

## **Chapter IV**

### **RESULTS**

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### Results

The chapter is divided into two sections. Section I consists of the presentation of the results of the study from data that was analyzed using appropriate statistical methods. It is presented in the form of tables, graphs and by using other appropriate means. Section II comprises of 9 case studies that were prepared based on the in-depth interviews with the elderly respondents.

#### Section I

##### Presentation of the results

##### 1. Profile of the Sample Elderly

The sample elderly were interviewed at their home/family setting in the Vadodara city. This facilitated the observation of their living arrangement and the living environment. A description of the socio-demographic, family, work and economic background is provided to contextualize the elderly sample.

a) Socio-demographic details. The summary of some of the socio-demographic characteristics of the sample elderly like age, caste, religion, education, marital status etc. by a sex-wise distribution are given in Table 10. In the total sample, elderly men and women constitute 49 and 51 per cent, respectively.

*Age:* The sample mean age was 69.2 years ( $SD=7.06$ ). The mean ages of the elderly men and women were 70.32 ( $S.D=7.08$ ) and 68.11 ( $SD=6.8$ ) and median ages were 69.5 and 66 years, respectively indicating that women were younger compared to the elderly men in the sample. More than half of the sample (52 per cent) was in the age range of 65- 74 years, with a slightly higher per cent of elderly men (55 per cent) as compared to elderly women (50 per cent) in that age category. In the 60- 64 years age category, women were represented in higher number (32 per cent) as compared to men. Very few elderly (3.7 per cent) were reported in the age category of 85 + years. The age distribution of the sample was slightly positively skewed (see Figure 25 & 26).

Table 10: Socio-demographic profile of the sample elderly

Characteristic	Sex of respondent		Total (N=243)
	Male (n=120)	Female (n=123)	
<u>Age</u>			
60- 64 years	24 (20)	39 (31.7)	63 (25.9)
65-74 years	66 (55)	61 (49.6)	127 (52.3)
75-84 years	25 (20.8)	19 (15.4)	44 (18.1)
85 years +	5 (4.2)	4 (3.3)	9 (3.7)
<u>Caste</u>			
Other caste	81 (67.5)	84 (68.3)	165 (67.9)
Other backward caste	28 (23.3)	26 (21.1)	54 (22.2)
Scheduled caste	8 (6.7)	8 (6.5)	16 (6.6)
Scheduled tribe	3 (2.5)	5 (4.1)	8 (3.3)
<u>Religion</u>			
Hindu	93 (77.5)	101 (82.1)	194 (79.8)
Christian	1 (0.8)	3 (2.4)	4 (1.6)
Muslim	16 (13.3)	13 (10.6)	29 (11.9)
Jain	8 (6.7)	4 (3.3)	12 (4.9)
Other (Parsee and Sikh)	2 (1.7)	2 (1.6)	4 (1.6)
<u>Education</u>			
Illiterate	9 (7.5)	39 (31.7)	48 (19.8)
Primary	26 (21.7)	28 (22.8)	54 (22.2)
High school	17 (14.2)	14 (11.4)	31 (12.8)
College	30 (25)	34 (27.6)	64 (26.3)
Technical	19 (15.8)	-	19 (7.8)
Professional	19 (15.8)	8 (6.5)	27 (11.1)
<u>Marital status</u>			
Married	99 (82.5)	70 (56.9)	169 (69.5)
Widowed	13 (10.8)	43 (35)	56 (23)
Separated	1 (0.8)	4 (3.3)	5 (2.1)
Unmarried	2 (1.7)	4 (3.3)	6 (2.5)
Remarried	5 (4.2)	2 (1.6)	7 (2.9)
<u>Head of the household</u>			
Self	113 (94.2)	48 (39)	161 (66.3)
Spouse	4 (3.3)	61 (49.6)	65 (26.7)
Son	2 (1.7)	9 (7.3)	11 (4.5)
Other (sibling, son-in-law)	1 (0.8)	5 (4.1)	6 (2.5)
Total	120	123	243





*Caste:* As can be seen, 68 per cent of the sample elderly belonged to other castes (OC), followed by those from other backward classes (OBC), scheduled castes (SC) and scheduled tribes (ST) – in that order.

*Religion:* In accordance with the pattern of distribution in the general population in Gujarat, around 80 per cent of the sample were Hindus, followed by Muslim (12 per cent) and Jain (5 per cent) categories. The 'others' category includes elderly from Parsee and Sikh religious groups.

*Education:* The distribution of the sample respondents by education showed a varied pattern. Of the total sample, the presence of college educated (26 per cent) followed by the elderly with primary educational qualification (22 per cent) were in a considerable percentage than the other levels. However, more elderly women (32 per cent) compared to that of elderly men (7 per cent) were found to be illiterate. Similarly, representation of elderly women with primary and college level education (23 and 28 per cent respectively) was more, compared to those with similar education levels among elderly men (22 and 25 per cent respectively). At technical and professional levels, elderly men were more as compared to women respondents.

*Marital status:* The distribution of the sample by marital status also reflects the pattern among the general population. As can be seen, of the total married respondents who were in the majority (70 per cent), a higher per cent were men (83 per cent) compared to that of women (57 per cent) whereas, among the widowed elderly, women (35 per cent) were more in number compared to that of men (11 per cent). With the exception of the remarried, a slightly higher per cent of the elderly women were seen in both unmarried and separated categories (3.3 per cent each) compared to that of men.

*Head of the household:* Among the 66 per cent of the elderly who said that they were heads of the households, men were more (94 per cent) as compared to women (40 per cent). Added to this, another 50 per cent (n=61) of the elderly women said that their husbands were the heads of the households.

As regards *physical disability*, very few (about 15 per cent) reported as having any physical disability. Of those who reported some disability, a slightly higher per cent of elderly men (5 and 6.7 per cent) compared to that of elderly women (2.4 and 4.9 per cent) reported hearing and limb impairment respectively. Slightly more elderly women (4 per cent) reported vision impairment as compared to men. Also, a few (2.1 per cent) elderly indicated disabilities such as hip fracture, stroke/paralysis, Parkinson's disease.

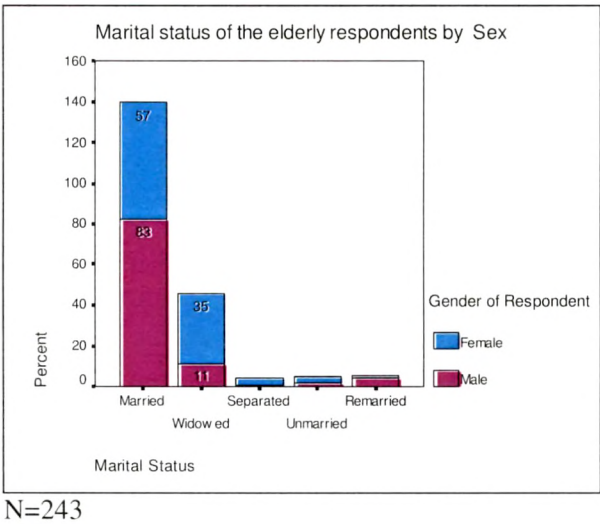
Further exploration regarding the association between certain socio-demographic variables such as age, sex, marital status and its duration yielded useful insights about the composition of the study sample.

Table 11: Distribution of the sample elderly by their marital status and age

Marital status	Respondent's age				Total N=243
	60-64 years (n=63)	65-74 years (n=127)	75-84 years (n=44)	85 years + (n=9)	
Married	49 (77.8)	91 (71.7)	24 (54.5)	5 (55.6)	169 (69.5)
Widowed	8 (12.7)	28 (22.0)	16 (36.4)	4 (44.4)	56 (23)
Separated	3 (4.8)	2 (1.6)	-	-	5 (2.1)
Unmarried	2 (3.2)	2 (1.6)	2 (4.5)	-	6 (2.5)
Remarried	1 (1.6)	4 (3.1)	2 (4.5)	-	7 (2.9)

A cross tabulation of the marital status by age showed that there were a higher percentage of married elderly in the lower age category of 60-64 years, and their percentage decreased with the increasing age. Similarly, widowed were more in the higher age categories. The elderly who reported as separated, unmarried or remarried seem to be less in number with increasing age and there was no one belonging to these three categories in the 85+ age group (see Table 11).

Figure 27: Sex-wise distribution of the sample elderly by their marital status



As explained earlier, the sex-wise distribution of the sample elderly by their marital status showed that there were more men (83 per cent) than women (57 per cent) among the married whereas, among the widowed there were more women compared to men (see Figure 27).

Next, an attempt was made to explore the relationship between the sex of the respondent and duration of marriage and widowhood.

Table 12: Duration of the marriage by sex of the sample elderly

Duration of marriage	Sex of respondent		Total (n=169)
	Male (n=99)	Female (n=70)	
35 years and below	15 (15.2)	5 (7.1)	20 (11.8)
36-40 years	20 (20.2)	17 (24.3)	37 (21.9)
41-45 years	19 (19.2)	12 (17.1)	31 (18.3)
46-50 years	26 (26.3)	24 (34.3)	50 (29.6)
51 years and above	19 (19.2)	12 (17.1)	31 (18.3)

As can be seen from Table 12, of the 169 respondents who reported being married, more than a quarter were married for a period of 46- 50 years, followed by another 22 per cent for a period of 36-40 years. Women were more in number in both these categories as compared to men. In fact, a look at the mean duration of marriage for both men and women of the sample indicated that as compared to elderly men (mean 45 years), elderly women were having a slightly longer duration of being married (mean= 46 years).

Table 13: Duration of widowhood by sex of the sample elderly

Duration of widowhood	Sex of respondent		Total (n=56)
	Male (n=13)	Female (n=43)	
5 years and below	5 (38.5)	8 (18.6)	13 (23.2)
6-15 years	5 (38.5)	21 (48.8)	26 (46.4)
16-25 years	3 (23.1)	10 (23.3)	13 (23.2)
26 years and above	-	4 (9.3)	4 (7.1)

As can be seen from Table 13, around 46 per cent of the widowed respondents reported the duration of their widowhood as 6-15 years, followed by 23 per cent who stated the duration as 16- 25 years. In terms of the average duration of widowhood, elderly women were widows for a longer period (mean=13.5 years; median=10 years) as compared to men (mean= 10.2 years; median= 7 years). Though none from the study sample reported divorced status, there were 5 separated, 6 unmarried and 7 remarried respondents. Of those who were separated, 4 were women. The median duration of separation reported by these women was 28 years, whereas, for the men it was 10 years. In the remarried status there were five men and two women. Of these, men reported as being in remarried status for 27 years (median) whereas women said it was 31 years (median).

An exploration into the relationship of headship status with some socio-demographic variables was attempted and the findings are given below.

Table 14: Distribution of the sample elderly by headship of the household (HOH) and their current work

Sex of resp.	HOH	Current work of respondents (after the age of 60 yrs)							
		Not working	Home maker	Daily wage labor	Salaried	Professional	Business	Retired	Domestic help
Male n=120	Self	24(92.3)	-	4(100)	4(100)	2(100)	19 (95.0)	52 (92.8)	-
	Spouse	2(7.7)	-	-	-	-	1 (5.0)	1 (1.8)	-
	Son	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 (3.6)	-
	Others <sup>a</sup>	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (1.8)	-
Female n=123	Self	7(58.4)	27(32.1)	1(100)	-	1(50)	1 (25.0)	4 (40)	6 (85.7)
	Spouse	3(25)	49(58.3)	-	-	-	2 (50.0)	5 (50)	-
	Son	1(8.3)	6(7.2)	-	-	-	1 (25.0)	-	1 (14.3)
	Others <sup>a</sup>	1(8.3)	2(2.4)	-	-	1(50)	-	1 (10)	-

Note. <sup>a</sup> Include sister, brother and son-in-law.

<sup>b</sup> Include cattle tending, tuitions, paper agent, free-lance, honorary member, volunteer work, part time work.

As can be seen from Table 14, while elderly men reported as being heads of households irrespective of their work status, in the case of women, they heading the household was found to be less frequent if they were home maker or have retired. However, if an elderly woman was engaged in some work, she reported being the head of household.

Current income p.m. refers to money earned from work by the elderly person. In terms of the relationship between current income of the respondent and headship of the household, it was found that of the 55 respondents who reported current income, elderly women were less in number and they fell within the income ranges of Rs 5000 and below and Rs 5001 to Rs 10000. While most of these women reported their spouse or son, and a few reported self as head of the household, it was mostly the elderly men from across the current income p.m. groups who were found to be heading the household.

b) Family background. A summary of the details such as family size, type of family etc., along with the nativity and migration status of the study sample is presented (see Table 15).

Table 15: Summary of family background characteristics of the sample elderly

Characteristic	Sex of the respondent		Total (N=243)
	Male (n=120)	Female (n=123)	
<u>Type of family</u>			
Nuclear	50 (41.7)	37 (30.1)	87 (35.8)
Joint	49 (40.8)	34 (27.6)	83 (34.2)
Extended	16 (13.3)	45 (36.6)	61 (25.1)
Staying alone	5 (4.2)	7 (5.7)	12 (4.9)
<u>Family size</u>			
One member	5 (4.2)	6 (4.9)	11 (4.5)
Two members	35 (29.2)	34 (27.6)	69 (28.4)
Three members	18 (15.0)	18 (14.6)	36 (14.8)
Four members	7 (5.8)	11 (8.9)	18 (7.4)
Five members	19 (15.8)	21 (17.1)	40 (16.5)
Six members	17 (14.2)	17 (13.8)	34 (14.0)
Seven members and above	19 (15.8)	16 (13.0)	35 (14.4)
<u>No. of earners in the family</u>			
One member	55 (45.8)	55 (44.7)	110 (45.3)
Two members	42 (35.0)	50 (40.7)	92 (37.9)
Three members	19 (15.8)	11 (8.9)	30 (12.3)
Four members	3 (2.5)	6 (4.9)	9 (3.7)
Five members	1 (0.8)	1 (0.8)	2 (0.8)
<u>Family income (p.m.)</u>			
Rs.5000 and below	20 (16.7)	28 (22.8)	48 (19.8)
Rs.5100-10000	27 (22.5)	22 (17.9)	49 (20.2)
Rs.10100-20000	19 (15.8)	28 (22.8)	47 (19.3)
Rs.20100-40000	19 (15.8)	20 (16.3)	39 (16.1)
Rs.40100-60000	10 (8.3)	10 (8.1)	20 (8.2)
Rs.60100-80000	8 (6.7)	5 (4.1)	13 (5.3)
Rs.80100-100000	7 (5.8)	4 (3.3)	11 (4.5)
Rs.100001 and above	10 (8.4)	6 (4.9)	16 (6.6)
<u>Type of house</u>			
Slum / Kutcha dwelling	21 (17.5)	19 (15.4)	40 (16.5)
Street / Pule / Chawl	20 (16.7)	20 (16.3)	40 (16.5)
Housing society	18 (15.0)	29 (23.6)	47 (19.3)
Individual house	39 (32.5)	39 (31.7)	78 (32.1)
Low-rise flat	12 (10.0)	6 (4.9)	18 (7.4)
Multi- storied (4+) building	10 (8.3)	10 (8.1)	20 (8.2)
Total	120	123	243

Note. Data on Family size and No. of earners in the family include the respondent.

With regard to the type of family that the sample elderly belonged to, it can be seen that around 70 per cent of the sample elderly reported belonging to nuclear (36 per cent) and joint families (34 per cent), and more elderly men were in these two types of family settings as compared to women. However, a higher per cent of elderly women were living in extended family settings (37 per cent) as compared to men (13 per cent). Around 5 per cent of the respondents reported as staying alone.

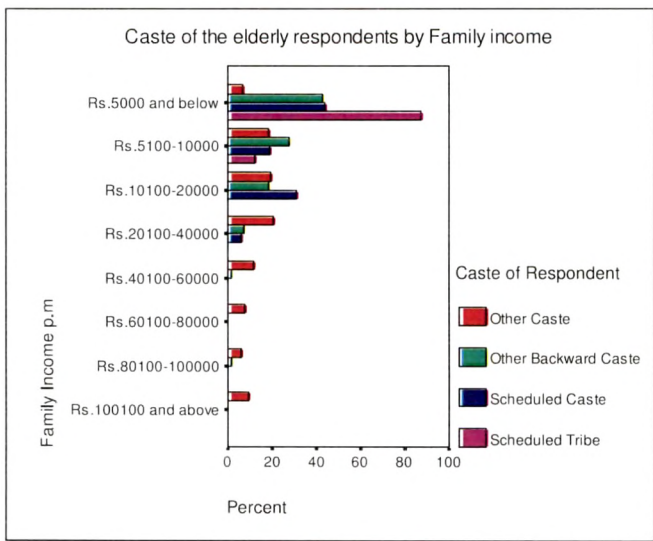
Coming to the size of the family (including the respondent) the average size came to 4 members ( $SD=2.6$ ). The largest family size reported in the sample was 16 members. Evidently two, three and five member families were reported in a higher percentage. In terms of the number of earners in the respondent's family (including the respondent if he was earning) the median number was 2. More than 70 per cent reported having either one or two earning members in the family. Around 4 per cent of the respondents' mentioned having 4-5 earning members in their family.

The family income (p.m.) comprised of the combined income of all the earning members in the family including that of the respondent. More than 75 per cent of the elderly fell in the income ranges from Rs 5000 and below to Rs 20100 - Rs 40000, with around 40 per cent of the sample falling in the income range of Rs 5000 to Rs10000. It appeared from the data that among the sample elderly, more women belonged to families with comparatively lower incomes. However, a few elderly women were from families with higher family incomes. Compared to women (20 per cent) more men (29 per cent) reported a family income in the range of Rs 40,100 to Rs 100001 and above per month.

The type of house in which the sample elderly lived reflected their economic status. Around 33 per cent of respondents reported living in areas identified as slums, streets and in dwellings specified as kutcha/pule/chawl. Further, 32 per cent of the elderly sample (almost similar per cent of men and women) reported that they lived in individual houses, followed by 19 per cent in housing societies.

A further exploration about the association of family income (p.m.) with caste and religion of the sample elderly provided useful information.

Figure 28: Caste-wise distribution of the sample elderly by their family income (p.m.)

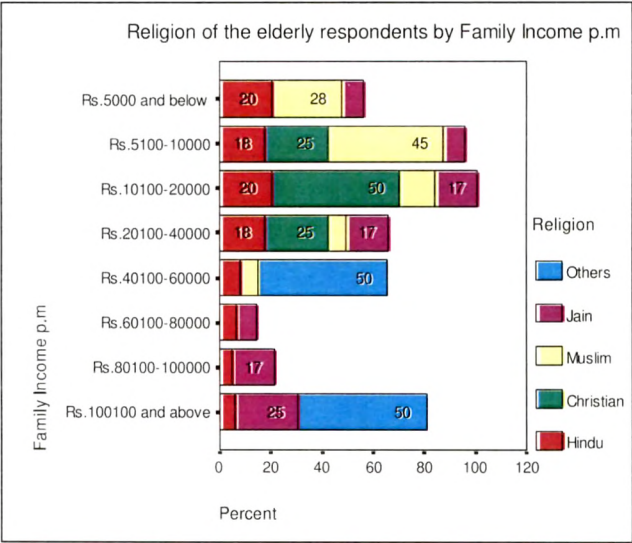


N=243

The distribution of caste by family income (p.m.) (see Figure 28) showed a clustering of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe categories within the lower income levels. Thus, more of the Scheduled Tribe respondents fell in the income categories of Rs 5000 and below and Rs 5100 -10000 whereas, those who belonged to Scheduled Caste fell mostly in the income ranges from Rs 5000 and below to Rs 10100- 20000, though a few spilled over to the next income level (Rs 20100- 40000). Next, the presence of the elderly from the other backward castes (OBC) was found more in the Rs 5000 and below and Rs 20100- 40000 family income levels. Only the elderly belonging to the other castes (OC) were seen in the higher income categories i.e. beyond Rs 60000. Very few respondents from the other backward castes (OBC) reported their family incomes in the categories of Rs. 40100 - 60000 and Rs 80100- 1 lakh.



Figure 29: Religion-wise distribution of the sample elderly by their family income (p.m.)



N=243

A look at the association between family income (p.m.) and religion (see Figure 29) indicated that the sample elderly who belong to Hindu religion were distributed across all the income categories whereas, more Muslim elderly fell in the income ranges of Rs 5000 and below and Rs 5100- 10000, with a negligible presence in other income categories. As regards Christian respondents, they fell in the income levels of Rs 5100- 10000, Rs 10100- 20000, and Rs 20100- 40000. Jain elderly respondents were predominantly from higher income categories (Rs 80000 and above), though a few of them were seen in lower income groups as well. The elderly from Parsee or Sikh communities mostly belonged to the middle and higher family income (p.m.) categories i.e. the Rs 40100- 60000 and Rs 100100 and above.

*Nativity and migration status:* Of the total sample, 60 per cent (n=146) were reportedly from places outside Vadodara but have settled here, and the remaining elderly were natives of Vadodara.

Table 16: Duration of migration status by sex of the sample elderly

Duration	Sex of respondent		Total (n=146)
	Male (n=70)	Female (n=76)	
10 years and below	6 (8.6)	6 (7.8)	12 (8.2)
11-20 years	11 (15.7)	12 (15.6)	23 (15.8)
21-30 years	8 (11.4)	15 (19.5)	23 (15.8)
31-40 years	23 (32.9)	20 (25.9)	43 (29.4)
41-50 years	15 (21.4)	16 (20.8)	31 (21.1)
51 years and above	7 (10)	7 (9.1)	14 (9.5)

Table 16 shows the duration of the migrant status of the sample elderly who came from places outside Vadodara. Of these, a majority (60 per cent) had migrated to Vadodara between 31- 40 years and 51 years and above.

c) Work and economic background. What was the work and economic background of the sample elderly? The aspects such as previous and current work, income p.m., pension earned, indebtedness, assets possessed etc., are explored.

*Previous and current work and income (p.m.)*

Table 17: Sex-wise distribution of the sample elderly by their previous work (before they were 60 years of age)

Previous work	Sex of respondent		Total (N=243)
	Male (n=120)	Female (n=123)	
Home maker	-	83 (67.5)	83 (34.2)
Agriculture based occupation	4 (3.3)	2 (1.6)	6 (2.5)
Salaried	72 (60)	14 (11.4)	86 (35.4)
Daily wage labor	8 (6.7)	6 (4.9)	14 (5.8)
Professional	12 (10)	1 (0.8)	13 (5.3)
Business	18 (15)	2 (1.6)	20 (8.2)
Domestic help	-	13 (10.6)	13 (5.3)
Other <sup>a</sup>	6 (5.0)	2 (1.6)	8 (3.3)

Note. <sup>a</sup> Includes cattle tending, tuitions, car driver, masseur, paper agent, part time work.

According to the data in Table 17, 35 per cent of the sample was in salaried jobs. This was followed by respondents (34 per cent) all women, who were home makers. While only 16 per cent of the elderly women were in salaried jobs, none of the elderly men reported as being domestic help. A clear cut division of male work (outside of home) versus female work (in the home) was seen in the study sample that reflected the patriarchal social context that existed 6 decades ago.

Table 18: Sex-wise distribution of the sample elderly by their current work status

Current work status	Sex of the respondent		Total (N=243)
	Male (n=120)	Female (n=123)	
Not working	26 (21.7)	12 (9.8)	38 (15.6)
Homemaker	-	83 (67.5)	83 (34.2)
Daily wage labor	4 (3.3)	1 (0.8)	5 (2.1)
Salaried	4 (3.3)	-	4 (1.6)
Professional	2 (1.7)	2 (1.6)	4 (1.6)
Business	20 (16.7)	4 (3.3)	24 (9.9)
Retired	57 (46.7)	10 (8.1)	67 (27.6)
Domestic Help	-	8 (6.5)	8 (3.3)
Other <sup>a</sup>	7 (5.8)	3 (2.4)	10 (4.1)

Note. <sup>a</sup> Includes cattle tending, tuitions, paper agent, free-lance, honorary member, volunteer work, part time work.

With regard to their current work status, (see Table 18) out of a majority of the men who reported previous work status as salaried job (60 per cent), 47 per cent reported to have retired. However, it seems that the home makers and those who worked as domestic help in their previous work status, who were exclusively women, continued to function in the same capacity and retirement did not appear to apply to them as in the case of men. Almost 66 per cent of the total respondents (120 men and 40 women) reported that they were in paid employment before they attained 60 years of age. Of them, only 34 per cent (37 men and 18 women) reported as in paid employment at the time of the interview. Hence, the sample elderly who reported previous and current earnings (p.m.) were 160 and 55 respectively and the details are shown in Tables 19 & 20.

Table 19: Sex-wise distribution of the sample elderly by their income (p.m.) from previous work (before attaining 60 years of age)

Previous income (p.m.)	Sex of the respondent		Total (n=160)
	Male (n=120)	Female (n=40)	
Rs.5000 and below	40 (33.3)	30 (76.2)	70 (43.8)
Rs.5100-10000	22 (18.3)	3 (7.1)	25 (15.6)
Rs.10100-20000	20 (16.6)	5 (11.9)	25 (15.6)
Rs.20100-40000	24 (20)	1 (2.4)	25 (15.6)
Rs.40100-60000	5 (4.2)	1 (2.4)	6 (3.7)
Rs.60100-80000	2 (1.7)	-	2 (1.3)
Rs.80100-100000	5 (4.2)	-	5 (3.1)
Rs.100100 and above	2 (1.7)	-	2 (1.3)

Of the 160 sample elderly who reported being in paid work before attaining 60 years of age, only 25 per cent were women. A majority (76 per cent) of these women reported lower earnings per month of Rs 5000 and below. The remaining 19 per cent reported incomes that fell between Rs 5100 to Rs 20000. Only 2 elderly women reported their income as falling between Rs 20100 to Rs 60000. None of the women were having an income in the categories of Rs 60100- 80000 to Rs 100100 and above. Compared to them, 7.6 per cent elderly men reported an income in that range. Also, more men were represented across the income categories (see Table 19).

Table 20: Sex-wise distribution of the sample elderly by their income (p.m.) from current work

Current income (p.m.)	Sex of the respondent		Total (n=55)
	Male (n=37)	Female (n=18)	
Rs.5000 and below	13 (35.1)	14 (77.8)	27 (49.1)
Rs.5100-10000	7 (18.9)	2 (11.1)	9 (16.4)
Rs.10100-20000	3 (8.1)	1 (5.6)	4 (7.3)
Rs.20100-40000	5 (13.5)	-	5 (9.1)
Rs.40100 and above	9 (24.3)	1 (5.6)	10 (18.2)

Table 20 shows that of the 55 elderly who were in paid employment at the time of the interview, a majority (49 per cent) earned an income of Rs 5000 and below (p.m.) (78 per cent women as against 35 per cent men). A higher percentage of the elderly men compared to women were represented as earning in all the other income categories.

*Pension details:* Of the total sample elderly, only 27 per cent (n=65) reported receiving a monthly pension of some kind, with men outnumbering women (34 per cent men as against 23 per cent women). Out of the 72 elderly men who have previously worked in a salaried job (see Table 17) 57 men retired (see Table 18) of whom 41 reported receiving a job pension (see Table 21). Of the 14 elderly women who worked previously in a salaried job (see Table 17), 10 retired (see Table 18), of whom 9 reported receiving a job pension (see Table 21). Fifteen elderly women reported receiving their deceased husbands' pension (see Table 21) and another 4 received a Govt. old age pension.

Table 21: Sex-wise distribution of the sample elderly by the job pension (p.m.) received by them

Job pension (p.m.)	Sex of respondent		Total (n=65)
	Male (n=41)	Female (n=24)	
Rs.2000 and below	13 (31.7)	2 (8.3)	15 (23.1)
Rs.2100-5000	6 (14.6)	9 (37.5)	15 (23.1)
Rs.5100-8000	6 (14.6)	4 (16.7)	10 (15.4)
Rs.8100-11000	7 (17.1)	4 (16.7)	11 (16.9)
Rs.11100-14000	4 (9.8)	2 (8.3)	6 (9.2)
Rs.14100 and above	5 (12.2)	3 (12.5)	8 (12.3)

Note. In the case of women, 15 of them received their deceased husbands' job pension.

As can be seen from Table 21, of the 65 respondents, all the 41 men and only 9 women reported receiving a job pension. More than a quarter of the elderly men (32 per cent) and women (37.5 per cent) reported a pension of Rs 2000 and below and Rs 2100-5000, respectively. In the total sample, only four women who were 65 years or older received a government old age pension of Rs 400, as applicable in Gujarat.

