data were weighted and summarized using cross tabulations and proportions.

Operational Definitions Used

1. Household and family household

The study adopts the definition of *household* employed in Philippine population censuses. A household is defined as a social unit consisting of a person living alone or a group of persons who sleep in the same housing unit and have a common arrangement for the preparation and consumption of food (National Statistics Office, 2000). It is important to mention that the current study excludes the so-called *institutional population*, which is defined in Philippines censuses as “persons who, at the time of census, were living in institutional living quarters like dormitories and lodging houses, or confined in institutions like hospitals and homes for the aged.

For the definition of *family*, this study will use the United Nations definition: “those members of the household who are related to a specified degree through blood, adoption or marriage” (United Nations 1973). By this definition, a household can comprise more than one family, but a family cannot comprise more than one household. In this study, common residence is an essential criterion for family membership because of the data used. The study identifies family members through the information on the relationship to the head of household. Because the members of a family are necessarily members of the same household, this study uses the term *family household* instead of *family*. Different types of household are defined based on the relationship of the members to the head of the household. The nuclear unit refers to that of the household head. The nuclear and extended types of family households are determined based on this nuclear unit. The types of households used in this study are: (a) nuclear family household, (b) extended family household, (c) household of related persons, (d) household of unrelated persons, and (e) one-person households.

2. Poor and non-poor classification of households

Households were classified in this study as *poor* or *non-poor* based on the responses in the 2000 census to the question regarding the presence in the household of a functioning radio, television set, refrigerator or freezer, video cassette/recorder, telephone or cellphone, washing machine and motorized vehicle. For each household convenience, the proportion of households in the entire country owning the item (e.g., radio) was calculated. A score equal to 1 minus the proportion of households in the country with the particular housing convenience was assigned to a household reporting the presence or ownership of that housing item; a score equal to zero to a household without one. For each household, a summary score was obtained by adding the individual scores on all housing conveniences cited above. All households were then arranged in descending order based on the summary score, with the household having the highest summary score at the top and that with the lowest at the bottom. The lowest 30 percent were classified initially as poor households, the upper 70 percent, non-poor. These bottom 30 percent were composed of households

without any of the housing conveniences cited and households with a radio only. However, further scrutiny revealed that there were households above the 30 percent cut-off which had a radio but without out the other items. Such households had to be classified also as *poor*.

Demographic and Socio-economic Profile of the Elderly

In 2000, there were about 4.6 million Filipinos aged 60 years, comprising 2.1 million males and 2.5 million females. This number represents 6 percent of the total population in the country during that year. This number is 1.4 million larger than the 1990 figure (3.2 million) and 3.0 million larger than the 1970 figure (1.6 million). The elderly comprised 4.5 percent of the total population in 1970 and 5.3 percent in 1990.

More than one-third (36 percent) of the elderly persons in 2000 were in the ages 60 to 64 years while one in every four (25 percent) were aged 65 to 69 years (Table 2). Those aged 80 years and older constituted 11 percent. There were more women than men aged 80 years and older. Because women outlive men, in 2000 there were only 31 widowed elderly men for every 100 widowed elderly women; in terms of marital status distribution, about two out of five elderly women were widowed compared to only 16 percent of elderly men. The largest proportion of elderly men, about four out of five, were married compared to one in two elderly women. Eighty-seven percent of elderly men were heads of their households while one-third of elderly women were household heads. A larger percentage of women compared to elderly men were parents or other relatives of heads of households they live with, again, reflecting the higher survivorship of women than men.

Eight out of 10 elderly men and women were literate. Data on highest grade completed shows that one out of 10 had no grade completed, more than half had, at most, elementary education (Table 3). Ten percent of the elderly had reached college or higher level of education. While almost nine out of 10 elderly men were regarded as the head of their households, only 62.6 percent had gainful occupation, 22.1 percent were without gainful occupation and may be receiving retirement pensions or getting support from their children or relatives. By comparison, only 19.2 percent of elderly women had gainful occupation. Two out of five elderly persons belonged to poor households.

