Chapter 13

Children of Older Persons

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CHAPTER 13

Children of Older Persons

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The relationship between parents and adult children takes special importance given its primacy in successful ageing (Cheng et al., 2015). In the traditional family system, children serve as a crucial safety net that strengthens older parents' well-being as they face functional declines associated with ageing. This explains the practice of filial piety, under which children take on caregiving responsibilities for their ageing parents out of a moral obligation to do so (Hashimoto and Ikels, 2006). Despite recent demographic trends that have paved the way for the gradual decline of traditional values of filial piety, the reciprocal relationship between parent and child remains ubiquitous in most, if not all, Asian countries (Cheng et al., 2015). In this respect, the quality of the relationship between parent and child is an important predictor of their psychological well-being (Umberson, 1992).

A growing body of knowledge places social support networks within the broader framework of successful ageing. Golden, Conroy, and Lawlor (2009) suggested that social support networks foster amongst older persons (OPs) more active participation in social events and exchanges with various members of their community. Conversely, social isolation and loneliness, resulting from inadequate social support, are associated with a higher risk of disability, illness, and mortality (Lubben and Gironda, 2003). For instance, in a longitudinal sample of 1,149 older adults in the North Carolina Established Populations for Epidemiologic Studies of the Elderly, Yang (2006) found functional disability to be strongly associated with increased depressive symptoms over 6 years, even after adjusting for the baseline experience of negative life events, chronic conditions, and socio-demographic characteristics. Instrumental assistance from family and friends was not a significant mediator; however, subjective support was a significant buffer against the adverse impacts of disability on depressive symptoms (Yang, 2006).

Since the parent–child dyad creates a pool of possible caregivers for OPs at the later stages of life (Ingersoll-Dayton and Antonucci, 1988), the relationship between parent and child may be pivotal in ensuring positive health outcomes amongst older adults.

With subsequent gains in age are corresponding losses not only in functionality but also in cognitive functioning. The association between intergenerational relationships and cognitive decline, however, is complex. Several studies have demonstrated that most OPs possess considerable 'reserve capacity' (Baltes and Baltes, 1990) which, with sufficient guidance and support, allows them to continue functioning in later life like they did in the earlier stages of life. As such, social structures that abuse external support create increased dependency amongst OPs, which, in turn, hampers cognitive engagement (Baltes and Baltes, 1990). But more recent evidence has shown that social support may work positively to reduce cognitive decline by promoting interpersonal activities and communication (Berkman, 2000). Older adults with adequate family support score higher with respect to cognitive functioning (Pillemer and Holtzer, 2016; Zhu et al., 2012). Hence, the loss or depletion of this support (e.g. through widowhood or the migration of children) corresponds to a significant impairment in healthy cognitive functioning in advanced ages. This underscores the significance of examining the relationship between parent and child across several dimensions, namely, living arrangements, relationships, exchanges of support, and attitudes and beliefs.

Limitations exist with regard to research on intergenerational relationships. Shapiro (2004) identified two reasons for this: First, only a handful of studies have assessed intergenerational relations from the perspectives of both generations. Second, no systematic review has been done on the different reports of other dimensions of intergenerational relationships. Fortunately, the multi-actor design of the Longitudinal Study of Ageing and Health in the Philippines (LSAHP) provides a nationally representative sample that can be used to examine both the Filipino older parents' and their adult children's reports of multiple dimensions of intergenerational solidarity. In this regard, the LSAHP hopes to substantially contribute to the understanding of parent–child dyads in the Philippines.

This chapter presents LSAHP findings on the adult children by the OPs' sex and age. It aims to describe the parent–child dyad from the adult children's perspective to allow for a better understanding of the nature of the parent–child relationship,

support provision, and expectations regarding filial piety. Of the 5,985 OP respondents, 60% had adult children interviewed or a total of 3,573 adult child respondents. The adult child questionnaire was administered mainly to any co-resident adult child identified by the OP respondent. In the absence of a co-resident child, non-co-resident children living next door or within the province were selected for interview. Before the OP selected the adult child respondent, the OP was first instructed to identify his/her primary or potential caregiver. Children who are caregivers of the OP respondents were interviewed using the caregiver, and not the child, questionnaire, explaining the higher number of caregivers compared to children who were interviewed. Like the caregivers, we limited the adult children identified by the OP respondents to those who are 18 years old and above. Given the study design, the sample of OPs' adult children covered in this study is not representative of all children of OPs.

Profile of OPs' Adult Children

Table 13.1 shows the profile of the interviewed adult children of OP respondents. Males slightly outnumber the females (53% vs 47%). A higher proportion of male OPs have female adult children, whereas more female OPs have male adult children.

The adult children are in early middle age, with a mean age of 37. More female OPs have older adult children relative to their male counterparts (39 years vs 35 years, respectively). As expected, as the OP respondents become older, the mean age of their adult children increases.