*Possession of assets:* Almost 75 per cent of the sample, comprising of 43 per cent men and 32 per cent women reported possessing some type of asset on their name. In some cases, possession of more than one type of asset was reported. However, it has to be kept in mind that not all of them might be earning income on the asset (s). The type of asset (s) owned by the sample elderly is given in Table 22.

Table 22: Sex-wise distribution of the sample elderly by the type of asset (s) possessed by them

Type of asset	Sex of respondent		%*
	Male (n=103)	Female (n=78)	
House (s)	84 (70)	47 (38.2)	131 (53.9)
Savings	88 (73.3)	58 (47.2)	146 (60.1)
Investments	27 (22.5)	22 (17.9)	49 (20.2)
Land (s)	27 (22.5)	5 (4.1)	32 (13.2)
House site (s)	12 (10)	4 (3.3)	16 (6.6)

n=181

Note. \* Multiple responses and hence the percentages do not add to 100.

With regard to the type of assets being reported (see Table 22), a majority of men (73 per cent) and women (47 per cent) were having savings and 70 per cent men and 38 per cent women had house(s).

Table 23: Sex-wise distribution of the sample elderly by the monthly income earned from asset (s) possessed by them

Income from asset (s) (p.m.)	Sex of respondent		Total (n=87)
	Male (n=63)	Female (n=24)	
Rs.1000 and below	2 (3.2)	-	2 (2.3)
Rs.1100-5000	29 (46)	13 (54.2)	42 (48.3)
Rs.5100-10000	12 (19.1)	8 (33.3)	20 (23)
Rs.10100-20000	14 (22.2)	3 (12.5)	17 (19.5)
Rs.20100 and above	6 (9.5)	-	6 (6.9)

Note. Though 181 respondents reported possessing assets, only 87 of them reported earning an income and the remaining (n=94) did not earn any income on the asset (s).

As indicated above, of the 181 elderly, almost 52 per cent (n=94) possessed asset (s) but did not earn any income on them, of which a majority were women (69 per cent). The remaining elderly reported a monthly income that fell in the categories of Rs 1000 and below to Rs 20100 and above, on their assets. Almost half of the elderly men and 54 per cent women earned Rs 1100- 5000 p.m. as income on their assets. Elderly women who earned in the range of Rs 10100- 20000 were less in number, compared to men (see Table 23).

*Respondents' income (p.m.):* It refers to their exclusive earnings constituting income from work, pension, and assets. Out of the total sample, 61 per cent respondents (n=149) reported monthly income under this head (more men compared to women). The remaining elderly were completely dependent on their children, relatives or others. Except for the income category of Rs 2000 and below, men were represented in all other income ranges. A majority of the women reported an income that fell in the ranges of Rs 2000 and below to Rs10100-20000. In the categories above Rs 20100, very few or none of them figured (see Table 24).

Table 24: Sex-wise distribution of the sample elderly by the Respondents' income (p.m.)

Respondents' income (p.m.)	Sex of the respondent		Total (n=149)
	Male (n=82)	Female (n=67)	
Rs 2000 and below	-	25 (37.4)	25 (16.8)
Rs.2100-10000	33 (40.2)	26 (38.8)	59 (39.7)
Rs.10100-20000	26 (31.7)	14 (20.8)	40 (26.8)
Rs.20100-40000	12 (14.6)	1 (1.5)	13 (8.8)
Rs.40100-60000	2 (2.5)	-	2 (1.3)
Rs.60100-80000	5 (6.0)	1 (1.5)	6 (4)
Rs.80100-100000	2 (2.5)	-	2 (1.3)
Rs100100 and above	2 (2.5)	-	2 (1.3)

*Indebtedness:* A majority (94 per cent) of the total sample elderly reported that they did not take a loan of any kind. Out of the 15 who took a loan, 4 took it for the child's marriage, 2 for children's' education, and 9 for other needs such as purchasing a car, renovation of their home, and during medical emergency.

*Present income sources:* In the organized sector the age of retirement falls between 58-60 years and in some cases it is 65 years at which age the elderly have to retire from their job. However, if they are not in organized sector they might continue to work till their physical capacity and/or the health and/ or the norms in the society permit them. Further, elderly who are self employed usually handover family business, property etc. to their child (ren) after reaching the age of 60 years or more, and would no longer be active participants in economic affairs of the family. Hence, from this point onwards sources of financial inflow of the older person start reducing, and other sources from the children or relatives may emerge. Therefore, information about the sources of income for the sample elderly would help construct an idea about their economic status.

Table 25: Sex-wise distribution of the sample elderly by their sources of income for a living

Source of income	Sex of respondent		%
	Male (n=120)	Female (n=123)	
From children in the house	70 (58.3)	72 (58.5)	142 (58.4)
Respondent's past savings	75 (62.5)	33 (26.8)	108 (44.4)
Spouse's past savings	17 (14.2)	50 (40.7)	67 (27.6)
Income from resp. employment	37 (30.8)	18 (14.6)	55 (22.6)
Pension from respondent's job	43 (35.8)	11 (8.9)	54 (22.2)
Pension from spouse's job	4 (3.3)	42 (34.1)	46 (18.9)
From other relatives	11 (9.2)	24 (19.5)	35 (14.4)
Spouse's employment	12 (10)	18 (14.6)	30 (12.3)
From children elsewhere	14 (11.7)	15 (12.2)	29 (11.9)
Govt. old age/widow pension	-	4 (3.2)	4 (1.6)
Other <sup>a</sup>	5 (4.2)	3 (2.4)	8 (3.3)

N=243

Note. <sup>a</sup> Other sources include income through livestock, share of income from harvest, share of income from common property, opportunity to earn extra money.

\* Multiple responses and hence the percentages do not add to 100.

Table 25 indicates multiple sources of income for the respondents. An equal per cent (58 per cent) of elderly men and women responded that the children they stayed with were the source of their income. Around 62 per cent elderly men and 41 per cent women told that their past savings and their spouse's past savings respectively were the sources of their income.



A substantial number of elderly men (36 per cent and 31 per cent) reported job pension and income from their employment as sources of livelihood compared to women (9 per cent and 15 per cent). Interestingly, more women (34 per cent) compared to men (3.3 per cent) reported their source of income as the job pension of their spouses. It was clear from the data that more men (62 per cent) than women (27 per cent) had past savings to rely upon during old age. This is because women's employment was less during the earlier times. On the whole, more women were dependent on sources such as spouses past savings, job pension of spouse and monetary support from child (ren) & other relatives. Only 4 women reported govt. old age pension as a source of income.

Table 26: Sex-wise distribution of the sample elderly by forms of assistance received from family/children/other relatives

Form of assistance	Sex of respondent		%
	Male (n=120)	Female (n=123)	
Money	75 (62.5)	82 (66.7)	157 (64.6)
Food	69 (57.5)	80 (65)	149 (61.3)
Medical care	66 (55)	81(65.9)	147 (60.5)
Clothes	65 (54.2)	75 (61)	140 (57.6)
Gifts	43 (35.8)	49 (39.8)	92 (37.9)
Other <sup>a</sup>	4 (3.3)	3 (2.4)	7 (2.9)

N=243

Note. <sup>a</sup> Other includes use of brother's car, taking services of child's servant/driver for household chores/shopping, support in travel arrangements and going out.

\* Multiple responses and hence the percentages do not add to 100.

Coming to the form of assistance received, more than 50 per cent each of the elderly men and women reported receiving money, food, medical care and clothes. All the forms of assistance (except 'other') were received by more per cent of elderly women compared to men (see Table 26).

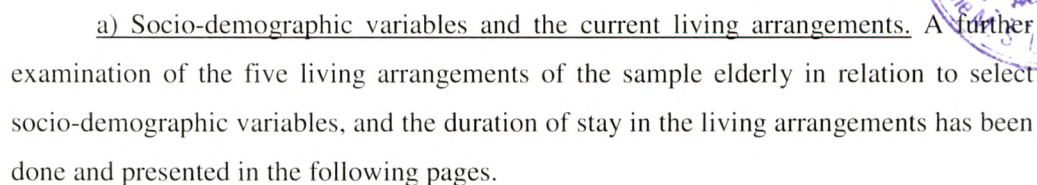
## 2. Current Living Arrangements: Types and Nature

The major focus of the study was to explore the types of current living arrangements of the elderly (including the sub-types of parent child coresidence) in the Vadodara city and how they were associated with the socio-demographic and other variables of the sample elderly. The reasons stated by the elderly respondents for their stay in their current living arrangements are presented herein. Further, relevant aspects in the context of the living arrangements such as the living environment, type of ownership of dwelling, family relations, social interaction etc., that provided a deeper understanding of the current living arrangements of the elderly have been included in this sub-section.

Table 27: Distribution of the sample elderly by the type of living arrangements

Type of living arrangement	Frequency	Percent
Parent-child coresidence	156	64.2
Living alone	9	3.7
Living with spouse only	57	23.5
Living with relatives	18	7.4
Living with assistance	3	1.2
Total	243	100

The five types of living arrangements, into which the sample elderly have been distributed, are shown in Table 27. According to the data, parent-child coresidence emerged as the major type of living arrangement for the sample. More than half of the total sample (64 per cent) lived in parent-child coresidence, followed by those living with spouse only (23 per cent). A small percentage of the elderly lived with relatives, lived alone and with assistance. Parent-child coresidence included the arrangements of living with married son (s), married daughter (s), unmarried son (s) and unmarried daughter (s). Living with relative (s) means those respondents who were living with their sibling, grandchild or daughter-in-law. Living with assistance means living with a hired help who stayed at the elderly persons' house.

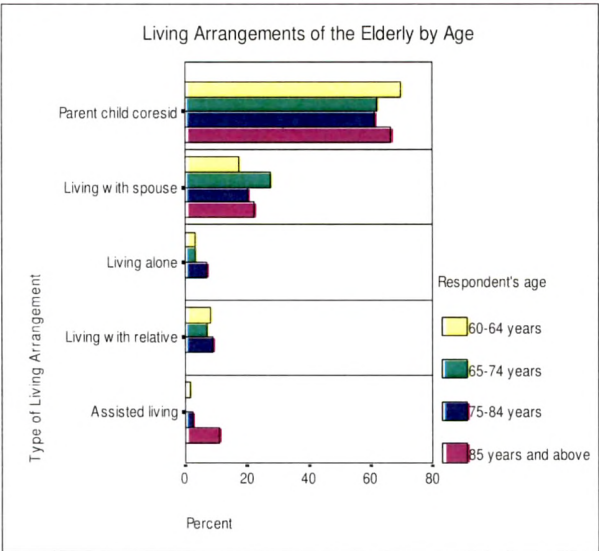


Characteristic	N	Type of living arrangement				
		Parent-child coresidence (n=156)	Living alone (n=9)	Living with spouse only (n=57)	Living with relatives (n=18)	Living with assistance (n=3)
<u>Sex</u>						
Male	120	78 (65)	3 (2.5)	31 (25.8)	6 (5)	2 (1.7)
Female	123	78 (63.4)	6 (4.9)	26 (21.1)	12 (9.8)	1 (0.8)

Living Arrangement	Male (%)	Female (%)
Parent child coresi	65	63
Living with spouse	28	21
Living alone	2	5
Living with relative	5	10
Assisted living	2	1

A majority of the elderly men and women live in parent-child coresidence, followed by living with spouse. Compared to men, more elderly women reported as living alone and with relatives (see Table 28 & Figure 30).

Figure 31: Distribution of the sample elderly by the type of living arrangements and age



N=243

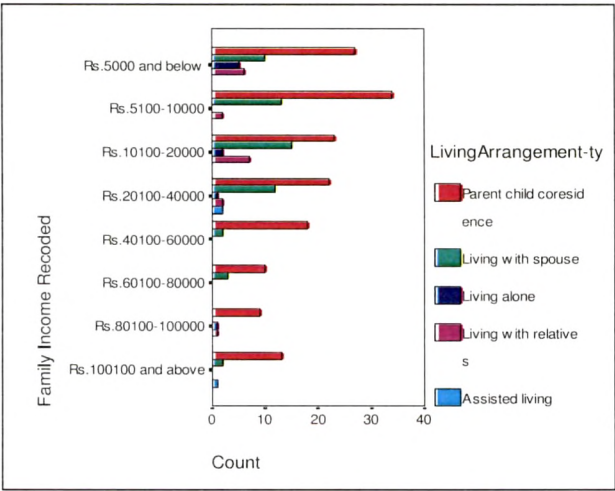
Figure 31 indicates that a majority of the elderly in all age ranges were seen to cluster in parent-child coresidence, followed by living with spouse. Elderly in the 85 + years age range were not represented in the categories of living alone and with relatives.

An examination of the sex- wise distribution of the elderly respondents by type of living arrangements and their mean ages revealed that the respondents living with assistance (mean=78, *SD*=17.5), alone (mean=71, *SD*=8) or with spouse (mean= 69.5, *SD*=6.3) were older compared to those living in the other arrangements. Further, the respondents in parent-child coresidence were younger in age (mean=68.8 years, *SD*=7.08). Interestingly, elderly women who stayed with assistance and alone were much older to men (see Table 29).

Table 29: Sex-wise distribution of the sample elderly by type of living arrangements and mean ages

Type of living arrangement	Sex	n	Respondent's age	
			Mean	S.D
Parent-child coresidence	Male	78	69.9	7.15
	Female	78	67.8	6.91
	Total	156	68.8	7.08
Living with spouse	Male	31	71.3	6.15
	Female	26	67.4	5.89
	Total	57	69.5	6.30
Living alone	Male	3	69.3	12.7
	Female	6	72.0	5.97
	Total	9	71.1	8.02
Living with relatives	Male	6	71.0	8.37
	Female	12	66.9	4.58
	Total	18	68.2	6.17
Assisted living	Male	2	69.5	13.44
	Female	1	95.0	--
	Total	3	78.0	17.52
Total	Male	120	70.3	7.09
	Female	123	68.1	6.89
	Total	243	69.2	7.06

Figure 32: Distribution of the sample elderly by the family income (p.m.) and type of living arrangements



N=243

It is shown in Figure 32 that the elderly from all categories of family income (p.m.) were represented in the living arrangement of parent-child coresidence.

In order to examine the relationship of family income p.m. and respondent income p.m. with the types of living arrangements, the median incomes (both family income and respondent income) of the elderly living in the different living arrangements were calculated. The median incomes were taken into consideration in view of skewed distribution of the incomes of the respondents. Table 30 shows the median family and respondents' incomes by type of living arrangements.

Table 30: Shows median Family and Respondent incomes (p.m.) of the sample elderly by type of living arrangements

Type of living arrangement	N	Family income(p.m.)	Respondent's income(p.m.)
Parent-child coresidence	156	18000	450
Living with spouse	57	14000	6000
Living alone	9	5000	5000
Living with relatives	18	13000	3000
Assisted living	3	30000	30000
Total	243	15000	2500

As can be seen, the elderly living with assistance reported highest on both median family and respondent's incomes (Rs 30000). For those living in parent-child coresidence, Rs 18000 was the median family income p.m. and even the elderly with lowest respondent's income (median=Rs 450) reported living in this type of arrangement. Except for the elderly living alone and with assistance, in other living arrangements higher median family incomes than respondents' incomes were reported, indicating that in these arrangements the respondents' income shrink.

Figure 33: Distribution of the sample elderly by the type of living arrangements and marital status

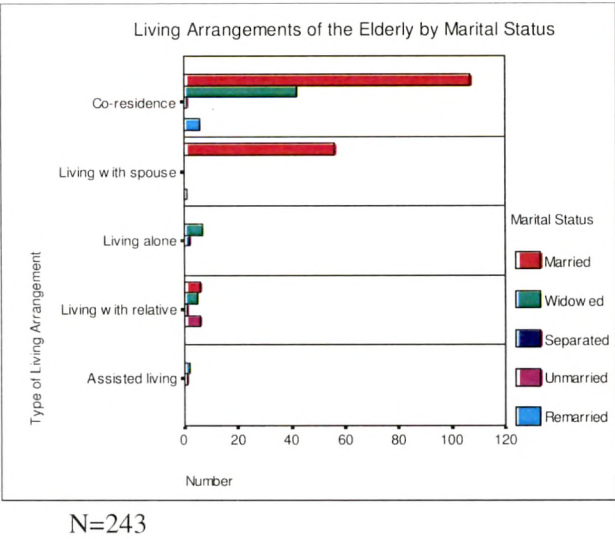


Figure 33 reveals that a majority of the elderly belonging to all categories of marital status lived in parent-child coresidence (except for those who were unmarried). Elderly of all marital statuses (except for those who were remarried) lived with relatives. Only widowed and separated elderly lived alone, and with assistance. The unmarried elderly lived only with relatives. Obviously, married and remarried elderly were found living with the spouse.

Table 31: Distribution of the sample elderly by their marital status and the type of living arrangements

Marital status	Type of living arrangement					Total
	Parent-child coresidence	Living with spouse	Living alone	Living with relatives	Living with assistance	
Married	107 (63.3)	56 (33.1)	-	6 (3.6)	-	169 (100)
Widowed	42 (75)	-	7 (12.5)	5 (8.9)	2 (3.6)	56 (100)
Separated	1 (20)	-	2 (40)	1 (20)	1 (20)	5 (100)
Unmarried	-	-	-	6 (100)	-	6 (100)
Remarried	6 (85.7)	1 (14.3)	-	-	-	7 (100)
Total	156	57	9	18	3	243



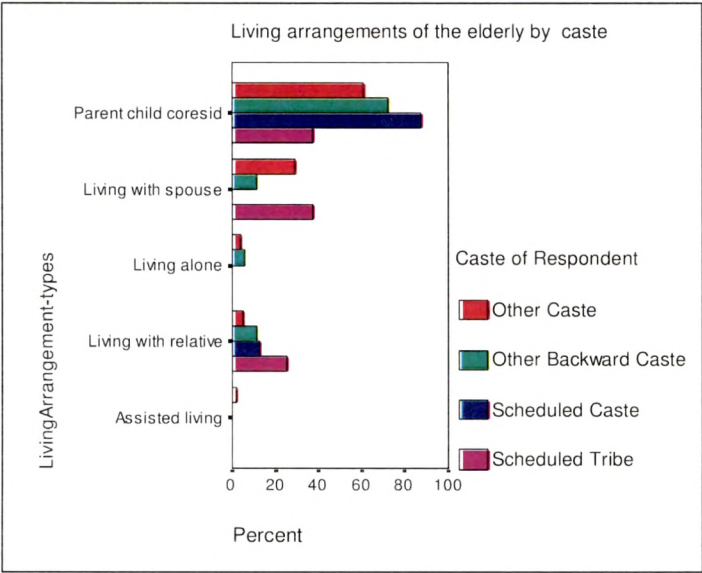
Table 31 provides specific details in addition to Figure 33. As can be seen, a majority of the elderly who were remarried (86 per cent), widowed (75 per cent), and married (63 per cent) lived in parent-child coresidence. A considerable number of the separated elderly (40 per cent) and elderly who were widowed (13 per cent) were living alone.

Table 32: Distribution of the sample elderly by caste and the type of living arrangements

Caste	Type of living arrangement					Total
	Parent-child coresidence	Living with spouse	Living alone	Living with relatives	Living with assistance	
Other Caste (OC) <sup>a</sup>	100 (60.6)	48 (29.1)	6 (3.6)	8 (4.8)	3 (1.8)	165 (100)
Other Backward Caste (OBC)	39 (72.2)	6 (11.1)	3 (5.6)	6 (11.1)	-	54 (100)
Scheduled Caste (SC)	14 (87.5)	-	-	2 (12.5)	-	16 (100)
Scheduled Tribe (ST)	3 (37.5)	3 (37.5)	-	2 (25.0)	-	8 (100)
Total	156	57	9	18	3	243

Note. <sup>a</sup> Comprises of castes which are not included in OBC, SC and ST categories.

Figure 34: Distribution of the sample elderly by type of living arrangements and caste



N=243



As can be seen in Table 32 & Figure 34, the predominance of parent-child coresidence followed by living with spouse (except for the SC's) type of living arrangements continued irrespective of caste. As expected, the elderly from SC and ST categories were not found living alone or with assistance.

The duration of stay of the elderly seemed to vary depending on the type of the current living arrangement. Keeping in view of skewed data for duration of stay of the respondents in the current living arrangement, both mean and median of the duration of stay were calculated.

Table 33: Distribution of the sample elderly by the mean duration of stay in the current living arrangements

Living arrangement	Mean duration	S.D	N
Parent-child coresidence	12.72	9.23	156
Living with spouse	11.21	9.12	57
Living alone	11.78	7.46	9
Living with relatives	11.17	8.88	18
Living with assistance	12.67	9.71	3
Total	12.21	9.08	243

As can be seen from Table 33, the mean duration of stay was longer (mean= 12.72 years;  $S.D=9.23$ ) for those who lived in parent-child coresidence followed by those who lived with assistance (mean=12.67 years;  $S.D= 9.71$ ). Further, the shortest duration of stay (11.17 years,  $S.D=8.88$ ) was for those who lived with relatives.

Table 34: Distribution of the sample elderly by the median duration of stay in the current living arrangements

Living arrangement	Median duration	N
Parent-child coresidence	10	156
Living with spouse	10	57
Living alone	12	9
Living with relatives	9.5	18
Living with assistance	15	3
Total	10	243

The median duration of stay in parent-child coresidence, with spouse as well as for the total sample elderly was 10 years. Further exploration found that for both elderly men and women, the median duration of stay in the current living arrangement was 10 years. The longest i.e. 15 years was reported for those who lived with assistance, followed by 12 years for those who lived alone (see Table 34).

b) Socio-demographic variables and sub-types of parent-child coresidence. Now, within parent-child coresidence among the sample elderly, 4 sub-types such as living with married son, unmarried son, married daughter and unmarried daughter were identified. The association of these sub-types with some of the socio-demographic variables, and the duration of stay in these sub-types was explored and presented in the following pages.

Table 35: Sex-wise distribution of the sample elderly by the sub-types of parent-child coresidence

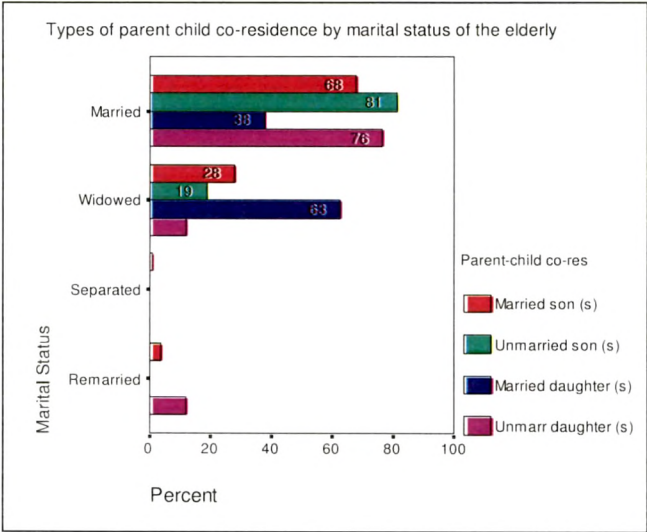
Sub-types of parent-child coresidence	Sex of respondent		Total (n=156)
	Male (n=78)	Female (n=78)	
Married son (s)	59 (75.6)	56 (71.8)	115 (73.7)
Unmarried daughter (s)	10 (12.8)	7 (9)	17 (10.9)
Unmarried son (s)	8 (10.3)	8 (10.3)	16 (10.3)
Married daughter (s)	1 (1.3)	7 (9)	8 (5.1)
Total	100	100	100

As shown in Table 35, of the 156 elderly who stayed in parent-child coresidence, a majority (74 per cent) lived with married son (s) followed by 10 per cent who stayed with unmarried son (s). Also, 13 per cent of elderly men and 9 per cent women reported staying with their unmarried daughter (s). Compared to men (1.3 per cent) more women (9 per cent) reported staying with their married daughter (s).

Table 36: Distribution of the sample elderly by the sub-types of parent-child coresidence and marital status

Sub-types of parent-child coresidence	Marital status of the respondent				Total (n=156)
	Married (n=107)	Widowed (n=42)	Separated (n=1)	Remarried (n=6)	
Married son (s)	78(72.9)	32(76.2)	1(100)	4(66.7)	115(73.7)
Unmarried son (s)	13(12.1)	3(7.1)	-	-	16(10.3)
Married daughter (s)	3(2.8)	5(11.9)	-	-	8(5.1)
Unmarried daughter (s)	13(12.1)	2(4.8)	-	2(33.3)	17(10.9)

Figure 35: Distribution of the sample elderly by the sub-types of parent-child coresidence and marital status



N=243

As can be seen from Table 36 & Figure 35, a majority (74 per cent) of the elderly under all the 4 marital status categories lived with married son(s). Thus, a majority 76 per cent of the elderly who were widowed and 73 per cent who were married stayed with married son (s). Married and widowed elderly were seen staying with married and unmarried daughters as well.

Table 37: Distribution of the sample elderly by the sub-types of parent-child coresidence and medians of age, family income, and duration of stay in the living arrangement

Sub-types of parent-child coresidence	Median		
	Age of the respondent (Yrs)	Family income (p.m.) (Rs.)	Duration of stay (Yrs)
Married son (s) (n=115)	68	20000	11
Unmarried son (s) (n=16)	65	18000	8.5
Married daughter (s) (n=8)	66	4750	10
Unmarried daughter (s) (n=17)	65	18000	8

N=243

The elderly sample respondents who had been staying with married son (s) were much older (68 years), reported a relatively better income p.m. and they also reported longer duration of stay in their current living arrangement (median=11 years). Respondents who live with unmarried son (s) and daughter (s) though for a shorter duration (approximately 8 years), reported slightly lesser median income (Rs 18000) (see Table 37).

c) Reasons given for their stay in the current living arrangement. The elderly respondents were asked to give reasons for their stay in the different types of current living arrangements. The range of answers given by them reflected their perceptions about why they stayed in a particular type of living arrangement.

As can be seen from Table 38, 115 respondents gave multiple reasons for stay with married son (s). Of these, the most frequent reason of the elderly (97 per cent) was that it was a choice made by them or the son (s). Substantial percentage of the elderly gave reasons such as willingness to adjust, to avoid being lonely, emotional attachment with son's family (which are emotional related), due to expectation of care from son based on custom/tradition, belief in the joint family system (which are tradition related). Comparatively, the reasons such as space availability, dependency on son for basic needs, medical care, finances, physical support or the married son (s) financial dependency on the respondent (which are instrumental related) figured less frequently.

Table 38: Distribution of the sample elderly by the reasons for staying with married son(s)

Reasons	%*
Choice made by respondent/son (s)	97.4
Willing to adjust with each other	85.2
Respondent's wish to avoid being lonely	80.9
Care and service are expected of son (s)	77.4
Benefits of living in the Joint family	75.7
Son (s) taking care of parents is the custom	74.8
Emotional attachment with sons' family	71.3
Space is available for accommodation	68.7
Dependent on son (s) for basic needs	54.8
Financial dependency of respondent	53.9
Dependent on son (s) for medical care	45.2
Dependent on son (s) for physical support	23.5
Financial dependency of married son (s)	8.7
Other <sup>a</sup>	22.6

n=115

Note. \* Multiple responses and hence the percentages do not add to 100.

<sup>a</sup> Includes reasons such as death of spouse, have only one son, no circumstances calling for change in existing living arrangement, and life is fun if we live with sons' family.

Table 39: Distribution of the sample elderly by the reasons for staying with unmarried son (s)

Reasons	%*
Son (s) was unmarried	100.0
Son (s) was working in Vadodara	68.8
Choice made by respondent/son (s)	68.8
Financial dependency of respondent	56.3
Financial dependency of son (s)	37.5
Searching for a bride for the son (s)	37.5
Son (s) studying in Vadodara	25.0

n=16

Note. \* Multiple responses and hence the percentages do not add to 100.

All the 16 elderly respondents living with their unmarried son (s) said that they did so because their son (s) was yet to marry. This was considered normal in a nuclear household. The next frequently figured reasons (69 per cent each) were that their unmarried son (s) was working in Vadodara, and that it was a choice made by the respondent or the son. The other reasons that came up were financial dependency of the respondent (56 per cent), the financial dependency of the son (s) etc. Mostly, instrumental related reasons figured for staying with unmarried son(s) (see Table 39).

