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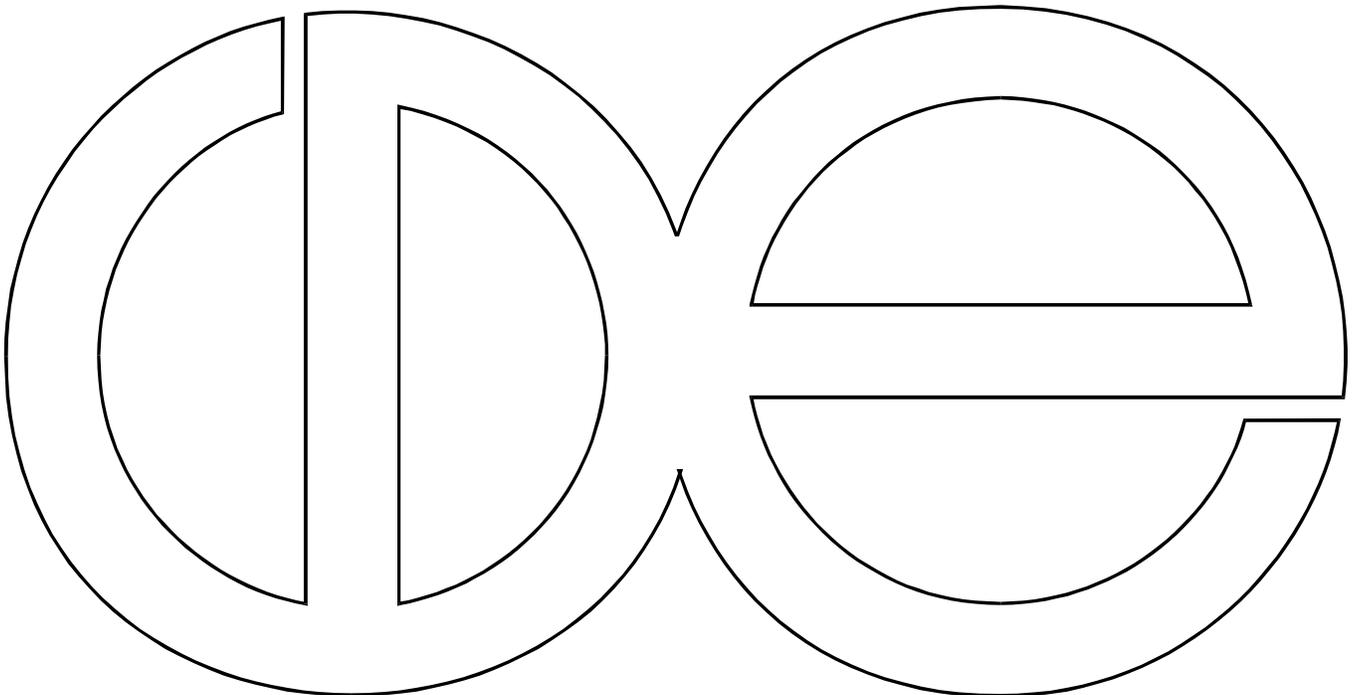
**Receipt of Instrumental Assistance and  
Extended Family Residence Among Elders in Mexico**

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**CDE Working Paper No. 2001-18**



RECEIPT OF INSTRUMENTAL ASSISTANCE AND  
EXTENDED FAMILY RESIDENCE AMONG ELDERS IN MEXICO

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October 2001

Synthesis of papers presented at the 1999, 2000, and 2001 Population Association of America annual meetings. Support to the University of Wisconsin's Center for Demography and Ecology from NICHD center grant HD05876 is gratefully acknowledged.

INTERGENERATIONAL HELP AND THE MEANING OF EXTENDED  
FAMILY RESIDENCE AMONG ELDERS IN MEXICO

ABSTRACT

This paper focuses on informal instrumental help received by a nationally-representative sample of elderly Mexican men age 60 and over gathered in 1994. About half the men received in-kind or domestic assistance in the last month, while about two-fifths received financial assistance, and a little more than a quarter received physical assistance. These figures must be interpreted alongside the facts that almost half of the men were still working, over half (57%) had no discernable health limitation and roughly a quarter were still living in simple family households with one or more unmarried children.

The common assumption that living arrangements helps indicate assistance seems valid. When receipt of help was regressed on living arrangements and a number of other socioeconomic characteristics, living arrangements stayed an important predictor. Other factors stayed important too however. This suggests that help is a multidimensional concept that includes, but is not limited to coresidence. Coresidence is neither a sufficient nor even a necessary condition.

In fact, many elders who received help, received some of that help from non-coresiding relatives. Remittances were important, but we found that help from non-coresiding relatives or friends included in-kind, domestic and physical assistance as well as financial assistance. Perhaps it is time to dust off notions of a modified extended family, and in turn *modify* them, to help us understand the situation in Mexico. Questions about geographic distance, in addition to coresidence, could be helpful.

INTERGENERATIONAL HELP AND THE MEANING OF EXTENDED  
FAMILY RESIDENCE AMONG ELDERS IN MEXICO

It is difficult to read a treatise on Mexico without coming across some reference to the major importance of the family (Hanratty, 1997: 117-118):

Family membership presupposes an inalienable bond among first-, second-, third-, and fourth-generation relatives, a bond that is accompanied by a corresponding set of rights and obligations. Family members are expected to display affection openly and reciprocally, as well as provide each other material and moral support. ....

Consistent with such a view, studies for decades have found that a majority of Mexicans 60 years and older have been living in extended family households with relatives such as married children, perhaps 52 percent in 1976 and 1994 (De Vos, 1990; Solís, 1999). Others live in nuclear households with children who are still unmarried and dependent on their parents. Few live alone. It is often assumed, rarely substantiated, that co-residence is synonymous with care while living alone is indicative of non-care. People often express concern when they see an increase in solitary living among elders because such an increase may indicate less informal support. But does co-residence really help indicate a higher level of informal support? And, since children often move away under modern conditions, is propinquity necessary to maintain close ties? Gerontologists in the United States and Europe often argue that coresidence is **not** necessary (see Bengston et al., 1990; Shanas et al., 1968) and they speak of a **modified** extended family as opposed to the **traditional** extended family that can exist despite geographic separation (e.g.

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Hoyert, 1991; Litwak, 1960, 1965). It is modified in terms of coresidence but not in terms of support for elderly family members.

Coresidence has been buttressed in part by Mexico's reliance on the family to provide care to older people as most elders have had little pension or health-related old-age benefits despite there having been a social security program on the books since the early 1940s. In reality, the existing schemes have either provided at best only a part of what is needed to live or they were designed for special groups such as civil servants, the military or employees of Mexico's petrol industry. Most other elders have been expected to rely on their families for a good deal of support. People in rural areas especially are without any non-family support. In 1994, less than a fifth of the elderly population received pension benefits. Receipt of health benefits also was uncommon.

Care by family members is especially important for older people because it is commonly believed that they have waning powers of 'exchange' on an impersonal large-scale market and may need special treatment from younger, more able people. Under usual circumstances, a person who receives more than can be returned loses face, prestige and power (see Dowd, 1975). But care within a family is different. Sociologists often consider the family a basic primary group within which small-group interactions of affection, spontaneity, care and reciprocity predominate (Cooley, 1909; Davis, 1948). Family membership entails extra benefits as well as obligations and individuals within the family ideally may be expected to give according to their ability and to receive according to their need (Simmel, 1902).

Ideally, children who do not live with elderly parents still feel and act responsible for

their parents's welfare. This is one of the ideas behind the "modified" extended family as well as, perhaps, Mexico's high rural fertility and the old-age security value of children (Nugent, 1990). However, a study of old people in a number of rural communities in Mexico found the reality to be mixed because some children who moved away did not help their parents at all while other children stayed near and provided a lot of help (Zúñiga and Hernández, 1994). It is unclear however, if some of the children who did not provide assistance would have done so if there were not siblings who did in fact provide help. More generally, there is a possible "substitution effect" that is difficult to measure. We are also in a bind as to the proper interpretation of our data, especially when an elder still has a spouse as well as adult children.<sup>1</sup>

### Mexico's Population is Changing

Even if Mexico's family relations continued as they have in the past, they would have to do so within a very different future demographic context. In 2000, roughly 7 percent of the population was 60 or over but by 2050 this will be over 23 percent! If by then it is reasonable to consider age 65 as the beginning of old age instead of age 60, the percentage of the population designated as 'old' will still be almost 18 percent (United Nations, 1998). As in the United States at present, it will be far from uncommon for old people themselves to have even older parents still alive. What is currently a relatively 'young' age structure will become old in less than a life time, and the nature of family relationships will have to adjust. Not only will there be

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<sup>1</sup> Often, assistance is given as well as received, especially when an elderly person is still economically active, earning a good salary and has grown children living away from home about whom to consider. Beside providing financial assistance, elderly people often help with child care and household maintenance but the latter activities were not assessed by the 1994 survey.

