LIVING ARRANGEMENTS OF OLDER PERSONS AND FAMILY SUPPORT IN LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES[1]

*Jay Sokolovsky**

Now here is a story to show you how things have changed and what the young think of the old these days. After they married, 35-year-old Slobodan and his wife moved into the small house of his parents near the centre of Belgrad, the capital city of Yugoslavia. When the younger couple started having children they began taking over more of the limited space in the dwelling. By the time Slobodan's wife had their third child, his mother was dead and his 74-year-old father, Zvonko, was becoming frail. Slobodan requested that his father give up his larger bedroom to him and his wife. As his children grew, Slobodan haphazardly built a tiny room onto the house and "encouraged" the father to move into this new space, which he did. Eventually, although he was still able to take care of himself, Zvonko was asked by the son to move into a large, new residential complex for pensioners on the outskirts of the city. Two years passed and the father died. A month later, Slobodan receives a call from the director of the residence for the elderly, asking when he and his family are moving out of the house. Puzzled, Slobodan inquired why the director should ask such a crazy question. He was then informed that Zvonko had been so appreciative of how he was treated at the residence that he had deeded his house to the facility for its use.

Story told to Jay Sokolovsky while studying residential homes for the elderly in Croatia and Serbia from 1983 to 1985.

INTRODUCTION

Discourses of neglect

It was intriguing to hear this story in a country where care of the elderly by their children is constitutionally mandated. Interestingly enough, similar tales of forsaking the aged can be found in such divergent places as Japan, among foraging peoples of Botswana, rural villagers in Kenya and both rural and urban populations in India. These "discourses of neglect", as some have labelled them (Cattell, 1997b; Rosenberg, 1997), act as powerful narratives of caution which can have deep cultural roots. In India, which maintains one of the highest levels of elderly co-residence in the world, Linda Martin notes that as early as the ninth century, the Hindu philosopher Shankaracharya spoke of the harsh dilemma of very late adulthood. In stressing the need for material detachment during the last phase of adult life, he said: "Your family is attached to you as long as you can earn. With frail body and no income, no one in the house will care for you"(Martin, 1990, p. 108).

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At the beginning of this new millennium, in countries such as Croatia, India, China, Thailand, Ghana and

The present paper focuses on how families are trying to adapt traditional patterns of living arrangements to the powerful changes encountered in less developed countries. In examining this issue, some of the basic data on living arrangements and support in developing countries in the light of urbanizing change are reviewed. Finally, the author uses his own long-term research in a village in central Mexico to show the need to go beyond the surface

decades, countries such as China, Mexico, Ghana, India and Indonesia and most of the Caribbean countries will reverse the dramatic demographic thrust of the past century by actually having minimal or even negative annual growth among the age group 0-14, while those over age 65 will grow at rates between 2.1 and 3.2 each year (World Bank, 1999).

At the extreme edge of these kinds of changes is China, which began a one-family/one-child policy during the 1970s. There has ensued a great public worry around the "4-2-1" dilemma, premised on one child taking care of two parents and four grandparents. Since 1978, the country has sought, in the process of decollectivization, to restore the family as the main local economic unit and reassign to that unit much of the care of the elderly that had previously come from the public sector. However, the dislocations of the economic transformations of the socialist economy are clearly seen among the urban elderly. During the late 1990s, in some areas, pensions were lost when state-sponsored enterprises folded, and, increasingly, as housing is privatized, the urban aged are being moved out of long-familiar neighbourhoods to the outer fringes of cities.[2] Municipal governments have tried to assume some of the pension debt of defunct state-owned businesses, but a persistent question keeps arising: in the market economy, will children have time to care for parents? The 1992 National Survey on Support Systems for the Elderly indicated that in both rural and urban areas social and financial support tend to be need-based, with familial support attempting to compensate for inequalities in elderly persons' access to public resources (Lee and Xiao, 1998). However, in discussing the Chinese intergenerational contract of support by sons, Ikels talks about the changes wrought by the economic transformations of the 1980s and 1990s and how they are challenging some of the presumptions of the 1992 survey:

> Material and psychological incentives along with the threat of social and supernatural sanctions usually made living up to the contract more attractive to the younger generation than reneging on it. In the reform era the strength of these forces has been weakened as the young take advantage of the new opportunities to live and work in communities other than the ones in which they were raised.

accused of not paying much attention to these cases and of failing to prosecute the persons responsible (Ikels, 1993, p. 332).