The common living arrangements among elderly men and women: evidence from the 2000 Census

The living arrangements in this study are described in terms of the type of the household the elderly belongs to and the position he or she holds in the household. That is, whether he or she is the head of the household, the spouse, parent, or *other relative* of the household head, or a *non-relative*. The category *other relative* of the household head includes brothers, sisters, parents-in-law, children-in-law, uncles, aunts, and cousins.

The largest percentage of elderly men were heads of extended family households (37 percent) and the second largest percentage (27 percent) were heads of two-parent nuclear family households (Table 4). Those in nuclear family households composed of the couple only constituted 14 percent.

Among elderly women, the largest percentage were spouses of the heads of extended family households (20 percent) and the next largest percentages were comprised of spouses of two-parent nuclear family households (13 percent) and mothers of heads of extended family households (12 percent). The percentage of elderly women living in one-parent nuclear family households was higher than that for elderly men (7 percent versus 3 percent), again, owing to the higher survivorship of women than men. For the same reason, larger percentages of elderly women than men were living in households composed of related persons (7 percent versus 3 percent), and living alone (7 percent versus 5 percent). Close to 60 percent of elderly women living in households of related persons were widowed compared to only 38 percent of elderly men living in such households (table not shown). The widowed among the elderly women who were living alone comprised 77 percent compared to 56 percent for elderly men.

Table 5 shows that the living arrangements of elderly men and women vary with advancing age. In the age group 60-64, the largest percentage of elderly men were heads of nuclear family households (49 percent: 10 percent for *couple-only nuclear family household*, 36 percent for *two-parent family household*, 3 percent for *one-parent family household*); many were living in two-parent nuclear family households. This reflects the high level of fertility in the past. This conforms to the finding of Domingo and Casterline (1992) who noted that the cohorts of Filipino elderly in 1988 had large numbers of surviving children. Of the elderly men aged 60 to 64 years, those who were heads of extended family households were the second largest in proportion (39 percent)

The percentage of elderly men who were heads of extended family households declined with advancing age while the percentage of those who were parents and other relatives of the heads of this type of households increased with age. Likewise, the percentage of elderly men who were heads of two-parent nuclear family households were markedly lower for the older age groups of elderly men than for age group 60-64. The opposite pattern was observed in the percentage of those who were in couple-only nuclear family households, which increased at older ages. This increasing pattern reflects the life course stage of a nuclear family, the period when children may have formed their own families and have left their parental homes. Those living alone increased from about 4 percent for the age groups 60-64 and 70-74 to 7 percent for age group 80 years and older.

Of the 60-64 age group of elderly women, the largest percentage were spouses of heads of nuclear family households (31 percent) and the second largest percentage were spouses of heads of extended family households (26 percent). The percentage of elderly women who were spouses of heads of

extended family households declined with advancing age, from 26 percent in the 60-64 age group it declined to 17 percent in the age group 70-74 and 5 percent in the age group 80 and older. By comparison, the percentage of elderly women who were parents and other relatives of the heads of extended family households increased with advancing age. This is because women outlive their husbands. In the age group 80 and older, the largest percentage of the elderly women were parents of the heads of extended family households (28 percent) and the second largest were other relatives of the heads of such households (22 percent). Elderly women who were heads of extended family households were also at a significant percentage (16 percent). Those living alone comprised 10 percent, for both age groups 75-79 and 80 and older.

In sum, the most common living arrangement in 2000 for elderly men in the ages 60 to 64 years was to live with their spouse and children as heads in nuclear family households; and at more advanced ages, to live in extended family households as heads of these households or as parents of the head. In contrast, for elderly women in the ages 60 to 64 years, the most common living arrangement was to live as spouse of the head of a nuclear family household; and at the age 80 years or older, as parent or relative of the head of an extended family household.

Co-residence of parents and children

There is some belief that in the Philippines and even in other countries of South East Asia co-residence of elderly persons with any of their children might be declining because of substantial social and economic changes that occurred in these countries over the past decades. Some basic indicators of living arrangements of the elderly in selected countries for selected years are presented in Table 6. The data for the Philippines show that the percentage of the elderly living with any of their children declined in the late 90s. However, it cannot be ascertained from the data in Table 6 if there was a declining trend during the decade prior to the late 90s. The percentages for 1988 and 1996 are similar and the estimate for 1986 was based on a sub-national survey. This uncertainty and the modest changes in the other indicators do not provide evidence of any major change in the level of co-residence of the Filipino elderly and their children. The level of co-residence with any child was higher in Singapore and Thailand than in the Philippines. These were high enough to suggest that in these countries, there had been no substantial change in the level of co-residence of the elderly with their children.