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a greater proportion of old people, but adult children will have fewer siblings with whom to share care-taking duties. This may seem extreme, but similar, rapid, structural change will occur throughout Latin America (Palloni et al., 1999).

While a changed age structure alone would push families to change, there is another change that has important ramifications. Women have traditionally provided much time-consuming informal care but female labor force participation in Mexico has been rising. For example, recent estimates from the ILO's regional office for Latin America and the Caribbean, which are probably low, are that the employment rate of females grew from 32.5 percent in 1990 to 37.8 percent in 1998.<sup>2</sup> If women are working away from home, they cannot simultaneously be caring for elder family members at home (see also Habib, 1988).

### Research Background

Sociological studies exploring the actual care of elders require social surveys specially oriented toward family relations and/or elderly people containing information on propinquity and assistance, not just census-like information on who lives with whom derived from a household member's 'relation to head.' Unfortunately, the development of such surveys, especially for developing countries, is still in its infancy (see also Andrews and Hermalin, 2000). Questions tend to be *ad hoc* and noncomparable or at least uncomparated. For instance, it might seem natural to compare answers to questions about help from the U.S. 1975 National Survey of the Aged and the U.S. National Survey of Families and Households (first conducted in 1987-88 but followed

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<sup>2</sup> From <http://www.ilolim.org.pe/spanish/260ameri/publ/panorama/1999/anexo.shtml#cuadro8>

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by a second wave in 1992-1994 and currently in a third wave) since they both asked questions about the giving and receipt of help among elders in the United States.<sup>3</sup> As far as we can tell however, this has *not* occurred. In fact, two studies of intergenerational exchange using the same data set (NSFH1) came to rather different conclusions. Donna Hoyert (1991) used data on 1,550 elderly respondents to explore “regular” financial and household assistance between adult children and their elderly parents. Including coresident parents, she found that 43 percent of the married fathers in the sample received regular household (not financial) assistance from a child (*any* child, not only *nearest* child), and that proximity *was* important. Forty-nine percent of the ‘previously married’ fathers received household assistance. She also found that 17 percent of the married fathers (19% of the previously-married fathers) received regular financial assistance but that, aside from coresidence, proximity was *not* important. She considered her results consistent with Litwak’s notion of the modified extended family.

Using the same data set David Eggebeen (1992) examined intergenerational exchange among everyone with a child aged 19 or older in terms of four dimensions of exchange:

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<sup>3</sup> The 1975 survey asked about help to and from children during the last month or last year, potential answers being: 1) (a) nothing, (b) grandchildren lived with me, (c) helped care for grandchildren, (d) helped out when someone was ill, (e) gave money or money gifts, (f) gave other gifts (clothing, food etc.), (g) fixed things around child’s house (home repairs, gardening etc.), housekeeping, housework, mending, sewing, cooking, laundry, etc., (h) other (specify).2) (a) Nothing (b) helped out when I was ill, (c) Helped out when my husband/wife was ill, (d) personal care (help with hair etc.) (e) gave money or money gifts (e.g. paid medical bills or rent etc.), (f) took me or sent me on holidays, vacation, excursions etc., (g) provided transportation (drove me to doctor, grocery, sent taxi, etc.), (h) fixed things around house (home repairs, gardening etc.), (i) housekeeping, housework, mending, sewing, cooking, laundry, etc. (j) other (specify). It also asked about help from children in the last 12 months(b) Did ... give you occasional money gifts or pay the rent once in a while? (Shanas, 1975). In the interview with the primary respondent, NSFH-I asked about economic relationships with other relatives living in the household and about interhousehold economic transfers. In the self-administered questionnaire of NSFH-I, respondents were asked about help provided to and received from people outside the household: 1) child care, 2) transportation, 3) home or car repairs, 4) housework, 5) emotional support (Sweet et al., 1988). Unfortunately, the recent U.S. national Health and Retirement survey (HRS) does not ask relevant questions.

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“monetary and material resources, child care, household assistance, and companionship and advice”. Unfortunately, the nature of the data limited him to considering noncoresident relations only. He found little evidence of “routine” exchange when he considered all noncoresiding aging parents.<sup>4</sup> One of his conclusions therefore was that “American adults do not have especially high levels of routine intergenerational exchanges of aid” (Eggebeen, 1992:443) but as far as we can tell, this judgement is not based on theoretical ideas or historical or cross-national comparison and is based on interactions between **noncoresident** parents and adult children. He qualifies his statement by saying “Of course, these questions capture largely routine kinds of exchanges at one point in time, thus missing help obtained in crises and the lifetime prevalence of exchange behavior” (1992:443), but the general impression is one of very limited exchange.

Both Hoyert (1991) and Eggebeen (1992) included socioeconomic characteristics in their models, but since they focused on family structure, those characteristics were only treated as controls. For instance, Hoyert found that being 80 years or above did indeed increase the likelihood that a person would receive both household assistance and financial assistance but did not make much of the finding. She found race to be important for receipt of financial help but not for receipt of household help. Again, not much was made of this finding. Even less

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<sup>4</sup>“The majority of parents were never involved in any particular exchange. Parents are more likely to give than receive. Giving advice is the most frequent exchange (46%), followed by giving money (34%), giving child care (34%), and giving household assistance (31%). Only slightly more than one in five aging parents have received assistance with household chores, transportation, or household repairs from any of their adult children in the past month. Receiving monetary assistance from children is virtually unheard of. ... At any given point in time, approximately one third of the elderly are not involved in giving and over 62% have not received anything from any of their adult children. If we ask what proportion are involved in at least one transition, either giving or receiving, the proportion rises to over 73%. However, nearly 60% of those involved in exchanges have given or received on only one or two dimensions out of the seven possible ... .” (Eggebeen, 1992: 438)

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noteworthy were the findings that neither education, income, nor number of children seemed to have much consistent effect. Eggebeen also looked at age, education, race and number of children but looked at poverty status instead of income. He also considered residence and health. Residence was not important but health was. Again however, his focus was on family structure, including characteristics of adult children, and he observed that “Most of these show little consistent relationship to exchanges.”

A variable that both researchers made significant use of was one that not only measures coresidence but distance between the household of the elder and the household of the child. Hoyert (1991) used such categories as: 1) same house, 2) < 10 miles away, 3) 10-24 miles, 4) 50-149 miles, 5) 150-499 miles, and 6) 500+ miles. She found this to be very important for the receipt of household assistance but not for the receipt of financial assistance. She interpreted this as support for the idea of a ‘modified extended family.’ Eggebeen (1992) too finds ‘distance’ to be important for receiving household assistance but not money (Table 4) but makes little of the finding.

Actually, the survey used by Hoyert and Eggebeen was preceded by surveys of elderly people in the U.S. conducted by Ethel Shanas. With colleagues in Britain and Denmark, she was able to turn her study of American elders, the first survey of which was in 1962, into a comparative study of growing old in three industrial countries (e.g. Shanas et al., 1968; see also Shanas, 1982, 1985). Among the chapters in a resulting book was one written by Jan Stehouwer on the “household and family relations of old people.” Among other things, that chapter could

report on informal assistance from children and siblings.<sup>5</sup> He also used information on geographic closeness as well as on coresidence.

Much more recently in Europe, Jani-Le Bris was able to pull together findings from the study of family care of elders in 11 countries of the European community (Belgium, Germany, Denmark, France, Greece, Holland, Ireland, Italy, Portugal and the United Kingdom) to observe that

In all countries of the European Community most care and support for older people is provided by their family members, particularly spouses and daughters. (1993: back cover).