Women and the dilemma of widowhood

Perhaps the greatest challenge over the coming decades will be support of elderly women, especially widows. As can be seen in table 2, throughout the developing world, typically half or more of women over age 60 are widowed. This is dramatic in comparison to men. In Africa, for example, fewer than 1 in 10 are widowers and elsewhere this figure is typically lower than 20 per cent (Cattell, 1997a). Even where the incidence of widowhood dips below half, in Brazil and Mexico, men still had rates three times lower than did women.

(TABLE 2 HERE)

The consequences of differential rates of widowed status are no less dramatic in the numbers than in the typical cultural consequences. Older males are more likely to receive social and material support within extended family networks owing to their status as older males, greater access to economic resources, and the much higher likelihood of becoming remarried and having the personal support of a spouse. In many areas of India, there are strong cultural prohibitions against widow remarriage, and even as old age brings some measure of prestige, such women are still considered inauspicious (Lamb, forthcoming). More concretely, work by Jean Dreze (1990) shows that households headed by widows have 70 per cent less spending power than the national average. She identifies five factors creating constraints on widows in India: their inability to return to the parental home; restrictions on remarriage; very limited access to self-employment outside of agricultural wage labour; difficulty in inheriting property in a patrilineal system; and lack of access to credit. These factors will become increasingly important as the size of local close family networks continues to shrink with decreasing fertility and migration.

Moreover, there are substantial numbers of widows who have no sons, or any biological children for that matter. In the 1980s, Hugo found that in five countries of Central Africa (Cameroon, Central African Republic, Gabon, the Sudan and Zaire) there were regions where 20 to 50 per cent of females over age 50 had never borne children (Hugo, 1985). Similarly, in Indonesia's West Java region, he found childlessness to exceed 15 per centborhp0.9(i-3..5( )

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85 per cent of the elderly reside in extended family settings. Importantly, within each country, variables such as gender, age of elder or marital status had little impact on the likelihood of co-residence. As Albert and Cattell

More subtle but equally profound changes can be seen in the indigenous belief system. One noted example is the loss of traditional ancestor worship associated with conversion to Christianity. Previously, there was a widespread ritual of ancestor pleasing ! *kupira mudzimu*. It was believed that if people did not care for their parents, the ancestors would curse them. This seems now to have lost its effectiveness in an era when cross-generational interdependence is seldom a mainstay of gaining economic maturity for young adults.

The limited survey research on living arrangements in Africa, such as that carried out by Peil (1985) during the 1980s, shows consistently high levels of co-residence and family-based support in both rural and urban areas. She reported that about 80 per cent of her respondents over age 60 were receiving help from children, grandchildren or siblings. However, it is important to note that there is an enormous variation in family and descent systems in Africa, as well as some basic and important differences in informal support systems compared with other regions of the world. Typically, one finds that family-based systems of support tend to encompass a broader definition of kin support than is usually found in many regions of Asia or Latin America (Cattell, 1997a). Especially in West Africa, widespread matrilineal descent systems, coupled with the traditional importance of women in local market economies, appear to provide older women with a more secure late life support network. Support in old age from siblings is also more a part of caregiving than it is in Asia and cultural traditions of child fostering and adoption potentially expand the number of persons one can "claim" as his or her child (Apt, 1996; Cattell, 1993). In some matrilineal systems, where marriage pulled women to the homesteads of their spouses, after menopause they will be reintegrated into their natal households, where they will be supported for the remainder of their lives.

with adult children are, nevertheless, in "living arrangements which can be construed as consistent with the prevailing normative mandate assigning family responsibility for support and care of the elderly, (Siriboon and Knodel, 1994, p. 32).

(TABLE 5 HERE)

Among the important research indicators emerging from the recent work on living arrangements and ageing in Asia is the need for attention to regional variation, even within relatively small countries. For example, research in Viet Nam (Anh and others, 1997) shows a variation between the Red River Delta area - with an extreme preference for residing with married sons - and Ho Chi Minh City and its surrounding regions, where this preference was much less pronounced. In looking at these types of variation, one should always expect both context and culture to shape the reality of household formation. For example, data from the senior sample of the Second Malaysian Family Life Survey show that more than two thirds of Malaysians aged 60 or older co-reside with an adult child.[6] Analysis by Chan and Davanzo (1994, 1996) indicates that co-residence is influenced by the opportunities and costs of co-residence versus separate living arrangements. Married seniors were found to be more likely to co-reside with adult children when housing costs were greater in their area or when an elderly spouse was in poor health. This work suggests that married parents and children live together to economize on living costs or to receive help with household services.[7]