Domingo and Casterline (1992) noted that the 1988 percentage of the elderly in the Philippines who co-resided with at least one of their children (68 percent) was low, considering the strong norms in the Filipino society about the obligations of the children to serve their parents in old age. According to them, one possible reason for the lower proportion than expected is the physical limitation of the dwellings, particularly, of poor households.

Nuclearity: the norm, but not in the NCR?

Table 7 reveals that the proportions who were in the couple-only nuclear family households (16 percent for elderly men and 13 percent for elderly women) and the proportions who were living alone (5 percent and 8 percent for elderly men and women, respectively) were higher among the elderly living in rural areas than those residing in the NCR and other urban areas. The percentage of the elderly who were heads of nuclear family households was 26 percent in rural areas compared to 22 percent in the NCR and 23 percent in other urban areas. The percentage of the elderly who were spouses in nuclear family households was 14 percent in rural areas compared to 11 percent in both the NCR and other urban areas. Abejo (1995) had a similar finding in her study which used the 1990 census data. The percentage of elderly persons who were in nuclear family households in 1990 was at its highest in rural areas (26 percent were heads and 13 percent were spouses). Likewise, the highest percentage of the elderly who were living alone in 1990 was noted for rural areas (6 percent).

Apparently, the elderly in the NCR appeared to have a greater tendency to live with their married children and relatives. This is reflected in the larger percentage of the elderly in the NCR who were living in extended family households as parents or relatives of the heads of such households (Table 7). This may be explained by the high cost of housing and of maintaining a separate household in this region. Table 8 shows that the rate of house ownership, for any type of households, was much lower in the NCR than in other urban areas and rural areas.

The higher incidence of elderly persons living in nuclear family households in the rural areas may suggest their preference to maintain their own households where they can retain their autonomy as long as they have income or other means to support themselves. Table 9 shows that the percentage of the elderly heads of households who had a gainful occupation during the year prior to the 2000 census was highest in rural areas. This pattern was true regardless of the type of household. The percentage was at its highest among the elderly who were heads of nuclear family households (73 percent). Earlier studies by Domingo, Feranil et al. (1990, cited in Domingo et al. 1993) and Abejo (1995) revealed a similar finding, that is, the percentage of the elderly who were working was higher among the rural elderly than among the urban elderly. This finding tends to show that the elderly in rural areas are less dependent on their children, if any, for economic support compared to the elderly in urban areas. There is qualitative evidence of the common practice of elderly parents extending economic support to their married children. A higher incidence of parents supporting their children was noted among the rural elderly compared to the urban elderly (Domingo et al. 1993).

Table 9 also shows a higher percentage who were engaged in a gainful economic activity among the rural elderly who were living alone (71 percent for men and 34 percent for women) than among the urban elderly (48 percent for

men, 27 percent for women). In both urban and rural areas, the percentage of gainful workers among the elderly who were living alone was larger than among the elderly who were living in family households as a spouse or relative of the head.

The living arrangements of the poor

There is some suggestion that elderly men and women who were living alone came from the most impoverished families and therefore were forced to support themselves. Because of poverty, their children, if any, were left with no option but to abandon them. Table 10 shows that poverty incidence was highest among the elderly who were living alone. This was true for all areas: NCR, other urban areas and rural areas. Data on house ownership confirm the finding that those living alone had the highest incidence of poverty. In all areas, the rate of house ownership was lower among the elderly living alone compared to those living in other types of household (Table 8).

The poverty incidence among the elderly who were living alone was highest in rural areas, where the overall incidence of poverty among elderly men and women was at the highest. In rural areas, the percentage of the elderly who were poor was 59 percent for men and 57 percent for women, compared to 11 percent for elderly men and women in the NCR, and 27 percent and 26 percent for elderly men and women, respectively, in other urban areas. These figures are based on the classification scheme adopted for this study, using the 2000 census data on housing conveniences (refer to "Operational Definitions" for details).