At the same time, she observes that this often occurs although the generations do not live together (p.18-19). Social inequality was *not* an issue that she addressed, as her focus was on informal care.

Less yet is known about intergenerational exchanges or assistance in Latin America and the Caribbean although many of the countries have been experiencing tremendous transformations, and although the population proportion 60 years and over is projected to increase from 8 percent in 2000 to over 12 percent by 2020 (United Nations, 1998).<sup>6</sup> As alluded

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<sup>5</sup> (p.181) “The data about the family relations of older people, in the present survey, cover the following topics:

1. The number of living children; number of sons and daughters.
2. For each child: sex, marital status, proximity to the home of the older person, time of last contact.
3. Help given to and received from children.
4. Help from children (among others) in a number of specific situations, such as household activities, shopping during illness, et cetera.
5. Number of living siblings.
6. Last contact with siblings.
7. Help from siblings and other relatives, both in general and in specific situations.”

<sup>6</sup> Although there was a major comparative study of elders in 14 Latin American and Caribbean countries in the middle 1980s sponsored in part by the Pan American Health Organization (PAHO) those studies failed to ask potentially relevant questions on assistance (and had strange samples; e.g. Anzola et al., n.d.). More recently, PAHO

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to before, we now know that roughly the same majority (~52%) of elderly people in Mexico have lived in extended family households at least since 1976 (Solís, 1999) but what the situation is within this outer shell is unknown (but see Montes de Oca, 2001; Varley and Blasco, 1999).

There are some indications that the situation may be worse for old people in Mexico now than in the past (e.g. Bialik, 1992; Contreras, 1992) but we do not know what the actual situation was in the past. For a good assessment of trends, we need information; and at least we can provide some now with which the future situation can be compared.

The aims of this study then are to 1) explore just how much assistance was actually received by older parents in Mexico in the early 1990s; 2) identify socioeconomic characteristics related to that care at that time, if there are any; and 3) assess the importance of coresidence for that help. This in turn leads us to wonder about the potential importance of geographic distance between elders and their adult children, a factor that should be addressed in future study.

## THE STUDY

### Data

This study uses data from Mexico's 1994 ENSE or National Sociodemographic Study of Aging survey of people 60 years and over. The sample of just over 5,000 people aged 60 and over was a two-stage cluster/stratified nationally-representative sample that ensured that different

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is helping sponsor a comparative study of aging in a major **city** of seven countries including Mexico (the others are Barbados, Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, Cuba, and Uruguay) called SABE (the health and well-being of older people). Still in the field, those studies will provide a wealth of information on the health and well-being of elderly people in specific **urban areas**.

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regions, city sizes and social strata were properly represented<sup>7</sup> after using a sampling frame based on the 1990 census. Weights are furthermore used to make the sample as nationally-representative as possible. For further technical discussion of the questionnaire and sampling refer to CONAPO, 1994. Although pension law now uses age 65 as a benchmark for becoming eligible for a pension, there still is no generally accepted “old” age and age 60 is often used to indicate the beginning of old age in developing countries. ENSE included people age 60 and over, whether or not they considered themselves “old” per se.

The ENSE survey covered many basic socioeconomic issues, but it also had in-depth probes of work and retirement issues, family structure issues, assistance issues, health issues and government-sponsored social security program issues. We focus here on the assistance issues. Respondents were asked about four kinds of material help (physical, domestic, in kind, or money) in the previous month, asked to list persons who gave that assistance (the person’s gender, age, marital status, relationship with the elder (e.g. spouse or child), and asked to list how often the person gave that type of help.<sup>8</sup>

There is much reason to be critical of limiting assistance to only four functions. Reciprocity may span years or decades, not just a month; the potential for help may be as important as whether or not it actually occurs; and emphasis on day-to-day material functioning fails to tap potentially important less common or nonmaterial factors, including advice,

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<sup>7</sup> The country was divided into six ‘dominions’ from rural areas with populations of under 5,000 to the largest area of Mexico City.

<sup>8</sup> Physical help included help with dressing, bathing, administering medicine etc. Domestic assistance included such chores as shopping, managing money, cooking, cleaning house, caring for children etc.

emotional nurturance and care, or the special circumstances surrounding a crisis. Albert and Cattell wisely admonish (1994:141):

In a tradition that stretches back at least to Rousseau, theorists have recognized that the exchange of goods is not simply an economic fact, but is rather a fundamental social relationship to which economic features can be variably appended.

It is also possible that some respondents take certain assistance for granted and fail to report it even as others consider it noteworthy.

Such reservations are not grounds for dismissing what information *does* exist however. We must proceed as if the information can help establish the importance (or nonimportance) of instrumental assistance in elders's lives. Nonetheless, it is wise to stay cautious.

We focus on the survey's 2,376 male respondents because it is reasonable to compare our economic indicators across all men but it is not reasonable to use them to compare men and women. (Less importantly perhaps, the assessment of health differs for men and women because some tasks are sex-linked; whether or not someone reportedly "can" do something depends in part on whether it is a "man's work" or "woman's work.") For instance, women often were not reported as receiving a pension until they had become widowed; ENSE did not collect pension information from married women. Under old and new pension laws, pensions are only designed for people in the formal labor market. Since many women traditionally have performed housework and other informal activities, they do not qualify for a pension. If anything, they receive a paltry 'survivors benefit' and must rely on others for support, although marriage is based on a supposedly equitable division of labor. Thus an economic variable helping to indicate work/salary and pension is not the same for men and women.

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The decision to limit our study to elderly men was not an easy one. Women tend to be more economically vulnerable than men, and elderly Mexican women in particular tend to have less authority than even younger Mexican males (see De Vos, 2000). More Mexican elders tend to be women than men, and Mexican women are more likely to survive their spouse than the other way around. But since we needed to use survey measures of economic status that were more applicable to men than to women, we could only viably examine men. Hopefully, future study will compare elderly men and elderly women.

### The Sample

The ENSE data represent a national sample of Mexico's elderly men in 1994, with a mean age of 70 years (ranging from 60 to 124). Most were under the age of 84. Table 1. Most were married (71%) but some (16%) were widowers. They had an average of five and a half (5.6) children although this ranged from none up to 22. A quarter lived either alone or only with their spouse; another quarter lived in a simple family with one or more unmarried children; a third lived in an extended family household with one or more married children; and roughly 18% lived in some other arrangement, usually with another relative. A fourth lived in one of Mexico's big cities (Mexico City, Monterrey, Guadalajara, Puebla); a third lived in medium-sized cities; and over 40 percent lived in areas with less than 15,000 residents. A third had little to no education while over half had a primary school education and roughly another tenth had more than a primary school education. Almost two thirds (62%) had an income of less than 500

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pesos a month<sup>9</sup> and almost half (48%) were still working. Some of the non-workers lived on a pension but over a third of the sample (36%) neither worked nor drew a pension. In Mexico, there is no automatic age for retirement (despite current legislation stipulating at least age 65), and it is not uncommon for people to continue working well into their late sixties or even early seventies (Solís, 1997). When asked about their ownership of goods, a fifth (22%) reported having none while the rest had a house of questionable value. A majority (58%) was still in good health although a third had notable limitations and almost a tenth had at least one severe limitation.<sup>10</sup>

### Assistance

Most elderly men in Mexico in 1994 received informal assistance in the last month.

Table 2. Over half reported receiving in-kind or domestic assistance, 43 percent received financial assistance and even the least frequent help, physical assistance, was still received by over a quarter of the elders (29%). All together, about three-fourths of elderly men received at

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<sup>9</sup> As a way to understand the income variable we also constructed a poverty index based on water, drainage and bath facilities. Almost half the sample did not have full water, drainage and bath facilities in their dwelling and this was related to income ( $V=.23$ ). Since the index was also highly related to urban/rural residence ( $V=.49$ ), we just use monthly income in the multivariate models (that also include urban/rural residence).