There is a considerable variation in marital status, with more than half (53%) of OPs having children who are currently married; the level increases with the OPs' age, from 45% amongst those in their 60s to 71% amongst those aged 80 and over. About 18% of the adult children are cohabiting, and a slightly higher proportion have never been married (21%). More male OPs have children who never married (28% vs 16%).

The education level, type of residence, and work status of the adult children vary by the age and sex of the OPs. The adult children exhibit higher educational attainment relative to their ageing parents. Half of the children reached the high school level (50%) and nearly a fifth (18%) reached college or higher; the corresponding figures for their OP parents are 19% and 8%, respectively (see Chapter 3). Nearly two in three (64%) adult children reside in rural areas, and the majority (65%) are currently working.

Table 13.1. Characteristics of Children by Sex and Age of Older Persons

Characteristics of Children	SEX		AGE GROUP			TOTAL
	Male	Female	60-69	70-79	80+	
Age						
Below 20	2.2	0.7	1.8	0.7	0.0	1.3
20-29	32.8	19.2	35.9	6.3	1.7	24.7
30-39	33.2	33.4	41.1	25.1	8.3	33.3
40-49	24.7	31.2	21.0	48.5	28.7	28.5
50-59	5.8	11.8	0.3	18.0	40.4	9.4
60-69	1.4	3.6	0.0	1.4	19.9	2.7
70-79	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.1
Mean age	34.65	39.33	32.73	42.91	51.77	37.44
Sex						
Male	46.9	57.5	53.9	50.9	54.2	53.2
Female	53.2	42.5	46.1	49.1	45.8	46.8
Marital status						
Never married	28.4	15.7	25.8	12.6	10.8	20.8
Currently married	43.3	59.7	45.2	65.6	70.6	53.1
Live-in	21.9	14.9	21.3	13.9	6.1	17.7
Separated/Divorced/Annulled	5.0	6.8	6.9	5.1	3.8	6.1
Widowed	1.4	2.8	0.8	2.9	8.8	2.2
Education						
No schooling/Elementary	32.8	31.3	28.5	37.3	39.1	31.9
High school	45.6	52.7	51.7	46.7	45.9	49.8
College+	21.6	16.1	19.8	16.0	15.0	18.3
Type of residence						
Rural	67.9	61.8	62.8	63.5	73.4	64.2
Urban	32.1	38.2	37.2	36.5	26.6	35.8
% currently working	61.0	68.0	63.8	67.9	67.6	65.2
N	*1,447*	*2,141*	*2,295*	*871*	*423*	*3,589*

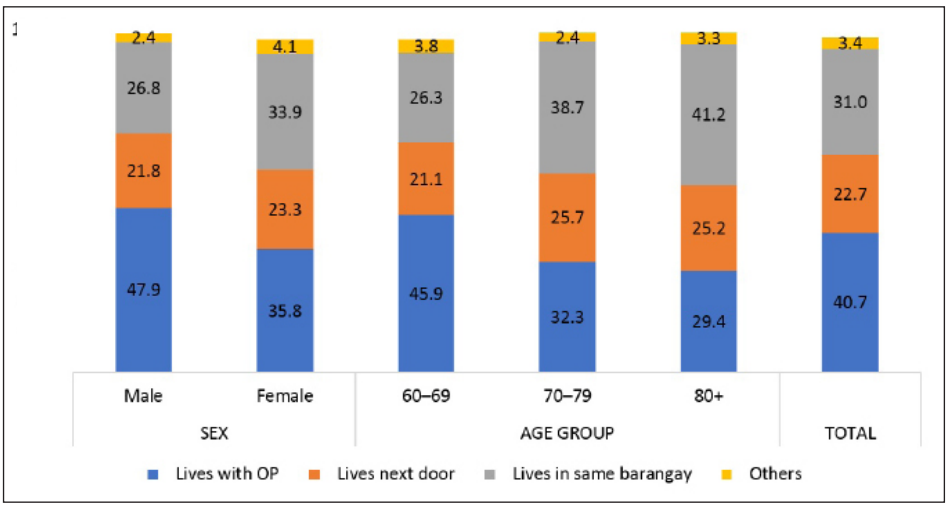
Source: Calculated by DRDF using original LSAHP data.

Living Arrangement

Understanding intergenerational living arrangements is important given the complex and often dynamic living arrangements of OPs and their children. The changing directions of dependence over the life cycle is evident in several studies (e.g. Choi, 2003; Crimmins and Ingegneri, 1990; de Jong Gierveld et al., 2012; Wiemers et al., 2016).

Figure 13.1 and Table 13.2 show the distribution of living arrangements of the adult children by the OPs' sex and age. Results corroborate earlier findings showing that OP respondents are most likely to be currently living with an adult child (see Chapter 3). Co-residence with the OP (41%) is the most common living arrangement of the adult children, more so amongst males than females (48% vs 36%). Almost half of the OPs aged 60–69 (46%) have co-resident children; the corresponding proportions for OPs aged 70–79 and 80+ are 32% and 29%, respectively. The next most common living arrangements of the children of OPs are in the same barangay (31%) and next door (23%). As the age of the OP increases, so does the proportion of children who live next door and in the same barangay. The remaining proportion of the adult children live in the same city/municipality, in the same province, or in a different province. Children of female OPs and those at the older age cohorts are separated for longer periods (in months) from their parents.