In rural areas, 85 percent of elderly men and 79 percent of elderly women who were living alone were poor. The next largest percentages were noted among the rural elderly who were living with their spouse only (69 percent for both men and women) and the rural elderly men who were lone parents in nuclear family households (69 percent). In all areas, the incidence of poverty was lower among the elderly living in extended family households than among those living in nuclear family households. This is to be expected because there are more gainful workers in extended family households than in nuclear family households. Based on the 2000 census, of all extended family households with at least one elderly member, those with three or more members who had a gainful work constituted 28 percent, compared to 16 percent for nuclear family households (table not shown).

III. Conclusion

The most common living arrangement in 2000 for the elderly in the ages 60 to 64 years was for the men to live with their spouse and children as heads in nuclear family households and for the women, as spouse of the head of the same type of household, that is a nuclear family household. At more advanced ages, the most common living arrangement for the elderly men was to live in

extended family households as heads, or parents of the head. In contrast, for elderly women in the ages 80 years and above, the most common living arrangement was to live as parents or relatives of the heads of extended family households. The living arrangements as portrayed by the 2000 Census of Population and Housing data (Table 5) suggest these patterns: (a) co-residence with a spouse only increases up to some older ages reflecting the life course process of children leaving parental home to establish their own households; (b) co-residence with a spouse declines at the oldest ages (more markedly for women than for men) owing to the death of the spouse; (c) owing to the death of the spouse, co-residence with relatives and even likelihood of living alone increases with age.

To some extent, the living arrangements of the elderly in the Philippines as portrayed by the 2000 census data reflect the independence from their children of a large percentage of the elderly. According to Domingo et al. (1993), a strong attachment to one's own home and the desire to maintain one's autonomy are the two most compelling reasons for the preference of the elderly to stay in their own dwellings. They eventually live with their children when their health fails and their children would fulfill their moral obligation to care for and support their frail parents.

The elderly men and women who were living alone accounted for a small proportion of the total number of Filipino Elderly. The percentage has been increasing over time (Table 6). This percentage may increase markedly in the future if fertility and mortality continue to fall and if the current poverty situation persists. As mentioned at the beginning of this paper, the reduction in fertility lowers the number of potential familial care-givers in the younger generation while the increased survivorship of the elderly means an increased potential population to be provided with care. The highest incidence of poverty among the elderly was noted among those who were living alone. If the current poverty situation continues or worsen, there will be a substantial number of the elderly who will be living alone because in the midst of poverty caring for the elderly family member can become burdensome.

However, elderly men and women maybe living alone not necessarily because they have been deserted by their children. There are elderly widowed parents who would live in separate dwellings located close to their children. They would prefer to stay in their own homes and at the same time prefer that their children live close to them. There is empirical evidence which showed that a large percentage of the Filipino elderly who did not co-reside with one of their children had at least one child residing in the same barangay (Domingo and Casterline, 1992). If this were the case, then they could still be receiving the needed physical care from their children living nearby. There is qualitative evidence of the existence of this kind of living arrangement in the country. Grandchildren, for example, would act as companions to the elderly living in a separate dwelling (Domingo et al., 1993). Elderly persons in the rural areas could

be more likely to practice this living arrangement because it is lesser expensive in the rural areas to maintain a separate household.

On the other hand, co-residence with children does not necessarily mean economic dependence of parents on children. It could also mean dependence of children on parents. There is qualitative evidence of the common practice of married children remaining in parental homes because of economic difficulties (Domingo, et al. 1993). This means that the elderly would have to continue to engage in a gainful economic activity not only for themselves but also for their dependent children. There is also the increasing importance of senior family members as child-minders and houseworkers when wives work outside the home.

The study identifies family members through the information on the relationship to the head of the household and hence describes living arrangements in terms of co-residing spouse, children, parents and relatives of the household head. It is unable to provide information regarding the inter-action between the elderly and their children who do not live with them. Another concern worth considering in a study on the elderly is the effect on the welfare of the elderly of the increasing migration of Filipinos to other countries. Remittances from children working abroad are assumed to improve economic support to their parents. But what could be its effect in terms of the provision of physical care to elderly parents? The increasing migration of young women to other countries to work as caregivers reduces the number of potential familial care-givers of the elderly in their own families.

