Chapter 3

Filipino Older Persons

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Population ageing is poised to become one of the most significant social transformations of the 21st century, with implications for nearly all sectors of society, including labour and financial markets; demand for goods and services such as housing, transportation, and social protection; and family structures and intergenerational ties (UNDESA, Population Division, 2015a). Preparing for the economic and social shifts associated with an ageing population is essential to ensuring development. Population ageing is particularly relevant for achieving the Sustainable Development Goals on poverty eradication; ensuring health and well-being at all ages; promoting gender equality and full and productive employment and decent work for all; reducing inequalities between and within countries; and making cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable (UNDESA, Population Division, 2015a).

Whilst the population of the world is ageing, the same cannot be said for the Philippines, which still has a relatively young population largely due to the country's high, albeit declining, fertility. A country is considered young if the proportion of its population 60 years old and over is less than 10%; it is considered ageing if the said proportion is 10–19%, high ageing if 20–29%, and hyper ageing if 30% or more (UNDESA, Population Division, 2015b). Following these definitions, Japan is considered a hyper-ageing and Singapore an ageing society. Japan became an ageing society as early as 1970, with Singapore following suit in 2005 (Figure 3.1). Singapore is projected to become a high-ageing society by 2030 – about the time the Philippines is expected to become an ageing society (Figure 3.1). Demographic data show an increasing number and proportion of older Filipinos over time, with the older population registering the fastest growth rate compared with other age groups, and the trend is expected to hold (Cruz, 2019).

In this chapter, we present the overall picture of older Filipinos emanating from the 2018 Longitudinal Study of Aging and Health in the Philippines (LSAHP) baseline data, starting with the characteristics of their households, housing, household amenities, and transportation. We then describe the characteristics of older persons (OPs), their living arrangements, and their family networks, which include their parents, siblings, spouses, children, and grandchildren.

Figure 3.1. Status of Ageing: Philippines, Singapore, and Japan, 1950–2045
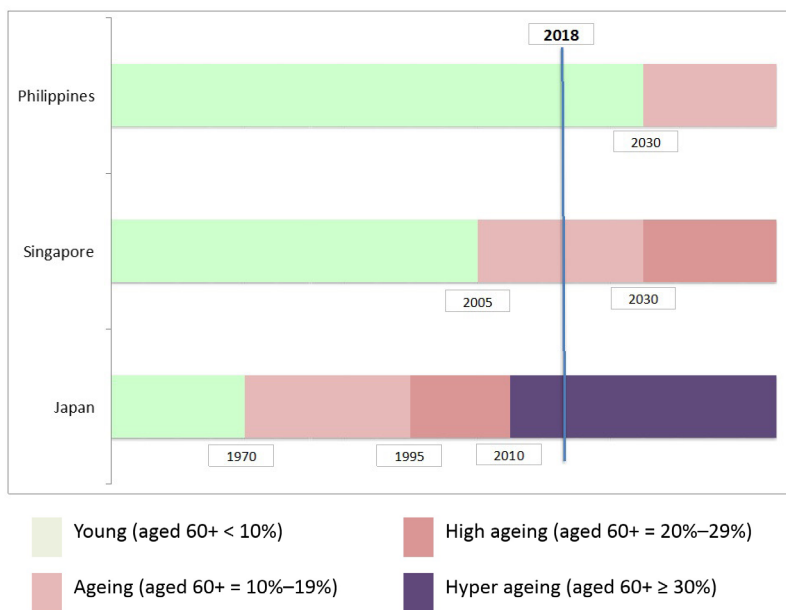
Data source: UNDESA, Population Division (2019).

Household Population and Housing Characteristics

A household survey questionnaire was used to gather information on OPs' household composition and basic sociodemographic characteristics, housing amenities, poverty indicators, and family networks, including their children. The study adopted the official definition of a household used by the Philippine Statistics Authority (PSA, 2017a): 'a social unit consisting of a person living alone or a group of people who sleep in the same housing unit and have a common arrangement in the preparation and consumption of food'.

The 5,985 households of the sampled OPs covered in the study have a total of 24,162 household members. Each household has one OP respondent, a selectivity criterion that distinguishes our study households from the average Filipino household. The sample households have an older age composition, with an average age of 41 years compared with 24 years for the Filipino household in 2015 (PSA, 2017b). The sample household size is smaller, with an average of 3.8 members compared with the national average of 4.4. (PSA, 2016). A significant proportion of OPs (73%) are household heads; the proportion is higher amongst males (59%) than females (41%) (Table 3.1).