Table 40: Distribution of the sample elderly by the reasons for staying with married daughter

Reasons	% <sup>*</sup>
Daughter/son-in-law wanted resp./spouse to move in	71.4
Daughter's concern with our needs requiring support	57.1
Emotional attachment with the daughter	14.3
Being a progressive family	14.3
Other <sup>a</sup>	100

n=7

Note. <sup>\*</sup> Multiple responses and hence the percentages do not add to 100.

<sup>a</sup> Includes daughter got separated from husband, respondent /spouse need physical support or medical care, daughter's husband remarried in Dubai.

Only 8 respondents said that they stayed with married daughter, of which seven mentioned reasons. The most frequently mentioned reasons for staying with married daughter were emotional related, as shown in Table 40. Most of the elderly cited that their married daughter /son-in-law wanted the respondent to move in (71 per cent) and due to their daughter's concern with the parents needs requiring support (57 per cent). Emotional attachment with the daughter was another reason mentioned by a few. Though staying with the married daughter is not the custom, a few respondents who did so gave the reason that theirs was a progressive family.

Table 41: Distribution of the sample elderly by the reasons for staying with unmarried daughter (s)

Reasons	%*
Unmarried daughter (s) was expected to stay with parent	94.7
Unmarried daughter (s) need respondents' protection	84.2
Choice by respondent/ daughter (s)	84.2
Daughter (s) was working in Vadodara	78.9
Financial dependency of respondent	57.9
Financial dependency of daughter (s)	36.8
Respondents' other children married and moved out	36.8
Daughter (s) was studying in Vadodara	15.8

n=17

Note. \* Multiple responses and hence the percentages do not add to 100.

The different reasons given by 17 elderly respondents for staying with their unmarried daughter (s) are shown in Table 41. The most frequently figured reasons were (which were emotional related) that the daughter (s) was expected to stay with their parents till she got married, she needs protection, and the choice was made by respondent and/or unmarried daughter (s). Other reasons (that were instrumental related) mentioned by a small percentage of the elderly were that daughter (s) was working in Vadodara, financial dependency of respondent/daughter (s), the other children married and moved out etc.

Fifty seven respondents were staying with their spouse at the time of the study and gave the reasons for doing so (see Table 42). The prominent reasons were: choice made by the couple/child, married daughters moved out and custom forbids staying with married daughter, attachment to place and social networks, have financial independence and autonomy, non-availability of son (s)/ child (ren) , and because they had no other option.

A small percentage of the elderly mentioned not having/considering the option to live with available son (s)/child (ren) due to reasons such as -they don't wish to interfere in child (ren)'s family life, to avoid conflict, to prevent abuse and neglect, need for privacy, unavailability of space etc. Hence, it appears that tradition and instrumental related reasons figured with more weight than the emotional related reasons for staying with spouse only.

Table 42: Distribution of the sample elderly by the reasons for staying with spouse only

Reasons	% <sup>*</sup>
Choice made by respondent/spouse/child	71.9
Daughter (s) got married and moved to in-law's place	68.4
Custom forbids to stay with married daughter (s)	59.6
Attachment to native place/social network	57.9
Respondent/spouse had financial independence	43.9
Respondent/spouse desired to continue an independent lifestyle	38.6
No other option	38.6
Respondent/spouse was active and healthy	35.1
No son (s)	33.3
Child (ren) study/employed abroad	26.3
Child (ren) study/employed outside Vadodara	24.6
Respondent did not wish to interfere with the family life of child (ren)	19.3
Respondent/ spouse/child (ren) needed privacy	17.5
Child (ren)'s family wished to stay separately from respondent	15.8
Space unavailable to accommodate both families	15.8
Conflict with son (s)/daughter (s)-in-law	12.3
Respondent/spouse was neglected	10.5
Respondent/spouse was verbally abused	3.5
No living child (ren)/ childless	3.5
Other <sup>a</sup>	28.1

n=57

Note. <sup>\*</sup> Multiple responses and hence the percentages do not add to 100.

<sup>a</sup> Includes children are too busy or tired when they return from work in abroad, cannot be independent while abroad, siblings passed away, generation gap, unwilling to adjust, can manage on their own.

Nine elderly reported they were living alone and gave reasons for the same presented in Table 43. The most frequent reasons that figured were: death of their spouse, daughter (s) got married and moved to in-law's place, desire to age in place. Need for independence, it was not customary to stay with married daughter (s), prefer privacy, and could not trust were also mentioned. A considerable percentage of respondents mentioned the reason for living alone and with spouse only as the non-availability of kin, and hence they 'did not have any other option'. It might be that those who were living with the spouse may end up living alone after the spouse's death. A few of the respondents stated that their son's who were in Vadodara itself wanted to live separately from them. Abuse, neglect and conflict with children and kin in the past were reported as reasons for living alone now.



Table 43: Distribution of the sample elderly by the reasons for living alone

Reasons	%*
Death of spouse	88.9
Daughter (s) got married and moved out to stay with in-laws	77.8
Desire to age in place	66.7
Need for independence	55.6
Not the custom to live with married daughter (s)	55.6
Preference for privacy	55.6
Separation/desertion by husband	55.6
Unable to trust relatives/ servants	55.6
Child (ren) settled abroad	44.4
Not having any other option	44.4
Neglect and abuse by son/daughter/daughter-in-law or son in-law	33.3
Conflict with children	33.3
Children settled outside Vadodara	22.2
Son's family wanted to live separately	22.2

n=9

Note. \* Multiple responses and hence the percentages do not add to 100.

Table 44: Distribution of the sample elderly by the reasons for staying with relatives

Reasons	%*
Respondent/spouse dependent on relative (s)	66.7
Family members moved out or died	61.1
Continued to stay in paternal home with unmarried sibling (s)	61.1
Respondent /relative (s) took in the other	38.9
Respondent was unmarried/widowed/ separated	33.3
Relative (s) was dependent on respondent	27.8

n=18

Note. \* Multiple responses and hence the percentages do not add to 100.

Among the reasons cited by 18 respondents who lived with relatives (see Table 44), a majority (67 per cent) mentioned that respondent/spouse was dependent on the relative. Other reasons cited were that the respondents' family members moved out or died, and respondent continued to stay in paternal home with unmarried sibling (s). Some mentioned reasons such as respondent or the relative took in the other to avail support, respondent was unmarried/widowed/separated so she/he chose to live with the relative, and the relative was dependent on the respondent.

The elderly who lived with assistance (n=3), did so mainly because they could afford the full-time help. The top reasons cited by them to be in this living arrangement were: they did not have family support, did not wish to burden their married child (ren), and their immobility made full-time help a requirement. They had also mentioned reasons such as lack of willingness to stay with relatives and problems in adjustment with children, child (ren) moving out, and child (ren) themselves had arranged for assistance. Most of these reasons were also related to their reaching an advanced age. They further expressed that living with assistance worked out fine as it ensured some kind of human presence. With regard to the kind of help hired, 2 elderly who lived with assistance had a full-time help, a maid, driver and a gardener. The third had a full-time help who did chores and also cooked. The payments for the hired help ranged between Rs 3000 to Rs 8700 per month.

### 3. Aspects in the context of the current living arrangements related to quality of life and the related variables

a) Ownership of the dwelling. Out of the 243 elderly, only 19 lived in rented dwellings. The remaining though not living in rented dwellings, the nature of ownership differed. As can be seen in Table 45, of the nearly 34 per cent of the sample who reported staying in their own house, only 17 per cent were women as against 50 per cent men. Of the nearly 22 and 8 per cent of the elderly who lived in a house owned by spouse and their child (ren) respectively, there were more women than men. Relatives as owners of the dwelling, and respondents in joint ownership with spouse or relative (s) were reported by a few elderly.

Table 45: Sex-wise distribution of the sample elderly by the type of ownership of dwelling

Type of ownership	Sex of respondent		Total (n=224)
	Male (n=113)	Female (n=111)	
Owned by respondent	57 (50.4)	19 (17.1)	76 (33.9)
Owned by spouse	10 (8.8)	39 (35.2)	49 (21.9)
Jointly owned by respondent & spouse	9 (8.0)	9 (8.1)	18 (8)
Owned by child	6 (5.3)	12 (10.8)	18 (8)
Owned by relative (s)	6 (5.3)	2 (1.8)	8 (3.6)
Jointly owned by respondent & relative (s)	3 (2.7)	3 (2.7)	6 (2.7)
Own house built on encroached land	22 (19.5)	27 (24.3)	49 (21.9)

With regard to the sample respondents who reported as living in rented accommodation (n=19), more than half (63 per cent) lived in dwellings rented by the child. About 21 per cent of the elderly said that they lived in houses rented by them.

**b) Living environment.** During the later years the living environment i.e. living space for the older person in the house, and how the house was kept —made a lot of difference to their quality of life. Moreover, the kind of space they have in the house may be linked to their current living arrangements, marital status and so on. From this point of view, data regarding the living environment of the sample elderly in their current living arrangement in terms of number of rooms in the house, facilities available, the condition of their home premises and the spaces available to spend time during the day and sleep at night is presented below.

Table 46: Distribution of the sample elderly by the number of rooms in the house

Number of rooms	Sex of respondent		Total N=243
	Male (n=120)	Female (n=123)	
One room	12 (10)	19 (15.4)	31 (12.8)
Two rooms	17 (14.2)	18 (14.6)	35 (14.4)
1BHK (3 rooms)	20 (16.7)	20 (16.3)	40 (16.5)
2BHK (4 rooms)	37 (30.8)	38 (30.9)	75 (30.9)
3BHK (5 rooms)	18 (15)	12 (9.8)	30 (12.3)
More than 5 rooms	16 (13.3)	16 (13)	32 (13.1)

Note. BHK- bedroom, hall and kitchen

Majority of the sample (31 per cent) lived in a two bed rooms, living hall and kitchen type of house followed by 16 per cent in 1BHK houses (see Table 46). Around 13 per cent each of the elderly lived in houses with five and more than 5 rooms. Among the elderly living in one roomed houses there were more elderly women (15 per cent) than men (10 per cent). Around 63 per cent of the elderly in the sample reported that they have a separate room in the house ensuring privacy.

In terms of the available facilities and the conditions in the house, close to 71 per cent of the sample elderly reported having a bath and toilet facility in the house, to which they had access. In the case of around 73 per cent of the respondents, the houses they lived in were well-ventilated and were kept clean.

Next, the respondents were asked about the space/area where they generally spent their time in the house during the day, and slept during the night. Tables 47 & 48 provide details about this.

Table 47: Sex-wise distribution of the sample elderly by the area in the house where they spent time during the day

Area where time was spent during the day	Sex of respondent		Total N=243
	Male (n= 120)	Female (n=123)	
Own room	12(10.0)	9(7.3)	21(8.7)
Living room	76(63.3)	79(64.2)	155(63.8)
Verandah	26(21.7)	29(23.6)	55(22.6)
Balcony	-	1(.8)	1(.4)
Other <sup>a</sup>	6(5)	5(4.1)	11(4.5)
Total	(100)	(100)	(100)

Note. <sup>a</sup> Include office room at home, study room, cot under a tree, outside the house, across the home on the pavement.

Evidently, most of the elderly (64 per cent) spent their time in the living room during day time, though some reported sitting on the verandah. Very few reported (9 per cent) spending the day confined to their own room.

Table 48: Sex-wise distribution of the sample elderly by the area in the house where respondent slept in the night

Area where they slept in the night	Sex of respondent		Total
	Male	Female	
Own room	77 (64.2)	68 (55.3)	145 (59.7)
Living room	37 (30.8)	45 (36.6)	82 (33.7)
Verandah	2 (1.7)	5 (4.1)	7 (2.9)
Outside the home	1 (0.8)	1 (0.8)	2 (0.8)
Other <sup>a</sup>	3 (2.5)	4 (3.3)	7 (2.9)
Total	120	123	243

Note. <sup>a</sup> Includes the pavement, and the kitchen.

Coming to the space they slept in during the night (see Table 48), more than half of the respondents (60 per cent) reported sleeping in their own room. Here, differences between men and women could be seen. Less number of women mentioned sleeping in a room of their own and more women slept in their living room, compared to men. Sleeping in the verandah, which is a space outside the house, was also reported by more women as compared to men.

c) Characteristics of the respondent's children. It would be interesting to explore the relationship between the characteristics of the respondents' child (ren), living arrangements and the quality of life. To assess this more specifically, the number, sex of the children, their place of stay, whether the children visit or keep in touch with the elderly, frequency of such visits & the modes of communication were studied.

*Number and sex of the respondent's children:* Out of the total sample, 233 elderly reported having children. The rest of them had no child (ren) either because they were unmarried or had married but did not have children or had no living child (ren) at the time of the study. In terms of total number of children, 37 per cent and 24 per cent of the sample respondents had two and three children respectively, followed by 12 per cent who reported having one child. The median number of children for the sample (n=233) came to be 2. About 191 (82 per cent) and 170 (73 per cent) of the respondents reported that they had living son (s) and daughter (s) respectively. The maximum number of living sons and daughters reported by the sample were 4 and 7, respectively.

Table 49: Distribution of the sample elderly by number of living son (s) reported by them

Number of living son(s)	%*
One	84 (44.0)
Two	83 (43.5)
Three	18 (9.4)
Four	6 (3.1)

n=191

Note. \* Multiple responses and hence percentages do not add to 100.

Out of the 191 respondents who reported having sons, almost an equal percentage i.e. 44 per cent and 43.5 per cent of them had one and two sons respectively (see Table 49).

**Table 50: Distribution of the sample elderly by number of living daughter (s) reported by them**

Number of living daughter(s)	%*
One	79 (46.5)
Two	44 (25.9)
Three	29 (17.1)
Four	12 (7.1)
Five	2 (1.2)
Six	3 (1.8)
Seven	1 (0.6)

n=170

Note. \* Multiple responses and hence percentages do not add to 100.

Similarly, of the 170 respondents who reported having daughters, 47 per cent and 26 per cent reported having one and two daughters respectively (see Table 50).

An attempt was made to see the mean and median number of children of the sample by certain relevant variables (see Table 51). According to the data in the table, elderly who were much older had more children. Elderly who were Christians, followed by Muslims had higher number of children. Similarly, elderly who belonged to the Scheduled Castes followed by Other Backward Castes reported more number of children compared to the remaining 2 caste categories.

With regard to the education levels of the elderly, higher the education, lower were the mean and median number of children reported. The two categories of respondents i.e. those who lived with assistance and those in parent-child coresidence had more children (mean and median were 3) while, elderly living with relatives reported a fewer children (mean and median were 2).

**Table 51: Distribution of the respondents by mean and median number of adult children and certain related variables**

Characteristic	N	Mean	(SD)	Median
<u>Age</u>				
60-64 years	61	2.72	1.53	2.0
65-74 years	122	2.75	1.47	2.0
75-84 years	41	3.07	1.67	3.0
85 years +	9	4.11	2.31	4.0
<u>Religion</u>				
Hindu	186	2.71	1.43	2.0
Christian	2	4.50	3.53	5.0
Muslim	29	3.86	2.11	3.0
Jain	12	2.58	1.31	2.0
Others (Parsee & Sikhs)	4	2.00	0.00	2.0
<u>Caste</u>				
Other Castes <sup>a</sup>	160	2.72	1.33	2.0
Other Backward Castes	50	3.18	1.71	3.0
Scheduled Castes	16	3.62	2.87	3.0
Scheduled Tribes	7	1.71	0.95	1.0
<u>Educational level</u>				
Illiterate	45	3.48	2.26	3.0
Primary	54	3.16	1.70	3.0
High School	31	2.74	1.31	3.0
College	59	2.49	1.07	2.0
Technical	19	2.47	0.96	2.0
Professional	25	2.32	1.02	2.0
<u>Living arrangement</u>				
Parent-child coresidence	156	3.07	1.76	3.0
Living with spouse	55	2.45	0.99	3.0
Living alone	9	2.55	0.88	2.0
Living with relatives	10	1.80	0.91	2.0
Living with assistance	3	3.33	1.52	3.0
Total	243	3	100	2

n=233

Note. <sup>a</sup> Includes all castes that do not fall in the other 3 categories.

*Place of stay of adult child (ren) who did not coreside with the elderly:* The adult children of most of the sample elderly were seen to be in various developmental stages of their lives such as completing their studies, getting into a job or moving out because of marriage or to settle in career. Due to these reasons, it might not be possible for all the children of a respondent to continue to coreside with him/her. Hence, the place of stay of the son (s) and daughter (s) of the sample elderly were examined. The next question asked to the respondents was about the reasons why their children moved out and stayed away from them outside the city/state or outside the country or in Vadodara itself. The reasons were that either the children settled outside or moved out for business, further studies and because of marriage in the case of daughter (s).

Table 52: Distribution of the sample elderly by the place of stay of their son (s) not staying with them

Place of stay	n	%*
Staying in Vadodara	68	62.4
Outside the country	55	50.4
Outside Vadodara/state	42	38.5

n=109

Note. \* Multiple responses and hence the percentages do not add to 100.

Of the 191 sample elderly who had son (s), 109 elderly (57 per cent) reported that their son (s) was not staying with them at the time of the study. Of the 109 elderly, 62 per cent mentioned that the son's family stayed separately from the respondent in Vadodara itself. Similarly, around half of them said that their son was abroad. In 38 per cent of the cases, son was staying outside Vadodara/Gujarat (see Table 52).



Table 53: Distribution of the sample elderly by the reasons mentioned by them for their son(s) not staying with them

Reasons	n	%
<u>In Vadodara (n=68)</u>		
Son (s) wanted to move out with his family	39	57.4
No space for accommodation	14	20.6
Conflict with son (s)/daughter in law	10	14.7
Son (s) family needed privacy	3	4.4
Son (s) did not prefer joint family	2	2.9
<u>Outside the country (n=55)</u>		
Settled abroad	31	56.3
Shifted for job/work	16	29.1
Moved out for further studies	5	9.1
Started business abroad	3	5.5
<u>Outside Vadodara/state (n=42)</u>		
Settled outside Vadodara/Gujarat	22	52.4
Shifted for job/work	17	40.5
Started business outside Vadodara/Gujarat	2	4.8
Moved out for further studies	1	2.4

n=109

Of the 68 elderly whose son (s) were reported as staying in Vadodara but not with them, a majority (57 per cent) said that their married son (s) wanted to move out with his family. Another 21 per cent mentioned space constraints, while conflict with son (s)/ daughter-in-law was the reason mentioned by 15 per cent elderly, as the reason for their son (s) not staying with them. Of the 55 elderly who gave the response that their son (s) were staying outside the country, the most frequent reason (56 per cent) stated was that their son (s) settled abroad followed by the reason that the son (s) shifted abroad for job/work (29 per cent). Of the 42 elderly who said that their son (s) were staying outside Vadodara/Gujarat, a little above half (52 per cent) said that the son (s) settled outside Vadodara/Gujarat or shifted for job/work (40 per cent). Son (s) studying or having a business outside Vadodara/state were other reasons (see Table 53).

Table 54: Distribution of the sample elderly by the place of stay of their daughter (s) not staying with them

Place of stay	N	%*
Staying in Vadodara	150	94.9
Outside Vadodara/state	88	55.7
Outside the country	43	27.2

n=158

Note. \* Multiple responses and hence the percentages do not add to 100.

Of the 170 elderly who had daughter (s), 158 of them stated that their daughter (s) did not stay with them. Of these, about 95 per cent cited that their daughter (s) stayed with her husband/in-laws family in Vadodara and more than half of them (56 per cent) said their daughter (s) stayed outside Vadodara/Gujarat. Quite a few (27 per cent) stated that their daughter (s) stayed outside the country (see Table 54).

Table 55: Distribution of the sample elderly respondents by the reasons mentioned by them for their daughters(s) not staying with them

Reasons	n	%
<u>In Vadodara (n=150)</u>		
Shifted to husbands'/in-laws place in Vadodara	143	95.3
Living in proximity to respondent	4	2.7
Parents and married daughter (s) living together was not the custom	3	2.0
<u>Outside Vadodara/state (n=88)</u>		
Shifted to husbands'/in-laws' place outside Vadodara	85	96.6
Shifted for job/work	2	2.3
Moved out for further studies	1	1.1
<u>Outside the country (n=43)</u>		
Married to NRI and moved abroad	22	51.2
Settled abroad	17	39.5
Started business abroad	4	9.3

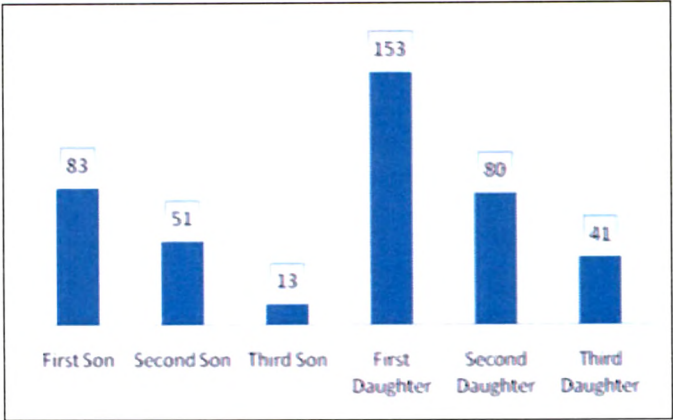
n=158

Coming to the reasons given by the 150 elderly who reported that their daughter (s) stayed separately though they were in Vadodara itself, the most frequent reason was (95 per cent) her shifting to husband's / in-law's house after marriage. A small percentage of the elderly stated the reasons that the prevailing customs forbid married daughter (s) and their parents living together, and the daughter (s) lived in proximity. Of those 88 elderly who said that their daughter (s) stayed outside Vadodara/State, the frequent reason (97 per cent) stated was that their daughter (s) got married and shifted to in-law's/ husband's place located outside Vadodara/ State. Of the 43 elderly who told that their daughter (s) were away abroad, the frequent reason was that either their daughter (s) had married a NRI and moved abroad (51 per cent) or they settled abroad (39 per cent) (see Table 55).

*Children visiting or keeping in touch with the elderly:* An attempt was made here to examine how often the adult children (ren) visited the elderly parents, and the modes used to keep in touch with them.

As indicated earlier, of the 243 sample elderly, 233 reported having living child (ren). Of them 191 (82 per cent) and 170 (73 per cent) of the elderly reported having son (s) and daughter (s) respectively. Of the 233 elderly, about 156 reported they coreside with at least one child and, the remaining 77 elderly though having child (ren), were not residing with them. Also, 130 out of the 156 elderly did not coreside with their other child (ren). Thus, these elderly (n=207) who did not coreside with any of the children (n=77) or with their other children (n=130) were asked if their adult child (ren) visited/ kept in touch with them. Of the 207 elderly, 192 (i.e. 93 per cent) responded that their adult child (ren) visited/kept in touch with them. The remaining 7 per cent of elderly respondents said that their child (ren) did not visit/keep in touch with them for reasons such as the child had disagreement/conflict (53 per cent), was not keen to visit (20 per cent), was unable to visit due to visa problem (20 per cent), and due to the indifference or disengagement developed due to child's long stay abroad with no visits in between (7 per cent).

Figure 36: Distribution of the sample elderly who reported adult child (ren) visited them by sex and birth order of the child



As can be seen from Figure 36, the first born daughter (s) visited most frequently followed by first born son (s), then the second born daughter (s) followed by the second born son (s). The younger child (ren) visited least frequently.

How frequently did the children visit them? From the responses of the sample elderly (n=97) about the frequency of visits by their sons (s) who did not coreside with them, it was seen that about 38 per cent and 37 per cent reported less than once in a year and once a year visits respectively. A considerable number, i.e. 30 per cent and 28 per cent reported daily and weekly visits respectively by their son (s) (see Table 56). The data indicated that 47 per cent of the daughter (s) visited their parent (s) yearly, and 43 per cent and 37 per cent visited monthly and weekly, respectively (see Table 57).

Table 56: Frequency of visits by the son(s) reported by the sample elderly

Frequency of visits by son(s)	n	%*
Daily	29	29.9
Weekly	27	27.8
Monthly	18	18.6
Yearly	36	37
Less than once in a year	37	38

n=97

Note. Out of the 109 respondents who reported that they did not coreside with son (s), 97 of them gave multiple responses about the frequency of visits by their son (s).

\* Multiple responses and hence the percentages do not add to 100.

Table 57: Frequency of visits by daughter (s) reported by the sample elderly

Frequency of visits by daughter (s)	N	%*
Daily	31	20.0
Weekly	57	36.8
Monthly	66	42.6
Yearly	73	47.1
Less than once in a year	47	30.3

n=155

Note. Out of the 158 respondents who reported that they did not coreside with their daughter (s), 155 of them gave multiple responses about the frequency of visits by their daughter (s).

\*Multiple responses and hence the percentages do not add to 100.

Of the 207 elderly who reported that their children did not coreside with them, 187 elderly indicated about the different modes used for keeping in touch with the child (ren) during the previous year. A majority (93 per cent) used telephone/mobile, and the remaining 7 per cent used telephone/mobile and email/chat.

d) Relations with family members. The hardest and easiest persons to get along with for the respondents' could be associated with their age and current living arrangements, and the respondents' perception about the level of interest shown by the family members about their well-being may vary with the living arrangements. Further, these aspects might influence the quality of life and the related variables of the elderly. The findings of such an exploration are presented in the following pages.

*The person hardest to get along with for the elderly:* Of the 243 sample elderly, about half of them (comprising 58 men and 63 women) reported a family member as the hardest person to get along with in their life, who might or might not be living with them at the time of the study. Of the 121 elderly who reported a hardest person, about 55 per cent (n=66) said they were actually staying with that person. Of these, 80 per cent reported that person as their primary care giver. Now, who figured as the hardest persons for the elderly?

Table 58: Sex-wise distribution of the sample elderly by the relationship to the hardest person to get along with as reported by them

Relation with the hardest person	Sex of respondent		Total (n=121)
	Male (n=58)	Female (n=63)	
Son	24 (41.4)	20 (31.8)	44 (36.4)
Daughter-in-law	8 (13.8)	16 (25.4)	24 (19.7)
Spouse	12 (20.7)	7 (11.1)	19 (15.7)
Sister-in-law	1 (1.72)	6 (9.5)	7 (5.8)
Daughter	-	2 (3.2)	2 (1.7)
Son-in-law	-	2 (3.2)	2 (1.7)
Other <sup>a</sup>	13 (22.4)	10 (15.8)	23 (19)

Note. <sup>a</sup> Includes siblings, grandchild, nephew, niece, spouse's relatives, and child (ren)'s in-laws.

Son emerged as the hardest person in the case of both men (41 per cent) and women (32 per cent). Daughter-in-law (20 per cent) was the person hardest to live with for women (25 per cent) than men (14 per cent). The next hardest person reported was the spouse, mostly by the elderly men (21 per cent). While in the case of elderly men, the daughter or son-in-law did not emerge as the hardest persons to live with, in the case of a few elderly women they were reported as such. The other persons identified as hardest to live with were sister-in-law, siblings, grandchildren, nephew, niece, spouse's relatives and children's in-laws (see Table 58).

It was further explored in Table 59 whether the age of the elderly was associated with who was the hardest person being reported. If we consider the median age of the elderly respondents, much older elderly (70 years) reported son and daughter-in-law as the hardest persons to live with. The respondents who mentioned spouse and daughter as hardest persons were relatively younger with their median ages being 68 and 66 years respectively.

Table 59: Distribution of the sample elderly by their mean and median ages, and the hardest person to get along with

Relation with hardest person	n	Age of respondent		
		Median	Mean	S.D
Spouse	19	68	68.63	7.40
Son	44	70	70.86	6.88
Daughter	2	66.5	66.5	9.19
Son-in-law	2	68.5	68.5	4.95
Daughter-in-law	24	70	70.63	8.66
Sister-in-law	7	66	65.86	2.34
Other <sup>a</sup>	23	63	66.83	7

n=121

Note. <sup>a</sup> Include siblings, grandchild, nephew, niece, spouse's relatives, and child (ren)'s in-laws.

In the case of elderly who reported 'others', their median age was much lower (63 years) though the mean age was higher (66.8 years) indicating lot of differences in the ages of the elderly figuring in this group. On the whole, the relationship between age and the hardest person indicated the lifecycle stage of the respondents.

Next, it was explored whether the relation named as the hardest person was associated with the living arrangements of the sample elderly.