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Table 1. Trends in percent of the population 65 years and older, selected countries in South East Asia Region

Country	1990	2000	2010
Philippines	3.4	3.8	-
India	4.3	5.0	5.8
Indonesia	3.8	4.8	6.0
Nepal	3.6	3.7	4.0
Sri-Lanka	5.1	6.3	7.6
Thailand	3.8	5.2	6.7
South East Asia	4.1	4.8	5.6
World	6.2	6.9	7.6

Sources: Figures for the Philippines are from 1990 and 2000 censuses of population; figures for other countries are from the UN World Population Prospects, the 2000 Revision

Table 2. Demographic profile of elderly men and women in the Philippines, 2000

Characteristics	Percentage Distribution			Sex Ratio (males per 100 females)
	Total	Male	Female	
Number ('000)	4,557	2,091	2,466	85
Age				
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	85
60 – 64	35.8	37.5	34.3	93
65 – 69	25.0	25.5	24.5	88
70 – 74	17.5	17.3	17.7	83
75 – 79	11.1	10.4	11.6	76
80 and Over	10.7	9.3	11.9	66
Marital Status				
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	85
Single	5.1	3.2	6.7	41
Married	63.2	79.6	49.4	137
Widowed	29.9	15.5	42.0	31
Divorced/separated	1.3	1.2	1.3	77
Unknown	0.5	0.5	0.6	69
Relationship to Household Head				
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	85
Head	57.4	87.0	32.3	228
Spouse	23.6	1.3	42.6	3
Child	0.4	0.2	0.5	42
Parent	9.1	5.3	12.3	37
Other relative	8.4	5.4	10.9	42
Non-relative	1.1	0.7	1.4	40

Source: 10 percent sample of Census 2000

Table 3. Socio-economic profile of elderly men and women in the Philippines, 2000

Characteristics	Total	Male	Female
Number ('000)	4,557	2,091	2,466
Literacy Status			
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Literate	81.0	82.2	80.0
Not literate	19.0	17.8	20.0
Highest Grade Completed			
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
None	9.9	8.9	10.8
Elementary	56.8	55.1	58.2
High school	15.3	17.2	13.8
Post secondary	2.0	2.3	1.8
College or higher	10.0	11.1	9.0
Not reported	6.0	5.4	6.5
Percent with gainful occupation			
	39.1	62.6	19.2
Percent who are poor	42.1	43.8	40.6

Source: 10 percent sample of Census 2000

Table 4. Elderly men and women, by type of household and position in the household, Philippines: 2000

Type of household and position in the household	Number (in thousands)			Percent to Total		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
TOTAL	4,557	2,091	2,466	100.0	100.0	100.0
Nuclear Family Household	1,734	939	795	38.0	44.9	32.2
Couple only	564	296	267	12.4	14.2	10.8
Head	308	289	19	6.7	13.8	0.8
Spouse	253	7	246	5.6	0.3	10.0
Non-relative	3	-	2	0.1	0.0	0.1
Couple and unmarried children	926	571	355	20.3	27.3	14.4
Head	577	557	20	12.7	26.6	0.8
Spouse	325	7	318	7.1	0.3	12.9
Child/stepchild	1	-	-	0.0	0.0	0.0
Non-relative	22	7	15	0.5	0.3	0.6
Lone parent and unmarried children	244	71	173	5.4	3.4	7.0
Head	237	69	168	5.2	3.3	6.8
Child/stepchild	4	1	2	0.1	0.1	0.1
Non-relative	3	-	3	0.1	0.0	0.1
Extended Family Household	2,313	992	1,321	50.8	47.4	53.6
Head	1,057	765	292	23.2	36.6	11.8
Spouse	498	13	486	10.9	0.6	19.7
Child/stepchild	12	3	9	0.3	0.2	0.3
Parent	414	112	303	9.1	5.3	12.3
Other relative	318	96	222	7.0	4.6	9.0
Non-relative	14	4	10	0.3	0.2	0.4
Household of Related Persons	232	58	174	5.1	2.8	7.1
Head	165	39	126	3.6	1.9	5.1
Relative	64	18	46	1.4	0.9	1.9
non-relative	2	-	2	0.1	0.0	0.1
Household of Non-related Persons	19	6	13	0.4	0.3	0.5
Head	14	5	9	0.3	0.2	0.4
non-relative	5	2	4	0.1	0.1	0.1
One-Person Household	260	96	163	5.7	4.6	6.6

Note: Dash “-“ means less than 1000 persons.

