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residents to move away before reaching later life, either returning to their regions of origin (given that the great majority were once rural migrants) or moving to a better neighbourhood (on the optimistic premise

These limited data suggest that quite high concentrations of older people can be found in some shanty

1993a). Similar results were obtained in a study of shanty towns in São Paulo, where the author interviewed 126 elderly residents in 1995. This second survey found that 31 per cent of respondents were in households of six or more, compared to only 8 per cent in the State of São Paulo as a whole (see Table 2).¹ Taken together, the two shanty town surveys suggest that there is a higher than average probability

(TABLES 3 & 4 HERE)

younger family members (as is inherent in the concept of demographic dependency ratios). Respondents often provided significant levels of income, which was pooled at the household level, as well as less obvious contributions, such as the provision of accommodation. This finding is supported by other studies of poor households in both rural and urban contexts (Heslop, 1999; Ofstedal, Knodel and Chayovan, 1999).

The surveys referred to in the present paper are limited both in terms of scale and in terms of the range of issues they deal with. Other concerns that require investigation and analysis include the relationship between health status, income and living arrangements and comparisons of poor elders in rural and urban settings. The author is currently developing projects related to these themes in Thailand and South Africa.

NOTES

¹Data were not available for São Paulo City. However, the State of São Paulo is itself highly urbanized.

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TABLE 1. STRUCTURES OF HOUSEHOLDS CONTAINING OLDER PEOPLE IN URBAN DISTRICTS IN ARGENTINA, C. 1990

	<i>Provincial capitals</i>	<i>La Boca</i> <i>(Percentage)</i>	<i>Three shanty towns</i>
Alone	21	28	11
Just with partner	35	33	17
Household of 6 or more	n/a	n/a	24

Sources: Redondo (1990, p. 201); Scipione and others (1992, p. 72); Lloyd-Sherlock (1997).

TABLE 2. STRUCTURES OF HOUSEHOLDS CONTAINING OLDER PEOPLE IN SAO PAULO, 1980 AND 1995

<i>State of São Paulo, (1980)</i>	<i>Two shanty towns, (1995)</i>
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(Percentage)

TABLE 3. DEGREE OF ECONOMIC DEPENDENCE ON HOUSEHOLD MEMBER OTHER THAN PARTNER AND DIRECTION OF ECONOMIC TIE, BUENOS AIRES SHANTY TOWNS, 1992-1993

<i>Degree of economic dependence</i>	<i>(Percentage)</i>	<i>Nature of economic tie</i>	<i>(Percentage)</i>
Complete	4	Benefit	17
Substantial	14	Neutral	30
Slight	22	Contribute	18
None	60	None	35

Source: Lloyd-Sherlock (1997, p. 191).

TABLE 4. DEGREE OF ECONOMIC DEPENDENCE ON HOUSEHOLD MEMBER OTHER THAN PARTNER AND DIRECTION OF ECONOMIC TIE, SAO PAULO SHANTY TOWNS, 1995

<i>Degree of economic dependence</i>	<i>(Percentage)</i>	<i>Nature of economic tie</i>	<i>(Percentage)</i>
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TABLE 5. DEGREE OF ECONOMIC DEPENDENCE ON OTHER FAMILY MEMBERS AND DIRECTION OF ECONOMIC TIES, BUENOS AIRES SHANTY TOWNS, 1992-1993

<i>Degree of economic dependence</i>	<i>(Percentage)</i>	<i>Nature of economic tie</i>	<i>(Percentage)</i>
Complete	2	Benefit	36
Substantial	22	Neutral	16
Slight	28	Contribute	3
None	49	None	45

Source: Lloyd-Sherlock (1997).

TABLE 6. DEGREE OF ECONOMIC DEPENDENCE ON OTHER FAMILY MEMBERS AND DIRECTION OF ECONOMIC TIES,
SAO PAULO SHANTY TOWNS, 1995

<i>Degree of economic dependence</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Nature of economic tie</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
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TABLE 7. HOME OWNERSHIP IN BUENOS AIRES AND SAO PAULO SHANTY TOWNS

	<i>Buenos Aires</i>	<i>São Paulo</i>
Owner with other adults	69	62
Owner without other adults	8	12
Not owner	18	23
Unclear	5	2

Source: Lloyd-Sherlock (unpublished survey data).