<sup>10</sup> At present, there is no standard way to measure health from a cross-national perspective. We tried to use, but modified, notions of Activities of Daily Living and Instrumental Activities of Daily Living as discussed by Katz et al. (1963) and Lawton and Brody (1969). (We found it curious for instance, that many men who reported no other health limitation were unable to perform light housework.) Thus severe limitations pertained to: a) moving around in the house; b) going to the toilet; c) bathing; d) dressing; e) transferring in and out of bed; f) eating. Less severe limitations were mainly related to mobility: a) exiting the house; b) walking on an incline; c) walking 3 blocks; d) carrying heavy objects. If people denied having problems of either type, they were allocated a score of 0 or were in good health. If they had problems of the second kind but not the first kind, they were allocated a score of 1. If they had limitations of the first kind, they were allocated a score of 2. This health scale seemed reasonable when juxtaposed with a self-rated scale ( $V=.36$ ) but somewhat preferable to it because it was based on supposedly objective measurement.

least one of the four types of assistance in the previous month. This might be considered a minimum of course. If we use the demanding criterion of once a day on average, then we find that still over half the elderly men (58%) received assistance. Assistance with domestic chores especially was frequent. This is more a reflection on the Mexican family than anything else because some people are not yet “old” when they reach 60 years of age. Exchange within the family occurs at all ages and indeed many of the men in the survey were still working and living in simple family households with single children.

Actually, although it makes sense to describe amount of assistance in terms of never, a little, some and frequent, this is a summary. The survey asked respondents 11 times each about the different kinds of help and we first tried to construct a continuous variable from the answers.<sup>11</sup> Each of 11 answers were converted into days of help in the last month and then summed. Thus for instance, if someone provided daily assistance, that would be counted as 30. If a second person provided weekly assistance of the same kind, the amount of help would be allocated an additional 4.5. If a third person provided monthly assistance of the same kind, the amount of help would be allocated still an additional 1. Although the resulting distributions exceeded 100, they were so skewed that the major difference was between receiving no help and receiving any help at all, and we end up using a bivariate variable for each kind of help in our analyses below.

Who provided assistance? The survey could list up to 11 different people. One quarter

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<sup>11</sup> “En el último mes ¿Cuántas veces esta persona le dió ayuda...? 1. Diario; 2. Cada tercer día; 3. Dos veces a la semana; 4. Semanal; 5. Quincenal; 6. Mensual; 7. Menor frecuencia; 8. No dió.”

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of the sample of course listed no one. Another 37 percent listed one person, over a fifth listed two helpers, over 10 percent listed three helpers, and almost 4 percent listed four helpers. The number of helpers fell off rather rapidly after that. Table 3. Of the first 3 helpers, most were either spouses or children (or grandchildren) although, importantly, almost 10 percent were “others” such as siblings, domestics or friends, either totally or in conjunction with spouse and/or children. Table 4. Also importantly, helpers were both male and female as males are important providers of monetary and in-kind assistance whereas females are important providers of domestic assistance. In circumstances in which the State shares a large part of the financial care of elders, much of the informal care that is left involve tasks that are typically performed by women but that was not the case in Mexico in 1994.

### Socioeconomic Determinants of Assistance

In this section, we examine to what extent age, marital status, number of living children, urban/rural residence, education, work situation, income, health and living arrangements affect various kinds of assistance. Along with discussing why we speculate that the characteristic might be a good predictor and/or control in a multivariate model, we show its bivariate relationship with whether or not the respondent received a certain kind of assistance, using a simple measure of association based on  $X^2$  that can range between 0 and 1 called Cramer’s V. See Table 5.

**Age** is generally associated with the experiences of particular cohorts, with biological situations that may go untapped by our crude measure of health, and with the life-course stages of

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adult children who have different responsibilities and resources at different times in their lives.

As might be expected on the bivariate level then, age (in categories 60-64, 65-69, 70-74, 75-79, 80-84 and 85+) was most strongly related to the receipt of physical assistance and to health ( $V_s = .18$  &  $.23$ ). It also had modest associations with in-kind assistance, marital status, living arrangements, education, income and work/pension status. Table 5.

Most elderly men were either married or widowed. This did *not* seem to have much direct effect on the different kinds of help and one might speculate that the person who provided help might differ but that the actual receipt of help would not. However, **marital status** was strongly related to both number of children and living arrangements, and it was modestly related to age, income, work/pension status, and the ownership of some goods. Furthermore, there is reason, as we will see substantiated statistically, to expect different factors to have different relationships to various kinds of help depending on the elderly man's marital status.

On the surface, one can reason that the likelihood of receiving more help is greater if one has more **children** other things being equal, and that this must be taken into account when looking at any other possible predictor. However, number of children did not seem particularly well associated with different types of help on the bivariate level; the highest  $V$  score was  $.20$  with receipt of financial assistance but its association with physical assistance was only  $V = .11$ , with domestic assistance only  $V = .10$ , and its association with domestic assistance only  $V = .08$ . Table 5. (Number of children was also related to marital status and living arrangements.)

On the bivariate level it appears that **living arrangements** were modestly related to financial, physical and in-kind assistance ( $V = .16, .13, .13$ ) but not domestic assistance ( $V = .08$ ).

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See Table 5. (Table 6 shows the distribution.) The levels of association are not striking, and not what one might expect given notions about multigenerational families. Living alone or only with a spouse was little different from also living only with unmarried child(ren) except in terms of financial assistance. Elders living with unmarried child(ren) were more likely to receive financial assistance, expectedly since unmarried as well as married children often contribute financially to a household. It also may be of interest that elders living with 'others' (primarily relatives) were a little more likely to receive domestic and in-kind assistance than others but were less likely to receive financial or physical assistance. As might be expected, living arrangements were also related to marital status ( $V=.32$ ), number of children ( $V=.23$ ) and to a lesser extent age ( $V=.14$ ). This all makes sense in a context in which marital units tend to stay independent, possibly with unmarried children, while elder unmarried people are as likely to live with other relatives as live alone.

As might be expected, **health** was somewhat related to in-kind assistance ( $V=.18$ ) and was well related to physical assistance ( $V=.31$ ). Table 5. It was also moderately related to age ( $V=.23$ ), marital status ( $V=.15$ ), work/pension status ( $V=.26$ ), and income ( $V=.17$ ). Curiously, health was also somewhat related to education ( $V=.12$ ), more so than to living arrangements ( $V=.10$ ). In general, better educated people had better health.

Formal **education** helps indicate someone's exposure to a changing world, but it may also be one of the clearest indicators we have of socioeconomic status. Indeed, education was related to urban/rural residence ( $V=.17$ ), income ( $V=.28$ ) and work/pension status ( $V=.14$ ). Table 5. Interestingly, it was also modestly related to health ( $V=.12$ ) and number of children

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( $V=.11$ ). Should that matter for the receipt of help though? Education's direct association with help is highest with any help at  $V=.08$ . It has virtually no association with the receipt of physical assistance at  $V=.01$ .

On average, elders in small areas are poorer, less educated, and less likely to receive a pension or medical services than elders residing in large urban areas. It is sobering therefore to see that, at least on the bivariate level, there is little association between **urban/rural residence** and help, the highest association in terms of Cramer's  $V$  being .10 with financial assistance and the lowest association being .03 with in-kind assistance (Table 5). Perhaps this should come as little surprise since elders residing everywhere have the same needs.

**Economic activity**, whether the man was employed and/or receiving a pension, has to be one of the most important determinants of the need for financial help, someone neither working nor receiving a pension being in the most need. If someone works, he may actually be helping others financially. Should it come as a surprise then that economic activity had a bivariate relationship with financial, in-kind and physical assistance but not domestic assistance? As telling perhaps is that it also had a moderate association with health ( $V=.26$ , Table 5), and was also related to marital status, income, age, urban/rural residence and education.

Two other economic characteristics that were potentially important predictors of help were **income** and **goods** (*bienes*). Income is often used to indicate a whole host of factors including one's ability to purchase various kinds of assistance and "privacy" (when privacy is considered a valuable good). Goods can help indicate the existence of more resources to bequeath on offspring if intergenerational ties have been maintained. It is noteworthy therefore

that on the bivariate level income was only mildly related to the receipt of physical assistance and was *not* related to any of the other types of help listed. Table 5. On the other hand, income was related to health, work/pension status, education, and urban/rural residence. Having goods was related to income of course ( $V=.17$ ) and was similar to income in its relations to other variables.

### A Multivariate Model

Since each of the possible predictors above has relationships with each other as well as with the various kinds of help, it makes sense to put them all together in a multivariate model in order to ascertain their *independent* effects, if any. The best model is one that is suitable for a binomial dependent variable since we saw that help is mainly either received or not received. Here, we use logit regression.