Figure 13.1. Living Arrangement with Older Persons (OPs), by Sex and Age of Older Persons



Source: Calculated by DRDF using original LSAHP data.

Table 13.2. Relationship to Older Persons by Sex and Age of Older Persons

Relationship of Children to Older Person	SEX		AGE GROUP			TOTAL
	Male	Female	60-69	70-79	80+	
Living arrangement						
Lives with Older Person	47.9	35.8	45.9	32.3	29.4	40.7
Lives next door	21.8	23.3	21.1	25.7	25.2	22.7
Lives in same barangay	26.8	33.9	26.3	38.7	41.2	31.0
Lives in same city/municipality	2.4	4.1	3.8	2.4	3.3	3.4
Lives in same province	1.0	2.4	2.5	0.7	0.9	1.9
Lives in a different province	0.1	0.6	0.5	0.1	0.0	0.4
N	*1,447*	*2,140*	*2,295*	*870*	*422*	*3,587*
Mean number of months child lived separately from Older Person	14.36	16.53	11.74	19.03	25.80	15.77
N	*738*	*1,368*	*1,223*	*583*	*301*	*2,107*
Frequency of visits in the past 12 months (visited Older Person)						
Not at all	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.6	0.1	0.2
Everyday	66.3	66.1	64.7	70.0	64.6	66.2
Every few days	20.8	20.4	20.9	19.3	21.5	20.5
Every week	9.0	7.5	9.3	4.6	9.8	8.0
Every month	1.7	3.4	3.0	2.5	2.5	2.8
Every few months	1.5	1.6	1.5	1.9	1.0	1.5
Once a year	0.4	0.7	0.6	0.9	0.2	0.6
On special occasion	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.1
As the need arises	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.3	0.1
Frequency of visits in the past 12 months (visited by Older Person)						
Not at all	5.1	10.1	8.3	3.9	17.2	8.4
Everyday	50.3	55.7	54.4	58.5	42.2	53.8
Every few days	28.1	18.7	22.7	23.4	16.1	22.0
Every week	8.6	7.2	6.6	6.9	13.7	7.7
Every month	3.0	2.7	2.7	2.7	3.4	2.8
Every few months	2.3	2.8	2.3	2.2	4.5	2.6
Once a year	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.9	0.2	0.4
On special occasion	1.9	1.3	2.1	0.6	1.2	1.6
As the need arises	0.4	1.0	0.6	1.0	1.6	0.8
Frequency of talking/chatting with Older Person (through phone, FB, etc.) in the past month						
Not at all	72.3	62.5	62.7	67.5	76.0	65.9
Everyday	11.6	19.9	16.4	19.6	14.2	17.0
Every few days	8.9	7.4	9.5	6.0	5.3	8.0
Every week	2.5	1.3	2.2	0.8	1.2	1.7
Once	1.0	4.1	4.2	2.0	0.3	3.0
As the need arises	3.7	4.9	5.0	4.1	3.0	4.5
N	*738*	*1,368*	*1,222*	*583*	*301*	*2,106*

Relationship of Children to Older Person	SEX		AGE GROUP			TOTAL
	Male	Female	60-69	70-79	80+	
Type of relationship with Older Person growing up (from birth to age 15)						
Get along well all the time	65.9	65.5	68.3	60.2	62.7	65.7
Get along well most of the time	28.9	29.2	25.7	36.2	32.9	29.0
Get along well sometimes	4.4	5.2	5.5	3.5	4.0	4.8
We don't get along well at all	0.9	0.1	0.6	0.1	0.4	0.5
N	*1,446*	*2,140*	*2,294*	*871*	*423*	*3,558*
Type of relationship with Older Person at present						
Get along well all the time	63.5	61.3	66.5	53.6	56.7	62.2
Get along well most of the time	31.4	33.7	28.9	40.7	37.2	32.7
Get along well sometimes	5.0	5.0	4.6	5.6	5.8	5.0
We don't get along well at all	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.1
N	*1,443*	*2,141*	*2,294*	*867*	*422*	*3,583*

FB = Facebook.
Source: Calculated by DRDF using original LSAHP data.

Relationship to the Older Person

One of the most important relationships of adult children is their relationship with their parents (Shapiro, 2004). Parent–child relationships intersect in multiple dimensions and may be defined differently from one person to another. In the context of the ageing process, this relationship is mostly social in nature.

Table 13.2 summarises the dynamics of the relationship between adult children and their ageing parents. Results indicate that the majority (66%) of non-co-resident adult children visited their parents every day in the past 12 months. Parents in their 60s were most likely to be visited daily compared to other age groups. About one in five children visited their ageing parents at least once every few days. About 8% of non-co-resident children pay weekly visits to their parents. In addition, a negligible proportion (0.2%) never visited their parents at all in the past 12 months.