Table 3.1. Household and Housing Characteristics

A. Household Characteristics	Mean
Mean age of household members	
Males	37.68
Females	44.20
Both sexes	41.11
N of Cases	24,162
Mean household size	3.84
N of Cases	5,985
	%
Households headed by an older person	73.4
Households headed by males	59.2
Households headed by females	40.8
Households with an OFW	3.7
Households with a 4Ps/CCT recipient	13.4
Households that experienced hunger in the last 3 months	13.5
N of Cases	5,985
Frequency of hunger	
Only once	19.8
A few times	62.0
Often	13.0
Always	5.3
N of Cases	770

B. Housing Characteristics	%
Own house and lot	62.6
In dwellings with roof made of strong materials	84.7
In dwellings with floors made of cement/marble/ceramic tiles	73.2
In dwellings with walls made of concrete/brick/stone	57.9
With electricity	92.2
Main source of drinking water	
Water piped inside house	13.0
Water piped into yard or plot	3.1
Water piped to neighbor	2.5
Public tap	12.9
Tube well or borehole	10.6
Protected well	1.8
Protected spring	9.5
Bottled water/refilling station	43.6
Others (e.g., rainwater, surface water)	3.0
Main source of water for other purposes like cooking and hand washing	
Water piped inside house	46.5
Water piped into yard or plot	4.6
Water piped to neighbor	2.9
Public tap	12.5
Tube well or borehole	14.1
Protected well	3.0
Protected spring	8.0
Others (e.g., rainwater, surface water)	8.4
With flush toilet	88.0
Household amenities	
Aircon	9.5
Washing machine	38.5
Stove with oven/gas range	16.9
Refrigerator/freezer	37.1
Personal computer/laptop	10.6
Cellular phone/mobile phone	65.4
Landline/wireless telephone	2.9
Audio component/stereo set	12.6
Karaoke/videoke/Magic Sing	6.6

B. Housing Characteristics	%
CD/VCD/DVD player	18.9
Television	72.6
Radio/radio cassette player	34.3
Internet access	17.8
Vehicles	
Motorized banca/boat	4.3
Car/jeep/van	5.9
Motorcycle/tricycle	25.2
N of Cases	5,985

4Ps = Pantawid Pamilya Pilipino Program, CCT = Conditional Cash Transfer, CD = compact disc, DVD = digital video disc, OFW = overseas Filipino workers, VCD = video compact disc.
Source: Calculated by DRDF using original LSAHP data.
Note: Values are based on unweighted data.

We collected information capturing the prominence of international labour migration, which is closely linked to the poverty situation in the country. Of the households studied, 4% have at least one member who is an overseas Filipino worker (OFW), which indicates the impact of international migration on OPs' households. The experience of hunger was used as a proxy measure of poverty. A significant proportion of households (13%) had experienced hunger in the 3 months preceding the survey; amongst them, almost a fifth (18%) had experienced severe hunger (i.e. experienced hunger often or always for the period covered). The preponderance of poverty in households with an OP is also evident in the high proportion (13%) who are recipients of the government's Conditional Cash Transfer anti-poverty programme. The programme, locally known as the Pantawid Pamilya Pilipino Program (4Ps), aims to break the cycle of poverty by providing conditional cash grants to the poorest of the poor (World Bank, 2017).

In terms of housing characteristics and amenities, more than three in five households (63%) reported ownership of the house and lot they are residing in. This is higher than the corresponding percentage (55%) observed in the 2015 census (PSA, 2017a). The remaining 37% of OP households either own their house but not the lot or are renting their house and/or lot. These households include the 2% who are considered informal settlers, having admitted occupying a house and/or lot without the owner's consent. Most of OPs' housing units have roofs made of durable materials (85%); 73% have floors made of cement, marble, or ceramic tiles; and more than half (58%) have walls made of permanent materials (concrete, brick, stone). About 8% of OP households do not have access to electricity.

In accordance with the indicators of Sustainable Development Goal target 6.2, which calls for achieving access to adequate and equitable sanitation and hygiene for all as well as ending open defecation (United Nations, 2017), we collected information on OP households' main source of drinking water and toilet facilities. Results indicate that the main source of drinking water is purchased bottled water or water from refilling stations (44%), followed by water piped into dwelling units (13%), public taps (13%), tube wells or boreholes (11%), and protected springs (10%). At least 3% depend on unsafe and untreated water such as rain or surface water as their main source of drinking water. Water for other purposes such as cooking and hand washing mainly comes from piped water inside the house (47%), tube wells or boreholes (14%), public taps (12%), and protected springs (8%).