Table 60: Distribution of the sample elderly by the relation with hardest person and living arrangements

Relation with hardest person	Living arrangement					Total (n=121)
	Parent-child coresidence (n=77)	Living with spouse (n=26)	Living alone (n=4)	Living with relatives (n=11)	Living with assistance (n=3)	
Son	33 (42.8)	5 (19.2)	2 (50)	3 (27.2)	1 (33.3)	44 (36.3)
Daughter-in-law	19 (24.6)	3 (11.5)	-	-	2 (66.7)	24 (19.8)
Spouse	10 (12.9)	7 (26.9)	-	2 (18.1)	-	19 (15.7)
Sister-in-law	1 (1.2)	4 (15.3)	-	2 (18.1)	-	7 (5.7)
Daughter	2 (2.5)	-	-	-	-	2 (1.6)
Son-in-law	-	-	1 (25)	1 (9)	-	2 (1.6)
Others <sup>a</sup>	12 (15.5)	7 (26.9)	1 (25)	3 (27.2)	-	23 (19)

Note. <sup>a</sup> Include siblings, grandchild, nephew, niece, spouse's relatives and child (ren)'s in-laws.

Of the elderly who lived in parent-child coresidence, a majority (43 per cent) reported son, followed by daughter-in-law (25 per cent) as hardest persons to live with. Further, in the case of those who lived with spouse, 27 per cent reported spouse as the hardest person to get along with. Thus, it appeared that parent-child coresidence, and living with spouse were the most frequent sites of conflict for the elderly (see Table 60).

Table 61: Distribution of the sample elderly by the medians and means of their duration of stay with the hardest person

Relation with hardest person	n	Duration of stay		
		Median	Mean	S. D
Spouse	18	41.5	44.89	10.5
Son	22	35	33.5	12.41
Daughter	2	30	30	28.28
Son-in-law	1	2	2	-
Daughter in law	15	15	17	8.23
Sister-in-law	2	29.5	29.5	10.6
Other <sup>a</sup>	6	16	22	19.92
Total	66	33	31.11	16.09

Note. <sup>a</sup> Include siblings, grandchild, nephew, niece, spouse's relatives and child (ren)'s in-laws.

As indicated earlier, of the 121 elderly respondents who reported having a hardest person to get along with, more than 50 per cent (n=66) actually stayed with those persons and the duration of the stay is shown in Table 61. Though the overall duration of stay came to be 33 years, it varied greatly with reference to the relationship of the hardest person with the elderly. Thus, duration of stay of the respondent with the hardest persons- spouse, son, daughter and sister-in-law figured in that order. Though daughter-in-law figured among the hardest persons, the median duration of stay with her was short (15 years).



Out of the 121 elderly who mentioned having a person hardest to get along with in their life, 86 reported that the hardest person caused arguments and tensions.

Table 62: Sex-wise distribution of the sample elderly by the frequency of arguments and tensions caused by the hardest person during the preceding year

How often in an year	Sex of respondent		Total (n=86)
	Male (n=41)	Female (n=45)	
10 times	30 (73.2)	30 (66.7)	60 (69.8)
20 times	2 (4.9)	1 (2.2)	3 (3.5)
More than 20 times	3 (7.3)	-	3 (3.5)
Almost daily	6 (14.6)	14 (31.1)	20 (23.3)

According to the data, a majority (n=60) comprising of 73 per cent men and 67 per cent women reported that arguments & tensions with the hardest person occurred as frequently as about 10 times in a year. In the case of 23 per cent of the elderly (mostly women) such situations had occurred almost daily (see Table 62). Out of the total sample elderly, about 6.5 per cent (12 women and 4 men) reported abuse and neglect by family members in their current living arrangement.

*Not having a hardest person to get along with:* Out of the total sample, 122 elderly (52 per cent men and 49 per cent women) reported they did not have a hardest person to get along with in their life. Interestingly, they consisted of a majority of the elderly who belonged to the age range of 75-84 years (52 per cent), and more than half of the elderly who lived alone (56 per cent).

*Easiest person to get along with:* Next, the respondents were asked to mention the easiest person to get along with in their family. Out of the total sample, 239 elderly (50 per cent each of men and women) reported such a person in their life, who might or might not be staying with the respondent at the time of the interview. The persons reported as easy to get along with varied with the type of living arrangements of the elderly. The details are as follows.

Table 63: Sex-wise distribution of the sample elderly by the relationship to the person reported by them as easiest to get along with

Relation with easiest person	Sex of respondent		Total (n=239)
	Male (n=119)	Female (n=120)	
Spouse	43 (36.1)	29 (24.1)	72 (30.1)
Daughter	26 (21.8)	31 (25.8)	57 (23.8)
Son	23 (19.3)	29 (24.1)	52 (21.7)
Grandson	8 (6.7)	11 (9.16)	19 (7.9)
Daughter-in-law	8 (6.7)	5 (4.1)	13 (5.4)
Granddaughter	2 (1.6)	4 (3.3)	6 (2.5)
Cannot specify one	4 (3.3)	2 (1.6)	6 (2.5)
Son-in-law	1 (0.8)	1 (0.8)	2 (0.8)
Others <sup>a</sup>	4 (3.3)	8 (6.6)	12 (5)

Note. <sup>a</sup> Include siblings, nephew, niece, in-laws of children and spouse's relatives.

Spouse (30 per cent), daughter (24 per cent) and son (22 per cent) figured in that order as the easiest persons to get along with. However, more men stated their spouse, and most women stated their daughter and son as the persons easiest to get along with. Slightly more men (7 per cent) as compared to women (4 per cent) mentioned that it was easy to get along with daughter-in-law (see Table 63).

Table 64: Distribution of the sample elderly by relation to the easiest person and the living arrangements

Relation with easiest person	Living arrangement					Total (n=239)
	Parent-child coresidence (n=152)	Living with spouse (n=57)	Living alone (n=9)	Living with relatives (n=18)	Living with assistance (n=3)	
Spouse	45 (29.6)	25 (43.8)	-	2 (11.1)	-	72 (30.1)
Daughter	33 (21.7)	19 (33.3)	2 (22.2)	1 (5.5)	2 (66.7)	57 (23.8)
Son	44 (28.9)	5 (8.7)	2 (22.2)	-	1 (33.3)	52 (21.7)
Grandson	7 (4.6)	6 (10.5)	1 (11.1)	5 (27.7)	-	19 (7.9)
Daughter-in-law	10 (6.5)	1 (1.7)	-	2 (11.1)	-	13 (5.4)
Son-in-law	1 (0.6)	-	1 (11.1)	-	-	2 (0.8)
Granddaughter	4 (2.6)	-	-	2 (11.1)	-	6 (2.5)
Cannot specify	5 (3.2)	1 (1.7)	-	-	-	6 (2.5)
Others <sup>a</sup>	3 (1.9)	-	3 (33.4)	6 (33.3)	-	12 (5)

Note. <sup>a</sup> Includes siblings, nephew, niece, in-laws of children and spouse's relatives.

An attempt was made in Table 64 to see whether the relationship to the person mentioned as the easiest to get along was associated with living arrangements of the elderly. In case of the elderly who lived with the spouse, a majority 44 per cent followed by 33 per cent named the spouse and daughter respectively as the easiest person. Among the elderly living in parent-child coresidence, approximately equal percentage (30 per cent) of them reported spouse and son as the easiest to live with.

*Interest of family members towards the elderly and their well-being:* For the well-being of the elderly it is not only important that family members show interest in the elderly, but this has to be perceived as such by the elderly. To look into this aspect, the elderly were asked to rate their perception regarding the level of interest of the family members about their well-being and the results are shown in Table 65.

Table 65: Sex-wise distribution of the sample elderly by their perception of the level of interest shown by family members about their well-being

Level of interest perceived	Sex of respondent		Total (n=243)
	Male (n=120)	Female (n=123)	
Interested	93 (77.5)	92 (74.8)	185 (76.1)
Somewhat interested	17 (14.2)	14 (11.4)	31 (12.8)
Not interested	7 (5.8)	10 (8.1)	17 (7)
Indifferent	3 (2.5)	7 (5.7)	10 (4.1)

A majority (76 per cent) of the sample perceived that their family was interested in their well-being while around 13 per cent felt that they were somewhat interested in their well-being. A slightly more per cent of women compared to men felt that their family was not interested or indifferent toward them.

Data were analyzed to see the relationship between the type of living arrangement and the perception of the elderly sample about the level of interest shown by family members about their well-being. The results were shown in Table 66.

Table 66: Distribution of the sample elderly by their perception of the level of interest shown by the family members about their well-being and type of living arrangements

Level of interest perceived	Living arrangement					Total N=243
	Parent-child coresidence (n=156)	Living with spouse (n=57)	Living alone (n=9)	Living with relatives (n=18)	Living with assistance (n=3)	
Interested	113 (72.4)	50 (87.7)	5 (55.6)	14 (77.8)	3 (100)	185 (76.1)
Somewhat interested	23 (14.7)	3 (5.3)	2 (22.2)	3 (16.7)	-	31 (12.8)
Not interested	11 (7.1)	3 (5.3)	2 (22.2)	1 (5.6)	-	17 (7)
Indifferent	9 (5.8)	1 (1.8)	-	-	-	10 (4.1)

It seems that a majority of the elderly across the five living arrangements felt their family was interested about their well-being. However, around half of the elderly who were living alone reported that their family members were somewhat or not interested about their well-being. Similarly 16.7 per cent and 5.5 per cent elderly living with relatives respectively felt that their families were somewhat interested and not interested.

Table 67: Distribution of the sample elderly by their perception of level of interest shown by the family about their well-being and the means and SDs of scores on the three measures used

Level of interest Perceived		Quality of life				Loneliness	Adaptation to old age
		Physical health	Psychological well being	Social relationships	Environment		
Interested (n=185)	Mean	14.74	16.14	14.3	16.93	43.19	63.74
	SD	2.857	2.23	3	2.17	8.7	8.94
Somewhat interested (n=31)	Mean	13.64	14.68	11.48	14.33	49.12	55.58
	SD	3.31	2.52	2.89	2.27	7.18	10.58
Not interested (n=17)	Mean	12.1	12.98	9.96	13.2	53.05	54.41
	SD	2.77	2.65	2.98	2.94	7.51	10.3
Indifferent (n=10)	Mean	10.62	11.93	9.73	12.3	58.1	49
	SD	3.09	4.48	2.81	3.8	10.81	8.13
Total N=243	Mean	14.24	15.56	13.45	16.15	45.25	61.44
	SD	3.08	2.68	3.35	2.73	9.39	10.12

An attempt was made to examine the relationship between the different levels of interest shown by the family members about their well-being as perceived and reported by the elderly, and QoL domains, loneliness and adaptation to old age of the sample elderly, as shown in Table 67.

It could be seen that elderly who perceived the family as interested in their well-being reported better on the 4 quality of life domains- physical health (14.74;  $SD=2.85$ ); psychological well-being (16.14;  $SD=2.23$ ); social relationships (14.30;  $SD=3.00$ ); and, environment (16.93;  $SD=2.17$ ). And they also experienced lower degree of loneliness (mean=43.19;  $SD=8.70$ ) and have a better adaptation to old age (mean=63.74;  $SD=8.94$ ). Interestingly, the elderly who perceived their family as indifferent to their well-being reported poorly on the 4 domains of quality of life, experienced a higher degree of loneliness and had a poor adaptation to old age.

This shows that there might exist a close association between the elderly persons' perception of interest of the family about their well-being and their quality of life and related variables. The perceived indifference about their well-being by the family members was found to be more damaging for them.

e) Intake and the access to food. Usually, as people age, their diet needs change and either the elderly or their family members have to make changes accordingly. Various details pertaining to the intake and access to food by the elderly were explored vis-a-vis the current living arrangements.

*Preference in the nature of diet:* While about 70 per cent of sample preferred a vegetarian diet (74 per cent women and 67 per cent men), the remaining 30 per cent of them (32 per cent men and 26 per cent women) preferred a non-vegetarian diet. When asked about their level of appetite, a majority (44 per cent) of the sample elderly reported a very good appetite, followed by a considerable number (39 per cent) reporting a good appetite. Only a few (17 per cent) reported lack of appetite. More women (47 per cent) reported a very good appetite and a lack of appetite (18 per cent), while more men (43 per cent) reported a good appetite.

Table 68: Distribution of the sample elderly by their level of appetite and type of living arrangements

Level of appetite	Type of living arrangement					Total N=243
	Parent-child Coresidence (n=156)	Living Alone (n=9)	Living with Spouse (n=57)	Living with Relative (n=18)	Living with Assistance (n=3)	
Very good	59 (37.8)	4 (44.4)	20 (35.1)	10 (55.6)	2 (66.7)	95 (39.1)
Good	69 (44.2)	5 (55.6)	29 (50.9)	4 (22.2)	1 (33.3)	108 (44.4)
Lack appetite	28 (17.9)	-	8 (14)	4 (22.2)	-	40 (16.5)

That the level of appetite reported by the elderly varied with the type of living arrangement is shown in Table 68. While a majority of the elderly who lived in almost all living arrangements reported a very good and a good appetite, some of the elderly living in parent-child coresidence, with spouse, and with relatives reported lack of appetite.

*Number of meals taken in a day:* A majority (68 per cent) of the sample reported having 3 meals a day. Some of the elderly (22 per cent) reported that they took two meals a day. Only a few elderly women (5 per cent) reported that they took one meal a day (see Table 69).

Table 69: Sex- wise distribution of the sample elderly by the number of meals taken in a day

No. of meals in a day	Sex of respondent		Total (N=243)
	Male (n=120)	Female (n=123)	
One meal	-	6 (4.9)	6 (2.5)
Two meals	26 (21.7)	28 (22.8)	54 (22.2)
3 meals	82 (68.3)	84 (68.3)	166 (68.3)
4 meals	12 (10)	5 (4.1)	17 (7)

*Elderly who skipped meals in a day and reasons given for the same:* While the data in the Table 69 was indicative of a routine pattern of food intake in a majority of the sample, in response to the question regarding skipping of meals in a day, 59 per cent of the sample elderly (n=143) comprising 71 per cent women and 47 per cent men answered in the affirmative. Interestingly, about 41 per cent of the sample comprising of more men (53 per cent) than women (29 per cent) said that they did not skip any meals in a day.

Table 70: Sex-wise distribution of sample elderly who skipped meals by type of living arrangements

Living arrangement	Sex of respondent		Total (n=143)
	Male (n=56)	Female (n=87)	
Parent-child coresidence	39 (50.0)	55 (70.5)	94 (60.3)
Living with spouse	14 (45.2)	18 (69.2)	32 (56.1)
Living alone	1 (33.3)	3 (50.0)	4 (44.4)
Living with relatives	1 (16.7)	10 (83.3)	11 (61.1)
Living with assistance	1 (50.0)	1 (100.0)	2 (66.7)
N=243			

A further analysis of the 143 elderly who reported skipping meals in a day showed that in all types of living arrangements a higher per cent of women compared to men skipped meals in a day (see Table 70). A considerable percentage of the elderly women who lived with relatives and in parent-child coresidence reported that they skipped meals in a day.

The reasons for skipping meals in a day by sex of the respondents were explored in the Table 71. Of those who reported (n=143) skipping meals in a day, more than half (57 per cent) of the elderly cited *Upavas* (fasting) for religious purpose as the reason. Around 23 per cent of the elderly stated health consciousness as the reason. A smaller percentage of the elderly gave the reasons such as not having the practice of eating breakfast, cannot afford, and none at home to prepare food. As can be seen from data, throughout the reasons given, women were slightly more in number compared to men.

Table 71: Sex-wise distribution of the sample elderly by reasons given for skipping meals in a day

Reasons	Sex of respondent		Total (n=143)
	Male (n=57)	Female (n=86)	
Upavas- religious purpose	54.3(31)	58.1(50)	56.6 (81)
Health conscious (special diet, sick, restrictions, obesity)	31.5(18)	22.0(19)	22.8(37)
No practice of eating breakfast	3.5(2)	6.9(6)	5.5(8)
When cannot afford	1.7(1)	4.6(4)	3.4(5)
None at home to prepare food on time	3.5(2)	3.4(3)	3.4 (5)
Other <sup>a</sup>	5.2(3)	4.6(4)	4.8(7)

Note. <sup>a</sup> Include reasons such as food was not cooked properly, food was not appealing, less quantity of food was cooked, already eaten late/heavy previous meal, lack of appetite, feeling lethargic and advanced age.

*Food intake:* About 90 per cent of the total sample respondents said that they consumed an adequate amount of food, while 8 per cent expressed that they did not do so. Only a small number of them (2 per cent) responded that they 'cannot say'. Similarly, about 47 per cent of the total sample reported having diet restrictions and supplements.

The next aspect explored was, who prepared and served the food to the elderly. Out of the total sample, around 74 per cent of the elderly (n=179) reported that they were not involved in the preparation of food. This category consisted of mostly men (except one male) and slightly less than half (49 per cent) of the women.

Table 72: Sex-wise distribution of the sample elderly (who did not prepare food) by their relationship with the person who prepared food for them

Relationship	Male (n=119)	Female (n=60)	% <sup>*</sup>
Daughter-in-Law	61 (50.8)	38 (65)	100 (55.6)
Spouse	83 (69.2)	-	83 (46.1)
Cook	18 (15)	16 (26.7)	34 (18.9)
Children	7 (5.8)	8 (13.3)	15 (8.3)
Others <sup>a</sup>	8 (6.7)	6 (10)	14 (7.8)

n=179

Note. <sup>\*</sup> Multiple responses and hence the percentages do not total to 100.

<sup>a</sup> Include neighbors and food served at the temple



For these elderly (n=179) who did not prepare food on their own, different people prepared it for them as shown in Table 72. Of these, more than half of the elderly said it was the daughter-in-law. Close to half (46 per cent) of the elderly comprising exclusively the men said it was their wife.

When the elderly who prepared food on their own (n=63) were asked about the person who cooked food for them when they did not feel like cooking, a majority 33 per cent each of the women stated it was daughter-in-law and daughter. Though in a small percentage, some of the women cited spouse, relative, neighbor, cook as persons who prepared food for them or they get food from outside. Most of these persons whose food was cooked by others said they prepared it on time. Only one man who cooked food on his own said that when he did not feel like cooking, he ordered food from outside.

#### f) Social interaction

Having interaction with people in the outside world is important for the elderly persons' quality of life. In the following pages, information about the places and purposes for which the elderly go out, frequency of their going out, and whether they had friends and visitors was sought. Also an attempt was made to explore the association of these with the socio-demographic variables, and the current living arrangements. Further, the level of social interaction of the elderly was assessed to understand its influence on the quality of life and its related variables for the sample.

*Places to and purpose of going out:* A glance at the kind of places and the purpose for which the elderly went out is given in Table 73.

The sample elderly went out to a variety of places with different purposes in mind. A majority (73 per cent) of them reported that they went out for attending social functions, grocery purchases (68 per cent), to visit relatives (67 per cent) and to the places of worship (62 per cent).

Table 73: Sex-wise distribution of the sample elderly by the places/purposes of going out

Place /purpose	%	Sex of the respondent	
		Male (n=118)	Female (n=117)
To attend social functions	172 (73.2)	75.4	70.9
To buy groceries	160(68.1)	68.6	67.5
To visit relatives	157(66.8)	66.1	67.5
To places of worship	146(62.1)	64.4	59.8
To visit friends / neighbors	138(58.7)	61.9	55.6
For a stroll	114 (48.5)	77.1	19.7
To run errands	87(37)	62.7	11.1
For shopping/ to visit a mall	71(30.2)	32.2	28.2
To hang out in a place in neighborhood	36(15.3)	29.7	0.9
To park	34(14.5)	23.7	5.1
To attend exhibitions and events in the city	22(9.4)	11.9	6.8
Other <sup>a</sup>	66(28.1)	35.6	20.5

n= 235

Note. \* Multiple responses and hence the percentages do not add to 100.

<sup>a</sup> Include club, trustee work, long drive, voluntary service, friends shop, stock broker's office, restaurant, hospital/clinic, grandchildren's school, and diagnostic center.

Some went out to interact with people, pass the time, for walks, on errands, to shop or to attend events in the city. For almost all the places/purposes that the elderly went out to, especially for going for a stroll, to run errands, hanging out in a place in the neighborhood and going to the park, the elderly men were relatively higher in number.

The kind of living arrangement the elderly were in might be associated with the place/purpose for which they go out as shown in Table 74. Elderly in parent-child coresidence and those who lived with spouse were represented in all the categories of going out. Majority of the elderly in parent-child coresidence attended social functions (78 per cent). Those living with the spouse went to purchase groceries (84 per cent), attend social functions (72 per cent), visit relatives (61 per cent), and to visit neighbors (60 per cent) and so on. Those elderly who lived alone mostly went out to purchase groceries and to visit places of worship.

Table 74: Distribution of the sample elderly by the place /purpose of going out and their living arrangement

Place/ purpose	Living arrangement					%*
	Parent-child co-residence (n=156)	Living with spouse (n=57)	Living alone (n=9)	Living with relatives (n=18)	Living with assistance (n=3)	
To attend social functions	78.1	71.9	50	47.1	50	73.2
To buy groceries	61.6	84.2	100	58.8	50	68.1
To visit relatives	68.9	61.4	62.5	70.6	50	66.8
To places of worship	66.9	47.4	87.5	64.7	-	62.1
To visit friends / neighbors	58.9	59.6	50	58.8	50	58.7
For a stroll	48.8	54.4	50	35.3	-	48.5
To run errands	34.4	47.4	37.5	23.5	50	37.0
For shopping/to visit mall	27.8	42.1	12.5	23.5	-	30.2
To hang out in a place in neighborhood	19.2	12.3	-	-	-	15.3
To park	14.6	21.1	-	-	-	14.5
To attend events in the city	7.3	17.5	-	-	50	9.4
Other <sup>a</sup>	28.5	26.3	37.5	17.6	100	28.1

n=235

Note. \* Multiple responses and hence the percentages do not add to 100.

<sup>a</sup> Include club, trustee work, long drive, voluntary work, friends' shop, stock broker office, restaurant, hospital/clinic, grandchildren's school and diagnostic center.

*Frequency of going out among the elderly:* Now, how frequently the elderly went out? The elderly were asked to state whether they went out daily, a few times during a week, month or in more than a month. The sex- wise distribution of the elderly by their frequency of going out is shown in Table 75. Those who were unable to go out because of their inability to move were also included here for comparison.

Table 75: Sex-wise distribution of the sample elderly by their frequency of going out

Frequency	Sex of respondent		Total N=243
	Male (n=120)	Female (n=123)	
Unable to move	2 (1.7)	7 (5.7)	9 (3.7)
Daily	77 (64.2)	46 (37.4)	123 (50.6)
During the week	26 (21.7)	35 (28.5)	61 (25.1)
During the month	7 (5.8)	24 (19.5)	31 (12.8)
Once in a few months	8 (6.7)	11 (8.9)	19 (7.8)

About a half and another quarter of the elderly sample reported going out daily and a few times in a week, respectively. The percentage of the elderly who went out less frequently was small. In all the frequencies of going out mentioned (except for going out daily) a higher per cent were women compared to men. A small (4 per cent) number of the elderly (comprising more women than men) were unable to move, and hence did not go out.

Further, the data was analyzed to see if there was an association between the type of living arrangement of the elderly and the frequency of their going out (see Table 76).

Table 76: Distribution of the sample elderly by frequency of their going out and the type of living arrangements

Frequency	Living arrangement					Total N=243
	Parent-child co residence (n=156)	Living with spouse (n=57)	Living alone (n=9)	Living with relatives (n=18)	Living with assistance (n=3)	
Unable to move	6 (3.8)	-	1 (11.1)	1 (5.6)	1 (33.3)	9 (3.7)
Daily	80 (51.3)	29 (50.9)	6 (66.7)	7 (38.9)	1 (33.3)	123 (50.6)
During the week	37 (23.7)	17 (29.8)	1 (11.1)	5 (27.8)	1 (33.3)	61 (25.1)
During the month	19 (12.2)	6 (10.5)	1 (11.1)	5 (27.8)	-	31 (12.8)
Once in a few months	14 (9.0)	5 (8.8)	-	-	-	19 (7.8)

It was revealed that a majority 67 per cent of the elderly who lived alone followed by those in parent-child coresidence (51 per cent) went out daily while, those who lived with spouse (30 per cent) followed by those living with relatives (30 per cent) went out a few times during the week. Although a small percentage, more number of the elderly who went out once in more than a month, and who did not go out due to their inability to move lived in parent-child coresidence.

The frequency with which the sample elderly went out was likely to influence their quality of life and its related variables. An attempt was made to analyze the same in Table 77.

Table 77: Distribution of the sample elderly by their frequency of going out and means and SDs of the measures used

Measures	Mean	Frequency of going out					Total (N=243)
		Unable to move (n=9)	Daily (n=123)	During the week (n=61)	During the month (n=31)	In more than a month (n=19)	
<u>Quality of life</u>							
Physical health	Mean	9.33	14.86	14.27	14.19	12.63	14.25
	S .D	2.16	2.97	3.09	2.61	2.38	3.09
Psychological well being	Mean	11.41	16.3	15.58	14.80	13.96	15.56
	S .D	3.41	2.09	2.95	2.57	2.38	2.68
Social relationships	Mean	8.15	14.06	13.88	12.77	11.79	13.45
	S .D	3.09	3.18	3.31	3.04	2.44	3.36
Environment	Mean	13.78	16.48	16.51	15.35	15.34	16.15
	S .D	4.18	2.50	2.87	2.80	2.07	2.73
<u>Loneliness</u>	Mean	57.11	43.95	44.	47.81	47.95	45.26
	S .D	12.69	9.02	8.69	9.3	7.88	9.40
<u>Adaptation to old age</u>	Mean	44.89	63.72	60.89	58.26	61.53	61.44
	S.D	10.24	9.18	10.38	10.5	5.25	10.13

It was clearly seen that as the frequency of going out decreased from going out daily to a once in more than a month, the mean scores on the 4 domains of quality of life were seen to decrease (with an exception for environment domain for the elderly who went out once a week), the degree of loneliness increased and the adaptation to old age mean scores first decreased and then it was reported slightly better for the elderly (for those who went out once in more than a month).

Further, those who did not go out due to their inability to move exhibited lower scores on the 4 domains of quality of life, expressed a higher degree of loneliness and had a poor adaptation to old age.

*Friends and visitors of the elderly:* Having friends and visitors is an indication that one has social interaction. Hence, the number of friends the elderly had, and the number of persons who visited them at their home during the week preceding the date of the interview was ascertained (see Table 78).

Table 78: Sex-wise distribution of the sample elderly by the number of friends they had

Number of friends	Sex of respondent		Total (n=128)
	Male (n=71)	Female (n=57)	
1	16 (22.5)	19 (33.3)	35 (27.3)
2	17 (23.9)	17 (29.8)	34 (26.6)
3	11 (15.5)	6 (10.5)	17 (13.3)
4	12 (16.9)	5 (8.8)	17 (13.3)
5	8 (11.3)	3 (5.3)	11 (8.6)
6	2 (2.8)	2 (3.5)	4 (3.1)
7	-	1 (1.8)	1 (0.8)
10	2 (2.8)	2 (3.5)	4 (3.1)
12	2 (2.8)	1 (1.8)	3 (2.3)
15	1 (1.4)	-	1 (0.8)
20	-	1 (1.8)	1 (0.8)

It is shown in Table 78 that more than half of the sample elderly (n=128) consisting of 59 per cent men and 46 per cent women reported having friends. Among those who did not have friends, women outnumbered men. Overall, the number of friends the sample elderly had ranged between 1 to a maximum of 20. A higher per cent of the elderly (more women than men) had 1 or 2 friends. Though they were a smaller percentage, more elderly men had 3, 4 or 5 friends compared to women.

As can be seen from Table 79, almost 79 per cent of the sample (n=192), comprising 94 men and 98 women reported that they had visitors during the preceding week. The number of visitors reported ranged between 1 to a maximum of 25.