We also looked at the other direction of the exchange – that is, visits made by the OPs to their children. More than half of the adult children had daily visits from the OPs in the past 12 months. Another 22% were visited by their ageing parents every few days. Eight percent were never visited by their ageing parents in the year before the survey. As expected, the proportion of OPs who visited their non-co-resident children daily is lowest amongst the oldest age cohort (80+) at 16%. More male OPs visited their children every few days (28%) compared to female OPs (19%).

We also asked the adult children about their communication with their parents by phone, social networking sites like Facebook, and other social media platforms. Two in every three adult children have not talked or chatted with their parents on the phone or on social media in the past month. Seventeen percent of children communicated with their parents daily, more so with female OPs (20%) compared to male OPs (12%). A much lower proportion of adult children communicated with their parents every few days (8%) or as the need arises (4%). Regardless of the frequency of communication, the proportion of children who actively communicate with their parents is generally lowest amongst those whose parents are aged 80 and over.

Adult child respondents were also asked about the type of relationship they had with their parents while growing up (from birth to age 15) and at present. The children reported similar relationships with their ageing parents while growing up and at present. Generally, they have very good relationships with their parents; only about 5% reported not-so-good or poor relationships. Regardless of the sex of the OPs, two-thirds of the adult child respondents reported favourable relationships with their OP parents from birth to age 15. In terms of age, the children of OPs aged 60–69 reported the highest level of good relations with their parents while they were growing up (68%), compared to 60% for parents in their 70s and 63% for parents aged 80+.

Only 5% of the adult child respondents say that they do not or rarely get along well with their parents. Children of OPs in the youngest cohort are more likely to report congenial relationships with their ageing parents at present compared to those with older parents. For example, 66% of the children of OPs aged 60–69 said they get along well with their parents all the time, compared to 54% and 57% for those whose parents are aged 70–79 and 80+, respectively.

Support Provided by Children

Central to the investigation of older parent–adult child relations is the equivalence and/or asymmetry in exchanges. This reciprocity requires the transfer of time, labour, and financial assets across generations (Silverstein et al., 2002). In the Philippine context, adult children are expected to support and assist their ageing parents. However, certain circumstances allow older parents to continue helping their children in one way or another. The LSAHP explored both the support provided by adult children to their parents and the support provided by the OPs to their children.

Table 13.3 summarises the financial and other types of support provided by adult children to their parents. Results show that about two in three (64%) adult children financially supported their parents in the month before the interview. Female OPs received a slightly higher level of financial support from their children relative to male OPs (66% vs 62%, respectively). Amongst those who financially supported their ageing parents in the month before the survey, only a fifth (21%) did so every month. Regular monthly support was higher amongst the youngest cohort (60–69) compared to the other older cohorts. Those who financially supported their parents every month gave a median monthly amount of ₱500.00 or about 10USD.

Table 13.3. Support Given to Older Persons by Sex and Age of Older Persons

Support from Children	SEX		AGE GROUP			TOTAL
	Male	Female	60-69	70-79	80+	
% who provided financial support to Older Person in the past month	61.6	65.9	64.4	63.8	63.7	64.2
N	1,443	2,140	2,293	867	423	3,583
% who provide financial support to Older Person every month	20.4	22.0	23.2	17.2	19.7	21.3
N	889	1,411	1,478	553	268	2,299
Median monthly financial support given to Older Person (pesos)	1000.00	500.00	500.00	1000.00	1000.00	500.00
N	*139*	*281*	*277*	*90*	*53*	*420*
Financial support to Older Person provided by siblings						
All siblings provide	26.5	21.9	25.7	21.6	17.7	23.7
Some siblings provide	69.4	71.5	68.7	74.1	73.9	70.6
I alone provide help	2.7	3.5	2.7	3.5	5.0	3.2
I am an only child	1.5	3.2	2.9	0.8	3.4	2.5
N	*1,444*	*2,138*	*2,291*	*867*	*422*	*3,580*
Other forms of support provided to Older Person in the past 12 months						
None	4.9	1.8	3.0	3.8	1.8	3.0
Material support	57.9	69.2	61.1	72.0	68.7	64.6
Help in household chores	34.5	38.6	40.2	31.4	30.3	36.9
Help in transportation	1.9	5.3	3.6	3.8	5.8	3.9
Manage financial transactions	2.9	2.2	2.0	3.0	4.2	2.5
Manage business	0.7	1.3	1.2	1.1	0.3	1.0
Personal care	41.8	43.5	37.8	47.8	60.4	42.9
Emotional support	73.3	76.0	72.6	79.4	78.1	74.9
Others (spiritual support; company during visits to the doctor, etc.)	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2
N	*2,411*	*3,574*	*3,760*	*1,552*	*673*	*5,985*

Source: Calculated by DRDF using original LSAHP data.