In the same study, Chan and DaVanzo found that ethnic and cultural factors strongly influenced co-residence. Chinese and Indian seniors with at least a son and a daughter were more likely than were Malay age peers to live with adult children. Chinese elders, however, were more likely to reside with a son than with a daughter, whereas Malay and Indian elders were about equally likely to live with a child of either sex. This diversity points to two distinct family systems at work in the region. In East Asia and the northern sector of South Asia, cultures based on either Confucian, Hindu or Moslem philosophies and an authoritarian, patrilineal system stress co-residence and care by sons and their spouses. In South-east Asia and the southern zone of South Asia, Buddhist spiritual orders

prosperous rural zones) a "bad old age" is viewed as a paradigmatic sign of the evils brought by modernization, urbanization and the changing attitudes and behaviour of young women. In the West Bengal community where she lived, she heard people constantly talking about how these modern changes provoked families to break up, old people to be left alone and society in general to be undergoing a general deterioration. Working elsewhere in India during the early 1990s, a lower-caste Nagwa slum of Varanasi, Lawrence Cohen found that the problems of the elderly were discussed in quite different terms. Old-age afflictions set in the context of family conflict were perceived as neither new nor unusual (Cohen, 1998, pp. 223-248). They were blamed on the caste order, impoverishment, the debilities of old age itself and the splitting of joint families through conflict between co-resident brothers.

An urbanizing developing world

As the new millennium begins, we find, for the first time, that a majority of the world's citizens will soon be living in urban places (United Nations, 1998). Those who reside in rural zones still feel the effects of urban cultural desires, witness the outflow of those seeking city-based jobs, and experience the impact of huge portions of national resources being gobbled up by megalopolises and unpayable international debt. Incredibly, only 4 of the top 15 largest cities in the world are in developed countries; all the rest are found in countries like Mexico, India, Brazil and the Republic of South Korea. Mexico City, estimated to house more than 25 million people in its metropolitan area, looms as a dramatic example. At mid-century, Mexico was three quarters rural. Now, the same ratio of its citizens live in cities, with almost one quarter of the entire population living in Mexico City alone (World Bank, 1999). Recently, the country has endured very difficult economic times, for example, in the 1990s, when the value of wages dropped by one half. For the urban elderly, especially females, there has been increasing destitution. This is reflected in Bialik's study of 1,000 older women from Mexican cities and their high degree of impoverishment: a third had no personal income and 12 per cent earned only $5 per month (Bialik, 1992).[8] At the same time, as will be discussed below, the author's own work in an indigenous village 65 miles east of Mexico City indicates that elderly villagers and their families have, in fact, improved their quality of life by exploiting the metropolitan expansion visible from its mountain reaches.

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elderly in the family; the largest factor influencing this is the control of economic assets. In another context,

Some Asian scholars are beginning to strongly question the continued reliance on family support systems as

resources can become the catalyst for very traditional cultural systems to initiate modernizing change in ways that support the interests of their oldest citizens.

Today, newly installed speed bumps mildly beset the drive to Amatango on a relatively smooth, paved road.

and eventually the expansion of rural health-care services. As a start, the community combined its traditional communal labour system with State Government-provided materials and engineers to improve the irrigation system and build a small bridge over a ravine, which had been a serious obstacle to motorized vehicles entering the community. With these initial successes in the 1960s, Amatango's leaders began to petition for the other "modernizing" changes mentioned previously.

Demographic transitions

Between 1972 and 1993, the population of Amatango had almost doubled, from 2,100 to about 3,800, while the percentage of persons over age 65 remained low and unchanged, at 3.5 per cent.[11] The birth rate, averaging 9.39 per family in 1975 (Millard, 1980), had declined by more than half to about 3.5 in 1995 (estimate of local nurse). Early childhood mortality, 390 per 1,000 in 1960, had plummeted to 53.5 by 1990 (Mindek, 1994), along with a similar decline in general mortality, from 33 per 1,000 to 6.5 over the same period.

Yet, the general way elders fit into the household structure has remained quite stable. In 1973, a clear majority (60 per cent) of persons 60 years of age or older (see table 7) lived in three-generational settings, with 90 per cent of such households having no more than one married son in residence. This statistic alone does not give a true picture of family life, then or now. More often than not, at least one other married son resided in a physically independent house, a moment's walk from his elderly parents' dwelling! just across a courtyard or down a dirt path. In only four instances did aged individuals live alone. One third of the aged lived with unmarried children or other single kin, most typically a grandson. In 1993, a survey of 45 households that included a person over age 60 showed that almost two thirds were organized around extended family settings. The other living arrangements did not show significant structural alterations since the 1970s. It should be noted that in 1998 the only elder villager considered abandoned was one widower, aged 68. Even though he resided with an adult son, and two other married sons lived next door, they refused to provide any support as the father was a serious alcoholic, who had not only sold away most of the family land but had severely beaten his wife when she was alive.