The great majority (88%) of households have a flush toilet, although it is not clear whether it is shared with other households. This level indicates some measure of advantage over Filipino households in general, which reported a corresponding proportion of 66% in the 2017 National Demographic and Health Survey (PSA and ICF, 2018). This progress notwithstanding, a considerable proportion of sanitation services are still not properly managed; 1% of households still use pit latrines, whilst 7% have no toilets at all. The latter include those who use composting toilets, bucket toilets, hanging toilets, or no toilet facilities (bushes or fields), which can spread diseases and provide a breeding ground for mosquitoes, as well as pollute groundwater and surface water that may serve as potential sources of drinking water (United Nations, 2017).

Data on household amenities are suggestive of the economic status of households with an OP. The most common appliances owned are television sets (72%), cellular phones (65%), washing machines (39%), refrigerators (37%), and radios (34%). Motorcycles and/or tricycles (25%) are the most commonly owned modes of transportation in OPs' households.

Characteristics of Older Filipino Persons

This section provides a profile of Filipino OPs 60 years and over based on the nationally representative study sample of LSAHP respondents. Following the general pattern in the population, females have the numeric advantage, constituting 60% of the total OP population. This advantage is also reflected in the sex ratio of OPs, with 68 males for every 100 females in the population age group 60 years and over (Table

3.2). The mean age is 69 years old, with males and females registering an average of 68 and 70 years, respectively.

Table 3.2. Percent Distribution of Older Persons by Sex and Age

Background Characteristics	%
Sex	
Male	40.3
Female	59.7
Age	
60-69	62.8
70-79	25.9
80+	11.2
Mean age	
Male	68.20
Female	69.55
Both sexes	69.01
N of Cases	*5,985*

Source: Calculated by DRDF using original LSAHP data.

Significant gender differences exist in marital status, with more male OPs currently married (63%) or in live-in arrangements (6%). The corresponding proportions for the female OPs are 31% and 3%, respectively. Most female OPs are widowed (56%), whilst a minority reported having had their marriage annulled or being separated or divorced (7%). Divorce remains illegal in the Philippines but is considered legal under the Code of Muslim Personal Laws of the Philippines. The code states that divorce is legal if both parties are Muslim or if only the male party is Muslim and the marriage was solemnised in accordance with Muslim laws or the code in any part of the Philippines (Presidential Decree No. 1083, 1977). As of the 2015 census, 6% of the country's population was Muslim (PSA, 2017a).

As expected, widowhood increases with advancing age. This age gradient is observed regardless of gender but is more evident amongst females (87% of those aged 80+) than males (47% of those aged 80+) (data not shown). This result reflects the higher propensity of male OPs to remarry or enter another union after the spouse dies.

The higher proportion of older males than females in a live-in arrangement is also indicative of the greater likelihood amongst older males to take younger women as their partners in an informal union. Another notable finding is that 3% have remained unmarried, with the proportion slightly higher amongst males than females (4% vs. 2%).

Consistent with the 1996 Philippine Elderly Survey and 2007 Philippine Study on Aging, older Filipinos exhibit a relatively low educational profile, with elementary education as the modal educational attainment. Close to 7 in 10 (66%) reported having at most an elementary education, with no significant difference by sex (Table 3.3). Close to 2 in 10 (19%) received at most a high school education, and 8% have a college education; 7% did not receive formal schooling or received at most a preschool education. Results in Table 3.3 exhibit significant improvements in the level of education across age cohorts. This is distinctly shown in the proportion with at least some high school education, which improved from 18% amongst those aged 80+ to 31% amongst those aged 60–69. The age pattern indicates the improving educational profile over time.

Related to OPs' education is OPs' employment status. Almost half of older Filipinos continue to be economically productive; the proportion is significantly higher amongst males and those in their 60s. Nearly three-fifths (57%) of male OPs and close to two in five (39%) female OPs are engaged in economic activities (Table 3.3). A significant disparity exists in work status across age groups, with 60% of those aged 60–69, 28% of those aged 70–79, and only 7% of those aged 80 and over currently working.