Perhaps the most common multivariate model is the additive kind in which each predictor stands alone. However, at least conceptually, we suspect that the effect of different factors, especially age, number of children, living arrangements and health status, on certain kinds of help depends in part on someone's marital status, and in fact we originally limited ourselves to only considering married men. That turns out to be incorrect, but first let us review our reasoning. With financial assistance for example, we reasoned that coresidence would be much more important for an unmarried elder than a married elderly man because in the latter case, he was often still expected to be the main provider. Also, age might have a different effect, being much more important for unmarried men than married men since married men could still have wives and unmarried children at home to dampen out any effect. With physical assistance, we

suspected that living with “others” (mainly relatives such as siblings) would have much more effect among unmarried men than married men since such residence might partly be a consequence of the health situation in the first place among unmarried people more so than married people. We also reasoned that poor health for an unmarried person would evoke more reported aid but that it might not for a married person. Regarding in-kind assistance, we again expected poor health to have much more effect among unmarried people than among married people. We also expected co-residence to have a much stronger effect among unmarried than married people. With domestic assistance, we reasoned that if someone were married, then one would expect that living alone with a spouse only would not dampen one’s receipt of assistance but if someone were unmarried, living alone would. We reasoned that if someone were unmarried, one might expect that an elder would receive more domestic assistance if one lived with married children but if someone were married, that might not be the case.

Rather than limiting our examination to people of one marital status, a statistical way to deal with combined effects while using information from both married and unmarried people is to suggest interactions. Using a Chi Square test on the model, we can test for their statistical importance. The test is sensitive to the number of cases we have however, and since our sample size is not that large we also estimated additive models separately for unmarried and married people. Pooled results were not as sensitive but do detect the more salient interactions. Thus we show the pooled results in Table 7 but the separate marital-specific results in Appendix tables.

Multivariate Results

With two exceptions, different factors appeared to have significant effects on different types of help differently, leading us to consider each type of help separately here. One exception was living arrangements; it was always significantly related to the different types of help even after controlling for other factors, although its relation was different. The second exception was education; it was never significantly related to any of the types of help, suggesting that help knew no simple socioeconomic boundaries. See Table 7.

Regarding the receipt of financial assistance, an elder's age, marital status and health did not seem important but his number of children, residence in a large urban area (>100,000 residents), work/pension status, income and ownership of goods did. For the most part, the characteristics had expected effects. For instance, financial help was more likely if the elder had more children and/or did not work nor have a pension. Financial assistance was more likely if he lived in a large urban area. What might not have been expected is that financial help was also more likely if he had an income of 500 or more Pesos a month and if he owned such goods as a home. See Table 7.

Although no interaction between marital status and some other characteristic was statistically significant for receipt of financial assistance in the pooled sample, marital-specific runs provided some noteworthy findings. For instance, while age was not significant overall or for married people, it was significant among unmarried people. Contrarily, while number of children was significant overall and for married people, it was not significant for unmarried people. Finally, while income was significant overall, it was not separately significant for either

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married or unmarried people. Table A-1.

Regarding the receipt of physical assistance, neither an elder's number of children, residence, nor his ownership of goods was important and his work/pension status was only marginally so. Income was important in a negative sense for married men but it was not significant at all for unmarried men. However, age, living arrangements and health were all very important, and in the expected direction. For instance, elders who resided with "others" (primarily siblings) were more likely to receive physical assistance than elders in other arrangements. Table 7. While not found to be significant statistically, probably because of the relatively small sample, residence actually had a mixed effect of being significant among married men but not among unmarried men. Married men were more likely to receive physical assistance if they resided in a locality of 100,000 people or more. Table A-2.

Regarding in-kind help, neither an elder's residence in a large urban place, his income nor his ownership of goods was important but his age, marital status, health and work/pension status were. Younger elders were less likely to receive help, as were healthier people and people who worked compared to not working nor receiving a pension (there appeared to be no difference between people who worked and those who did not work but did receive a pension). However, even in the pooled sample the effect of marital status depended on the living arrangement as well as vice versa. For instance, married elders were much more likely than unmarried elders to receive in-kind assistance if they did not live with others (besides a spouse). Conversely, unmarried people who lived with an unmarried child or with "other" (usually relatives) were more likely to receive in-kind help than unmarried people who lived alone or with a married

child. Married elders were more likely to receive in-kind assistance if they lived alone with their spouse than if they lived with others besides. Table 7.

What did not show up statistically in the pooled sample regarding in-kind assistance was the finding that age was not significant for married or unmarried men separately, only together. Also, although significant overall, neither number of children nor health status were significant for unmarried men, only married men. Table A-3.

Findings for the receipt of domestic help were the most complicated. Of the various predictors, only residence and work/pension status were not important (in addition to education that was not important for any type of help). Number of children, income and the ownership of goods were all important, though in somewhat curious ways. That is, number of children was *negatively* related to receipt of domestic help whereas one could expect it to be positively related. Both income and the ownership of goods were *positively* related to the receipt of domestic assistance although one could have expected them to be negatively related as we have the idea that NEED is behind the receipt of help, not the ability to pass on wealth by way of inheritance. Table 7.

Most complicated of all however, is that even when pooling the sample, the effects of health status and living arrangements differed by marital status. For instance, among unmarried people, those who lived with others received much more assistance than if they lived alone. Among married people conversely, those who lived with others were much less likely to receive domestic assistance than if they only lived with their spouse. Also, the effect of health status was as expected among unmarried elders: people with poorer health were more likely to receive

domestic assistance. But among married people there was a curvilinear relationship with the likelihood of receiving domestic help. Apparently, married men in good health were more likely to receive domestic help than their counterparts with poorer health. Finally, among those with severe health limitations who lived alone or only with a spouse, people who were married were much more likely to receive domestic assistance than were unmarried people. Among people with some health limitation or any other living arrangement, married people were *less* likely to receive domestic assistance. Among people with no health limitations, married people were again *more* likely to receive domestic assistance. Table 7.

Although not statistically significant in the pooled sample, we should point out a couple of noteworthy findings from estimating the domestic help model separately for married and unmarried elderly men. First, although age was significant overall, it did not have a significant effect when viewed in separate models. Second, although number of children was significant overall, it in fact was only significant among married elders, not unmarried ones. And third, although living arrangements were highly significant overall, they were only significant for unmarried people, not married ones. Table A-4.

Of all the characteristics, living arrangements was the only one that had a statistically significant relationship with the receipt of all four kinds of help. But that relationship was not the same for each case. For the receipt of financial and physical assistance, those who lived with children or other relatives tended to receive more assistance regardless of whether they were married or not. For the receipt of in-kind and domestic help, residence with others was positively related to the likelihood of receipt among unmarried men but negatively related to receipt among

married elders. In fact, when viewed separately, living arrangements were not related to the receipt of domestic help among married men although it was among unmarried men.

### Another Look at Living Arrangements

Less than a fifth of elderly men who resided with a once-married child reported receiving no assistance, compared with about a quarter who resided with only unmarried children and a third who resided alone or with a spouse only. Such figures were altered when various sociodemographic and economic factors were controlled, but living arrangements continued to have an important effect on the receipt of help independent of all these factors. For the receipt of domestic or in-kind help, a man's marital status helped determine the effect of living arrangements. It was surprising that coresidence seemed to prompt both physical and financial assistance for married as well as unmarried men, as marriage for men is often attributed with providing for others, not being provided for.

One can reason that coresidence is a form of assistance because people are nearby to lend help if it is needed, and people help out with housing costs. And it may be more important for certain types of assistance than other kinds that a man's spouse may be present. We found for instance, that of people receiving financial assistance, roughly more than half of them received such assistance from non-coresiding relatives; of people receiving physical or in-kind assistance, over a third of them received such assistance from a non-coresiding relative; and of people receiving domestic assistance, over a fourth of them received such assistance from a

noncoresiding person.<sup>12</sup>

In fact, in Mexico, as in the United States, coresidence is not necessarily preferred, particularly when a conjugal unit is still intact (see e.g. De Vos, 1990). That is, in Mexico, the nuclear family is considered the natural arrangement (Bridges, 1980; Nutini, 1976; Weil et al., 1982). When children marry, they generally leave the parental home, even if it is to settle right next door. This residential arrangement helps indicate the nature of family ties in that ties among immediate family, spouses and their never-married children, are strongest; once a child marries they weaken because the married child has acquired allegiances to a spouse and own offspring as well as parents. There is still a strong intergenerational tie of course, which becomes critical once the parental marital unit is broken.