Providing financial support to an ageing parent seems to be the shared responsibility of all siblings. The adult children were asked if their siblings also financially support their parents; 24% reported that all siblings do, while 71% said only some siblings do. An insignificant proportion (3%) said they are the lone providers of financial help to the OPs. Two percent of the respondents also said they have no siblings and are therefore the only ones financially supporting their ageing parents. The proportion who said that all siblings support their parents is higher amongst children of older males than of older females, and the level declines monotonically with the OPs' advancing age. The proportion who reported other arrangements (i.e. some siblings provide support, or the respondent child alone provides support) is higher amongst children of female OPs than of male OPs, and amongst OPs at the older age cohorts.

The adult child respondents reported a wide range of support when asked about the other forms of support they gave their ageing parents in the past 12 months. These mainly include emotional support, material help, personal care, and help in household chores, in descending order of importance. The level of support varies by the OPs' age and sex for all the aforementioned types of support. Other less common forms of support provided include help in transportation (4%), financial management (2%), and managing the business (1%). About 3% did not give any type of support in the past 12 months.

Across the different forms of support provided by the children of OPs, a gender pattern is obvious, with female OPs generally receiving more support than male OPs. In particular, more children of female OPs (69%) reported giving material support compared to children of male OPs (58%). Likewise, a higher proportion of children helped their mothers in household chores (39%) than their fathers (34%). A similar gender pattern is observed in the provision of assistance in transportation.

Assistance in transportation, management in financial transactions, and personal care increases with the OPs' age. The proportion of children who assist their older parents in household chores is highest amongst the youngest age cohort (60–69) at 40%, compared to 31% and 30% for those in their 70s and 80+, respectively. Other forms of support that showed age differentials do not have a clear age pattern. In the case of material and emotional support, the level of support is highest amongst OPs in their 70s.

More male than female OPs did not receive any form of support from the children interviewed (5% vs 2%, respectively). There were no observed differences by age.

Support Provided by Older Persons

The LSAHP explored the support flows from adult children to their parents and vice versa. We asked the adult child respondents if they received financial and other forms of support from their ageing parents (Table 13.4). Generally, results show a mutual albeit unequal exchange of support, with more support coming from children than from parents.

Table 13.4. Support Received from Older Persons by Sex and Age of Older Persons

Support from Older Person	SEX		AGE GROUP			TOTAL
	Male	Female	60-69	70-79	80+	
% who received financial support from Older Person in the past month	44.5	37.7	46.5	31.9	25.3	40.4
N	*1,443*	*2,138*	*2,292*	*867*	*422*	*3,581*
% who received financial support from Older Person every month	8.8	9.8	10.1	8.2	4.7	9.4
N	*643*	*806*	*1,065*	*277*	*107*	*1,449*
Median monthly financial support received from Older Person (pesos)	500.00	500.00	500.00	500.00	2000.00	500.00
N	*57*	*55*	*86*	*19*	*6*	*112*
Other forms of support received from Older Person in the past 12 months						
None	7.2	7.8	3.8	9.9	23.4	7.6
Material support	48.6	42.0	51.2	38.9	21.0	44.7
Help in household chores	17.2	13.7	18.7	9.1	7.7	15.1
Help in transportation	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.2	0.6
Manage financial transactions	1.3	1.6	1.7	1.5	0.1	1.5
Manage business	0.7	0.6	0.3	0.9	2.2	0.7
Personal care	23.5	17.8	22.7	17.6	11.3	20.1
Emotional support	70.6	76.1	75.8	73.5	64.2	73.9
Child care	29.8	25.9	28.7	28.8	18.2	27.5
Others (spiritual support, etc.)	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1
N	*1,443*	*2,138*	*2,292*	*867*	*422*	*3,581*

Source: Calculated by DRDF using original LSAHP data.

Two in five children received financial support from their parents in the month before the interview, whereas 64% of OPs received financial support from their children. More male than female OPs provided financial support to their adult children (44% vs 38%). Such support decreases as the OPs' age increases. Almost a tenth (9%) of

adult children received financial support from their parents every month. The median monthly financial support received by the OP respondents was PhP500.00, which is the same as the amount they give.

Other than financial support, adult children also received other forms of support from the OPs in the past 12 months. These include emotional support (74%), material support (45%), childcare (28%), personal care (20%), and help in household chores (15%). Except for emotional support, a higher proportion of male OPs tend to provide these salient forms of non-financial support to their adult children. The proportion of children who received these four types of support decreases dramatically as the OPs' age increases. This result reflects the decline in the OPs' capacity to support their adult children, who are already old enough and may need lesser support from their ageing parents. In fact, adult children themselves may be receiving support from their own children.

The proportion of OPs who do not support their adult children (8%) is much higher than the proportion of adult children who do not support their parents (3%).