Similar to the overall population profile, the great majority (86%) of OPs are Roman Catholics, with the remaining 14% distributed across other minor religions, including Iglesia ni Kristo (Church of Christ) and other Christian denominations. More OPs reside in rural (58%) than in urban (42%) areas, with men more likely than women to prefer rural areas (61% vs. 56%).

Table 3.3. Sociodemographic Profile of Older Persons by Sex and Age

Sociodemographic Profile	SEX			AGE GROUP				TOTAL
	Male	Female	Sig	60-69	70-79	80+	Sig	
Marital status								
Never married	4.2	2.5		3.2	2.3	5.2		3.2
Currently married	63.4	31.3		52.8	35.5	16.3		44.2
Live in	6.3	3.0	***	5.1	3.8	1.7	***	4.4
Annulled/ Divorced/ Separated	6.0	7.3		8.0	5.7	2.3		6.8
Widowed	20.1	55.9		30.8	52.8	74.5		41.5
Education								
No schooling/ Pre-school	7.1	6.6		5.5	7.4	12.7		6.8
Elementary	64.7	67.3		63.7	71.5	68.9		66.3
High school	20.8	17.8	n.s.	21.3	15.7	13.9	n.s	19.0
College or higher	7.4	8.2		9.5	5.4	4.6		7.9
Religion								
Roman Catholic	87.7	84.0	*	86.6	84.2	81.8	*	85.5
Others	12.3	16.0		13.4	15.8	18.2		14.5
Place of residence								
Urban	38.9	43.9	n.s.	41.7	45.1	35.8	n.s.	41.9
Rural	61.1	56.1		58.4	54.9	64.3		58.1
Work status								
Currently working	56.7	38.7	***	60.4	27.8	7.4	***	46.0
Not currently working	43.3	61.3		39.6	72.2	92.7		54.0
N of Cases	2,412	3,574		3,760	1,552	673		5,985

$*p < .05$. $***p < .001$. n.s. = not significant.
Source: Calculated by DRDF using original LSAHP data.

Living Arrangements and Residential History

Older Filipinos' living arrangements are important in the context of the ageing process, given their established impacts on OPs' health and well-being (Feng, Falkingham, Liu, and Vlachantoni, 2019; Feng, Jones, and Wang, 2015; Zhang, 2015). The OPs' residential history is dynamic and dependent on a multitude of reasons such as changes in marital status, health, and economic well-being (Kasper, Pezzin, and Rice, 2010; Liang, Brown, Krause, Ofstedal, and Bennett, 2005; Martikainen, Nihtila, and Moustgaard, 2008). With the onset of significant changes such as urbanisation and international migration, changing family norms and structures, as well as shifts in values, it is important to examine how these factors affect OPs' living arrangements. This information will contribute to the understanding of OPs' well-being and/or vulnerability and lead to better interventions as we anticipate a further surge in the size of the older sector.

Data from the 1996 Philippine Elderly Survey and 2007 Philippine Study on Aging show that the most common living arrangement is co-residence with children (Cruz, Natividad, Lavares, and Saito, 2016). This finding is confirmed by the LSAHP; 60% of OPs are co-residing with at least one child (Table 3.4). This arrangement is more common amongst males than females (64% vs. 58%). Those in the youngest cohort are the most likely to live with their children, which is expected given that many of the youngest OPs might still have younger and unmarried children who have not yet established independent residence. About a tenth (9%) are living with their spouse only; the proportion is significantly higher amongst males than females (12% vs. 8%). A significant proportion (17%) reported other types of living arrangements, including living with siblings, living with other relatives, or living with nonrelatives such as housemaids or caregivers. A considerable proportion of OPs (13%) live alone; this is more common amongst females and those in the oldest age group (80+). Whilst there seems to be a high level of independent living amongst OPs, the picture changes when viewed in the context of their children's living arrangements. Results show that 61% of OPs who live alone have children living in the same barangay. This means that whilst, structurally, 13% live alone, this proportion is reduced, functionally, to about 5%, given the help and assistance that can be forthcoming from children who live nearby. The situation is more apparent amongst females; they have a seemingly high level of living alone (15%), but nearly three quarters have children who live close by. This means that only 4% of older Filipino women live alone without any child living in their neighbourhood. Amongst OPs living alone, 10% have never married and have no children, whilst about 6% are no longer in a union and do not have children in the same barangay of residence (data not shown). These groups are vulnerable and can be a potential target for intervention.