Table 79: Sex-wise distribution of the sample elderly by number of visitors they had during the preceding week

Number of visitors	Sex of respondent		Total (n=192)
	Male (n=94)	Female (n=98)	
1	16 (17.0)	16 (16.3)	32 (16.7)
2	43 (45.7)	52 (53.1)	95 (49.5)
3	15 (16.0)	16 (16.3)	31 (16.1)
4	5 (5.3)	5 (5.1)	10 (5.2)
5	6 (6.4)	2 (2.0)	8 (4.2)
6	1 (1.1)	3 (3.1)	4 (2.1)
7	3 (3.2)	3 (3.1)	6 (3.1)
10	3 (3.2)	1 (1.0)	4 (2.1)
15	1 (1.1)	-	1 (0.5)
25	1 (1.1)	-	1 (0.5)

Of the 192 elderly, almost half of them reported as having had 2 visitors at their home during the preceding week and of these, women were a higher per cent compared to men. None of the women reported having had 15 and 25 visitors. In all other cases, there seemed to be no major sex differentials evident in the number of visitors reported by the elderly.

Further details about the mean, SD, Median, minimum and maximum number of friends and visitors of the sample elderly by sex are shown in Tables 80, 81 and 82.

Table 80: Showing means, SD's and medians of the number of friends, and the number of visitors during the preceding week of the sample elderly

Statistics	No. of friends (n=128)	No. of visitors (n=192)
Mean	3.27 (SD=3.0)	2.82 (SD=2.5)
Median	2.00	2.00
Minimum	1	1
Maximum	20	25

As can be seen from the Table 80, 128 and 192 elderly reported having 3 friends and about 3 visitors during the preceding week on an average, respectively.

Table 81: Showing sex-wise distribution of the sample elderly by means, SD's and medians of number of friends they reported

Statistic	Number of friends	
	Sex of respondent	
	Male (n=71)	Female (n=57)
Mean	3.41 (SD=2.8)	3.11 (SD=3.3)
Median	3	2

Table 82: Showing the sex-wise distribution of the sample elderly by means, SD's and medians of number of visitors had in the preceding week

Statistic	Number of visitors in preceding week	
	Sex of respondent	
	Male (n=94)	Female (n=98)
Mean	3.13 (SD=3.22)	2.52 (SD=1.54)
Median	2	2

It can be seen from Tables 81 and 82 that the average number of friends reported by men as well as women was three. The women reported receiving a little less number of visitors (2) than the elderly men who had 3 visitors.

Table 83: Showing correlation between the number of friends and visitors reported by the sample elderly

	Number of friends	Number of visitors
Number of friends	1	0.235*
	0.00	0.011
	128	116
Number of visitors	0.235*	1
	0.011	0.00
	116	192

Note. \* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

As can be seen from Table 83, there is a moderate correlation ( $r= 0.235$ ,  $p<0.05$ ) between the number of friends and the number of visitors mentioned by the elderly.



Next, an attempt made was to see whether the socio-demographic variables such as age, family income, and the type of living arrangements were associated with the number of friends, and visitors they had during the preceding week.

Table 84: Distribution of the sample elderly by their age and means and SDs of number of friends, and visitors they had during the preceding week

Age of resp.	Number of friends			Number of visitors		
	Mean	n	SD	Mean	n	SD
60-64 years	2.97	35	2.05	3.42	52	3.78
65-74 years	3.64	72	3.35	2.69	104	2.01
75-84 years	2.61	18	3.22	2.45	29	1.05
85 years and above	2	3	1.73	1.71	7	0.48
Total	3.27	128	3	2.82	192	2.52

One obvious finding from Table 84 is that with the advancing age the respondents have reported a decline in the number of friends and visitors. Thus, the highest mean number of friends (3.64,  $SD=3.35$ ) reported by those in 65-74 years age category and the lowest (2.00,  $SD=1.73$ ) was reported by those in 85 years+ age range. Similarly, for those in 60-64 years age range the mean number of visitors was highest (3.42,  $SD=3.78$ ) and with increasing age of the elderly, this number was found to have decreased.

Table 85: Distribution of the sample elderly by their family income p.m. and means and SDs of number of friends, and visitors they had during preceding week

Family Income (p.m.)	Number of friends			Number of visitors		
	Mean	n	SD	Mean	n	SD
Rs.5000 and below	2.15	13	0.80	2.00	26	0.69
Rs.5100-10000	2.74	23	2.71	2.60	35	2.36
Rs.10100-20000	2.56	25	2.02	2.34	41	1.19
Rs.20100-40000	3.83	24	3.78	2.58	33	1.65
Rs.40100-60000	3.21	14	2.99	2.90	20	1.61
Rs.60100-80000	4.44	9	4.12	4.85	13	6.46
Rs.80100-100000	4.43	7	3.64	4.88	8	3.44
Rs.100100 and above	4.31	13	3.42	3.56	16	2.65
Total	3.27	128	3.00	2.82	192	2.52

It was observed (see Table 85) that the mean number of friends the elderly reported seemed to increase with increasing income ranges. The sample elderly in the Rs 60100-80000 and in Rs 5000 and below family income p.m. categories reported the highest and lowest number of friends respectively. Similar is the case with the mean number of visitors the elderly had, which increased with increasing family income p.m.

Table 86: Distribution of the sample elderly by the type of living arrangements and means and SDs of number of friends, and the visitors had during the preceding week

Living arrangement	Number of friends			Number of visitors		
	n	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD
Parent-child coresidence	75	2.81	2.36	121	2.79	2.66
Living with spouse	37	4.14	3.87	46	3.28	2.62
Living alone	5	2.4	0.89	7	2	0.57
Living with relatives	9	4	4.12	15	2.13	1.24
Living with assistance	2	3.5	2.12	3	2.33	1.52
Total	128	3.27	3	192	2.82	2.52

Interestingly, it was found that those who lived with spouse had a highest (friends: mean=4.14,  $SD=3.87$  and visitors: mean= 2.8,  $SD=2.66$ ) while, those who lived alone had the lowest (friends: mean=2.40,  $SD=0.89$  and visitors: mean=2,  $SD=0.57$ ) number of friends and visitors.

Further, it was assessed whether having or not having friends/ visitors had any influence on the quality of life domains and its related variables for the sample elderly (see Tables 87 & 88).

Table 87: Showing means and SDs of scores on the measures used for the sample elderly by their having or not having friends

Measures	Have any friends?	N	Mean	SD	t- value (df=241)	Sig. 2-Tailed
<u>Quality of Life</u>						
Physical health	Yes	128	15.22	2.80	5.47	0.000
	No	115	13.17	3.05		
Psychological well-being	Yes	128	16.29	2.31	4.61	0.000
	No	115	14.76	2.84		
Social relationships	Yes	128	15.08	2.77	9.27	0.000
	No	115	11.64	3.02		
Environment	Yes	128	16.98	2.29	5.26	0.000
	No	115	15.23	2.90		
<u>Loneliness</u>	Yes	128	42.19	8.34	-5.7	0.000
	No	115	48.67	9.37		
<u>Adaptation to old age</u>	Yes	128	65.55	8.74	7.3	0.000
	No	115	56.86	9.61		
Health comparision	Yes	128	17.01	2.33	7.04	0.000
	No	115	14.73	2.71		
General adaptation	Yes	128	17.47	2.62	3.39	0.001
	No	115	16.19	3.23		
Self-control	Yes	128	14.65	3.70	7.1	0.000
	No	115	11.46	3.25		
Generativity	Yes	128	16.43	2.74	4.7	0.000
	No	115	14.48	3.70		

N=243

It is seen clearly from the Table 87 & 88 that the elderly who reported having friends and visitors had higher mean scores on the 4 domains of quality of life, lower mean scores for loneliness and higher mean scores for adaptation to old age and its 4 sub-domains -than those who reported less number of friends or visitors. Hence, elderly having more friends and visitors were experiencing better quality of life, lower degree of loneliness and a better adaptation to old age. This difference of mean scores on the above mentioned variables for those who had comparatively more and less friends and visitors was found to be significant on a t-test.

Table 88: Showing means and SDs of scores on the measures used for the sample elderly by whether they had any visitor(s) or not during the preceding week

Measures	Visitors last week	N	Mean	SD	t- value (df=241)	Sig. 2-Tailed
<u>Quality of Life</u>						
Physical health	Yes	192	14.49	3.01	2.34	.02
	No	51	13.36	3.23		
Psychological well-being	Yes	192	15.90	2.47	3.93	.000
	No	51	14.29	3.05		
Social relationships	Yes	192	13.99	3.03	5.02	.000
	No	51	11.45	3.80		
Environment	Yes	192	16.58	2.40	4.94	.000
	No	51	14.55	3.30		
<u>Loneliness total score</u>	Yes	192	43.73	8.94	-5.14	.000
	No	51	50.98	8.93		
<u>Adaptation to old age</u>	Yes	192	63.36	9.06	6.17	.000
	No	51	54.20	10.74		
Health comparision	Yes	192	16.33	2.61	4.60	.000
	No	51	14.41	2.81		
General adaptation	Yes	192	17.28	2.71	4.31	.000
	No	51	15.31	3.47		
Self-control	Yes	192	13.69	3.72	4.53	.000
	No	51	11.06	3.56		
Generativity	Yes	192	16.06	2.92	5.26	.000
	No	51	13.41	4.08		

N=243

g) Engagement with one's life. Research shows that pursuing a number of leisure time activities (Silverstein & Parker, 2002), active participation in daily routine activities (Chadha, 2006) as per the physical and other capacities, and religiosity (Jain & Sharma, 2004) had positive effect on the elderly. These in turn appear to improve their satisfaction with life and feeling of well-being.

*Leisure time activities:* An attempt was made here to understand the nature of the activities that the elderly sample engaged in during leisure time- both indoor and outdoor, and their association with some of the socio-demographic variables, and to the type of living arrangements they were in.



### Indoor leisure time activities

The following data shows the kind of indoor activities that the sample elderly engaged in during leisure time by sex, age and type of living arrangements.

Table 89: Sex-wise distribution of the sample elderly by the kind of indoor activities engaged in during leisure time

Activity	Sex of respondent		n	%*
	Male (n=116)	Female (n=112)		
Praying/religious rites	78.4	92	194	85.1
Watching TV/Video	56	58	130	57
Reading books/newspapers/magazines	64.7	41.1	121	53.1
Listening to music/radio	31	30.4	70	30.7
Exercise/yoga	26.7	17	50	21.9
Playing with grand children	11.2	13.4	28	12.3
Sitting alone and thinking	12.9	5.4	21	9.2
Time for hobbies	5.2	9.8	17	7.5
Gardening	5.2	7.1	14	6.1
Playing cards/chess/caroms	4.3	5.4	11	4.8
Total	50.9	49.1	656	100

n= 228

Note. \* Multiple responses and hence the percentages do not add to 100.

Out of the 243 sample elderly, 228 reported that they were engaged in indoor activities during leisure time. Of these 228 elderly, more men (51 per cent) compared to women (49 per cent) pursued these activities. They gave multiple responses for their engagement in the kind of leisure activities. These are given in Table 89 in the descending order of their percentage. The top three activities mentioned were praying/performing religious rites (85 per cent), followed by watching television/video (57 per cent) (more women than men in both cases), and reading books/newspapers/magazines. However, more men (53 per cent) reported reading as an indoor leisure activity.

Table 90: Age-wise distribution of the sample elderly by the kind of indoor activities engaged in during leisure time

Activity	Age of the respondent				%
	60-64 years (n=58)	65-74 years (n=123)	75-84 years (n=39)	85 years + (n=8)	
Praying/religious rites	82.8	87.8	76.9	100	85.1
Watching TV/Video	53.4	54.9	61.5	62.5	57
Reading books/newspapers/magazine	53.4	52	56.4	50	53.1
Listening to music/radio	25.9	30.1	38.5	37.5	30.7
Exercise/yoga	22.4	21.1	23.1	25	21.9
Playing with grand children	13.8	12.2	10.3	12.5	12.3
Sitting alone and thinking	10.3	10.6	2.6	12.5	9.2
Time for hobbies	12.1	5.7	5.1	12.5	7.5
Gardening	10.3	4.1	5.1	12.5	6.1
Playing cards/chess/caroms	8.6	4.9	-	-	4.8
Total	25.4	53.9	17.7	3.5	100

n=228

Note. \* Multiple responses and hence the percentages do not add to 100.

The kind of indoor leisure time activities engaged in by a person might vary according to the age range, and this has been explored in Table 90. Across all age groups of the elderly, praying/performing religious rites emerged as the most often involved activity. And all the elderly in the age group of 85 years and above reportedly engaged in it. More than half of the respondents in all the age groups also reported being engaged in activities like watching TV/Video, and reading books/newspapers/magazines.

Next, in Table 91 an attempt was made to look into the relationship between the type of living arrangements and the kind of indoor activities that the elderly were engaged in.

Table 91: Distribution of the sample elderly by the type of indoor activities engaged in during their leisure time by type of living arrangements

Activity	Type of living arrangement					%
	Parent-child coresidence (n=145)	Living with spouse (n= 56)	Living alone (n= 9)	Living with relatives (n=15)	Living with assistance (n=3)	
Praying/religious rites	86.2	83.9	88.9	80	66.7	85.1
Watching TV/Video	55.9	58.9	66.7	46.7	100	57
Reading books/newspapers/magazine	44.8	76.8	44.4	40	100	53.1
Listening to music/radio	24.8	42.9	44.4	20	100	30.7
Exercise/yoga	18.6	35.7	22.2	-	33.3	21.9
Playing with grand children	11.7	16.1	11.1	6.7	-	12.3
Sitting alone and thinking	9	12.5	11.1	-	-	9.2
Time for hobbies	4.1	16.1	11.1	6.7	-	7.5
Gardening	3.4	12.5	11.1	6.7	-	6.1
Playing cards/chess/caroms	2.1	12.5	-	-	33.3	4.8
Total	63.6	24.6	3.9	6.6	1.3	100

n=228

Note. \* Multiple responses and hence the percentages do not add to 100.

It can be seen that the respondents living alone indicated praying and religious activities and watching TV/video as the activities they engaged in most frequently, compared to elderly living in other arrangements. The elderly living with spouse, on the other hand reported engagement in all the kinds of activities starting from reading books/newspapers/magazines to playing cards/chess etc.

#### Outdoor leisure time activities

Out of the 243 sample elderly, 48 per cent (n=116) stated that they were engaged in outdoor leisure time activities. It may be noted that the sample elderly who were engaged in outdoor activities were lesser compared to the number of elderly who were engaged in indoor activities (n=228) during their leisure time. Of the 116 elderly who engaged themselves in outdoor activities during their leisure, 60 per cent were men and 40 per cent were women. The kind of outdoor leisure activities of the respondents in the descending order of the per cent of responses are shown in Table 92.

Table 92: Sex-wise distribution of the sample elderly by the kind of outdoor activities engaged in during leisure time

Activity	Sex of respondent		n	%*
	Male (n=70)	Female (n=46)		
Go for walk/ exercise	68.6	47.8	70	60.3
Go to a place of worship	48.6	65.2	64	55.2
Go to park	28.6	13.0	26	22.4
Visit friends and relatives	11.4	15.2	15	12.9
Join club/group	10.0	8.7	11	9.5
Involve in social service/politics	10.0	4.3	9	7.8
Go to picnic/tours	5.7	8.7	8	6.9
Go to movies	-	2.2	1	0.9
Total	60.3	39.7	204	100.0

n=116

Note. \* Multiple responses and hence the percentages do not add to 100.

A majority (60 per cent) of the elderly (more men compared to women) followed by more than half of the elderly (55 per cent) (more women compared to men) mentioned that they went for walk/ exercise, and to a place of worship, respectively. Sex differentials in the nature of outdoor activities taken up during leisure time were observed. More elderly men compared to women were represented as being engaged in outdoor leisure time activities like going for walk/exercise (69 per cent), going to the park (29 per cent), going to a club (10 per cent), and involving in social service/politics (10 per cent) while, more women compared to men were represented as being engaged in outdoor leisure time activities which were more expressive such as going to a place of worship (65 per cent), visiting friends and relatives (15 per cent), going to picnic/tours (9 per cent) and going to the movies (2 per cent).

A further examination of the relationship between age and the kind of outdoor activities engaged in was done in Table 93.



Table 93: Distribution of the sample elderly by the kind of outdoor activities engaged in during their leisure time and age

Activity	Age of the respondent				%*
	60-64 years (n=30)	65-74 years (n=73)	75-84 years (n=11)	85 years + (n=2)	
Go for walk/ exercise	56.7	61.6	54.5	100	60.3
Go to a place of worship	46.7	57.5	63.6	50	55.2
Go to park	23.3	26	-	-	22.4
Visit friends and relatives	26.7	8.2	9.1	-	12.9
Join club/group	10	6.8	18.2	50	9.5
Involve in social service/politics	6.7	8.2	9.1	-	7.8
Go to picnic/tours	13.3	5.5	-	-	6.9
Go to movies	3.3	-	-	-	0.9
Total	25.9	62.9	9.5	1.7	100

n=116

Note. \* Multiple responses and hence the percentages do not add to 100.

Age-wise, about 62 per cent of the elderly in 65-74 years age range and the 2 elderly who were 85+ years reported going for walk/exercise. Almost 64 per cent of those belonging to 75-84 years said they went to a place of worship. Joining a club/group figured more frequently in the age group of 85 + years (50 per cent) and 75-84 years (18 per cent). Visiting friends and relatives was mentioned more by the elderly belonging to 60-64 years age group, but this activity was not reported by those in 85 + years age group. This may be because elderly in advanced age have decreased mobility.

Now, coming to living arrangements versus outdoor activities (see Table 94), more elderly staying in parent-child coresidence and with the spouse were engaged in the outdoor leisure time activities compared to those in the other types of living arrangements. However, the percentage of elderly engaged in different types of outdoor leisure time activities seemed to vary with the type of living arrangements.

Table 94: Distribution of the sample elderly by the kind of outdoor activities engaged in during leisure time and type of living arrangements

Activity	Type of living arrangement					%*
	Parent-child coresidence (n=67)	Living with spouse (n=35)	Living alone (n=5)	Living with relatives (n=7)	Living with assistance (n=2)	
Go for walk/ exercise	55.2	77.1	40	42.9	50	60.3
Go to a place of worship	64.2	37.1	60	71.4	-	55.2
Go to park	22.4	31.4	-	-	-	22.4
Visit friends and relatives	10.4	17.1	20	14.3	-	12.9
Join club/group	3	22.9	-	-	50	9.5
Involve in social service/politics	7.5	11.4	-	-	-	7.8
Go to picnic/tours	1.5	17.1	-	-	50	6.9
Go to movies	1.5	-	-	-	-	0.9
Total	57.8	30.2	4.3	6	1.7	100

n=116

Note. \* Multiple responses and hence the percentages do not add to 100.

Of the 116 elderly, a majority (77 per cent) who lived with spouse said that they went for walk/exercise. A considerable percentage of elderly who lived with spouse also reported that they went to the park (31 per cent), joined club/group (23 per cent), involved in social service /politics (11 per cent) and went to picnic and tours (17 per cent). A majority (71 per cent) of those who lived with relatives said that they went to places of worship while, those who lived alone responded that they visited friends and relatives (20 per cent).

*Levels of functioning and independence:* The functional status of the elderly determines their ability to engage in certain tasks of daily routine on their own, and hence has been explored here. The mean score of the elderly on the Independence in activities of daily living index (IADL) indicated their functional status in performing activities like bathing, dressing, toileting, transferring, continence and feeding. The association of this variable to some of the socio-demographic variables, and type of living arrangements will be examined now.

On the whole, for the total sample, elderly women (mean=5.95,  $SD= 0.402$ ) reported better level of functioning when compared to men (mean=5.88,  $SD=0.568$ ). The mean scores on independent activities of daily living for the elderly in 60-64 years (mean=5.98,  $SD= 0.12$ ) and 65-74 years (mean=5.95,  $SD=0.39$ ) age range indicated their better levels of functioning & independence and this seemed to decrease with the increasing age of the sample.

An attempt was made in Table 95 to see if the type of living arrangement of the elderly was associated with the level of functioning & independence reported by them.

Table 95: Distribution of the sample elderly by the mean and SDs of scores of the independence in activities of daily living and types of living arrangement

Living arrangement	Mean	N	S.D
Parent-child coresidence	5.9	156	0.523
Living with spouse	6	57	0.000
Living alone	6	9	0.000
Living with relatives	6	18	0.000
Living with assistance	4.67	3	2.309
Total	5.92	243	0.491

Elderly who lived in parent and child coresidence (mean=5.90,  $SD=0.52$ ) and with assistance (mean=4.67,  $SD=2.30$ ) in that order have reported poor levels of functioning, compared to those living in the other 3 living arrangements, who seemed to report maximum levels of functioning at a mean value of 6.00 ( $SD=0.00$ ).

*Activities of daily routine:* The next aspect examined was the activities of daily routine of the sample elderly. By asking the elderly respondent to describe what they did during the day, their actual routine comprising the three time periods of the day i.e. before noon, before dark and before going to bed was captured. The results are presented in the respective tables, in the descending order of the per cent responses for the activities reported. The kind of daily routine activities they did seemed to vary by sex. Similarly, certain activities through the 3 time periods were common for the elderly respondents.

Table 96: Sex-wise distribution of the sample elderly by the activities of daily routine taken up before noon

Activity	Sex of the respondent		%*
	Male (n=120)	Female (n=123)	
Morning ablutions	98.3(118)	100 (123)	99.2(241)
Prayer/visit religious place	84.2 (101)	84.6(104)	84.4(205)
Have breakfast	86.7(104)	78.9(97)	82.7(201)
Have tea/coffee	86.7(104)	77.2(95)	81.9(199)
Attend household chores	29.2(35)	89.4(110)	59.7(145)
Bring groceries (daily)	56.7 (68)	54.5(67)	55.6(135)
Spend time with friends	51.7(62)	47.2(58)	49.4(120)
Lunch preparations	6.7 (8)	79.7(98)	43.6(106)
Read News paper	60.8 (73)	22.8 (28)	41.6 (101)
Run errands	54.2 (65)	10.6 (13)	32.1 (78)
Go for exercise/yoga	41.7 (50)	15.4 (19)	28.4 (69)
Watch TV	21.7 (26)	35 (43)	28.4 (69)
Go to work / job/ voluntary work	38.3 (46)	17.1 (21)	27.6 (67)

N=243

Note. \* Multiple responses and hence the percentages do not add to 100.

Except in performing activities such as morning ablutions, prayer, attending to household chores, preparation of lunch and watching TV etc., in the rest of the daily routine activities from waking up till noon, the men were represented more than the women (see Table 96). Also, the elderly women were represented more than men in the 2 daily routine activities which were more confined to the home and specific to gender such as attending to household chores (89 per cent women as against 29 per cent men), and preparation of lunch (80 per cent women as against 7 per cent men).

Table 97: Sex-wise distribution of the sample elderly by the activities of daily routine taken up between afternoon and before dark

Activity	Sex of the respondent		% *
	Male (n=120)	Female (n=123)	
Sit and rest	97.5	95.9	235 (96.7)
Take a siesta (after lunch)	92.5	94.3	227 (93.4)
Talk to family members	83.3	81.3	200 (82.3)
Have snacks and tea	84.2	77.2	196 (80.7)
Spend time with friends /neighbors/relatives	75	75.6	183 (75.3)
Watch TV	66.7	69.9	166 (68.3)
Go for a walk (indoors/outdoors)	64.2	26.8	110 (45.3)
Preparations for dinner	8.3	78	106 (43.6)
Go to market for provisions/other necessities	50	34.1	102 (42)
Go for entertainment (long ride/listen music)	33.3	25.2	71 (29.2)
Read books/ Newspaper	40	16.3	68 (28.0)
Run errands (bank/bills/maintenance)	24.2	6.5	37 (15.2)

N=243

Note. \* Multiple responses and hence the percentages do not add to 100.

A number of activities were reported by the elderly as being taken up by them after noon and before dark (see Table 97). Of these, the two most frequently reported activities were sitting and taking rest (97 per cent) followed by taking a siesta (93 per cent). While men were represented more in the former, there were more women in the latter. In addition to other activities, preparations for dinner (44 per cent), and watching TV (68 per cent) were reported more by elderly women. Almost an equal representation of both elderly men (75 per cent) and women (76 per cent) was reported with regard to spending time with friends/neighbors/relatives.

Being involved in activities like talking to family members, spending time with friends/neighbors/relatives, and reading books and newspapers—as part of daily routine indicated that the respondents were keeping in touch with family and outside world. Another broader understanding that emerged out of this data was that men and women continued most of their activities carried during their middle adulthood into old age, and that the elderly women were not relieved of their earlier gender-specific activities of doing household chores and food preparation.

Table 98: Sex-wise distribution of the sample elderly by activities of daily routine taken up by them before going to bed

Activity	Sex of the respondent		%
	Male (n=120)	Female (n=123)	
Preparation for sleep	97.4	97.6	233 (97.5)
Watch TV	43.1	39	98 (41)
Talk to family members	19	14.6	40 (16.7)
Go for a stroll after dinner	13.8	13.8	33 (13.8)
Read books	11.2	6.5	21 (8.8)

N=243

Note. \* Multiple responses and hence the percentages do not add to 100.

Besides preparation for sleep, the other activities mentioned for this time period were watching TV (41 per cent) and going out for stroll or reading books (see Table 98).

h) Life preparatory measures. The beliefs the respondents' held during their youth and late adulthood about the role of children in the care of their parents might raise certain expectations in them about their own child (ren) taking care of them during old age. Similarly, their feelings about the importance of taking measures to keep fit for as long as possible into old age might influence their fitness levels during old age. The above two aspects, along with the role of religious beliefs have been explored in relation to the quality of life and its related variables of the elderly in the current living arrangements.

*Belief about the role of children in the care of the elderly parents:* Interestingly, almost 95 per cent (n=230) of the sample reported that when they were young, they believed that children should look after old parents. The remaining said that they did not believe so. Much difference was not observed by sex of the respondents regarding this belief they held.

The current living arrangement of the sample elderly who held the belief that children should care for old parents is presented in Table 99.

**Table 99: Distribution of the sample elderly who held the belief that children should look after the older parents by their living arrangements**

<u>Living arrangement</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Parent-child coresidence (n=156)	147 (94.2)
Living with spouse (n=57)	56 (98.2)
Living alone (n=9)	8 (88.9)
Living with relatives (18)	17 (94.4)
Living with assistance (n=3)	2 (66.7)
<u>Total</u>	<u>230 (94.7)</u>
N=243	

Now, a look at the Table 99 shows that a majority of those who were in living arrangements such as with spouse or with relatives held this belief. This was in addition to those in parent-child coresidence whose belief and the living arrangement they were in was coinciding. Even those who were living alone (89 per cent) and 2 of the 3 respondents who were living with assistance held the belief that children should look after older parents.

*Measures taken to keep healthy after attaining 60 years of age:* Out of the 243 respondents, about 59 per cent (n=143) reported that they started taking certain measures after attaining 60 years of age, to keep themselves healthy. An examination of the background of the elderly who took these measures was carried out. Results are shown in Table 100.

Of the total sample elderly, more men (69 per cent) than women (47 per cent) took measures to keep healthy after attaining the age of 60 years and the differentials were statistically significant ( $\chi^2=1, 12.08$ ;  $p<0.001$ ).

Table 100: Distribution of the sample elderly by association between some variables and measures taken by them after 60 years of age to keep healthy

Characteristics	N	Took measures to keep healthy after 60 years % <sup>a</sup>	X <sup>2</sup>	p< (two sided)
<u>Sex</u>				
Male	120	69.2		
Female	123	47.2	(1, 12.08)	.001
<u>Age of respondent</u>				
60-64 years	63	57.1		
65-74 years	127	62.2		
75-84 years	44	50		
85 years +	9	44.4	(3, 2.77)	Ns
<u>Educational level</u>				
Illiterate	48	18.8		
Primary	54	44.4		
High School	31	67.7		
College	64	76.6		
Technical	19	84.2		
Professional	27	81.5	(5, 56.16)	.000
<u>Marital status</u>				
Married	169	63.3		
Widowed	56	41.1		
Separated	5	60		
Unmarried	6	50		
Remarried	7	71.4	(4, 9.23) <sup>b</sup>	.05
<u>Caste</u>				
Other caste	165	67.3		
Other backward caste	54	46.3		
Scheduled caste	16	25		
Scheduled tribe	8	12.5	(3, 22.8)	.000
<u>Family income (p.m.)</u>				
Rs.5000 and below	48	33.3		
Rs.5100-10000	49	53.1		
Rs.10100-20000	47	51.1		
Rs.20100-40000	39	61.5		
Rs.40100-60000	20	85		
Rs.60100-80000	13	76.9		
Rs.80100-100000	11	81.8		
Rs.100100 and above	16	93.8	(7, 32.46)	.000
<u>Living arrangement</u>				
Parent-child coresidence	156	55.1		
Living with spouse	57	77.2		
Living alone	9	44.4		
Living with relatives	18	33.3		
Living with assistance	3	33.3	(4, 15.07) <sup>c</sup>	.005

N=243

Note. <sup>a</sup> Only 'Yes' responses are presented; <sup>b</sup> 6 cells have expected count less than 5;

<sup>c</sup> 3 cells have expected count less than 5.