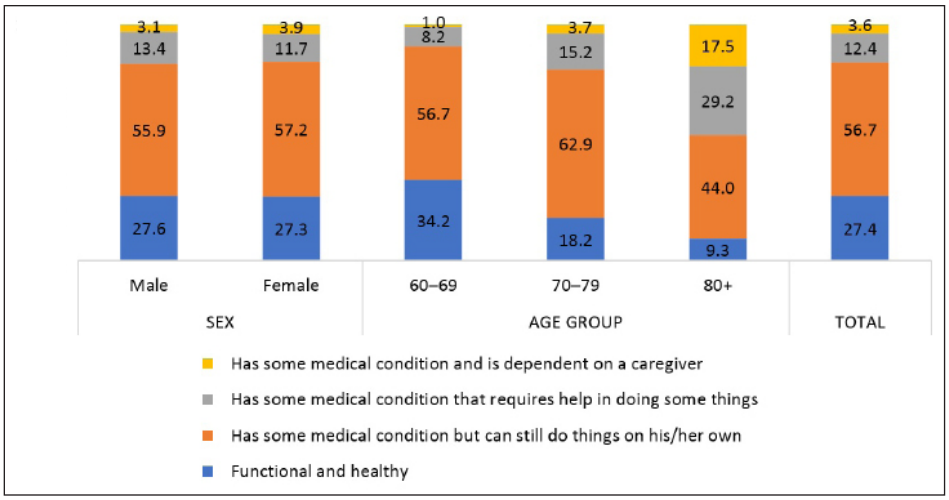
Functional Difficulties and Caregiving

When the adult children were asked to describe the functional abilities of their parents, the majority reported that their parents are still functional, although the perception differs by the parents' age. About a quarter (27%) of the adult children said their parents are still functional and healthy, and more than half (57%) assessed their parents as capable of doing things on their own despite having some medical conditions (Figure 13.2).

Findings also show declining health and functioning with advancing age. The proportion of children who claimed their parents are functional and healthy decreases from 34% amongst those with parents aged 60–69 to 9% amongst those with parents aged 80+. These corroborate the findings in Chapters 4 and 5, showing increasing proportions of OPs with poorer health status and functioning health with advancing age.

For the 16% of OPs who are perceived as requiring help in doing some things or who are dependent on a caregiver, we asked their adult children who mainly provide the OPs with assistance. Findings show that care for OPs is chiefly a family affair. About 62% of the adult children (self, sister, brother) assist their parents to a great degree.

Figure 13.2. Perception of Children on the Health Status of Older Persons by Sex and Age of Older Persons



Source: Calculated by DRDF using original LSAHP data.

About 1 in every 10 (12%) said that other family members are the main providers of assistance (Table 13.5). About 2% of the OPs are assisted by their grandchildren, and less than 1% are assisted by paid help. Gender differences are evident from the interviews, with the older males most likely to be taken care of by their wives (45%) and none of the older females being taken care of by their husbands. The bulk of care for older females is covered by their daughters (43%). More of the sisters of the adult child respondents were reported to take care of their mothers (43%) than their fathers (22%).

The level of caregiving varies with the age of the OPs. For example, the proportion of older women who take care of their husbands declines substantially as the OPs' age reaches the 80s. This is expected given the decline in health and functioning with age. On the other hand, the level of caregiving provided by grandchildren, other family members, and paid help increases with advancing age.

Table 13.5. Perception of Children on the Health Status of Older Persons, by Sex and Age of Older Persons

Perception of Children on the Health Status of Older Person	SEX		AGE GROUP			TOTAL
	Male	Female	60-69	70-79	80+	
Health status of Older Person						
Functional and healthy	27.6	27.3	34.2	18.2	9.3	27.4
Has some medical condition but can still do things on his/her own	55.9	57.2	56.7	62.9	44.0	56.7
Has some medical condition that requires help in doing some things	13.4	11.7	8.2	15.2	29.2	12.4
Has some medical condition and is dependent on a caregiver	3.1	3.9	1.0	3.7	17.5	3.6
N	*1,443*	*2,137*	*2,292*	*868*	*421*	*3,581*
Person who mainly provides assistance to Older Person						
Mainly self	12.4	24.1	17.1	33.8	9.3	19.2
Mother	45.3	0.0	23.7	24.1	9.4	18.9
Sister	22.2	42.6	31.6	23.2	45.8	34.1
Brother	6.4	9.4	9.8	4.6	9.4	8.2
My children	0.6	3.6	0.8	1.2	4.9	2.4
Other family members	5.8	15.7	8.0	9.2	17.2	11.5
Paid help	0.2	1.5	0.6	0.3	1.5	0.8
Others (daughter-in-law, etc.)	7.2	3.3	8.4	3.6	2.4	4.9
N	*237*	*332*	*210*	*164*	*198*	*572*

Source: Calculated by DRDF using original LSAHP data.

Cognitive Decline of OPs

We also asked the adult child respondents to assess their parents' cognitive decline in the 2 years preceding the interview using the short form of the Informant Questionnaire on Cognitive Decline in the Elderly (IQCODE). The IQCODE measures cognitive decline from a premorbid level in the older population through the reports of informants, such as friends or family members (Jorm, 2004). The short version was developed by Jorm (1994) from the original 26-item version, covering two aspects of memory (acquisition of new information and retrieval of existing knowledge), as well as verbal and performance intelligence over a certain period (Jorm, 2004; Jorm and Korten, 1988).