Of course the regular household arrangement can be modified given the needs of family members: Economic, health or other needs may push potentially separate units into sharing residence. But these are special circumstances in which the special quality of family ties is used. Even if they co-reside, conjugal couples in Mexico often maintain a sense of autonomy: “In most cases in which two or more nuclear families share the same roof, each nuclear family keeps its separate budget and, often, a separate kitchen” (Hanratty, 1997:117). Should it come as a surprise then that talk of ‘household strategy’ or ‘survival strategy’ is sometimes based on observations about Mexico (e.g. McGuire and Martin, 1986; Thompson, 1992a, 1992b)? Should it come as a surprise that in Mexico household extension among elders may actually be more

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<sup>12</sup> Remember that Hoyert (1991) found proximity important for household assistance but not for financial assistance.

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common in cities than in the country, as housing in cities may be harder to come by?

This brings us back to the beginning when Hoyert (1991) averred that her findings were consistent with the notion of a modified extended family in which, while helpful, coresidence was not necessary for there to be significant exchanges between relations. Rather, coresidence was considered one extreme of a continuum of geographic distance ranging from more than 500 miles away down, in increments, to living in the same house. This idea might be helpful when trying to understand family relations in a modernizing Mexico as well, and future surveys could benefit from taking this into account.

## CONCLUSION

Reported receipt of instrumental help among Mexican men 60 and above was not particularly high by some standards but *was* high by others: about half the men received in-kind or domestic assistance in the last month, while about two-fifths received financial assistance, and a little more than a quarter received physical assistance. These figures should be assessed knowing that almost half of the men were still working, and over half (57%) had no discernable health limitation. Over a quarter of the men still lived in simple family households with unmarried children.

Two of the types of help we examined can be addressed formally by government policy: Financial help and physical help. Our study found the former to be most important for people who did not work nor receive a pension, for residents of urban areas of at least 100,000 people,

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for people with more children, and for elders who lived with people other than a spouse, especially in extended family households (with married children or other relatives). This identifies people who do not work nor receive a pension and residents of smaller areas as most in need of government assistance. We also found age, health status, living with people other than a spouse and work/pension status (marginally) to help predict receipt of physical assistance. Again, people more likely to be in need were also more likely to receive informal assistance. This was not a matter of education, residence, income or the ownership of goods but of the need for assistance with physical functioning.

Such differentials are difficult to interpret of course. While no one can change his age or fertility after the fact, residence and/or employment can be affected as much by the potential for help as the other way around. It is not clear for instance, that people do not move from rural to urban areas primarily to be close to children who can help them. It is not clear that men would not stop working if they did not know that children would provide assistance. Fortunately, prediction and indication are hardly the same as causality.

Pension schemes are in the process of being re-written throughout Latin America; Mexico enacted major changes in both 1992 and 1997. Such change came partly from the observation that pay-as-you-go schemes were unreasonable given future demographics in which there might be one elderly person 65+ for every 3 people aged 20-64 in Mexico by 2050 (Barrientos, 1997). All workers entering the labor force after January 1, 1997 are, in theory, covered. During the transition period, people are able to choose between the old and new system. Yet the change will not affect elders in the near future as workers are expected to be enrolled for 1250 weeks

(USSSA, n.d.). Nor is the scheme compulsory for workers in the “informal” economy (rural, self-employed or those involved in unregulated labor relationships). Currently, roughly 45 percent of the population is believed to be linked to the informal sector (Cochran, 1996). Recent projections suggest that this proportion will not change significantly in the next fifty years (Ham, 1999).

That is, a significant proportion of future Mexican elders will be connected adequately with State-provided health and pension services, but another large proportion probably will not be. Some elders will be able to live in empty nests and receive little assistance from married children but others will have little alternative to the traditional extended family if they are to receive adequate assistance in old age. One of the conclusions we can draw from our study is that there is a wide diversity among Mexican families, probably explained in part by segmented social conditions.

Help with domestic, and to a lesser extent, in-kind assistance is less amenable to direct bureaucratic intervention than is financial or health-related assistance. They are also the types of help that spouses, especially female spouses, can provide. It seems hardly a coincidence then that the receipt of these two types of help was related to marital status or that the effect of type of living arrangement depended on whether the elders were married or unmarried. If elders were unmarried, then they were more likely to receive help when they lived with others. If elders were married, then they were as or more likely to receive help when they lived alone with their spouse. Public policy can address this indirectly by lending support to caregivers, as Jani-Le Bris (1993) suggests.

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Many factors other than living arrangements had independent effects on the receipt of one or another type of assistance after controlling for living arrangements. If living in an extended family household rather than alone or in a simple family household were synonymous with receiving or not receiving help, then there should have been no independent effect of any other factor. Factors related to such items as age, number of children, health, size of residence, work/pension status, income and the ownership of goods are also important for different informal assistance of various kinds. This suggests that while it is valid to assume that care *is* related to living arrangements (sometimes marital status as well as household status), it is also valid to consider living arrangements as only one aspect of care. Other, more direct, measures are needed as well. Finally, there is strong reason to suspect that a notion akin to the 'modified extended family' could be used productively in a changing Mexico.

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Table 1. Sample Characteristics

	Percent		Percent
<b>Age</b>		<b>Urban/Rural Residence</b>	
60-64	30.4	Major City	24.7
65-69	22.8	100,000-1,000,000	22.2
70-75	21.4	15,000-99,000	11.2
75-79	11.5	< 15,000	41.9
80-84	7.9	<b>Education</b>	
85+	6.0	None	33.0
<b>Marital Status</b>		Primary	55.9
In Union	5.3	> Primary	11.1
Married	70.9	<b>Monthly Income</b>	
Div/Sep	4.9	<500 Pesos	62.0
Widowed	15.6	500+ Pesos	38.0
Never married	4.3	<b>Work/Pension Status</b>	
<b>Children</b>		No work/No pension	36.3
0	9.3	No work/Pension	15.6
1	6.1	Work	48.1
2	8.7	<b>Goods</b>	
3	8.6	None	21.6
4	9.3	Some	78.4
5	10	<b>Health</b>	
6	10.1	No limitations	57.9
7	10.3	Some limitation	32.3
8	7.1	Serious limitation	9.8
9+	20.4		
<b>Living Arrangements</b>			
Alone	5.7		
With Spouse Only	20.0		
With Unmarried Child	26.2		
With Married Child	30.5		
Other	17.6		

Table 2. Frequency of Receipt of Assistance in the Last Month

	Financial	Physical	In-Kind	Domestic	Any
Mean	3.9	6.54	16.6	19.9	46.9
Minimum	0	0	0	0	0
Maximum	120	180	210	180	390
Never	57.4	71.2	45.0	43.6	24.2
<4 times/mth	19.8	11.9	6.5	3.4	6.3
4-29/mth	17.0	3.2	7.3	4.9	11.6
30+	5.7	13.7	41.1	48.2	58.0

Table 3. Number of people providing assistance to elders - in percents

Number of People	Percent
0	24.6
1	37.5
2	20.9
3	10.1
4	3.7
5+	3.2
Total	100.0
N	2376

Table 4. Relationship of first three people listed as providing help - in percents

Relationships	Percent
No Information	27.2
Spouse only	18.4
Spouse and child	13.2
Spouse and others	1.3
Spouse, child and others	0.4
Children only	31.2
Children and others	1.7
Others only	6.4