Source: 10 percent sample of Census 2000

Table 5. Elderly men and women in 5-year age groups, by type of household and position in the household, Philippines: 2000

Household type/ Position in the household	Male					Female				
	60-64	65-69	70-74	75-79	80+	60-64	65-69	70-74	75-79	80+
Total ('000)	785	533	361	219	194	846	604	436	286	294
Nuclear Family Household	50.1	45.8	42.2	39.1	33.2	40.5	34.5	28.8	23.3	17.8
Couple only	10.3	14.1	17.5	19.5	17.7	10.6	12.3	12.3	10.7	6.6
Head	10.0	13.8	17.1	19.1	17.1	0.6	0.7	1.0	0.9	0.9
Spouse	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.5	9.9	11.5	11.2	9.8	5.5
Non-Relative	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2
Couple and Unmarried Children	36.3	28.3	21.4	16.1	11.7	22.3	14.9	9.7	6.0	5.7
Head	35.6	27.7	20.8	15.5	10.9	1.0	0.8	0.7	0.4	1.0
Spouse	0.5	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.3	20.7	13.6	8.2	4.8	3.8
Child	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
Non-Relative	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.7	0.8	1.0
Lone Parent and Unmarried Children	3.4	3.3	3.3	3.5	3.8	7.6	7.3	6.9	6.5	5.4
Head	3.3	3.2	3.2	3.5	3.7	7.3	7.1	6.8	6.4	5.3
Child	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Non-Relative	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Extended Family Household	46.2	49.7	52.3	54.4	59.3	55.1	59.3	62.4	65.9	71.4
Head	38.9	40.4	39.7	36.9	30.6	14.8	17.7	19.4	19.4	15.5
Spouse	0.6	0.7	0.5	0.6	0.5	26.4	23.0	17.2	11.7	5.1
Child	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.5	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.3
Parent	2.3	3.7	6.0	9.5	16.2	5.9	9.3	13.6	19.2	28.1
Other Relative	4.0	4.6	5.7	7.0	11.6	7.0	8.7	11.6	15.0	21.6
Non-Relative	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.8
Household of Unrelated Persons	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.9
Head	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.5	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.8
Non-Relative	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
One-Person Household	3.5	4.2	5.3	6.2	7.0	4.0	5.8	8.3	10.2	9.9

Note: Percentage for extended family household includes counts of persons in households of related persons

Cell percentage equal to 0.0 means less than 0.05 percent.

Source: 10 percent sample of Census 2000

Table 6. Levels and trends in living arrangements among the population aged 60 and older, Philippines and selected countries

Country and Year	Nature of sample	Percentage living with any child	Percentage Living alone	Percentage living only with spouse
Philippines				
1986	sub-national	74	3	5
1988	National	68	4	10
1996	National	69	6	8
2000	National	63	6	12
Singapore				
1988	National	88	2	3
1995	National	85	3	6
Thailand				
1986	National	77	4	7
1995	National	71	4	12
Vietnam				
1996	Red River Delta	74	7	13
1997	Ho Chi Minh City and nearby provinces	82	5	5

Sources: Figures for the Philippines for year 2000 were estimated using 10 percent sample of Census 2000 data. All other figures were taken from Knodel and Debavalya (1997).