In the study, we asked the adult child respondents to describe how their parents fare in terms of remembering conversations and personal information, operating household machinery, applying reasoning and knowledge, and handling financial matters. In particular, we asked the adult children the list of questions provided in

Table 13.6. Perception of Children on the Cognitive Decline of Older Persons by Sex and Age of Older Persons

Perception of Children on Cognitive Decline of Older Person	SEX		AGE GROUP			TOTAL
	Male	Female	60-69	70-79	80+	
Percent of children who think that the following cognitive functions of Older Person worsened in the past two years:						
Remembering things about family and friends, such as occupations, birthdays, and addresses	18.3	21.6	14.6	22.4	46.7	20.3
Remembering things that have happened recently	11.9	22.5	12.3	21.2	45.0	18.3
Recalling conversations a few days later	12.1	22.9	13.3	20.8	42.2	18.5
Remembering [his/her] address and telephone number	8.5	17.8	9.0	17.1	35.2	14.0
Remembering what day and month it is	16.6	22.1	12.4	23.6	53.0	19.9
Remembering where things are usually kept	24.9	33.8	24.6	33.7	53.8	30.3
Remembering where to find things which have been put in a different place from usual	28.0	36.4	27.5	37.0	54.4	33.0
Knowing how to work familiar machines around the house	10.9	18.2	11.1	19.5	29.2	15.3
Learning to use a new gadget or machine around house	11.9	16.5	10.0	22.2	24.4	14.6
Learning new things in general	16.7	22.9	13.9	27.6	41.3	20.4
Following a story in a book or on TV	8.2	17.3	9.1	16.6	31.9	13.6
Making decisions on everyday matters	11.7	13.9	7.9	16.1	34.7	13.0
Handling money for shopping	5.1	12.7	4.7	14.4	26.6	9.7
Handling financial matters; for example, the pension, or dealing with the bank	5.2	13.2	5.2	14.2	27.7	10.0
Handling other everyday arithmetic problems	9.1	18.7	9.0	21.5	33.3	14.9
Using his/her intelligence to understand what's going on and to reason things through	9.7	16.7	7.9	19.2	35.8	13.9
N	*1,443*	*2,134*	*2,292*	*867*	*418*	*3,577*

Source: Calculated by DRDF using original LSAHP data.

Table 13.6 (e.g. 'Compared with 2 years ago, how is ___ [name of OP respondent] at remembering things about family and friends, such as occupations, birthdays, and addresses? Has it improved, remained the same (no change), or worsened?'). In this section, we present the results for those who said their parents' memory had worsened.

Based on the adult children's assessment, older Filipinos appear to struggle the least in managing financial and arithmetic tasks (e.g. handling money for shopping, bank transactions, and daily arithmetic). Regardless of the OPs' sex, spatial memory deteriorated the most in the 2 years before the survey, with about a third of adult children claiming that their parents struggle with remembering where to find things that are put in a different place from the usual (33%) or remembering where things are usually kept (30%). About a fifth (20%) said their parents have difficulty remembering things about family and friends (e.g. occupations, birthdays, and addresses), learning new things in general, or what day and month it is.

For all 16 items asked, the adult children reported that their mothers had suffered greater deterioration in the past 2 years compared to their fathers. As expected, the adult children perceived a decline in their parents' cognitive functioning with advancing age.

Attitudes and Beliefs of Children

The LSAHP explored the adult children's perceptions of a range of issues on ageing, such as gender equality, filial concerns, and living arrangements. We asked the adult children of OP respondents if they agreed or disagreed with a set of statements. Table 13.7 presents the results for those who agreed with the statements provided.

The adult children have a universally positive opinion of children's obligation to take care of their ageing parents (99%), regardless of the parents' sex. They also have a strong opinion about parents' responsibility to their children, with 86% agreeing that it is the parents' duty to do their best for their children even at the expense of their own well-being. Traditional beliefs on gender roles are also ubiquitous amongst children of OPs. About 68% of the adult children agree with the traditional division of labour (i.e. men are the breadwinners while women take care of the household). Another 70% agree that co-residence with a daughter as opposed to a son is a more suitable living arrangement for ageing parents. Based on previous studies, this preference for daughters as the co-resident child is shown to be strongly influenced by relational factors, which often takes precedence over gender considerations (Asis et al., 1995; Domingo and Asis, 1995). Daughters, compared to sons, are viewed to be closer to the OPs and are perceived to be more understanding, reliable, available, and caring. This perception of daughters makes them the 'better' caregivers (Domingo and Asis, 1995).