Another interesting factor to consider is OPs' residential history. How mobile are older Filipinos? Results show that 7% have never moved out of their place of birth; this is more common amongst males than females (9% vs. 7%) and amongst those aged 80+ (12%). About 14% moved to their current residence in the past 5 years, with the proportion who reported doing so slightly higher amongst males and those in the oldest age group (80+). The great majority (75%) claimed to have been settled in their current residence for at least 5 years. OPs who are not currently residing in their birthplace have been living in their current residence for 24 years on average, indicating the relative stability of residence in their old age. Only 4% said they had moved into their current place of residence within a year from the time of the survey.

Table 3.4. Living Arrangement and Residential History by Sex and Age

Living Arrangement and Residential History	SEX			AGE GROUP				TOTAL
	Male	Female	Sig	60-69	70-79	80+	Sig	
Living arrangement								
Living alone	11.3	15.0		11.2	16.4	19.3		13.5
Living with spouse only	11.8	7.7		8.6	12.4	6.4		9.3
Living with at least 1 child	63.7	57.9	**	64.9	51.1	54.9	***	60.2
Other types of arrangement	13.3	19.5		15.2	20.2	19.4		17.0
N of Cases	2,412	3,574		3,760	1,552	673		5,985
Among those living alone								
Without children living in the same barangay	61.2	27	***	43.2	40.3	20	n.s	38.5
With children living in the same barangay	38.8	73		56.8	59.8	80		61.5
N of Cases	271	534		422	254	130		806
Residential history								
Number of years lived in current residence								
Since birth	8.5	6.6		6.2	8.1	11.9		7.4
Less than 1 year	3.4	4.2	n.s.	3.6	4.3	4.2	***	3.8
Within the last 5 years	15.7	13.2		14.6	12.2	16.5		14.2
More than 5 years	72.4	76.1		75.6	75.4	67.4		74.6
N of Cases	2,364	3,489		3,677	1,519	655		5,851
Mean years lived in current residence	22.04	24.59	**	22.22	25.72	26.09	**	23.56
N of Cases	2,363	3,488		3,675	1,519	657		5,851
% with intention to migrate within the next two years	2.4	2.2	n.s.	2.6	2	1.1	n.s.	2.3
Ideal type of place R wants to live in								
City	5.5	8.1		7.6	7.2	3.6		7.1
Poblacion	12.8	14.2	n.s.	13.2	15.3	12.5		13.7
Barrio/Rural	81.4	77.5		79	77.4	83.8		79.1
Abroad	0.2	0.1		0.2	0	0.1		0.2
N of Cases	2,408	3,569		3,755	1,551	672		5,978

**p < .01. ***p < .001. n.s. = not significant
Source: Calculated by DRDF using original LSAHP data.

The OPs' aversion to residential change is also evident in the finding that only 2% expressed an intention to migrate in the next 2 years.

OPs perceive the barrio or rural area as their ideal place to live. If given a choice, the overwhelming majority of OPs (79%), more so amongst males and the older cohort, prefer to live in the countryside over any other setting. Barrios are characterised as having fewer settlement units, usually surrounded by farmlands where the barrio people work, where one lives with family members close by (Romani and Thomas, 1954).

Filipino Older Persons and Their Families

The absence of strong government support and an intervention programme to address the needs of the older sector heightens the role of the family as the main actor in the care of its older members. The family network includes parents, siblings, spouses, children, and grandchildren who interact with OPs in connection to flows of assistance and sharing of resources. Kinship obligations are relevant in the context of the discussion of OPs' well-being. This section presents the characteristics of OPs' family network, including parents, siblings, spouse, children, and grandchildren, as a basis for assessing the size and quality of OPs' family network.

Given their advanced age, not too many OPs are expected to have surviving parents. Only 8% have either a surviving father or mother, and an insignificant proportion (0.4%) have both surviving parents (data not shown). Given that women outlive