However, not much difference could be observed based on the age-wise distribution. A majority (62 per cent) of the elderly in 65-74 years age group took measures to keep healthy. The association between age and taking measures to keep themselves fit was not statistically significant.

Looking at the educational background of the sample elderly, it can be stated that a majority of the educated –at least from high school and above seemed to have taken measures to keep healthy. Data indicated that higher the level of education, greater the per cent of elderly who took measures to keep healthy. The association between educational level and taking health measures was found to be significant ( $\chi^2 = 5, 56.16$ ;  $p < 0.000$ ) so educational level seemed to be an important determinant for the same.

In terms of marital status, those who were in married status (63 per cent married and 71 per cent remarried) mostly took measures to keep healthy compared to others. Thus the differences in taking health measures with regard to marital status ( $\chi^2 = 4, 9.23$  <sup>b</sup>;  $p < 0.050$ ) was found to be statistically significant. Caste ( $\chi^2 = 3, 22.8$ ;  $p < 0.000$ ) and family income ( $\chi^2 = 7, 32.46$ ;  $p < 0.000$ ) emerged as significant in relation to keeping oneself healthy.

Looking at the type of living arrangement and its relationship with taking measures to keep healthy it can be seen that elderly living with spouse (77 per cent) were more likely to take health measures followed by those in parent-child coresidence (55 per cent). The association between living arrangements and taking health measures was found to be statistically significant ( $\chi^2 = 4, 15.07$  <sup>c</sup>;  $p < 0.005$ ).

When asked regarding the specific measures taken by them to keep themselves fit after attaining 60 years age, 143 elderly responded. Of these, 59 per cent were men and 41 per cent were women. The detailed break up is given in Table 101.

Table 101: Sex-wise distribution of the sample elderly by the specific measures taken up after attaining 60 years of age to keep healthy

Measures adopted	Sex of the respondent		%*
	Male (n=84)	Female (n=59)	
Taking proper diet	89.3	91.5	90.2
Started exercise to keep fit	76.2	76.3	76.2
Gave up irregular routine	56	50.8	53.8
Reduced cigarette smoking /alcohol intake	11.9	-	7
Took medical insurance	4.8	3.4	4.2
Other <sup>a</sup>	15.5	22	18.2

n= 143

Note. \* Multiple responses and hence the percentages do not add to 100.

<sup>a</sup> Includes taking regular medication, reducing anxiety and stress on body and mind, accept physical/health limitations, make changes in lifestyle with advancing age, lower expectations and, adopting adjustment as a mental attitude.

Specific measures were mentioned by the elderly such as taking a proper diet, doing exercise to keep fit, and giving up irregular routine, in that order. Lastly, they also mentioned that they took medical insurance. Elderly men mentioned reducing smoking and alcohol intake.

An effort was made to see whether there is any relationship between the specific health measures taken up by the elderly and the type of living arrangement. Table 102 provides the details.

Data indicates that a majority (93 per cent) of the elderly staying in parent-child coresidence, and living with spouse (91 per cent) reported as having taken a proper diet and starting to exercise, respectively. Taking medical insurance was reported mostly by those elderly who were staying with relatives or in parent-child coresidence. Invariably some of them across all living arrangements mentioned that they took a decision to give up irregular routine.

Table 102: Distribution of the sample elderly by the kind of measures taken up to keep healthy after attaining 60 years of age and their living arrangements

Measures adopted	Type of living arrangement					%
	Parent-child coresidence (n=88)	Living with spouse (n=44)	Living alone (n=4)	Living with relatives (n=6)	Living with assistance (n=1)	
Taking proper diet	93.2	90.9	75	66.7	-	90.2
Started exercise to keep fit	73.9	88.6	50	50	-	76.2
Gave up irregular routine	53.4	56.8	50	33.3	100	53.8
Reduced smoking/Substance Abuse	5.7	11.4	-	-	-	7
Took Medical insurance	5.7	-	-	16.7	-	4.2
Other <sup>a</sup>	15.9	15.9	50	33.3	100	18.2
Total	61.6	30.8	2.8	4.2	0.7	100

n=143

Note. \* Multiple responses and the percentages do not add to 100.

<sup>a</sup> Include taking regular medication, reducing anxiety and stress on body and mind, accept physical/health limitations, make changes in lifestyle with advancing age, lower expectations, and adjustment as a mental attitude.

*Religious faith, place & frequency of pilgrimage*

Almost all the elderly (99.6 per cent) except one woman in the sample reported belief in God. Close to 79 per cent of the sample elderly (192 out of 243 elderly) said that they visited religious places in various locations.

Table 103: Distribution of the sample elderly by the location of religious places they visited

Location	Total (n=192)
Around Vadodara	75 (39.1)
All over India	52 (27.1)
Western India (Gujarat)	44 (22.9)
Outside India	8 (4.2)
North India	6 (3.1)
East India	5 (2.6)
South India	2 (1)
Total	192 (100)

N=243

Table 103 shows the region-wise location of the religious places visited by the 192 elderly arranged in the descending order. The religious places visited by the elderly fell not only around Vadodara, in Gujarat but all over India. A few even visited religious places located outside India.

Information about the frequency of their visits to the religious places was ascertained and shown in Table 104.

Table 104: Sex-wise distribution of the sample elderly by the frequency of visits to religious places

Frequency of visits	Sex of respondent		Total (192)
	Male (n=94)	Female (n=98)	
Once in a year	32 (34.0)	34 (34.7)	66 (34.4)
Not able to anymore	23 (24.6)	36 (36.7)	59 (30.7)
A few times in a year	13 (13.8)	5 (5.1)	18 (9.4)
More than once in a year	10 (10.6)	8 (8.2)	18 (9.4)
Once in a month	8 (8.5)	8 (8.2)	16 (8.3)
Once in 6 months	5 (5.3)	5 (5.1)	10 (5.2)
A few times in a month	3 (3.2)	2 (2.0)	5 (2.6)
Total	94 (100)	98 (100)	192 (100)

Of the 192 elderly a majority (34.4 per cent) reported visiting religious places once in a year. About 31 per cent said that they were not able to take up such visits anymore. Of these there were more women (37.6 per cent) than men (24.6 per cent).

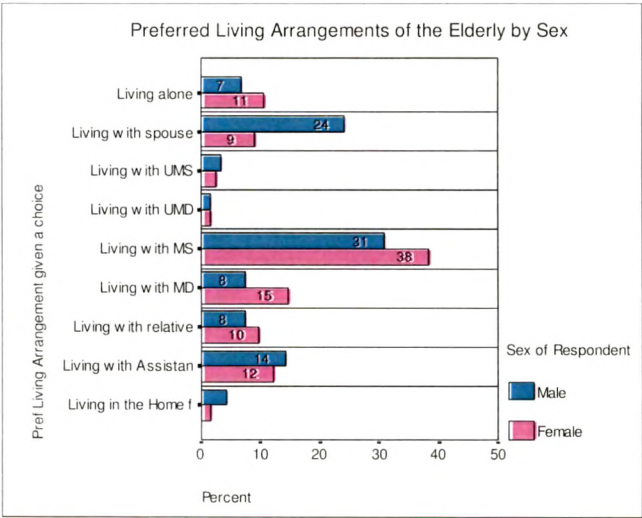
h) Preferred living arrangements. The elderly were asked, given a choice, what 'one' living arrangement they would prefer. This choice was taken as the respondents' preferred living arrangement. An attempt was made to understand the relationship between the choice for a specific type of living arrangement and the background characteristics of the elderly. An attempt was also made to see whether the quality of life and its related variables experienced by the elderly in their current living arrangements may indirectly influence their preference for a particular living arrangement. Further, the reasons mentioned by the elderly for the living arrangement of their preference are presented.

The results of an exploration of the preferential living arrangements of the elderly with socio-demographic characteristics such as sex, age, family income, marital status, religion, caste and current living arrangements are presented in the following tables.

Table 105: Sex-wise distribution of the sample elderly by their preferred living arrangements

Preferred living arrangement	Sex of respondent		Total N=243
	Male (n=120)	Female (n=123)	
Living alone	8 (6.7)	13 (10.6)	21 (8.6)
Living with spouse	29 (24.2)	11 (8.9)	40 (16.5)
Living with unmarried son(s)	4 (3.3)	3 (2.4)	7 (2.9)
Living with unmarried daughter (s)	2 (1.7)	2 (1.6)	4 (1.6)
Living with married son (s)	37 (30.8)	47 (38.2)	84 (34.6)
Living with married daughter (s)	9 (7.5)	18 (14.6)	27 (11.1)
Living with relative	9 (7.5)	12 (9.8)	21 (8.6)
Living with assistance	17 (14.2)	15 (12.2)	32 (13.2)
Living in a home for the aged	5 (4.2)	2 (1.6)	7 (2.9)
Total	120 (100)	123 (100)	243 (100)

Figure 37: Shows preferred living arrangements by sex of the sample elderly



Note. UMS- Unmarried Son; UMD- Unmarried Daughter; MS- Married Son; MD- Married Daughter.

As can be seen, most (35 per cent) of the sample elderly (more women than men) preferred coresidence with married son (s) followed by 16 per cent giving a preference for living with spouse (24 per cent men as against 9 per cent women). The next preference was to live with assistance followed by staying with married daughter (s). Living alone was preferred by a few. Also, very few preferred to live in a home for the aged (3 per cent), and with unmarried son (s) (3 per cent) (see Table 105 & Figure 39).

Table 106: Shows preferred living arrangements of the sample elderly by their median age

Preferred living arrangement	N	Median age
Living alone	21	66
Living with spouse	40	66.5
Living with unmarried son(s)	7	65
Living with unmarried daughter (s)	4	71.5
Living with married son (s)	84	69
Living with married daughter (s)	27	69
Living with relative	21	69
Living with assistance	32	66
Living in a home for the aged	7	72
Total	243	68

Table 106 gives the median ages of the elderly by their preferred living arrangement. Elderly with a median age of 69 years preferred to live with married son (s), married daughter (s) and with relatives and those with a median age of 66.5 preferred to live with their spouse. A considerable number of those who preferred to live alone were of 66 years age. A few elderly who were much older (72 years) preferred to live in the home for the aged and with unmarried daughter (s) (71.5 years).

Table 107: Distribution of the sample elderly by their preferred living arrangements and median family income p.m.

Preferred living arrangement	N	Median family income
Living alone	21	8500
Living with spouse	40	13000
Living with unmarried son(s)	7	9000
Living with unmarried daughter (s)	4	17500
Living with married son (s)	84	15000
Living with married daughter (s)	27	11500
Living with relative	21	6000
Living with assistance	32	56500
Living in a home for the aged	7	17000
Total	243	15000

A large number of those elderly who showed preference to live with married son and married daughter were from median income groups of Rs 15000 and Rs 11500 respectively. Elderly who gave preference to live with spouse were also from similar income group. However, the elderly who preferred to live in the more independent forms of living arrangements such as with assistance (median =Rs 56500) or in the home for the aged (median= Rs 17000) were from much affluent groups (see Table 107).

Table 108: Distribution of the sample elderly by their preferred living arrangements and marital status

Preferred living arrangement	Marital status of respondent					Total N=243
	Married (n=169)	Widowed (n=56)	Separated (n=5)	Unmarried (n=6)	Remarried (n=7)	
Living alone	12 (7.1)	9 (16.1)	-	-	-	21 (8.6)
Living with spouse	38 (22.5)	1 (1.8)	-	-	1 (14.3)	40 (16.5)
Living with unmarried son(s)	3 (1.8)	4 (7.1)	-	-	-	7 (2.9)
Living with unmarried daughter (s)	2 (1.2)	2 (3.6)	-	-	-	4 (1.6)
Living with married son (s)	60 (35.5)	18 (32.1)	2 (40)	-	4 (57.1)	84 (34.6)
Living with married daughter	14 (8.3)	12 (21.4)	1 (20)	-	-	27 (11.1)
Living with relative	11 (6.5)	5 (8.9)	1 (20)	4 (66.7)	-	21 (8.6)
Living with assistance	23 (13.6)	4 (7.1)	1 (20)	2 (33.3)	2 (28.6)	32 (13.2)
Living in a home for the aged	6 (3.6)	1 (1.8)	-	-	-	7 (2.9)
Total	169 (100)	56 (100)	5 (100)	6 (100)	7 (100)	243 (100)

Data in Table 108 explored the relationship between the marital status of the sample elderly and their preferred type of living arrangement. As can be seen a majority of those who were currently married, remarried, widowed or in separated status, preferred to live with their married son (s). A majority of the unmarried elderly showed preference to live with a relative. Some of the widowed elderly showed preference either to live with a married daughter or to live alone. Thus, the overall thrust appears to be for parent-child coresidence.

How religion and caste background of the respondents might have affected their preferences for certain types of living arrangements? Answers to the questions are provided in Tables 109 & 110.

Table 109: Distribution of the sample elderly by their preferred living arrangements and religion

Preferred living arrangement	Religion of respondent					Total N=243
	Hindu (n=194)	Christian (n=4)	Muslim (n=29)	Jain (n=12)	Others <sup>a</sup> (n=4)	
Living alone	16 (8.2)	-	4 (13.8)	1 (8.3)	-	21 (8.6)
Living with spouse	33 (17)	-	4 (13.8)	3 (25)	-	40 (16.5)
Living with unmarried son(s)	6 (3.1)	1 (25)	-	-	-	7 (2.9)
Living with unmarried daughter (s)	2 (1)	-	2 (6.9)	-	-	4 (1.6)
Living with married son (s)	59 (30.4)	1 (25)	16 (55.2)	6 (50)	2 (50)	84 (34.6)
Living with married daughter (s)	24 (12.4)	-	3 (10.3)	-	-	27 (11.1)
Living with relative	18 (9.3)	2 (50)	-	1 (8.3)	-	21 (8.6)
Living with assistance	29 (14.9)	-	-	1 (8.3)	2 (50)	32 (13.2)
Living in a home for the aged	7 (3.6)	-	-	-	-	7 (2.9)
Total	194 (100)	4 (100)	29 (100)	12 (100)	4 (100)	243 (100)

Note. <sup>a</sup> Includes Parsees and Sikhs

Preference for nearly all types of parent-child coresidence was expressed by respondents belonging to Hindu and Muslim religious groups. However, half of the Jain sample elderly preferred to live with married son. Respondents from the Hindu religion gave preferences for all types of living arrangements including parent-child coresidence. However, except Hindus, none of the respondents from other religious groups gave preference to live in the home for the aged. Living with spouse only was another preferred choice among all religious groups except Christians.



Table 110: Distribution of the sample elderly by their preferred living arrangements and caste

Preferred living arrangement	Caste of respondent				Total N=243
	Other Caste (n=165)	Other Backward Caste (n=54)	Scheduled Caste (n=16)	Scheduled Tribe (n=8)	
Living alone	13 (7.9)	3 (5.5)	3 (18.7)	2 (25.0)	21 (8.6)
Living with spouse	23 (13.9)	11 (20.4)	4 (25.0)	2 (25.0)	40 (16.5)
Living with unmarried son(s)	3 (1.8)	3 (5.5)	1 (6.3)	-	7 (2.9)
Living with unmarried daughter (s)	3 (1.8)	1 (1.9)	-	-	4 (1.6)
Living with married son (s)	56 (33.9)	22 (40.7)	4 (25.0)	2 (25.0)	84 (34.6)
Living with married daughter (s)	21 (12.7)	4 (7.4)	1 (6.3)	1 (12.5)	27 (11.1)
Living with relative	8 (4.9)	9 (16.7)	3 (18.7)	1 (12.5)	21 (8.6)
Living with assistance	32 (19.5)	-	-	-	32 (13.2)
Living in a home for the aged	6 (3.6)	1 (1.9)	-	-	7 (2.9)
Total	165 (100)	54 (100)	16 (100)	8 (100)	243 (100)

It is found that the elderly from other castes (OC) and other backward castes (OBC) have shown preference to all types of living arrangements with the exception that none of OBC respondents gave preference for living with assistance. Similarly, none of the SC and ST respondents expressed preference for this type of living arrangement. In fact, living with married son(s) was the predominant type of living arrangement preferred by the respondents in all the caste groups, compared to other types. The other preferred living arrangements mentioned by the respondents across all caste groups were- living alone, living with spouse, living with married daughter and living with relatives.

Finally, let us see the relationship between their preferred living arrangements and the living arrangement in which they were staying in at the time of the study (see Table 111). Out of the 156 sample elderly living in parent-child coresidence, a majority (n=83) still preferred to live in the same arrangement among whom the preference to live with married son (39 per cent) was highest. The next preference however, was to live with spouse (22 per cent) and, with assistance (12 per cent), followed by other preferences. Interestingly, none of the sample elderly, currently living alone, preferred to live alone.

Table 111: Distribution of the sample elderly by their preferred living arrangements and the current living arrangement

Preferred living arrangement	Current living arrangement					Total N=243
	Parent-child co residence (n=156)	Living with spouse (n=57)	Living alone (n=9)	Living with relatives (n=18)	Living with assistance (n=3)	
Living alone	11 (7.1)	9 (15.8)	-	1 (5.6)	-	21 (8.6)
Living with spouse	35 (22.4)	4 (7)	-	1 (5.6)	-	40 (16.5)
Living with unmarried son(s)	6 (3.8)	-	1 (11.1)	-	-	7 (2.9)
Living with unmarried daughter (s)	4 (2.6)	-	-	-	-	4 (1.6)
Living with married son (s)	60 (38.5)	18 (31.6)	3 (33.3)	3 (16.7)	-	84 (34.6)
Living with married daughter	13 (8.3)	10 (17.5)	2 (22.2)	-	2 (66.7)	27 (11.1)
Living with relative	7 (4.5)	2 (3.5)	2 (22.2)	10 (55.6)	-	21 (8.6)
Living with assistance	18 (11.5)	10 (17.5)	1 (11.1)	2 (11.1)	1 (33.3)	32 (13.2)
Living in a home for the aged	2 (1.3)	4 (7)	-	1 (5.6)	-	7 (2.9)
Total	156 (100)	57 (100)	9 (100)	18 (100)	3 (100)	243 (100)

Similarly, of those who were living with spouse, very few (7 per cent) preferred to live in the same arrangement. Instead, their preferences were spread across other types of living arrangements including living alone and living with assistance. Here also, the predominant preference was for parent-child coresidence, with a slightly more preference to stay with married son. Only one person who was living with assistance preferred to continue to live in the same arrangement and the other two gave preference to live with the married daughter.

In Table 112 an attempt was made to look into the mean scores of loneliness and adaptation to old age for the sample elderly who were distributed according to their preferred living arrangements.

Table 112: Distribution of the sample elderly by their preferred living arrangements and the means and SDs of scores of loneliness and adaptation to old age

Preferred living arrangement	N	Loneliness (Mean (S.D))	Adaptation to old age (Mean (S.D))
Living alone	21	48.0 (10.6)	59.5 (9)
Living with spouse	40	44.8 (10.6)	61.0 (9.3)
Living with unmarried son(s)	7	45 (9)	62.5 (6.6)
Living with unmarried daughter (s)	4	37.2 (4.9)	64.7 (7.5)
Living with married son (s)	84	44.2 (8.2)	60.1 (9.6)
Living with married daughter (s)	27	47.8 (9.5)	62.1 (9.9)
Living with relative	21	48.1 (11.8)	56.2 (12.3)
Living with assistance	32	44.1 (8.4)	67.0 (10.2)
Living in the home for the aged	7	42.4 (5.2)	69.4 (8.1)
Total	243	45.2 (9.4)	61.4 (10.1)

It was found that the elderly who seemed to be experiencing the lowest degree of loneliness in their current living arrangement (mean=37.2,  $SD=4.9$ ) gave preference to live with unmarried daughter (s) while, those who seemed to experience the highest degree of loneliness (mean= 48.1,  $SD=11.8$ ) in their current living arrangement gave preference to live with relatives. Those who were experiencing comparatively lower degree of loneliness in current living arrangement preferred to live with assistance, with married son (s), with spouse and with unmarried sons while, those who experienced relatively high levels of loneliness in current living arrangements (mean=47.8,  $SD=9.5$  and mean=48.0,  $SD=10.6$ ) preferred to live with married daughter (s) and alone respectively.

Next, it can be seen that the elderly who have a better adaptation to old age (mean= 69.4,  $SD=8.1$  and mean=67,  $SD=10.2$ ) in the current living arrangement, either chose to live in the old age home or with assistance, respectively. On the other hand, elderly who reported the poorest adaptation to old age (mean= 56.2,  $SD=12.36$  and mean=59.5,  $SD=9.0$ ) in their current living arrangement, either preferred to live with relatives or to live alone. It might be noted that the elderly who expressed lower levels of loneliness also reported better adaptation to old age and vice versa.

*Reasons for stated preferences in living arrangements:* The elderly who stated their preference for a particular living arrangement in a hypothetical situation also indicated reasons for the same. The reasons mentioned for the 'one' preferred type generally reflected how the elderly saw themselves in their relationship with whom they wanted to stay. They were probably convinced that the preferred living arrangement might suit them better in which they would be happy. This was the strength of this information.

The reasons mentioned in the following tables can be broadly grouped into 3 major categories: a) Emotional, (include reasons such as to be with son's family, attachment with married daughter, daughter is concerned about parents' needs requiring support, feeling of togetherness and bonding, wish to spend time with grandchildren, mutual emotional support, child (ren) needs parents guidance etc.) b) Traditional, (include such reasons as belief in joint family, traditionally son takes care of parents, children get a chance to serve parents, no sons etc.), and c) instrumental (include such reasons as locality & facilities are good, space availability, spouse's ill health, seek privacy and independence, financial dependency, and so on).

It can be observed that when the respondents were relating reasons pertaining to their preferential living arrangements such as living with married son (s), or married daughter, those reasons were mostly emotional with one or two that were traditional, followed by instrumental reasons. Emotional and instrumental reasons also figured when substantiating their preference to live with unmarried children. However, their preference for other living arrangements was backed mostly by instrumental reasons.

Table 113: Distribution of the reasons stated by the sample elderly for preference to stay with married son (s)

Reasons	n	% <sup>*</sup>
Feeling of togetherness and bonding	71	86.6
To be with son's family	68	82.9
Traditionally son takes care of parents	66	80.5
Wish to spend time with grandchildren	63	76.8
Belief in Joint family	57	69.5
Confidence that son will take care of us	55	67.1
Mutual emotional support	53	64.6
Sons get a chance to serve parents	39	47.6
Locality and facilities are good	27	32.9
Son is financially sound	26	31.7
Son wants respondent to move in	13	15.9
Son needs our emotional support	8	9.8
Other <sup>a</sup>	28	34.1
Total	574	700.0

n= 82

**Note.** <sup>\*</sup> Multiple responses and hence the percentages do not add to 100.

<sup>a</sup> Includes reasons such as will have people close by to talk to, health care would be provided for, to preserve Indian values and culture, want to have son with them during the last moments, familiarity to place, attachment with son, would be able to have own room.

Table 113 shows that of the 82 elderly who gave reasons for their preference to live with married son (s), a majority (87 per cent) said it gave a feeling of togetherness and bonding and 83 per cent said that they wanted to be with son and his family. About 80 per cent said traditionally son takes care of parents, and around 77 per cent wanted to spend time with grandchildren. Other reasons figured were: belief in joint family, for mutual emotional support etc. Most of the reasons come under emotion related and tradition/custom related category. There were also instrumental reasons like locality and facilities were good, son is financially sound etc.

Table 114: Distribution of the reasons stated by the sample elderly for their preference to live with spouse

Reasons	n	%*
We get along well with each other	37	92.5
Familiar environment/support network	33	82.5
Financially independent	24	60.0
Seek privacy and independence	20	50.0
Physically healthy	11	27.5
Other <sup>a</sup>	36	90.0
Total	161	402.5

n=40

Note. \* Multiple responses and hence the percentages do not add to 100.

<sup>a</sup> Includes reasons such as able to afford hired help for maintenance, wanted privacy, independence & autonomy to lead a comfortable life, to avoid being a hindrance to child's career prospects and independent living, no confidence that child/DIL would take care of them, space constraints at child's home, and absence of any other option.

Of the 40 elderly who preferred to live with spouse, a majority (92 per cent) gave the reason that the couple got along well with each other and attachment with place and people, which were the emotional reasons. The rest all were instrumental reasons such as respondents are healthy, seek financial independence and privacy, and so on (Table 114).

Table 115: Distribution of the reasons stated by the sample elderly for their preference to stay with married daughter

Reasons	n	%*
More attachment with daughter than with son	21	80.8
Progressive views of family	16	61.5
Need for support due to resp/spouses' illness	14	53.8
No sons	11	42.3
Daughter/ Son-in-Law wants parents to move in	11	42.3
Daughter is financially sound	9	34.6
Other <sup>a</sup>	17	65.4
Total	99	380.8

n=26

Note. \* Multiple responses and hence the percentages do not total to 100.

<sup>a</sup> Includes reasons such as understanding and adjusting nature, similar personality/tastes, has a cook, availability of space, confident of daughter's care, would enjoy her company and son-in-law is supportive.

Giving reasons for their preference to live with married daughter a majority (81 per cent) said that it was because the respondent had more attachment with the daughter than with son. A little more than half of the 26 respondents said that they were a progressive family therefore inspite of cultural opposition to such a living arrangement, they prefer to stay with their married daughter. Respondents need daughter's support, daughter/son-in-law wanted respondent to move in, respondent had no sons etc. also figured as reasons (Table 115).

Table 116: Distribution of the reasons stated by the sample elderly for their preference to live with relatives

Reasons	n	%*
Feel relatives can take care of respondent	20	83.3
Get on well with relatives	19	79.2
Emotional attachment	14	58.3
Mutual dependence	14	58.3
Financial dependence on relatives	11	45.8
Resp. was asked to move in	7	29.2
Total	85	354.2

n=24

Note. \* Multiple responses and hence the percentages do not add to 100.

As can be seen from Table 116, there were both emotional and instrumental reasons cited by the 24 respondents for their preference to live with relatives.

Table 117: Distribution of the reasons stated by the sample elderly for their preference to live alone

Reason	n	%*
Not to be a burden/constraint in others' life	13	61.9
To retain privacy and independence	12	57.1
Respondent not confident of children's care	10	47.6
Conflict with son/daughter-in-law/spouse	5	23.8
Attachment to place and social network	7	33.3
Other <sup>a</sup>	16	76.2
Total	63	300

n= 21

Note. \* Multiple responses and hence the percentages do not add to 100.

<sup>a</sup> Includes reasons such as death of spouse, no other option and change in children's behavior/attitude.

The reasons mentioned for living alone as a preferred living arrangement were mostly instrumental. Of the 21 respondents, nearly half mentioned reasons such as not wanting to be a burden to others, to retain independence and privacy, and so on. Desire to age in place, conflict with son/ daughter-in-law /spouse were also mentioned (see Table 117).

Seven elderly respondents offered reasons for their preference to stay in an old age home. Most of them mentioned the reasons that they would be able to afford an old age home of their liking, the facilities/services required were available at one place, and they can have company of the same age group. Not wanting to burden others, having no sons, living with married daughter was not the custom, and increasing dependence with respondents' advancing age have also been mentioned.

Thirty two respondents mentioned reasons for preferring to live with assistance as a type of living arrangement. The reasons were: they would be able to afford and can manage full-time hired help, they need services/support/protection/security of hired help, desire for independence and privacy, due to divorced or widowed status, unavailability of children, do not wish to burden family, cannot adjust with child's life, and conflict with daughter-in-law.

Only 7 and 4 respondents offered their reasons as to why they prefer living with unmarried son or daughter, respectively. The reasons centered on mutual emotional and financial dependence, the daughter needs protection and the son needs guidance and ill health of the respondent/spouse.



i) Elderly persons' perception of the treatment (both positive and negative) meted by the younger generation towards them. The times are changing especially with regard to the treatment of the elderly. Hence, an attempt has been made to explore how the elderly perceive the way they were treated by their family members in the current living arrangement. Two hundred and twenty five and 177 elderly made observations regarding the positive and negative treatment towards the elderly respectively. The elderly also gave suggestions about how they think the younger generation and society should treat them in the family.