(TABLE 7 HERE)

Behind this strong statistical consistency lay some important changes related to the position of the elderly in Amatango's families. From the 1920s to the early 1970s, a major shift has involved the significant reduction of very large extended households, where two or more married sons stayed in the house compound to work with and eventually care for their parents. By the early 1970s, reductions in per capita land holdings and the rise of new money-making activities outside the village had stimulated a shift from "joint" to "stem" patrilineal groupings, where only one married son would remain with the parents.[12] At that time, the proportion of joint, patrilineal

households with more than one married son living under the parents' domain had been reduced by about half. The more recent practice is the formation of extended households by incorporating an adult daughter's family into her parents' residence, either by themselves or along with a married son.

In 1973, only two women and their families lived with parents and, in each case, their married brothers also resided with them. In 1993, five of the regular extended families were being formed with married daughters exclusively; in another four households, married daughters or single daughters with children joined their married brother in living with their elderly parents.

Despite the dominance of patrilineal descent, kinship ties generated through one's mother are also acknowledged by hand-kissing *respeto* behaviour and have great practical importance. Maternal relatives comprise a significant portion of a household's total personal network of support. It is through the exchange of labour, tangible goods and money that families are able to carry out costly and time-consuming public rituals.

"Pero cuatro es el máximo!"

The sharp drop in birth rates noted above came about when Amatango's young women adopted new reproductive strategies despite strong initial resistance from their husbands and mothers-in-law. Birth control was introduced slowly in 1983 by a locally born nurse who worked at the village clinic; by 1993, some form of birth control was used by about a third of the almost 900 women still in their reproductive years. In 1973, when young men and women were asked what the ideal family size was, the standard response was "only God knows". At that time, couples almost universally sought to have as many children as they could. By the 1990s, attitudes had changed dramatically. Almost like a Greek chorus, adults in their 20s would repeat the maxim, "*dos hijos es mejor, pero cuatro es el máximo!"* (two kids is ideal, but the maximum is four). Of the women who were practising some form of birth control, the majority would only begin after they had given birth to three or four children. This shift in reproductive behaviour was influenced by plummeting infant mortality rates, noted previously, and the rising costs of supporting children, especially in the area of education.

In the early 1970s, the emotional structure of family systems was quite authoritarian, dominated by the elder couple, especially the male. Following Aztec legal tradition, parents could take disobedient children to the community judges for punishment in the form of hard labour for the community or a fine. Several such cases were witnessed during 1973.[13] Yet, since the author's first fieldwork stay, indelible change has clearly occurred in generational dynamics. Most notable has been the reduced control of senior kin over the actions of junior relatives. For example, the last public trial for disobeying one's parents was held a decade ago. On a more subtle level, in the early 1970s, when aged parents were asked about divergence from customary behaviour, they accepted that

such things were possible but adamantly insisted that the *costumbres* (traditions) would be enforced. Now, in the late 1990s, when confronted with a daughter-in-law who uses birth control or a son who prefers urban factory work to cultivating corn fields, they are likely to respond with a shrug, saying *cada quien* or "to each his own". This is strongly mediated by the fact that about 60 per cent of young adults who are living in the house of their elder parents get a majority of their income from work outside the village.

Elders in the family

Significant changes in village life have not altered the fact that the lives of the aged remain thoroughly embedded in the social matrix of surrounding households, headed by adult children, siblings and cousins. Elders are in constant contact with children, if not with a resident grandchild then with a wide range of very young kin and godchildren living within a few hundred yards.[14] As has been noted in other parts of the developing world, the child-minding aspect of grandparenting has, in fact, increased over the past decade, as in many households at least one parent is working in the city during the day.

Most marriages (about 75 per cent) take place within the village, imparting a particularly intense geographic density to the social networks of the aged, especially for males. While a woman's kin group is more physically dispersed from her abode than is a male's, this does not imply that females are more isolated in old age. In fact, owing to their greater role continuity, women past age 65 will typically maintain reciprocal support networks with more personnel and have greater frequency of exchange than their male age peers.