Table 7. Elderly men and women, by type of household and position in the household, National Capital Region, Other Urban and Rural Areas of the Philippines: 2000

Household type/ Position in the household	NCR			Other Urban			Rural		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Total ('000)	466	202	264	1,568	693	875	2,524	1,197	1,327
Nuclear Family									
Household	34.4	41.1	29.2	35.0	42.2	29.2	40.6	47.1	34.8
Couple only	8.7	10.4	7.4	10.3	12.3	8.7	14.3	15.9	12.9
Head	4.7	9.8	0.9	5.7	12.0	0.7	7.8	15.6	0.8
Spouse	3.9	0.6	6.4	4.5	0.3	7.8	6.5	0.3	12.1
Non-Relative	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1
Couple and									
Unmarried Children	20.1	27.4	14.6	19.3	26.6	13.4	21.0	27.7	15.0
Head	12.1	26.2	1.3	11.9	25.9	0.8	13.3	27.1	0.8
Spouse	7.3	0.7	12.2	6.8	0.3	11.9	7.3	0.3	13.7
Child	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Non-Relative	0.8	0.4	1.1	0.6	0.3	0.7	0.4	0.3	0.5
Lone Parent and									
Unmarried Children	5.5	3.3	7.2	5.4	3.3	7.1	5.3	3.5	6.9
Head	5.3	3.2	6.9	5.3	3.2	6.9	5.2	3.4	6.7
Childr	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Non-Relative	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1
Extended Family									
Household	54.3	49.9	57.7	54.5	51.2	57.1	47.8	44.9	50.4
Head	23.7	37.0	13.6	24.9	39.3	13.6	22.0	34.9	10.3
Spouse	10.1	1.1	16.9	11.3	0.7	19.7	10.9	0.5	20.2
Child	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.2	0.1	0.3
Parent	10.4	5.7	14.0	9.7	5.7	13.0	8.4	5.1	11.5
Other Relative	9.2	5.7	11.9	7.9	5.1	10.0	6.0	4.1	7.8
Non-Relative	0.6	0.3	0.8	0.4	0.2	0.5	0.2	0.1	0.2
Household of Related									
Persons	6.7	5.1	8.0	5.3	2.6	7.4	4.7	2.5	6.7
Head	3.9	2.7	4.7	3.7	1.7	5.3	3.5	1.8	5.1
Other Relative	2.7	2.2	3.1	1.5	0.8	2.0	1.1	0.6	1.6
Non-Relative	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Household of									
Unrelated Persons	1.0	0.7	1.2	0.5	0.3	0.6	0.3	0.2	0.3
Head	0.7	0.5	0.9	0.4	0.3	0.5	0.2	0.2	0.2
Non-Relative	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
One-Person Household	3.6	3.2	3.9	4.8	3.6	5.7	6.7	5.4	7.8

Source: 10 percent sample of Census 2000

Table 8. Elderly heads of households, by type of household and tenure status of the housing unit they occupy, National Capital Region, Other Urban and Rural Areas, Philippines: 2000

Household Type/ Tenure status of house	Total	NCR	Other Urban	Rural
Total Number of Heads ('000)	2,617	251	888	1,478
Total (percent)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Owned/being Amortized	81.9	68.0	83.7	83.1
Rented	4.2	17.9	4.7	1.6
Rent-free with Consent Of Owner	9.3	6.8	7.3	11.0
Rent-free without Consent of Owner	0.8	2.1	0.7	0.6
Not Reported	3.8	5.1	3.5	3.8
Couple Only	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Owned/being Amortized	82.0	70.6	83.5	82.6
Rented	3.2	15.0	4.1	1.5
Rent-free with Consent Of Owner	10.5	7.2	8.3	11.9
Rent-free without Consent of Owner	0.8	2.2	0.8	0.6
Not Reported	3.5	5.0	3.3	3.4
Couple and Unmarried Children	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Owned/being Amortized	80.6	67.2	82.3	81.9
Rented	4.6	18.6	5.5	1.8
Rent-free with Consent Of Owner	10.2	7.0	7.9	11.9
Rent-free without Consent of Owner	0.9	2.4	0.9	0.7
Not Reported	3.7	4.8	3.4	3.7
Lone Parent and Unmarried Children	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Owned/being Amortized	81.2	64.0	83.7	82.9
Rented	4.9	21.7	5.3	1.6
Rent-free with Consent Of Owner	9.6	7.0	7.3	11.5
Rent-free without Consent of Owner	0.9	3.0	0.7	0.6
Not Reported	3.3	4.3	3.0	3.4
Extended Family Household	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Owned/being Amortized	83.7	70.1	85.3	85.3
Rented	4.3	17.6	4.4	1.5
Rent-free with Consent Of Owner	7.7	5.5	6.2	9.2
Rent-free without Consent of Owner	0.7	1.7	0.6	0.5
Not Reported	3.7	5.1	3.6	3.5
Household of Related Persons	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Owned/being Amortized	82.2	67.5	84.8	83.5
Rented	4.4	17.3	4.9	1.5
Rent-free with Consent Of Owner	9.3	8.6	6.9	11.0
Rent-free without Consent of Owner	0.6	1.8	0.5	0.5
Not Reported	3.4	4.8	2.9	3.5
One-Person Household	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Owned/being Amortized	77.4	60.3	78.8	78.5
Rented	3.2	17.1	4.2	1.3
Rent-free with Consent Of Owner	12.7	11.8	10.7	13.6
Rent-free without Consent of Owner	0.9	3.4	0.9	0.7
Not Reported	5.8	7.4	5.3	5.9