Table 3.5. Characteristics of Parents and Siblings by Sex and Age

Characteristics of Parents and Siblings	SEX			AGE GROUP				TOTAL
	Male	Female	Sig	60-69	70-79	80+	Sig	
% with living parents								
Father	1.4	1.0	n.s.	1.8	0.2	0.0	**	1.2
Mother	7.2	7.2	n.s.	10.8	1.3	0.8	***	7.2
Highest educational attainment of father								
No schooling/ Pre-school	25.0	19.7		20.5	23.4	25.7		21.8
Elementary	43.2	48.4	**	49.9	43.1	33.3	***	46.3
High school	5.9	5.6		7.2	3.4	2.8		5.7
College or higher	4.2	1.0		2.8	1.7	0.9		2.3
Do not know	21.8	25.3		19.6	28.4	37.3		23.9
Highest educational attainment of mother								
No schooling/ Pre-school	24.2	19.3		18.7	24.5	28.2		21.3
Elementary	48.1	55.6	n.s.	58.2	47.3	33.8	***	52.6
High school	5.0	4.0		5.5	2.9	2.2		4.4
College or higher	2.7	0.9		2.2	0.6	0.6		1.6
Do not know	20.0	20.1		15.4	24.7	35.2		20.1
Mean number of siblings	6.76	6.37	n.s.	6.8	6.19	5.81	***	6.53
Mean number of living siblings								
All	4.08	3.77	n.s.	4.49	3.26	1.94	***	3.89
Brothers	2.13	1.87	**	2.21	1.68	1.00	***	1.98
Sisters	2.18	2.22	n.s.	2.40	1.87	1.71	***	2.21
N of Cases	2,411	3,574		3,760	1,552	673		5,985

**p < .01. ***p < .001. n.s. = not significant.
Source: Calculated by DRDF using original LSAHP data.

the males, 7% of OPs still have surviving mothers and only 1% have surviving fathers (Table 3.5). Significant differences exist across age; more OPs aged 60–69 reported that their mother is still living (11%), compared with 1% of those in older age groups. We inquired about the educational attainment of OPs' parents but about a fifth of OPs did not know or could not remember. More than a fifth reported that their father (22%) or mother (21%) had no formal schooling or had at most a preschool education. Another half reported that their parents had at most an elementary education (46% for father and 53% for mother), and less than a tenth said their parents were able to go beyond the elementary level. These findings clearly show the poorer education profile of the generation that preceded the current cohort of older Filipinos.

As OPs come from a high-fertility regime, it is not surprising that they report having a high number of siblings. The mean number of siblings is seven, of whom four are still alive, equally split by gender.

OPs who are currently in a union, separated, or divorced, or who had had their marriage annulled were asked about the educational attainment of their spouses. In general, the education profiles of OPs and their spouses are comparable, although the latter seem to have an edge, as shown in the higher proportion of spouses who were able to attain a college education and the lower proportion without formal schooling. Elementary education is the spouses' modal educational attainment (61%), and about a fifth were able to reach the high school level (23%) (Table 3.6). No apparent gender disparity exists in the education profile for spouses.

Table 3.6. Characteristics of Spouse by Sex and Age

Characteristics of Spouses	SEX			AGE GROUP				TOTAL
	Male	Female	Sig	60-69	70-79	80+	Sig	
Highest educational attainment of father								
No schooling/ Pre-school	4.0	6.0		3.8	7.7	9.3		4.8
Elementary	60.3	63.2	n.s.	59.7	67.3	64.7	*	61.5
High school	24.9	20.3		24.1	19.3	21.2		22.9
College or higher	10.9	10.6		12.5	5.8	4.7		10.8
Work status								
Currently working	40.9	63.0	***	55.0	38.3	23.5	***	50.2
Not currently working	59.1	37.0		45.0	61.7	76.5		50.0

*p < .05. ***p < .001. n.s. = not significant.
Source: Calculated by DRDF using original LSAHP data.

We asked those currently in a union about the work status of their spouses. Results show comparable levels of economic involvement for OPs and for their spouses, with half (50%) of the spouses currently working. Gender and age disparities are consistent, with more females reporting that their spouses are currently working, implying the male advantage in the employment sphere. Consistent as well is the higher propensity of spouses of younger OPs to be engaged in economic activities. Nearly all older Filipinos have children (95%) (Table 3.7). On average, they have six children ever born, reflecting the high-fertility experience of their generation. Of this number, about five children are still living. The average number of children ever born is not different across the gender of OPs although differentials across age groups are evident, as observed in the drop in the mean number of children ever born as age decreases, from 6.8 children amongst OPs aged 80+ to 5.4 children amongst OPs aged 60–69. Childlessness is not common, with less than 1% reporting no children ever born.