Table 118: Distribution of the perceptions of the sample elderly about the positive treatment by the younger generation

Positive treatment	n	%*
Treated with concern and respect	206	91.6
Took care as part of filial duty	178	79.1
Provided with medical care	176	78.2
Their behavior bound by <i>sanskar</i> towards elderly	170	75.6
children gave emotional support	167	74.2
children gave financial support	163	72.4
They listen to the elderly	163	72.4
There is reciprocity/mutual dependence	145	64.4
Provided with means of entertainment	114	50.7
Involved them in decision making	109	48.4
Fear of public opinion makes them treat elderly with respect	63	28.0
Daughter-in-law/son-in-law treat them with respect	62	28.0

n= 225

Note. \* Multiple responses and hence the percentages do not add to 100.

As can be seen from Table 118, a majority (225 out of a sample of 243) of the respondents came up with instances of positive treatment towards them by the younger generation, though there were indications of slight overtones of social and ethical pressure working on their children to look after the elderly/ parents with respect. There was acknowledgement by the elderly of the provision of medical care, entertainment, financial support, emotional support to them by children, and involving parents in decision making so on.

Table 119: Distribution of the perceptions of the sample elderly about how they were treated negatively by the younger generation

Negative treatment	n	%*
Children's values eroded because of social change	160	90.4
Children's priorities changed resulting in neglect of the parents	134	75.7
Elderly are treated as a burden	129	72.9
Children did not have time for the elderly	127	71.8
Elderly are considered outdated	120	67.8
They are not given any role in family life	113	63.8
Lack of empathy toward the elderly	109	61.6
Lack of understanding about the age-related changes in their parents	106	59.9
Children became self-centered	105	59.3
Elderly are not provided emotional support	98	55.4
Children became money minded	98	55.4
Ill-treated by daughter-in-law /son-in-law	90	50.8
Children's life style did not accommodate parents	88	49.7
Subjected to discrimination based on age	84	47.5
Children abandon parents for the sake of property	77	43.5
Old parents are seen as a burden due to constraints faced by the child	45	25.4

n=177

Note. \* Multiple responses and hence the percentages do not add to 100.

Along with their perception of the younger generation's positive treatment of the elderly, the respondents have also expressed their perception about the different ways the elderly faced negative treatment. The main reason mentioned by them was social change leading to erosion of values among children with regard to care of the elderly. Other reasons mentioned were: changes in the priorities of child (ren) resulting in the neglect of their parents, elderly are treated as a burden, change in the behavior of the child (ren) towards the parents, elderly are considered obsolete due to generation gap, lack of empathy toward elderly, lack of understanding about the age-related changes in their parents, child(ren) became money minded, self centered, changing life styles of child(ren) were unable to accommodate the parents, discrimination of the elderly and so on (Table 119).

Table 120: Distribution of the suggestions of the sample elderly (to the younger generation) to ensure better treatment towards the elderly

Suggestions	n	% <sup>*</sup>
Children should care for the elderly in the family	230	95.0
Fulfill basic needs (food, clothes, shelter, privacy, money)	225	93.0
Meet emotional needs & providing psychological support	201	83.1
Meet physical needs of the elderly as they grow old	199	82.2
Ensure elderly a functional life (decision making, roles and responsibilities, mutual dependence, take advice)	197	81.4
Other <sup>a</sup>	65	26.9

n=242

Note. <sup>\*</sup> Multiple responses and hence the percentages do not add to 100.

<sup>a</sup> Include such responses as provide proper environment, reduce generation gap, inculcate ethical values among the younger generation, avoid demands and conflicts, not expect property, create joy for elderly, serve the elderly, can hire help for parents if children can afford, children have to be tuned to needs of elderly, and never forget to take care of parents.

The respondents were asked about their suggestions to youth that would ensure better treatment of the older persons (Table 120). Almost all the sample elderly except one respondent gave suggestions. A predominant number of the suggestions of the elderly were clustered around taking care of the elderly in the family context and taking care of their basic material, emotional and physical needs. They not only wanted that the medical needs of the elderly to be attended to but desired a space in the family, functional roles and a life with dignity for the elderly.

### Further analysis

In the following pages, a further analysis of the data was taken up to understand the relationship between current living arrangements, quality of life, loneliness, adaptation to old age and some socio- demographic variables of the study sample. More specifically, the possible factors for the variation in the levels of quality of life and its related variables experienced by the elderly respondents in the five types of the living arrangements were explored.

Table 121 provides the details of the scores for the four domains of quality of life, independence in activities of daily living (IADL index), loneliness, and adaptation to old age (AOA) and of its four sub-domains with regard to sample elderly.

Table 121: Descriptive details of total scores and domain/ sub-domain scores of the measures used in the study

Measure	Range	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	SD
<u>Quality of life domains</u>					
Physical health	14.3	5.71	20	14.24	3.08
Psychological well-being	13.3	6.67	20	15.56	2.68
Social relationships	16	4	20	13.45	3.35
Environment	12.5	7.5	20	16.15	2.73
<u>Independence in activities of daily living</u>	4	2	6	5.92	0.49
<u>Loneliness</u>	44	25	69	45.25	9.39
<u>Adaptation to old age</u>	48	32	80	61.44	10.12
<u>Adaptation to old age sub- domains</u>					
Health comparison	13	7	20	15.93	2.75
General adaptation	12	8	20	16.86	2.98
Self-control	15	5	20	13.13	3.83
Generativity	15	5	20	15.5	3.36

An attempt was made to find out the inter-correlations between the age, family income p.m. and the scores of the quality of life domains and related measures in Table 122. It was seen that physical health ( $r = -0.208$ ;  $p < 0.05$ ) and social relationships ( $r = -0.213$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ) were inversely related to age. It appears that social relationships become weak as one grows older. Same was the case with physical health and its variation with age. Family income was significantly positively correlated ( $p < 0.01$ ) with the three domains of quality of life with the exception of physical health. It means that those 3 domains of quality of life of the elderly with higher incomes seemed to be better. A look at the relationship between loneliness and the four domains of quality of life showed negative correlations that were strong and statistically significant ( $p < 0.05$ ). This indicated that the respondents who were low on these 4 domains reported experiencing a greater degree of loneliness. The adaptation to old age was positively correlated with the four domains of the quality of life ( $p < 0.05$ ) indicating that better performance on these four domains was linked to successful adaptation to old age.

Table 122: Showing inter-correlation between the scores of quality of life sub-domains, loneliness, adaptation to old age and certain socio-demographic variables of the sample elderly

Variable	Age	Family income	Loneliness	Adaptation to old age
Family income	- 0.011	-		
<u>Quality of life</u>				
Physical health	-0.208*	0.106	-0.495**	0.512**
Psychological well-being	-0.101	0.186**	-0.580**	0.499**
Social relationships	-0.213**	0.221**	-0.590**	0.610**
Environment	0.077	0.335**	-0.487**	0.560**
<u>Loneliness</u>	0.087	-0.227**	-	-
<u>Adaptation to old age</u>	-0.160*	0.329**	-0.529**	-

N=243

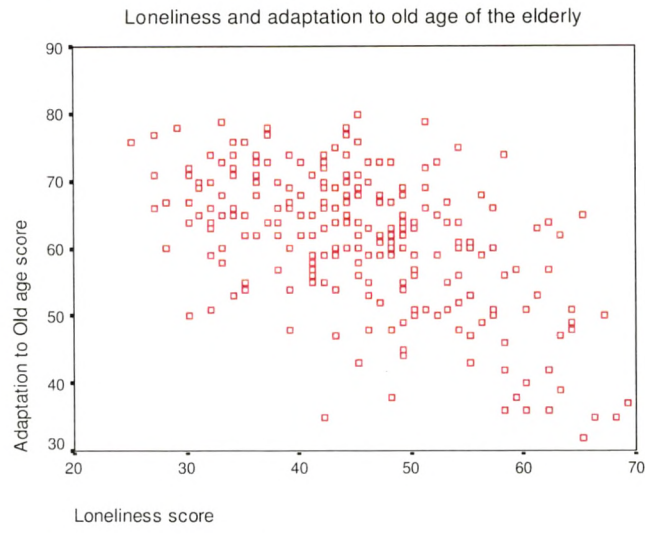
Note. \*Correlation is significant at the  $p<0.05$  level (2-tailed).

\*\* Correlation is significant at the  $p<0.01$  level (2-tailed).

There was a moderate negative correlation ( $r = -0.22$ ;  $p < 0.05$ ) between family income and loneliness meaning that the elderly who were affluent might report lower levels of loneliness. Adaptation to old age though negatively correlated with age, it was found to be better for the elderly with a higher family income.

Lastly, it is important to note that loneliness and adaptation to old age have a strong negative correlation ( $r=-0.529$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ) indicating the fact that better the adaptation to old age, lower was the feeling of loneliness reported. Therefore, the elderly who reported a better quality of life also tend to report a lower degree of loneliness and a better adaptation to old age. Figure 38 shows the strength and direction of this relationship.

Figure 38: Distribution of the sample elderly by their mean scores and SD's of loneliness and adaptation to old age



Note.  $r = -0.529, p > 0.01$ .

Now, does this relationship vary with the type of living arrangements of the elderly? Table 123 throws light on this relationship.

Table 123: Correlations of loneliness with adaptation to old age by type of living arrangements of the sample elderly

Type of living arrangement	N	Correlation between loneliness and adaptation to old age
Parent-child coresidence	156	-0.530**
Living with spouse	57	-0.504**
Living alone	9	-0.415
Living with relatives	18	-0.622**
Living with assistance	3	0.599

Note. \*\* Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

It is observed in Table 123 that irrespective of the type of living arrangement, the negative correlation between loneliness and adaptation to old age for the sample elderly was strong and statistically significant ( $p < 0.01$ ) except in the case of living alone.

The next question was whether the means of age and mean scores and SD's of quality of life and its related measures differed because of the sex of the respondents?

Table 124: Significance of the difference between the means of age, means and SD's of scores of quality of life domains and its related variables of the sample elderly by sex

Characteristic	Sex	Mean	SD	t-value (df=241)	Sig. Two-tailed
Age	Male	70.32	7.08	2.46	.01
	Female	68.11	6.8		
<u>Quality of life</u>					
Physical health	Male	14.84	3.04	3.04	.00
	Female	13.66	3.02		
Psychological well-being	Male	15.80	2.59	1.35	.17
	Female	15.33	2.74		
Social relationships	Male	13.90	3.30	2.05	.05
	Female	13.02	3.36		
Environment	Male	16.51	2.49	2.00	.05
	Female	15.81	2.91		
<u>Loneliness</u>	Male	43.88	8.94	-2.26	.02
	Female	46.59	9.66		
<u>Adaptation to old age</u>	Male	63.47	9.58	3.15	.00
	Female	59.45	10.28		

N=243 (Female=123; Male=120)

In Table 124, an attempt was made to test whether the differences in the means of age, and in the means of scores of quality of life and its related variables for the elderly men and women were statistically significant. Elderly women were younger (68.1 years) than men (70.3 years), and women exhibited consistently lower scores on the quality of life domains. Further, they reported experiencing higher levels of loneliness and a lower adaptation to old age as compared to men. These differences of mean scores for these variables by sex were found to be statistically significant on a t-test.

It was observed that the marital status of the elderly influenced the quality of life and related variables of the sample elderly (see Table 125).

Table 125: Showing the Means and SD's of scores of quality of life domains and its related variables by marital status of the sample elderly

Marital Status	N	Quality of life						Loneliness		Adaptation to Old age	
		Physical health		Social Relationships		Environment					
		Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Married	169	14.71	2.92	14.22	3.21	16.57	2.38	43.87	9.03	63.36	9.12
Widowed	56	13.13	3.20	11.67	2.72	14.98	3.21	48.88	9.07	55.88	9.88
Separated	5	11.77	3.25	10.13	3.48	15.20	3.40	54.20	11.19	56.40	15.11
Unmarried	6	13.90	2.72	12.00	4.99	16.42	3.58	49.17	12.67	62.83	14.27
Remarried	7	14.04	3.86	12.76	3.43	15.93	3.43	40.00	4.12	62.00	13.25
Total	243	14.25	3.09	13.45	3.36	16.15	2.73	45.26	9.40	61.44	10.13

It is clearly evident from Table 125 that married elderly reported better on the three domains of quality of life, lower levels of loneliness, and a better adaptation to old age than those of other marital statuses. Hence, being married made a difference to the well-being among the sample elderly.

The next important question was to see how the domains of quality of life or loneliness or the adaptation to old age that was reported by the sample elderly varied depending on the type of living arrangements they were in. Figures 39 to 43 show the striking variations in the means scores of the measures by the type of living arrangement for the sample elderly.



Figure 39: Mean scores of physical health domain by types of living arrangements of the sample elderly

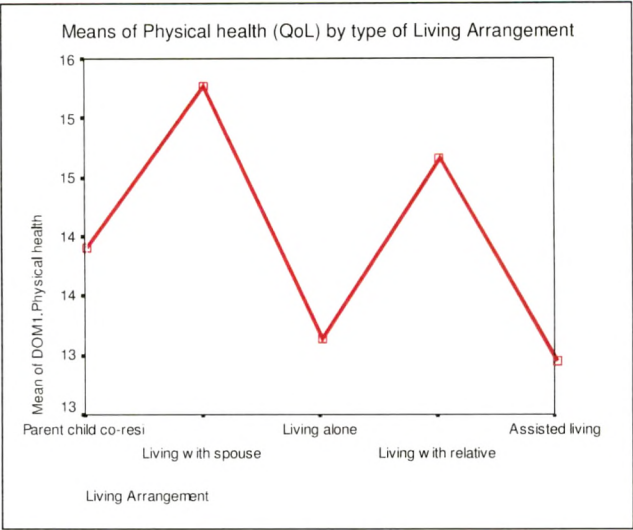
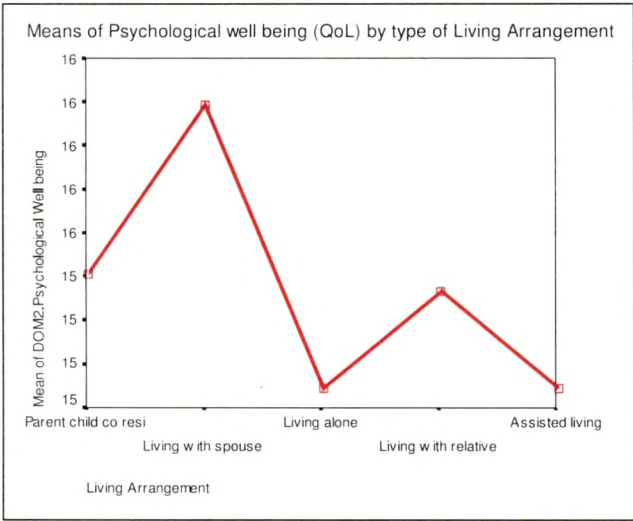


Figure 40: Mean scores of psychological well-being domain by types of living arrangements of the sample elderly



As can be seen from Figures 39 & 40, respondents living with spouse and in parent-child coresidence reported better physical health and psychological well-being, and it was reportedly poor (on both these domains) for those respondents who lived alone and with assistance.

Figure 41: Means of scores of social relationships domain by types of living arrangements of the sample elderly

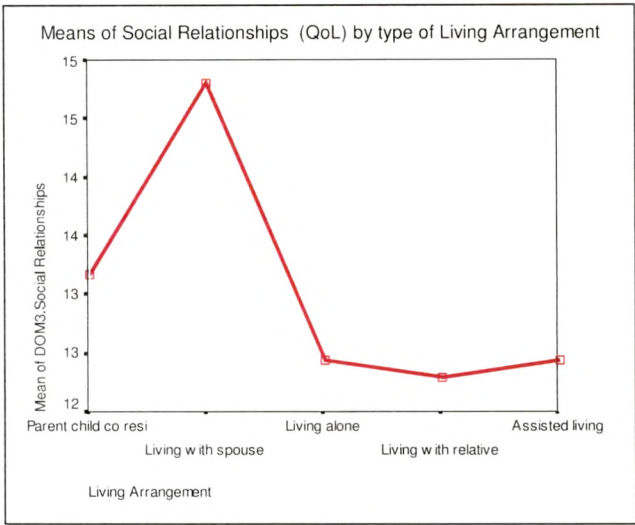
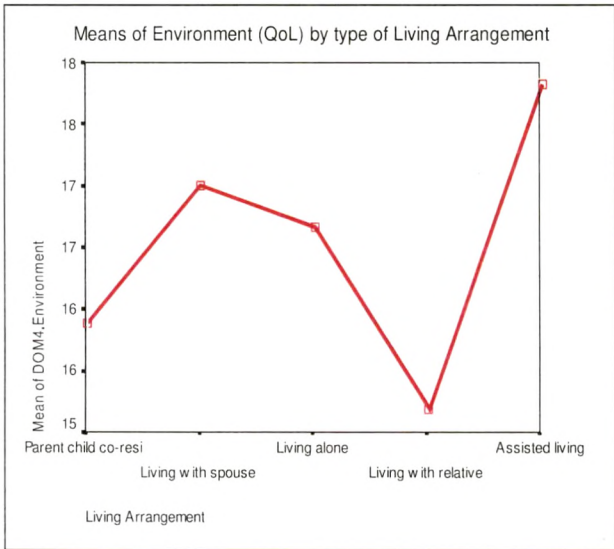


Figure 42: Means of scores of environment domain by types of living arrangements of the sample elderly



When it came to social relationships and environment, respondents who lived with relatives reported poorest adjustment compared even to those who lived alone (see Figures 41 & 42). This showed that the elderly who were living with relatives were most constrained in terms of social relationships and their external environment. And the elderly who lived with assistance reported greater satisfaction with the environment.

Figure 43: Means of scores of loneliness by types of living arrangements of the sample elderly

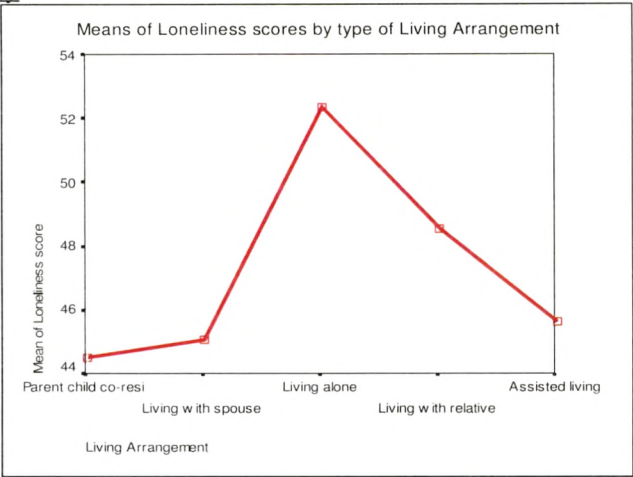
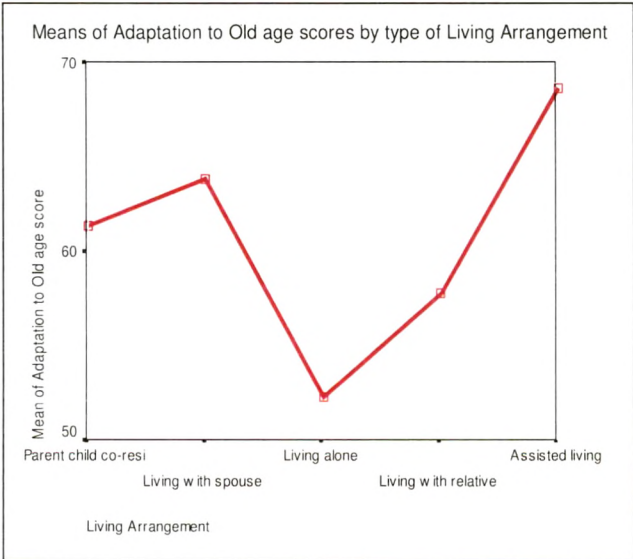


Figure 44: Means of scores of adaptation to old age by types of living arrangements of the sample elderly



Next, the graphs (Figures 43 & 44) presenting the relationship of loneliness and adaptation to old age and the type of living arrangements brought up interesting details. It can be seen that the respondents who lived alone reported highest levels of loneliness and those who were in parent-child coresidence reported the lowest. The next lower levels of loneliness were reported by those living with the spouse (Figure 43).

Understandably, Figure 44 shows the reverse order of these findings i.e. those living alone reported the lowest levels of adaptation to old age and those living in parent-child coresidence showed better adaptation to old age. Though the elderly living with assistance showed highest levels of adaptation to old age, in view of their small number (n=3), these results need to be considered with caution.

It was found earlier that the well-being of the sample elderly varied greatly by sex (see Table 124), where women consistently fared poor than men on the three measures used. Hence, a further analysis was done by taking a sex-wise distribution of the sample elderly in each type of the living arrangement, to see whether there were any variations observed in the three measures used by sex and type of living arrangements. The information is given in the following pages (Tables 126, 127 and 128). Also, the mediating effects of the marital status on both QoL and the types of living arrangements was looked into.



First, the means of scores on the four domains of quality of life distributed by sex and living arrangements of the sample elderly were examined. On the whole, in all types of living arrangements for the four quality of life domains, men fared better than women, with a few exceptions. That is, women living with spouse only reported better psychological well-being, better social relationships and environment than men in the same type of living arrangement. On the other hand, elderly men who lived alone reported better physical health (mean=16.57,  $SD=0.57$ ) and psychological well-being (mean=17.33,  $SD=1.15$ ) compared to men and women in the other types of living arrangements. Elderly men living alone also reported better social relationships compared to men in all the other arrangements.

The means of scores of loneliness of the sample elderly who were distributed according to their sex and type of living arrangement were looked at in Table 127, to see whether levels of loneliness reported by men or women varied with the type of living arrangements they were in.

Table 127: Showing means and SDs of scores of loneliness by sex and types of living arrangements of the sample elderly

Living arrangement	Sex of respondent								
	Male			Female			Total		
	N	Mean	S D	n	Mean	S D	N	Mean	S D
Parent-child coresidence	78	42.8	8.6	78	46.1	9.2	156	44.5	9.0
Living with spouse	31	45.0	10.1	26	45.1	9.4	57	45.0	9.7
Living alone	3	50.3	7.0	6	53.3	8.7	9	52.3	7.9
Living with relatives	6	46.6	5.7	12	49.5	12.6	18	48.5	10.7
Living with assistance	2	48.0	8.4	1	41.0	0.0	3	45.6	7.2
Total	120	43.8	8.9	123	46.5	9.6	243	45.2	9.4

While women in the sample were lonelier (mean= 46.59,  $SD= 9.6$ ) than men (mean= 43.88,  $SD= 8.9$ ), even in the different types of living arrangements they continued to report being lonelier. Moreover, the experience of loneliness was greater among women when they were living alone, followed by living with relatives and in parent-child coresidence, in that order (see Table 127).

Similarly, as mentioned earlier, in terms of adaptation to old age, overall the elderly men expressed better levels of adaptation to old age than women. Now, the data was analyzed further to find out how the living arrangements by sex of the respondents made a difference. The results are shown in Table 128.

Table 128: Showing means and SDs of scores of adaptation to old age of the respondents by sex and type of living arrangement of the sample elderly

Type of living arrangement	Mean	Sex of respondent		Total
		Male	Female	
Parent-child coresidence	Mean	63.29	59.45	61.37
	S.D	9.44	9.21	9.49
	N	78	78	156
Living with spouse	Mean	63.19	64.58	63.82
	S.D	10.00	9.67	9.79
	N	31	26	57
Living alone	Mean	61.67	47.67	52.33
	S.D	15.50	9.81	13.01
	N	3	6	9
Living with relatives	Mean	64.5	54.5	57.83
	S.D	8.04	12.58	12.04
	N	6	12	18
Living with assistance	Mean	74.5	57	68.67
	S.D	0.71	0.00	10.12
	N	2	1	3
Total	Mean	63.48	59.46	61.44
	S.D	9.59	10.28	10.13
	N	120	123	243

As can be seen, elderly women living with spouse showed better adaptation to old age (mean= 64.58,  $SD=9.6$ ) followed by those who were staying in parent-child coresidence (mean=59.45,  $SD=9.2$ ), than those living in other living arrangements. Elderly men living with relatives showed better adaptation to old age (mean=64.5,  $SD=8.04$ ). The next better group was the elderly men living in parent-child coresidence. Thus, parent-child coresidence though second in order, seemed to be a better living arrangement for both women and men, in terms of adaptation to old age. As mentioned earlier, in view of small number, the results of those who lived with assistance should be considered with caution.

An exploration of how the QoL & its related variables differed with the type of living arrangements due to the marital status revealed that married elderly living in parent-child coresidence and with spouse fared better in terms of the mean scores on the three measures used.

Next, an attempt was made to compare the means of adaptation to old age and three domains of quality of life (i.e. physical health, social relationships and environment) of the elderly living in different types of living arrangements to see whether there are any differences between the groups<sup>2</sup> (see Table 129).

Table 129: One-way analysis of variance summary table for the effect of types of living arrangement on the quality of life domains and adaptation to old age of the sample elderly

Measure		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
<u>Adaptation to old age</u>	Between groups	1462.04	4	365.51	3.73	0.006
	Within groups	23355.85	238	98.13		
	Total	24817.89	242			
<u>Quality of life</u>						
Physical health	Between groups	97.28	4	24.32	2.62	0.036
	Within groups	2209.64	238	9.28		
	Total	2306.92	242			
Social relationships	Between groups	153.20	4	38.30	3.54	0.008
	Within groups	2577.48	238	10.83		
	Total	2730.68	242			
Environment	Between groups	79.83	4	19.96	2.75	0.029
	Within groups	1729.13	238	7.27		
	Total	1808.96	242			

A one way between the groups ANOVA was used to test whether the living arrangements made a difference to the quality of life of the elderly and adaptation to old age. As can be seen from Table 129, the level of adaptation to old age ( $F(4,238) = 3.73$ ;  $p < 0.006$ ), physical health ( $F(4,238) = 2.62$ ;  $p < 0.03$ ), social relationships ( $F(4,238) = 3.54$ ;  $p < 0.008$ ), and environment ( $F(4, 238) = 2.75$ ;  $p < 0.029$ ) were different for the elderly living in different living arrangements.

<sup>2</sup> The variables psychological well-being and loneliness were not included because of the skewed distribution and small number of the variables respectively.



The Leven's test for homogeneity of variance for the 4 dependent variables was not significant indicating that the population variances for the groups were approximately equal (see Table 130).

Table 130: Test of Homogeneity of Variances of the measures used in the study

Measure	Levene Statistic	df1	df2	Sig.
<u>Quality of life</u>				
Physical health	0.236	4	238	0.918
Social Relationships	0.224	4	238	0.925
Environment	0.658	4	238	0.621
<u>Adaptation to Old age</u>	1.015	4	238	0.400

Table 131: Showing means and SDs of scores of quality of life domains and adaptation to old age by type of living arrangement of the elderly

Score	Type of LA	N	Mean	S.D
<u>Quality of life</u>				
Physical health	Parent-child coresidence	156	13.91 <sup>b</sup>	3.06
	Living with spouse	57	15.28 <sup>b</sup>	2.99
	Living alone	9	13.14	2.89
	Living with relatives	18	14.67	3.23
	Living with assistance	3	12.95	2.38
	Total	243	14.25	3.09
Social relationships	Parent-child coresidence	156	13.17 <sup>c</sup>	3.24
	Living with spouse	57	14.81 <sup>c,d</sup>	3.22
	Living alone	9	12.44	3.33
	Living with relatives	18	12.30 <sup>d</sup>	3.90
	Living with assistance	3	12.44	3.36
	Total	243	13.45	3.36
Environment	Parent-child coresidence	156	15.89	2.72
	Living with spouse	57	17.01	2.59
	Living alone	9	16.67	3.10
	Living with relatives	18	15.19	2.76
	Living with assistance	3	17.83	1.15
	Total	243	16.15	2.73
<u>Adaptation to old age score</u>	Parent-child coresidence	156	61.37	9.49
	Living with spouse	57	63.82 <sup>a</sup>	9.79
	Living alone	9	52.33 <sup>a</sup>	13.01
	Living with relatives	18	57.83	12.04
	Living with assistance	3	68.67	10.12
	Total	243	61.44	10.13

Note. Means in the column with similar superscripts indicate that they are significantly different from each other.