The public realm of ageing

Beyond the family, the most important source of prestige, respect and power during middle and old age derives from the carrying out of community rituals and civil responsibilities. In Amatango, community roles are loosely ranked, with the higher ones generally requiring more money and/or time but yielding more prestige and authority. There is an expectation that over a lifetime, men and their wives will have undertaken at least one important ritual sponsorship of a major fiesta and thereby be worthy of public esteem.[15]

To a certain degree, wealth conditions the extent of public prestige and power men and their families will garner as they age.[16] Nevertheless, virtually all older men from Catholic families carry out, at least once, the sacred burden of ritual fiesta sponsorship, which gives them lasting honour in the eyes of the community and the saints.[17] By the time most males reach age 60, even those who are relatively poor will also have shouldered at least some local political responsibility.

Besides ritual sponsorship, the fiesta system affords other opportunities to enhance public esteem in old age. All of the fiestas involve dance troops and elaborate processions. Elderly men, and to a lesser extent women can volunteer to take roles as dance leaders, instructors, special musicians or simply as participants.[18] Such activities proclaim not only moral uprightness and continuing prestige, but also that one is still actively involved in the life of the community.

Although the fiesta system performs an implicit age-grading function, it also provides one of the only community-wide arenas where males and females of all ages can participate as relative equals. This occurs in the large dance groups that perform at most fiestas as part of the community's "folk" version of Roman Catholic pageantry. Even in the case where teenagers introduced a new dance formation based on an urban model, middle-aged villagers eagerly volunteered to dress up and perform as *caballeros y caballeras* (cowboys and cowgirls). Such groups have provided the social and psychological model for the public cooperation between young adults and their elders. This was essential in developing the community consensus for initiating and accomplishing the transformation of Amatango.

Although women participate in the Masses, processions and dancing associated with each fiesta, they assume no overt public leadership position in these activities. Yet, during major public ceremonies, older women operate behind the scenes, directing the production and serving huge quantities of the special foods required for successful ritual sponsorship. In accomplishing this, they rely on, and in turn support, a wide circle of female age peers and younger women drawn from their bilateral kin network. The reciprocal flow of assistance stimulated by the annual cycle of fiestas provides a regular source of extrahousehold engagement for all but the most frail women.

Why is Amatango different?

The information gathered about the aged in Amatango seems at variance with some of the modernization theory's predicted dire consequences for the elderly. This is particularly unusual as, under similar conditions of "modernizing" change, the aged of Amatango have fared better than those in many other Latin American peasant communities studied in earlier decades. One reads, for example, that in the Colombian highland village of Aritama: "There is no room and no use for them. Old people are not respected, feared or loved. Their advice is not sought by the younger generation, nor are they thought to possess any special knowledge which might be useful" (Reichel-Dolmatoff and Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1961).

This is an extreme case but, judging from other ethnographic studies, the situation of the aged in rural communities of the region seems, unfortunately, closer to the conditions in Aritama than in Amatango. All too commonly, one finds a despairing elderly population rapidly becoming bereft of support. The elderly are caught in

a demographic vacuum caused by departing young adults, and in a cultural lacunae epitomized by the withering away of fiesta systems (Kagan, 1980).

Sherlock (1997) provides a strong critique of this perspective based on his work in Latin America. Another important examination of this issue was carried out by Briller (2000) during the mid-1990s in rural Mongolia. She showed that pensions can have a positive effect in reinforcing the pre-existing family-centred sentiments and practical support of the aged and do not "crowd out" traditional systems of filial devotion and assistance.

The reality of how living arrangements can continue to sustain elders in the developing world has been succinctly described by African sociologist Nana Apt. In a recent keynote address, she chided international donor organizations, including the United Nations, for operating in a policy void that ignores the workings of traditional welfare systems in favour of modern forms. She observed:

> It is not enough to talk about the bind of tradition, and it's not enough to talk about its disintegration. We must find ways and means of transforming it into a modern form that will make multigenerational relationships much more viable (Apt, 1998, p. 14).

It should be added that, as found in Mexico, these traditional systems will only be sustained if they blend local meaning with regionally based economic systems to give both youth and elders reason to support one another.

[1]Parts of this chapter are adapted from the introductory materials in Sokolovsky (1997b).

[2]As at 1 January 2000, all housing construction by state industries for workers was stopped.

[3]For a comprehensive guide to comparative gerontology research up until 1994, see Nusberg and Sokolovsky (1994). There are a good number of other data sets that are now available, especially for demographic analysis in East Asia. These include: Philippine Elderly Survey, 1996; National Survey of Senior Citizens in Singapore, 1995; Survey of the Middle Aged and Elderly in Taiwan, 1996; Survey of the Welfare of the Elderly in Thailand, 1995.