Table 3.7. Children of Older Persons by Sex and Age

Children of Older Persons	SEX			AGE GROUP				TOTAL
	Male	Female	Sig	60-69	70-79	80+	Sig	
% of older persons who have children including adopted/stepchildren	94.4	95.9	n.s.	96.1	94.2	93.3	*	95.3
N of Cases	2,411	3,574		3,760	1,552	673		5,985
Mean children ever born	5.67	5.7	n.s.	5.37	6.02	6.79	***	5.69
Children ever born								
0	1.0	0.5		0.8	0.5	0.5		0.7
1	3.1	7.3		6.3	4.2	4.9		5.6
2	7.1	7.8	***	8.7	5.5	5.4	***	7.6
3	13.5	11.2		13.9	11.0	4.5		12.1
4	14.6	12.4		14.1	13.5	7.6		13.3
5+	60.7	60.8		56.1	65.2	77.1		60.8
N of Cases	2,276	3,427		3,614	1,461	628		5,703
Mean age at first child	26.12	22.18	***	23.84	23.45	23.79	n.s.	23.73
N of Cases	2,141	3,308		3,463	1,425	560		5,449
Mean number of living children	5.02	4.91	n.s.	4.69	5.33	5.46	***	4.96
Number of living children								
0	1.4	1.1		1.1	1.0	2.6		1.2
1	3.1	7.6		6.6	4.5	4.0		5.8
2	9.3	11.0	*	11.6	8.3	7.5	*	10.3
3	15.9	15.2		16.9	14.7	9.7		15.5
4	16.8	15.3		16.8	16.0	10.5		15.9
5+	53.6	49.7		47.0	55.6	65.8		51.2
N	2,277	3,428		3,615	1,462	628		5,703
Percent with at least one dead child	34.2	45.3	***	34.5	46.5	65.4	***	41.0
N of Cases	2,277	3,426		3,615	1,461	628		5,704

Children of Older Persons	SEX			AGE GROUP				TOTAL
	Male	Female	Sig	60-69	70-79	80+	Sig	
Mean number of dead children (among those who experienced child mortality)	1.89	1.97	n.s.	1.99	1.80	2.04	n.s.	1.94
N	779	1,537		1229	678	409		2317
Number of dead children								
0	65.8	55.1		66.0	53.6	34.8		59.4
1	17.4	22.3		16.9	24.2	30.9		20.3
2	9.7	10.2	***	7.9	12.7	16.1	***	10.0
3	2.5	7.9		5.0	5.9	9.9		5.7
4	3.2	1.4		1.5	2.2	5.4		2.1
5+	1.4	3.1		2.7	1.4	2.9		2.4
N of Cases	2,277	3,427		3,615	1,461	628		5,704
% who have adopted or stepchildren	6.8	3.5	*	5.7	3.4	2.8	*	4.8
N of Cases	2,277	3,426		3,615	1,461	627		5,703
Among those who have adopted or stepchildren, mean number of living adopted or step children	2.32	2.97	n.s.	2.82	1.86	2.06	n.s.	2.60
N of Cases	156	119		208	50	17		275
Among those who have adopted or stepchildren, mean number of dead children (among those who experienced child mortality)	2.52	1.23	*	2.00	1.62	1.35	n.s.	1.94
N of Cases	31	25		50	4	3		57

*p < .05. ***p < .001. n.s. = not significant.
Source: Calculated by DRDF using original LSAHP data.

A relatively high proportion of OPs experienced child mortality: two in five OPs reported having lost at least one child to death. Those who had such an experience reported about two children dead.

Five percent of OPs have adopted children or stepchildren, each OP having an average of 2.6 adopted children or stepchildren. Females are less likely to adopt but when they do, they adopt more children. About twice as many males than females have adopted children or stepchildren (7% vs. 3%), but females adopted an average of three children as compared with two for males. The youngest cohort are the most likely to have adopted, and they reported the highest mean number of adopted children.

Grandparenting is an almost universal experience. At least 96% reported having at least one grandchild from their own children, stepchildren, and adopted children (Table 3.8). On average, OPs became grandparents at about 48 years old. About one-fourth (24%) are involved in the partial or full care of any of their grandchildren, significantly more so amongst women (27% vs. 19%). This is consistent with the

2007 PSOA results. Whilst more women reported being more involved in the care of grandchildren, men are not so far behind, indicating that grandfathers are also highly involved in grandchild care. Although the proportion who participate in the care of grandchildren expectedly decreases as age increases, a notable proportion (8%) of those aged 80+ are actively involved in grandchild care.