Table 5. Cramer's V Associations Between Characteristics Entered in Multivariate Model (values in bold refer to Phi)														
	TotHlp	FinHlp	DomHlp	In-KndHlp	PhysHlp	ACAT	MS	No. Child.	Liv. Arr.	Ed	Res	Health	Work/Pen	Income
TotHlp														
FinHlp	<b>0.49</b>													
DomHlp	<b>0.64</b>	<b>0.14</b>												
In-KndHlp	<b>0.62</b>	<b>0.25</b>	<b>0.55</b>											
PhysHlp	<b>0.36</b>	<b>0.20</b>	<b>0.35</b>	<b>0.41</b>										
ACAT	0.12	0.07	0.08	0.12	0.18									
MS	<b>0.00</b>	<b>-0.01</b>	<b>0.05</b>	<b>-0.07</b>	<b>-0.08</b>	0.20								
No. Child.	0.10	0.20	0.10	0.08	0.11	0.11	0.26							
Liv. Arr.	0.11	0.16	0.08	0.13	0.13	0.14	0.32	0.23						
Ed	0.08	0.05	0.06	0.06	0.01	0.13	0.06	0.11	0.07					
Res	0.07	0.10	0.08	0.03	0.07	0.10	0.08	0.08	0.12	0.17				
Health	0.12	0.07	0.09	0.18	0.31	0.23	0.15	0.07	0.07	0.12	0.07			
Work/Pens	0.13	0.19	0.04	0.15	0.19	0.18	0.16	0.10	0.07	0.14	0.14	0.26		
Income	-0.04	0.001	0.03	-0.09	-0.10	0.14	0.14	0.10	0.12	0.28	0.22	0.17	0.24	
Goods	0.03	0.05	0.05	-0.05	-0.04	0.09	0.14	0.12	0.15	0.08	0.11	0.14	0.16	0.17
Cramer's V is a measure of association for nominal variables based on $\chi^2$ . It is $\sqrt{\chi^2/Nt}$ where t is the smaller of either # rows-1 or # columns-1 (Loether and McTavish, 1974: 197-198).														
TotHlp refers to Any assistance and is binomial (0=none/1=some).														
FinHlp refers to Financial assistance and is binomial (0=none/1=some).														
DomHlp refers to Domestic assistance and is binomial (0=none/1=some).														
In-KndHlp refers to In-kind assistance and is binomial (0=none/1=some).														
PhysHlp refers to Physical assistance and is binomial (0=none/1=some).														
ACAT is an age variable that uses 5-year age groups up to 85. Everyone 85 or older is put in the top category.														
MS refers to a dichotomous variable in which 1=married/union and 0=unmarried														
No. Chld is a 10-category variable that truncates all children after 9, putting them in a 9+ category.														
Liv. Arr. Refers to a 4-cat measure in which 1=alone/cpl only, 2=with unmar child 3=with mar child and 4=other														
Ed is Education as found in Table 1.														
Res is Residence as found in Table 1.														
Health is the 3-category variable shown in Table 1 and defined in footnote #*.														
Work/Pens is the work/pension status variable found in Table 1.														
Income is the binomial variable shown in Table 1.														
Goods is the binomial variable shown in Table 1.														

Table 6. Receipt of Various Types of Help by Living Arrangements

	Percent Receiving				
	Financial Assistance	Domestic Assistance	In-Kind Assistance	Physical Assistance	Any Assistance
Alone or With Spouse Only	31.9	50.8	49.4	22.4	68.8
With Unmarried Child	45.7	55.9	48.4	23.8	75.1
With Married Child	52.0	58.7	60.3	35.6	80.6
With Others	37.1	61.4	63.6	33.9	78.8
General	42.6	56.4	54.9	28.8	75.8
Cramer's V	0.16	0.08	0.13	0.13	0.11

Cramer's V is a measure of association for nominal variables based on  $\chi^2$ . It is  $\sqrt{\chi^2/Nt}$  where t is the smaller of either # rows-1 or # columns-1 (Loether and McTavish, 1974: 197-198).

Table 7. Logistic Regression of Different Types of Help on Various Characteristics

	Type of Help											
	Financial			Physical			In-Kind			Domestic		
	Coeff.	S.E.	prob.	Coeff.	S.E.	prob.	Coeff.	S.E.	prob.	Coeff.	S.E.	prob.
Age (85+ is omitted)			0.21			<b>0.00</b>			<b>0.04</b>			<b>0.03</b>
60-69	-0.078	0.199	0.70	-0.716	0.205	0.00	-0.453	0.207	0.03	-0.574	0.210	0.00
70-74	-0.018	0.211	0.93	-0.610	0.219	0.01	-0.480	0.217	0.03	-0.601	0.220	0.00
75-84	0.180	0.205	0.38	-0.305	0.210	0.15	-0.031	0.016	0.05	-0.431	0.016	0.00
Marital Status (1=married,0=unmarried)	0.015	0.111	0.90	0.631	0.344	0.07	0.812	0.219	<b>0.00</b>	1.090	0.373	<b>0.00</b>
No. of Children (0-9+)	0.066	0.016	<b>0.00</b>	-0.009	0.018	0.62	-0.031	0.016	<b>0.05</b>	-0.042	0.016	<b>0.01</b>
Living Arrangements (Alone/Cpl Only is contrast)			<b>0.00</b>			<b>0.00</b>			<b>0.00</b>			<b>0.00</b>
With Unmar. Child(ren)	0.323	0.150	0.03	0.402	0.169	0.02	1.194	0.254	0.00	1.377	0.261	0.00
With Married Child(ren)	0.655	0.130	0.00	0.224	0.154	0.15	0.657	0.304	0.03	1.224	0.314	0.00
With Other (mainly relatives)	0.682	0.124	0.00	0.580	0.142	0.00	1.323	0.253	0.00	1.357	0.259	0.00
Health (severe limitations is contrast)			0.09			<b>0.00</b>			<b>0.00</b>			<b>0.00</b>
No limitations	-0.207	0.166	0.21	-1.743	0.171	0.00	-0.496	0.170	0.00	-0.828	0.283	0.00
Some limitation	0.004	0.165	0.98	-0.999	0.165	0.00	-0.203	0.169	0.23	-0.400	0.286	0.16
Education (more than primary is contrast)			0.06			0.58			0.50			0.06
None	0.339	0.175	0.05	-0.165	0.198	0.40	0.189	0.167	0.26	0.389	0.166	0.02
Primary	0.389	0.162	0.02	-0.065	0.184	0.72	0.169	0.154	0.27	0.302	0.153	0.05
Residence (0=<100,000;1=>100,000)	0.23	0.096	<b>0.02</b>	0.149	0.109	0.17	0.103	0.094	0.27	-0.16	0.09	0.09
Work/Pension Status (working is contrast)			<b>0.00</b>			<b>0.05</b>			<b>0.00</b>			0.69
No work/no pension	0.946	0.109	0.00	0.297	0.121	0.02	0.446	0.106	0.00	0.082	0.106	0.44
No work/pension	-0.039	0.142	0.78	0.121	0.161	0.45	0.084	0.137	0.54	-0.014	0.137	0.92
Income	0.216	0.099	<b>0.03</b>	0.274	0.215	0.20	-0.141	0.096	0.14	0.287	0.096	<b>0.00</b>
Goods	0.405	0.112	<b>0.00</b>	0.134	0.124	0.28	0.190	0.109	0.08	0.406	0.108	<b>0.00</b>
Mstat*Living Arrangements									<b>0.00</b>			<b>0.00</b>
With Unmar. Child*Mstat=1							-1.230	0.308	0.00	-1.207	0.315	0.00
With Mar. Child.*Mstat=1							-0.846	0.330	0.01	-1.090	0.338	0.00
With Other*Mstat=1							-1.107	0.283	0.00	-1.089	0.289	0.00
Mstat*Health												<b>0.04</b>
No limitations*Mstat=1										0.300	0.342	0.38
Some limitations*Mstat=1										-0.265	0.352	0.45
Inc*Mstat=1				-0.524	0.243	0.03						
Constant	-1.861	0.337	<b>0.00</b>	0.030	0.441	0.95	0.793	0.334	<b>0.02</b>	-0.693	0.422	0.10

Residence was recoded to be in a place with more or less than 100,000 people.

Age categories were recoded to be 60-69, 70-74, 75-84 and 85+.

If the probability is less than .00 it is marked as .00.

Probabilities less than .05 are emboldened.