[4]To date, the best academic summaries of these materials are found in two books, *Old Age in Global Perspective* (Albert and Cattell, 1994) and *Averting the Old Age Crisis* (World Bank, 1994).

[5]For a discussion of the role of grandparents in Thailand, see Hermalin, Roan, and Perez (1998).

[6]These materials are drawn from "The social and economic functioning of the elderly: highlights of program research", Rand Corporation. Available at http://info.rand.org/organization/drd/labor/Areas/elderly.html.

[7]The Government of Malaysia provides adult children with various economic incentives to have parents live with them - e.g., priority in low-cost housing. The work of DaVanzo and Chan (1994) suggests that such policies are likely to succeed with families who need to economize on living costs: the higher housing costs are in an area, the study found, the more likely seniors and adult children are to co-reside. However, seniors who are better off economically are less likely to co-reside, a result suggesting that they value privacy and independence.

[8]For other discussion of older women in Mexico, see Robles (1987); Contreras de Lehr (1989, 1992). For a broader view of older women in Latin America, see Pan American Health Organization (1989).

[9]This discussion of ageing in a Mexican village is adapted from Sokolovsky (1997a).

[10]A *municipio* is a Mexican political subdivision similar to the American township. A *pueblo* is a politically dependent rural community. However, the *pueblos* in the *municipio* of Texcoco are comparatively independent, owning their own lands and forming distinct socio-political organizations.

[11]The 1972 figures are based on a house-to-house survey conducted by the author early in 1973; the 1993 data are based on a

[13]In the most traditional families, all money earned by the sons would be given to the parents, who would then decide how best to spend the collective resources. This could be the source of simmering conflict, especially in those families where the sons started to work for salaries in factories in Texcoco or Mexico City.

[14]As in most Latin American rural communities, there is an elaborate system of personal ritual sponsorship, whereby a couple will be asked to be godparent for a specific event such as baptism or marriage. Accepting this responsibility in Amatango forges a

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TABLE 1. SOME DEMOGRAPHIC COMPARISONS BETWEEN MORE,

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TABLE 3. LIVING ARRANGEMENTS OF OLDER PERSONS IN THE 1980S: PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS OVER 60
LIVING WITH CHILDREN OR FAMILY, LIVING ALONE OR IN OTHER ARRANGEMENTS

	With children or family	Alone	Other[a]
Middle-income countries			
Argentin3.4	1	Tf51.	11

TABLE 4. HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION OF THE AGED IN SEVEN COUNTRIES
(Percentage)

Households	Singapore	Republic of Korea	Brazil	Thailand	Zimbabwe	Egypt	India
Single	1.7	7.3	25.8	3.6	5.3	9.1	3.0
Conjugal[a]	2.3	11.3	19.0	8.1	2.7	13.2	1.0
Nuclear[b]	36.3	24.8	28.8	17.8	9.7	42.9	10.0
Multigenerational[c]	56.3	53.6	16.3	67.6	75.7	30.8	85.1
2-generation	12.0	3.3	1.4	4.5	5.0	4.1	8.7
3-4-generation	43.3	46.0	14.2	50.2	35.0	24.0	73.7
Skipped-generation	1.0	4.3	0.7	12.9	35.7	2.7	2.7
Other	3.3	3.0	10.2	2.9	6.7	4.1	1.0

TABLE 5. LIVING ARRANGEMENTS AMONG PERSONS AGED 60+, THAILAND

	1986	1994	1995
Per cent living alone	4.3	3.6	4.3
Per cent living with spouse only	6.7	11.6	11.9
Per cent living with a child (among elderly with at least one child)	79.7	75.4	74.2

Source: Adapted from Knodel and others (1999).

TABLE 7. AMATANGO HOUSEHOLD PATTERNS OF PERSONS OVER AGE 60, 1973 AND 1993

| | Extended households Elderly parents with | | Nuclear households Elderly parent(s) with | |
	1 married son/daughter	2 married sons/daughters	unmarried children/or other kin	Living alone
1973[a]	44 (54.3%)	5 (6.2%)	28 (34.5%)	4 (5%)
n = 81		(60.5%)		
1993[b]	25 (55.6%)	6 (13.3.%)	11 (24.4%)	3 (6.7%)
n = 45		(68.8%)		

Notes: n = number of observations.
[a] Total household survey by author.
[b]