Table 3.8. Grandchildren of Older Persons by Sex and Age

Information on Grandchildren	SEX			AGE GROUP				TOTAL
	Male	Female	Sig	60-69	70-79	80+	Sig	
% who have any grandchildren from own, step and adopted children	94.4	97.0	*	95.4	97.0	97.3	n.s.	96.0
N of Cases	2,278	3,426		3,614	1,462	628		5,704
Mean age when older person first had biological grandchild	49.99	46.91	*	47.30	48.43	57.68	**	47.89
N of Cases	374	801		911	221	43		1,174
% who take care of any of the grandchildren, either fully or partially	19.3	27.3	***	29.5	18.4	7.7	***	24.2
N of Cases	2,111	3,261		3,376	1,392	602		5,370
For older persons taking care of any grandchild:								
% who live with any grandchild	84.6	80.3	n.s.	80.3	86.0	87.0	n.s.	81.7
% who are solely in charge of taking care of any grandchild	17.1	34.3	**	27.4	33.7	34.4	n.s.	28.9
Reasons for being solely in charge								
Grandchild's parent is working abroad	18.0	9.8	n.s.	7.8	23.0	7.6	n.s.	11.3
Grandchild is orphaned	8.9	2.0	*	2.5	3.8	12.8	n.s.	3.3
Grandchild prefers to live with older persons than with own parents	8.0	9.0	n.s.	4.8	18.6	25.0	**	8.9
Mother/Father or both parents of grandchild is working outside the town/city but within the Philippines	8.0	40.6	***	39.7	22.6	10.6	n.s.	34.6
Grandchild's parents are separated	47.7	29.9	n.s.	37.5	22.5	19.2	n.s.	33.3
Grandchild's parents are not married	0.0	4.3	n.s.	4.6	0.1	2.5	***	3.5
N of Cases	70	305		273	86	16		375

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001. n.s. = not significant.
Source: Calculated by DRDF using original LSAHP data.

OPs take their grandparenting role seriously. For OPs who reported taking care of their grandchildren either fully or partially, 82% are co-residing with their grandchildren, with no significant differences across sex and age. At least 29% are solely responsible for the care of that child; this is more common amongst females than males (34% vs. 17%). The common reasons for being solely in charge of any grandchild are that the grandchild's mother and/or father work in another city or province (35%), the grandchild's parents are separated (33%), the grandchild's mother

and/or father work abroad or are OFWs (11%), or the grandchild prefers to live with the OP than with his or her own parents (9%).

Summary, Conclusions, and Recommendations

The foregoing discussion demonstrates the high density of Filipino OPs' family networks, with multigenerational actors that include spouses, children, grandchildren, and siblings. A few OPs have surviving parents, which opens the possibility of some of them living in four-generation household structures. Clear gender variability exists, with older males more likely to have a spouse and more likely to be living with their spouse and at least one child, although there is an even number of surviving children across genders. Females, who are more likely to have outlived their partners, are more likely to live alone or live with their children and in other types of living arrangements.

The wide family networks of Filipino OPs can be viewed as positive ties from which OPs can draw support for their various needs, whether financial, material, emotional, or instrumental. Other than their spouses, OPs can largely rely on their children and grandchildren with whom they are most likely to co-reside. Grandchildren, particularly those entrusted to OPs' care and supervision, are mostly co-residing with OPs and thus can be tapped as a source of companionship and other kinds of support for OPs. Despite the protective effects of family relationships, some warn about the ambivalence of family relationships in old age (Widmer, Girardin, and Ludwig, 2017). Even well-intentioned family support does not always promote the well-being of older adults, as it often causes stress rather than comfort (Shor, Roelfs, and Yogev, 2013; Silverstein, Chen, and Heller, 1996; Thoits, 2011). If family support is perceived as overly intrusive, controlling, or dominating, it can foster resentment, resistance to behaviour change, and stress (Tucker, 2002). Both the OP who experiences diminishing autonomy and resources and family members who are implicated in providing care may experience strain and tension that reverberate throughout their family relationships (Hillcoat-Nallétamby and Phillips, 2011).

The descriptive nature of this study prevents us from drawing conclusions beyond the quantitative extent of OPs' family networks. The findings, however, open interesting questions, particularly about the quality of social networks in which older Filipinos are embedded. Further analysis can provide answers to questions such as the following: What is the extent to which negative family relationships prevail in OPs' highly dense family networks? What is the role played by OPs' vulnerable socioeconomic condition

marked by low income and poverty? What is the role of growing international labour migration in which women increasingly participate? Further analysis of these questions will better situate OPs' family networks in the context of ensuring successful ageing.

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