Source: 10 percent sample of Census 2000

Table 9. Percentage of elderly men and women who had gainful occupation, by type of household and position in the household, Philippines: 2000

Type of household and position in the household	Total			Urban			Rural		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Total	39.1	62.6	19.2	31.5	48.6	18.1	45.2	73.1	20.0
Nuclear Family Household	47.3	69.8	20.8	38.9	55.0	20.7	53.2	79.6	20.9
Head	63.7	70.8	32.4	49.9	55.9	27.7	73.4	80.6	36.7
Spouse	16.7	24.9	16.5	17.6	26.6	17.3	16.1	23.1	16.0
Child	35.6	50.3	28.7	34.8	35.2	34.7	36.3	61.5	23.5
Non-Relative	24.7	34.3	20.8	26.0	25.8	26.0	22.9	42.1	12.7
Extended Family Household	33.5	56.9	15.5	27.2	44.3	15.0	39.2	67.5	16.0
Head	54.7	65.3	26.9	42.9	51.4	23.9	65.3	76.8	30.4
Spouse	15.4	22.4	15.2	16.2	22.4	16.0	14.8	22.4	14.7
Child	29.0	43.9	23.0	25.6	34.9	21.9	32.7	53.5	24.2
Other Relative	13.8	26.9	8.4	11.1	19.5	8.0	16.4	33.3	8.9
Non-Relative	32.0	41.5	28.2	35.1	39.8	33.6	26.6	43.7	17.6
Household of Related Persons	30.1	47.2	24.7	25.2	35.2	22.1	35.0	58.9	27.3
Head	36.8	55.0	31.2	31.3	40.4	28.6	41.5	66.6	33.4
Other Relative	20.6	36.8	15.2	17.6	29.6	13.6	24.1	45.9	17.1
Non-Relative	39.9	43.9	38.3	40.9	36.3	42.6	37.2	64.9	26.4
One-Person Household	43.4	63.5	31.5	34.4	48.0	27.2	48.3	71.1	34.0

Source: 10 percent sample of Census 2000

Table 10. Percentage of elderly men and women who are poor, by type of household, NCR, Other Urban Areas and Rural Areas: 2000

Type of household	Total		NCR		Other Urban		Rural	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total	43.8	40.6	11.1	10.8	27.1	25.6	59.1	56.5
Couple only	56.2	56.1	13.7	13.2	37.0	37.2	69.5	69.4
Couple and Unmarried Children	44.7	41.7	9.6	9.5	26.6	24.5	60.7	58.2
Lone Parent and Unmarried Children	52.6	45.8	15.6	11.4	34.3	31.0	68.5	62.9
Extended Family Household	35.7	33.0	9.6	9.3	21.6	20.4	49.9	47.6
Household of Related Persons	46.4	41.9	16.6	13.4	34.0	28.2	64.6	59.5
Household of Unrelated Persons	33.9	21.2	11.9	8.1	19.3	14.4	60.8	41.3
One-Person Household	75.0	67.1	23.9	26.0	61.6	50.8	85.4	79.0

Source: 10 percent sample of Census 2000