Table 13.7. Attitudes and Beliefs of Children by Sex and Age of Older Persons

Attitudes and Beliefs of Children	SEX		AGE GROUP			TOTAL
	Male	Female	60-69	70-79	80+	
% of children who agree with the following statements:						
A child is expected to support and take care of his/her aged parents	98.3	98.9	98.9	98.8	97.3	98.7
It is acceptable for someone in their 60's or older to fall in love.	46.2	36.4	41.5	37.4	40.3	40.4
It is acceptable for someone in their 60's or older to (re)marry if they find a suitable partner.	39.7	29.5	35.3	31.3	29.0	33.6
It is acceptable for children who looked after their parents to inherit larger portions of their estate when they pass away	42.2	39.3	39.6	42.4	41.5	40.5
It is better for the elderly parent to live with a daughter than with a son.	67.4	71.0	67.3	73.3	73.8	69.6
Men should work for the family, and women should stay home and take care of the household.	68.1	68.7	67.3	70.7	70.4	68.5
It is the parents' duty to do their best for their children even at the expense of their own wellbeing.	88.5	84.0	84.0	89.5	88.2	85.8
N	*1,443*	*2,137*	*2,292*	*867*	*421*	*3,580*

Source: Calculated by DRDF using original LSAHP data.

The adult children are less opinionated on issues relating to inheritance and the romantic involvement of their parents. For example, only 40% agree that it is acceptable for children who looked after their parents to inherit larger portions of their estate when they pass away. The same proportion think it is acceptable for people above the age of 60 to fall in love, and 34% believe it is acceptable for those in their 60s and over to (re)marry if they find a suitable partner.

The adult children's opinions on four of the foregoing issues vary depending on whether their fathers or mothers are concerned. For example, more adult children are open to the idea of their fathers rather than their mothers falling in love and (re) marrying in their old age. More children of male OPs agree that it is their parents' responsibility to care for their children.

Differences by sex are also noted, except in the matter of inheritance, falling in love at the later stages of life, and traditional division of labour. The fulfilment of filial expectations, i.e. that children are obligated to take care of their ageing parents, decreases monotonically with the age of the OP. The same pattern emerged for (re) marrying if their parents find a suitable partner. On the other hand, children of OPs who are in their 70s and 80s are more likely to say that their parents are better off living with daughters than sons.

Summary, Conclusions, and Recommendations

This chapter overviewed the OPs' characteristics, relationships, support provision, and attitudes and beliefs from the perspective of their adult children, unlike the previous chapters, which showed findings from the point of view of the OP respondents. This highlights one of the strengths of the LSAHP: it collected common data from both the OPs and their adult children, allowing for a cross-validation of findings. Future analyses can explore and examine the parent–child dyad more deeply by assessing the intergenerational relations from the perspective of both the OPs and their adult children.

Results indicate a high proportion of adult children who live with their ageing parents and those who do not live with their parents but reside next door or at least within the vicinity. This result is consistent with the OPs' own report of their current living arrangement as discussed in Chapter 3, which shows that living with children is their most common living arrangement. Co-residence with children decreases with advancing age of the OP; however, adult children still live near their parents' home.

Along with the close proximity of adult children to their parents is the high level of intergenerational exchange of support, visits, and communication. There is also an active albeit disproportional exchange of instrumental, emotional, and/or financial assistance, with the flow from adult children to their parents exceeding the reverse flow. The familial web of relationships is multigenerational, going beyond the OPs' children to cover grandchildren. Our findings show that a high proportion of OPs care for their grandchildren; this is reciprocated to a certain extent, although to a much smaller degree. At least 2% of grandchildren are mainly in charge of assisting OPs with difficulties in health and functioning.

There is an observed divide in the support flows not only between generations but also between genders. Adult children are more likely to give financial, material, instrumental, personal care, and emotional support to their mothers than to their fathers. On the other hand, a considerable proportion of adult children continue to receive support from their parents, more likely from their fathers than their mothers. Quite expectedly, this downward flow of support is likely to decrease with the OPs' advancing age. More adult children said they did not receive any support from their mothers than from their fathers. This is expected given the higher economic status of older males, who are more likely to work and derive earnings from work outside the home and from the farm (see Chapter 7).

OPs are mostly perceived by their adult children as capable of independent living even though many of them have some medical conditions. Family caregiving is common amongst the OPs who require assistance, with the male OPs more likely to receive care from their spouses and less so from their children. Female OPs experience a dearth of spousal caregiving and mainly receive assistance from their children and other family members. This gendered pattern of caregiving resonates findings of a similar study by Abalos et al. (2018) which focuses on the provision of assistance amongst Filipino OPs with functional difficulties. An almost universal proportion of adult children expressed positive views regarding filial expectations for adult children to care for and support their ageing parents. This is reflected in the considerable share they have in providing care for their ageing parents, particularly their mothers. Further analysis could uncover some factors that may prevent adult children from assuming caregiving roles, particularly with the study findings indicating that a considerable proportion of OPs suffered from cognitive decline in the years preceding the survey. Future studies could also look into how the persistence of gender bias in adult children's perceptions of OP roles and functions may affect the attainment of more equitable conditions for the older sector in general.

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