Table A1. Logistic Regression of Whether or Not Receives Financial Assistance (1/0) on Various Demographic and Socioeconomic Characteristics, by Marital Status

	Unmarried			Married		
	Coef	S.E.	Prob.	Coef.	S.E.	Prob.
Age (85+ is omitted)			<b>0.02</b>			0.69
60-69	0.040	0.314	0.990	-0.288	0.269	0.283
70-74	0.109	0.344	0.750	-0.218	0.280	0.283
75-84	0.710	0.320	0.030	-0.180	0.277	0.516
No. of Children (0-9+)	0.023	0.031	0.460	0.080	0.019	<b>0.000</b>
Livi. Arr. (Alone/Cpl Only is contrast)			<b>0.002</b>			<b>0.000</b>
With Unmar. Child(ren)	0.298	0.272	0.272	0.367	0.188	0.051
With Married Child(ren)	0.939	0.325	0.004	0.601	0.144	0.000
With Other (mainly relatives)	0.871	0.264	0.001	0.626	0.142	0.000
Health (severe limitations is contrast)			0.497			0.152
No limitations	-0.257	0.294	0.383	-0.207	0.206	0.315
Some limitation	-0.029	0.283	0.918	0.012	0.207	0.954
Education (more than primary is contrast)			0.108			0.208
None	0.901	0.439	0.040	0.228	0.194	0.241
Primary	0.878	0.425	0.039	0.306	0.177	0.084
Residence (0=<100,000;1=>100,000)	0.164	0.195	0.399	0.266	0.111	<b>0.016</b>
Work/Pension Status (working is contrast)			<b>0.000</b>			<b>0.000</b>
No work/no pension	0.829	0.219	0.000	0.962	0.127	0.000
No work/pension	-0.335	0.316	0.289	0.012	0.160	0.941
Income	0.356	0.216	0.099	0.181	0.112	0.107
Goods	0.441	0.201	<b>0.028</b>	0.390	0.136	<b>0.005</b>
Constant	-2.952	0.709	<b>0.000</b>	-1.992	0.415	<b>0.000</b>

Residence was recoded to be in a place with more or less than 100,000 people.

Age categories were recoded to be 60-69, 70-74, 75-84 and 85+.

Probabilities less than .05 are emboldened.

Table A2. Logistic Regression of Whether or Not Receives Physical Assistance (1/0) on Various Demographic and Socioeconomic Characteristics, by Marital Status

	Unmarried			Married		
	Coef.	S.E.	Prob.	Coef.	S.E.	Prob.
Age (85+ is omitted)			<b>0.000</b>			<b>0.006</b>
60-69	-0.616	0.329	0.061	-0.651	0.275	0.018
70-74	-0.826	0.369	0.025	-0.462	0.288	0.109
75-84	-0.412	0.330	0.212	-0.171	0.281	0.543
No. of Children (0-9+)	0.014	0.035	0.687	-0.017	0.022	0.440
Livi. Arr. (Alone/Cpl Only is contrast)			<b>0.003</b>			<b>0.043</b>
With Unmar. Child(ren)	0.534	0.307	0.082	0.387	0.215	0.072
With Married Child(ren)	0.149	0.396	0.707	0.214	0.170	0.207
With Other (mainly relatives)	1.009	0.301	0.001	0.440	0.163	0.007
Health (severe limitations is contrast)			<b>0.000</b>			<b>0.000</b>
No limitations	-2.004	0.316	0.000	-1.657	0.210	0.000
Some limitation	-0.872	0.287	0.002	-1.049	0.205	0.000
Education (> primary is contrast)			0.811			0.708
None	-0.119	0.453	0.792	-0.168	0.224	0.454
Primary	0.020	0.435	0.963	-0.082	0.204	0.689
Residence (0=<100,000;1=>100,000)	-0.194	0.217	0.371	0.265	0.128	<b>0.038</b>
Work/Pension Status (working is contrast)			0.272			0.084
No work/no pension	0.347	0.248	0.161	0.296	0.142	0.037
No work/pension	0.464	0.337	0.168	0.005	0.187	0.976
Income	0.413	0.237	0.081	-0.303	0.130	<b>0.020</b>
Goods	-0.115	0.217	0.597	0.265	0.155	0.087
Constant	-0.210	0.730	0.774	0.589	0.447	0.188

Residence was recoded to be in a place with more or less than 100,000 people.

Age categories were recoded to be 60-69, 70-74, 75-84 and 85+.

Probabilities less than .05 are emboldened.

Table A3. Logistic Regression of Whether or Not Receives In-Kind Assistance (1/0) on Various Demographic and Socioeconomic Characteristics, by Marital Status

	Unmarried			Married		
	Coef.	S.E.	Prob.	Coef.	S.E.	Prob.
Age (85+ is omitted)			0.116			0.261
60-69	-0.681	0.329	0.038	-0.528	0.277	0.057
70-74	-0.670	0.357	0.061	-0.565	0.287	0.049
75-84	-0.303	0.336	0.368	-0.475	0.286	0.096
No. of Children (0-9+)	-0.030	0.032	0.343	-0.046	0.019	<b>0.014</b>
Livi. Arr. (Alone/Cpl Only is contrast)			<b>0.000</b>			0.258
With Unmar. Child(ren)	1.392	0.270	0.000	0.164	0.179	0.361
With Married Child(ren)	1.164	0.324	0.000	0.123	0.136	0.367
With Other (mainly relatives)	1.307	0.267	0.000	0.268	0.136	0.048
Health (severe limitations is contrast)			0.069			<b>0.005</b>
No limitations	-0.639	0.302	0.034	-0.588	0.212	0.006
Some limitation	-0.297	0.295	0.314	-0.691	0.212	0.001
Education (> primary is contrast)			0.418			0.124
None	0.495	0.391	0.206	0.377	0.185	0.042
Primary	0.347	0.376	0.357	-0.103	0.107	0.335
Residence (0=<100,000;1=>100,000)	-0.331	0.193	0.087	-0.103	0.107	0.335
Work/Pension Status (working is contrast)			0.265			0.531
No work/no pension	0.336	0.217	0.121	0.012	0.123	0.920
No work/pension	0.346	0.304	0.255	-0.101	0.155	0.515
Income	0.501	0.216	<b>0.020</b>	0.233	0.108	<b>0.031</b>
Goods	0.307	0.198	0.120	0.448	0.129	<b>0.000</b>
Constant	-1.206	0.676	0.074	0.500	0.413	0.226

Residence was recoded to be in a place with more or less than 100,000 people.  
Age categories were recoded to be 60-69, 70-74, 75-84 and 85+.

Probabilities of under .05 are emboldened.

Table A4. Logistic Regression of Whether or Not Receives Domestic Assistance (1/0) on Various Demographic and Socioeconomic Characteristics, by Marital Status

	Unmarried			Married		
	Coef.	S.E.	Prob.	Coef.	S.E.	Prob.
Age (85+ is omitted)			0.320			0.219
60-69	-0.462	0.330	0.161	-0.446	0.271	0.099
70-74	-0.382	0.361	0.290	-0.492	0.281	0.080
75-84	-0.086	0.340	0.799	-0.274	0.280	0.327
No. of Children (0-9+)	-0.002	0.032	0.960	-0.041	0.019	<b>0.028</b>
Livi. Arr. (Alone/Cpl Only is contrast)			<b>0.000</b>			<b>0.011</b>
With Unmar. Child(ren)	1.273	0.265	0.000	-0.493	0.178	0.782
With Married Child(ren)	0.586	0.316	0.064	-0.184	0.137	0.178
With Other (mainly relatives)	1.268	0.262	0.000	0.224	0.135	0.097
Health (severe limitations is contrast)			0.148			<b>0.008</b>
No limitations	-0.465	0.306	0.129	-0.493	0.205	0.016
Some limitation	-0.114	0.302	0.706	-0.207	0.206	0.316
Education (> primary is contrast)			0.661			0.534
None	0.258	0.387	0.505	0.174	0.186	0.351
Primary	0.102	0.373	0.785	0.190	0.170	0.263
Residence (0=<100,000;1=>100,000)	-0.005	0.196	0.981	0.126	0.107	0.239
Work/Pension Status (working is contrast)			<b>0.011</b>			<b>0.003</b>
No work/no pension	0.645	0.216	0.003	0.394	0.122	0.001
No work/pension	0.458	0.304	0.131	-0.001	0.155	0.997
Income	-0.150	0.212	0.481	-0.138	0.108	0.200
Goods	0.318	0.201	0.113	0.136	0.130	0.295
Constant	-0.593	0.672	0.378	0.717	0.406	0.077

Residence was recoded to be in a place with more or less than 100,000 people.

Age categories were recoded to be 60-69, 70-74, 75-84 and 85+.

Probabilities less than .05 are emboldened.

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