Data was further analyzed to see where the significant differences lie if the respondents were different on these variables according to the living arrangements they were in. Table 131 gives the data based on Tukey's HSD.

The findings of the table are summarized as under:

- a. In terms of physical health, those elderly living with spouse were better off than those living in parent-child coresidence.
- b. In the area of social relationships, elderly who were living with spouse could maintain better social networks compared to those living either in parent-child coresidence or with relatives.
- c. In terms of adaptation to old age, elderly who were living with spouse were better as compared to those living alone.

In summary it can be concluded based on the findings from the sample that living with spouse followed by living in parent-child coresidence were found to be better in terms of quality of life -especially the physical well-being, social networks and adaptation to later life among the elderly.

## Section II

### Case Studies

In this chapter the case studies of 9 respondents are presented, mainly to know about their transitions to other types of living arrangements in the past three decades, their perceptions about their current living arrangements, what changes they would like in their arrangement in the next few years to improve them, and about the living arrangement of their preference. Of those who were interviewed there were 3 women and 6 men in the age-range of 60- 84 years. They were drawn from all income groups. The details about their marital status, religion, living arrangement etc. are given in Table 132. The mean scores for the total sample elderly on each of the measures used are also given in Table 133 for purposes of reference.

**Table 132: Details of the respondents for whom case studies are done**

S. No.	Name*	Sex	Age	Marital Status	Family Income p.m. (Rs.)	Religion	Living Arrangement
1	Janice	F	69	Unmarried	35000	Christian	With Relative
2	Hussein	M	79	Married	3000-5000	Islam	With Spouse
3	Mahesh	M	60	Separated	80000	Hindu	With Assistance
4	Karishma	F	67	Unmarried	60000	Hindu	With Relative
5	Sarita	F	67	Widow	600	Hindu	Lives Alone
6	Kumar	M	84	Unmarried	23000	Hindu	With Relative
7	Jeevan	M	69	Married	10000	Hindu	With Spouse
8	Hamid	M	81	Married	10000	Islam	With Married Sons
9	Krishnakant	M	79	Married	20000	Hindu	With Spouse

\*The names of the respondents have been changed to maintain confidentiality.

Table 133: Mean scores and SD's of the total sample on the measures used

Measures	Mean score	S.D
<u>QOL Domains</u>		
Physical Health	14.25	3.09
Psychological Well-being	15.56	2.68
Social Relationships	13.50	3.36
Environment	15.90	2.98
<u>Loneliness</u>	45.25	9.39
<u>Adaptation to Old Age</u>	61.40	10.13

#### **1. Having a choice about where to live: Being grounded and 'in control'**

Janice is a 69 year old, unmarried, Catholic Christian woman. She used to work as a private secretary to an executive in a firm and was in that job for 30 years. For the last 6 years she was living along with her younger brother aged 61 years. The place of origin of her family was Goa but she was born and brought up in Vadodara. They were staying in a two-storied, six-roomed house that was jointly owned by three siblings (including Janice).

The source of her income was interest earned on her past savings (Rs 17000 p.m.), a pension of her brother (Rs 10000 p.m.) who was contributing to running the household, and rent (Rs 8000 p.m.) accrued through a paying guest accommodation that she provided. They had a hired help to attend to the household chores. A gardener came fortnightly for trimming the lawn and to take care of the plants. According to her, their family values were based on living together in a harmonious manner, at the same time giving space and freedom for family members. In the family, decisions were made by the elders taking into consideration the views of all the members in the family.

At the time of the interview she appeared well- groomed sported a bob-cut, wore a simple cotton dress and exuded grace & contentment. Amid the tall apartments that formed a stiletto in the backdrop, was their house- a peaceful and slumbering villa with a neat garden. It was a goan style structure with 2 floors (approximately 3 bedrooms, 2 halls, study room and a kitchen) and was a well-lighted, ventilated place. She expressed pride about her house and the neighborhood which was one of the well-to-do and well connected localities in the city. She was living in the same house for the last 50 years, from when her family started living there in the 1960's. She expressed-

“I am lucky to continue to live in my familiar surroundings for over half a century and now if you ask me to close my eyes and go about my work in this home, I will be able to do so effortlessly. This home and its premises mean a lot to me”.

This shows her attachment to the house. She was maintaining the up keep of the house and the garden. She retained the setting of the house like it was when her parents were around. Being the oldest among the siblings, she had already decided that she would spend the rest of her life in the house and a decision was taken that till she was alive, the property should not be sold. And later it was up to her siblings, nephew and niece to make a decision.

Janice's father, paternal uncles, and aunts lived in this house during 1960's as a joint family. Most of her close relatives who lived at this house went to UK and the US during the past 20 years and settled there. Her parents and older relatives passed away during the past 10 years. Eventually, since the last 6 years she and her brother were staying together and she said that she was fine with this living arrangement as her brother was unmarried and there was no need for her to adjust with anyone. She also felt that as both of them were growing old they would need each other's help and support.

Her daily routine was fixed as far as the household work was concerned, and with regard to timings for food and sleeping. Praying at home or at church was an important part of her daily routine which helped her feel relaxed. She and her brother went regularly to the church, for shopping, get togethers, movies and kitty parties, and also entertained friends at their place. Further, they interacted regularly with their paying guests. She took moderate amount of nutritious food, perceived herself as active and healthy and looked much younger to her age. She did not have any diagnosed illness common during old age and was not on any medication. In case she had any seasonal illness, she visited the doctor promptly. Her brother too was health conscious like her, and often encouraged her to take morning walks. She accepted the changes that come with age and felt fortunate to have better health than many others she knew. Hence, the living arrangement that she was in allowed her to take care of herself as she had her brother's support (see Figure 45).

Janice was always engaged with the here and now of life. Even while working, she gave her best to the job and she was appreciated for it. However, she consciously chose not to be in touch with the colleagues of the firm where she worked, so that she can detach herself completely from that phase of her life. She did not marry because she could not find the right person, had no regrets about it and accepted it as 'God's wish'. She was financially independent, was taking a few decisions on her own, and others in consultation with her brother. Besides her brother who was staying with her at time of the study, she was in regular touch with her other sibling and relatives staying abroad, who were a source of emotional support to her. Being a working woman and a goan Christian, she was from a culture where meeting friends and going out for common gatherings was an accepted norm. She and her brother had common friends whom they met regularly. They also believed in enjoying life so they went out just for the purpose of entertainment. She valued her social life that made her feel connected with friends and other people and had affectionate relationships and attachment bonds with her nephew and niece who lived abroad. When they visited her she spent memorable times with them, the memories of which she cherished.



The needs of social integration, intimacy and continuity presumably provided by the marital relationships, generally unavailable to the unmarried singles seemed to have been met by Janice outside of marriage. Establishing and maintaining relationships that provided for the fulfillment of these needs appeared possible for her due to the availability of required resources i.e. mobility, motivation and income. In the current living arrangement she showed adequate adjustment to herself and her world. When asked what she would want to change about her living arrangement if she were given a chance to do so, she said that she did not want any change and would like to stay the way she was at the time of the interview. However, she sounded happy while she revealed that her niece would be coming to India in December 2011 to settle and would be living with them. She said it was a well discussed and thought out decision and her niece would also be financially contributing to run the household. Janice was categorical in saying that till she was alive, the house would be run according to her decisions which had to be accepted by her niece. She was hopeful that once her niece joined them, there would be a young person about the house who might take care of her during her old age. Janice further wished that the entry of the niece might change things for better for her and her brother.

In her words about her niece joining to live with them,

“She would bring in good aspects (like someone to talk to, spend time with, help around the home) to the way we are living now; this is what we are looking forward to”

At the same time she was also apprehensive whether she and her brother would be able to adjust well with their niece. If they were unable to adjust, she says her niece might have to move out. However, she added that as her niece was good natured, she hoped that such a situation would never arise. Thus, the mixed feelings expressed by her in this regard.

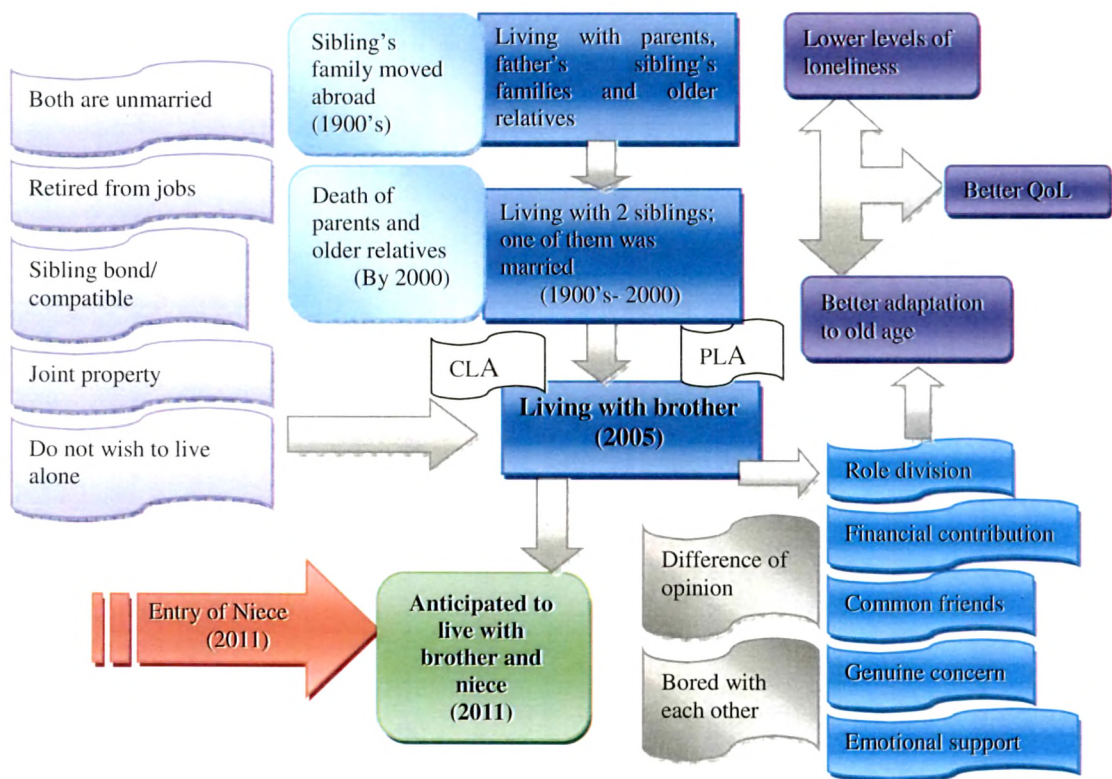
As the data reveals, Janice experienced lower levels of loneliness (mean loneliness score of 25 as against 45.25 for the total sample) and showed higher adaptation to old age (79 as against 61.44 for the sample). She seemed to be in fairly good physical health with higher levels of psychological well-being (15.4 and 17.3 as against 14.25 and 15.56 respectively of the sample) and also had better social relationships and environment (17.3 and 18 as against 13.5 and 15.9 respectively of the sample).

The common factors which appeared to have affected the quality of life domains in significant ways in the context of her current living arrangement could be listed as financial security, health, age, the desire to age in place, maintaining bonding with family for emotional support, social support network, moderate family values, religious faith, and a balance between autonomy and dependence. Other qualities that she appeared to possess such as decision making skills, ability to accept change, preparation to adapt, being a good house manager, and having a positive outlook towards life also seemed to have facilitated her living arrangement, quality of life and its related variables to be maintained, and also improved.

Viewing her life from the life-span approach it appeared that she was able to handle well the life events of remaining unmarried, retirement, bereavement due to loss of parents and other relatives, the moving out of her family members etc. Her assessment was that her life in the current living arrangement had been worthwhile as she was able to maintain her integrity, generativity and self-esteem.



Figure 45: Factors that led to the current living arrangement, and its effect on the quality of life.



Note. CLA- Current living arrangement; PLA- Preferential living arrangements

## **2. Facing isolation and 'fading away' in old age**

Hussein is a 79 year old, Muslim Pathan. He is married and is a native of Vadodara. He has 5 children- 2 sons and 3 daughters. He worked at Sarabhai Chemicals till he was laid off in the 1990's when the company closed down, and did not work after that. He did not earn any pension and his only source of income was Rs 3000 -5000 sent every few months by his older son who was staying in Africa, while, his younger son who lived separately in the same locality had been sending them daily, a simple breakfast, lunch and dinner. He spent most of his time at home and till he was 65 years he wrote poems and drew pictures but lost interest in it thereafter. The family values that he held were based on Islam according to which, family was a vital unit and family members were expected to support one another. Currently, he and his wife were living together and they did not avail of any hired help. They were in this living arrangement for a long time. However, with the advancing age and failing health, he wished that one of his adult children would ask him and his wife to move in with them.

At the time of the interview Hussein was dressed in a once white but now grey *Pathan* style kurta and pants. He was moderately groomed and was seated in a chair at the entrance doorway to his house that opened directly into the street. He looked weak and his movements were slow. He was observing and sometimes greeting the people who went by his house. He lived in a crowded locality in a small two-room and a kitchen house owned by him. The house was ill kempt, poorly lighted and not properly ventilated. In his words, "the locality is unhygienic, my house is empty and gloomy, and outside of it there is life". There was a bed in one corner of the room and the house did not have any gadgets or furniture. A portion of the front room in the house was converted into an office and being used during the day by his younger son, who was a practicing lawyer.

Hussein was eager to talk about his life and narrated the life events in the past three decades that led to his current living arrangement. His three daughters were married and lived at Surat. In 1991 when he was about 60 years old and just laid off at work, both his sons who were married by then wished to live separately in a nearby place in Vadodara. The reasons were lack of space, and the sons' desire to be on their own. Later in 1999, his eldest son moved to Africa to work there. His younger son who studied law started his practice from a room in the house where Hussein resided. Culturally among the followers of Islam, the parents stayed with the youngest son in their old age, but Hussein realized that times were changing. As he and his wife were physically healthy and did not want to force themselves upon their children, he agreed to live apart but he was becoming increasingly uncomfortable about it emotionally.

His daily routine for the past few years was restricted to the house and the neighborhood as his mobility was affected both by poor finances and ill health. He reported feeling bored during the day and felt the need to do something to avoid boredom. Most of his friends had passed away, thus eroding his social network at this point in life. As regards his children, he said that his daughters were well settled and he neither expected anything from them nor was expected to give them anything. His regret was that his sons moved away when they became independent and he was unable to stay with them when he needed their support in more than one ways during old age. His grandchildren who used to visit him earlier gradually stopped coming to meet him as they grew older and got busy with school and friends. Hence, he did not feel any obligation towards his sons' and grandchildren. Even if he felt that way, there were no opportunities for him to do something for them.

Talking about his wife, he said that he did not get any emotional support from her as she was much younger to him. She maintained distance due to respect, and they did not have anything common to talk about. His wife looked after him, but she spent most of the time during the day in chatting with neighbors. He did worry about his wife as to how she would live after him.

As he was growing older his health problems had increased and in the past few years he was falling ill quite often and could not afford to go to the doctor. For him, this living arrangement did not meet his requirements for support during advancing age.

According to him:

“Being old meant that a person is by himself and no one is bothered about his feelings. The younger generation must understand that a day will come when they might no longer feel self-important and egoistic”.

He did feel proud to be able to live to the age of almost 80 years but, at the same time wished that he would leave the world soon. He sounded as if he was waiting to pass on to the other world. He said,

“I have no more pending transactions with anyone in this world in terms of emotions or money. I am here as long as God wants me to be”.

This expression indicated that due to the current living arrangement and other reasons, there were no roles for him to take up and that he carried no importance or relevance to his children's life. Possibly, due to the conservative family values that he held, he did not see his current living arrangement as offering him freedom and autonomy. Instead, he wanted to be part of a family, be involved, appreciated and his feelings reciprocated. He was an extrovert but had no one to talk to. He acknowledged that his son took care of his daily food needs, but he wanted his children to be more concerned about him than they currently were, and these preoccupations were barriers for his acceptance of his current situation. Overall, he did not find much meaning in life to make him happy.

Keeping this in mind, when asked that given a chance would he want to make any changes in his current living arrangement, he said that he would like to move in with his younger son. The reasons given were: he was feeling increasingly lonely and he wanted his family to be around him and saw it as a source of emotional support in old age. As he was very old, he needed physical support in day to day life. For example, to go to the doctor, to run small errands etc. He also had poor financial resources as he did not have any past savings or a steady source of income. As a result, meeting small needs of his wife, himself, and maintaining the house was becoming increasingly difficult. Though he very much wanted to live with his son, he was unable to negotiate about this with him, as they did not communicate much.

Obviously, as could be seen from the above narrative, in his current living arrangement Hussein reported higher levels of loneliness (mean score of 49 as against 45.2 for the total sample) and showed very poor adaptation to old age (45 as against 61.44 for the total sample). In terms of his quality of life dimensions, he had poor physical health and experienced low levels of psychological well-being (12.5 and 12.6 as against 14.25 and 15.56 for the sample respectively) and also had poor social relationships (10.6 as against 13.5 for the total sample) & poor environment (12.5 as against 15.9 for the sample).

This case study highlights the changing family values that led to Hussein's son living separately. With advancing age, the changes in the circumstances that took place in his life in the current living arrangement made him vulnerable to feelings of loneliness. Along with poor health and advancing age, he was also experiencing a sense of emotional alienation. This involved a sense of loss and longing for a close attachment with someone who was accessible and will reciprocate his feelings, in this case, with his younger son's family. However, he was not able to fulfill it as there was not much communication with the son, nor was the son sensitive to his father's emotional needs. Also, the other type of loneliness which he seemed to experience in the living arrangement was social isolation or "social loneliness" (Cockrum & White, 1985; Weiss, 1981). The narration of his life highlights the importance of family / social support and how they would affect the quality of life of the elderly.

### **3. Where I live: Autonomy, chaos, and sometimes 'in denial'**

Mahesh is a 60 year old Hindu Brahmin. He had two children- a son and a daughter. The proceedings for divorce from his wife were going on since 6 months at the time of the interview. He was the owner and an employee of a business group which dealt with the manufacture of zips and hooks for hosiery. He earned an income of Rs 80,000 per month and also received other allowances and perks that the company provided for its employees. He travelled in India and abroad in connection with his business and for personal purposes. He was a member at upper echelon clubs and gymkhanas in Vadodara, Delhi, Hyderabad and Mumbai. He lived in a quiet, affluent residential locality in the Vadodara. He was not a native of Vadodara but had settled in the city for more than 30 years.

According to him, he came from a family whose values are based on individualism, privacy and independence. There was no compulsion on the part of the family members to stay together as a family unit or be interdependent at all times. He described his wife as a very independent person. She was financially and emotionally supported by her maternal family. Due to their socio economic status, the family was used to a lifestyle of having a large circle of friends, visiting clubs, and attending parties. According to him, he had been living away from his wife since the year 2000 due to marital differences. Since 2008, he was living with the assistance of a full-time hired help (Male, 24 year old, unmarried) who stayed in the same house. He was paid a monthly wage of Rs 7500 for his services. Mahesh also had a car driver who came every day and a gardener who came fortnightly to take care of the mini-garden located in the balcony.

On the day of the interview, he appeared well groomed, in formals and was smoking a cigarette. His house comprised of three bedrooms, hall, kitchen, study and a spacious balcony. There were two large book cabinets and expensive furniture in the living room and many paintings adorned the walls. The place was well kept, well lighted and air conditioned. The facilities in his house reflected his affluence.

Mahesh reported the following shifts in his living arrangements during the past 3 decades, which led to the current living arrangement. They were as follows- He was living with his wife and two children till the year 2000. His wife who was from Kolkata decided that she would like to be among her social circle and went back to her home town soon after their children completed school and entered college in Vadodara. Mahesh and his wife used to visit each other a few times in a year. According to Mahesh, it was a mutual decision and both were fine with it for some time, but later it lead to conflicts in their marital life. He continued to live only with his children till the year 2006 with the hired help of a maid and a cook. His son and daughter completed studies while living with him in Vadodara. Later, he supported his daughter to go abroad, while his son joined the family business. Over the next few years both his children got married. His daughter, who married in 2008 got divorced in a year and remarried a German and decided to settle in Germany. His son got married in the year 2006 and continued to live with Mahesh till 2008. In 2008, he approached Mahesh saying that his wife desired for privacy and was unable to get along with Mahesh due to his rigid and stubborn ways of interfering in the running of the household. In short, they wanted to move out and live separately in Vadodara. Mahesh felt that his son shifted emotionally to his mother's side and hence wished to move out from his house by giving some excuse. That was when he made the arrangements for someone who could manage his household full-time.

A critical step Mahesh has taken when he was 23 years old had a ramification on the events later in his life, in relation to his living arrangement. His wife was pregnant at that time with their first child, and he entered into a relationship with one Rita. When confronted by Rita's family about his intentions of this act, he chose to be with his wife and moved on with his life. Again in the year 2002, by chance he met Rita in Vadodara and they started seeing each other. In the year 2008 when his wife stopped visiting him Rita started cohabiting with him. In the year 2010, his affair with her came to be known to his family. Then he decided to convey his decision to live with Rita to his family, but she packed up and left him. According to him, this was an act of revenge taken by Rita against him for deserting her when she was young and trusted him.

At that time he was angry towards Rita and sympathetic towards his wife. He gave away some property and expensive paintings to his wife due to his feelings of guilt. His social circle consisting of common friends also sympathized with his wife and avoided him. However, in September 2011 his wife filed for divorce against him and the process was underway. His son continued to keep in touch with him, though according to Mahesh, emotionally he took the side of his mother. He was feeling that people close to him distanced themselves from him suddenly, one after the other. This had disturbed his otherwise peaceful life and he was forced to continue to live with assistance.

In his current living arrangement, the positive aspects were that the hired help managed everything at the house right from cleaning, dusting, shopping for grocery, and cooking food to running errands like paying bills and accompanying the respondent for walks. He was able to trust the hired help, but consciously maintained a distance from him. Mahesh also perceived some downsides in his current living arrangement that seem to affect his well-being. He was suffering from health issues such as limb impairment caused due to an accident, ailments like heart problem and blood pressure. He had to take care of his medication and visited the doctor for regular checkups on his own. According to him, though he was advised by the doctor to refrain from smoking and consumption of alcohol, he was unable to do so as there was no one to monitor. He said that when his wife or Rita were with him, they had a busy social life and they met common friends regularly or invited them over to their house. However, he found it meaningless to do it now as he was living alone with assistance. To make up for this, he opened accounts in various social networking sites in order to make new friends with open minded women and spent ample time during the night on the same.

He expressed that though living with assistance was convenient for him, his first preference would be to live with his son's family so that he had people to talk to, to take care of him, and he looked forward to spending time with his grandchildren. As it was no longer possible that his son would stay with him, he had reluctantly accepted the reality and took up the next better alternative. When asked if he would like to make any changes in his current living arrangement during the next few years, he conveyed that he was on the lookout for a sophisticated woman who would agree to live with him as a companion.

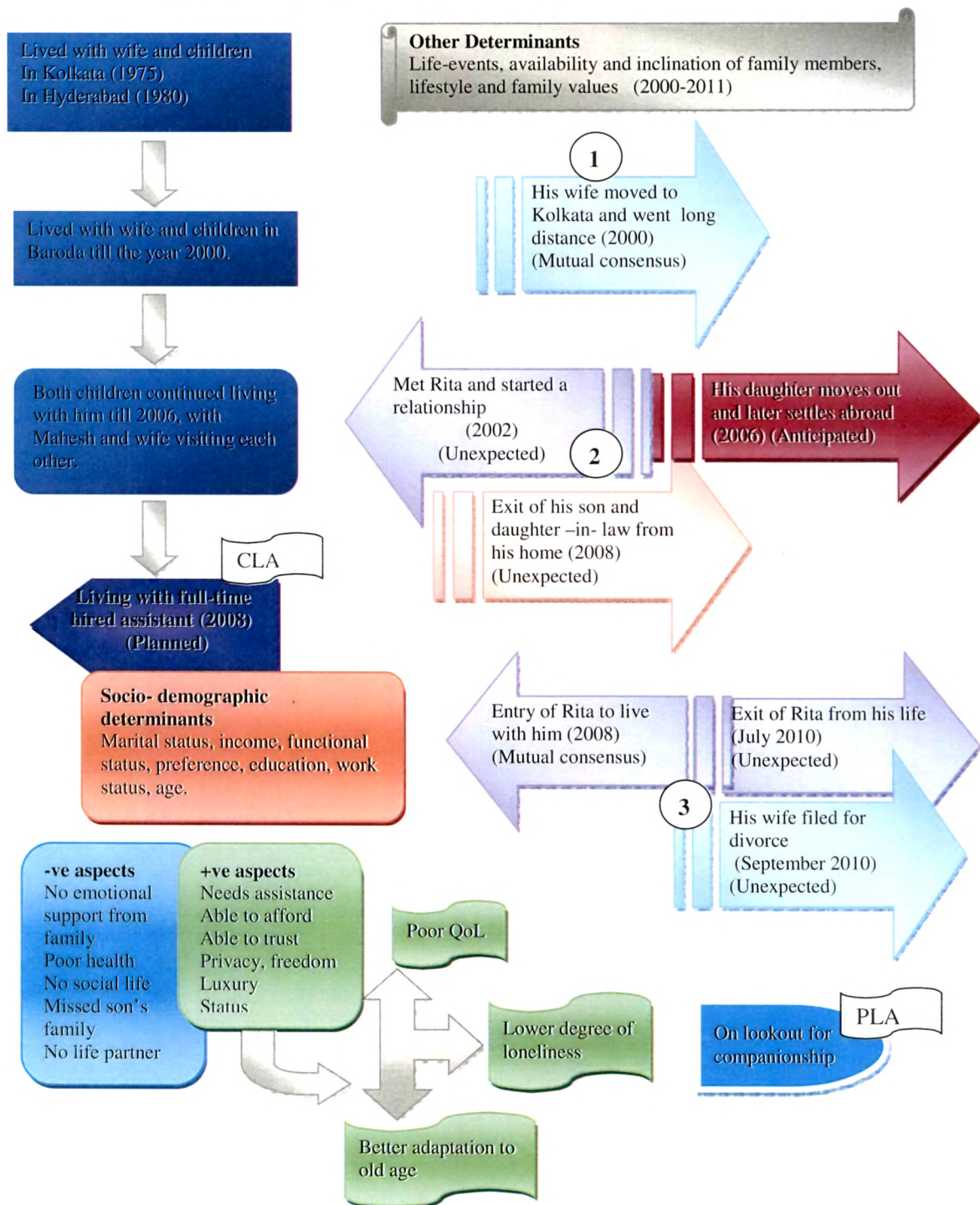


This case study reflected how socio-demographic factors such as marital status, income, education, the availability & inclination of children, life events, health, changes in lifestyle and the family values, might determine the living arrangements of an elderly person. Therefore, upkeep of tradition or the choice for a living arrangement does not rest entirely with the elderly. It also showed that though the elderly could improve some aspects of their living arrangements provided they had the required financial and emotional resources, while some other changes that they would want to have in their arrangement might not happen, as they were not under the control of the elderly. The Figure 46 shows the factors and life events that led to changes in the living arrangements of Mahesh, and how they affected his quality of life and its related variables.

Mahesh scored low on the 3 quality of life domains of physical health (13.71 as against 14.25), psychological well-being (14 as against 15.56 for the sample) and social relationships (12 as against 13.5 for the total sample) compared to the mean scores for the total sample. This might have to be attributed in part to the sudden changes in the living arrangements due to the life events such as son moving out, rejection by lover and legal separation from wife, one after the other.

It would generally be expected that if his QoL was poor (except for the environment domain), he might also be suffering from loneliness and showing a poor adaptation to old age. On the contrary, he experienced only a slightly low level of loneliness (42 as against 45.25 for the total sample) and showed a higher adaptation to old age (74 as against 61.44 for total sample). This might be owing to his still active lifestyle (he was attending work), the daily/weekly visits by his son and the frequent telephonic conversations with his daughter, the assistance he received by being in this living arrangement, and his financial independence. It might also be that he was in denial, as he did not accept that these changes in his life took place because of his actions.

Figure 46: Factors and life events which have led to shifts in the living arrangements and had an effect on the respondent's quality of life



#### **4. Reassessing where I live: New innings**

Karishma is a 67 year old, Hindu Brahmin unmarried woman. At the time of the study, she was practicing as a notary advocate from a small office at her house. She lived in a 3 storied house having more than 6 rooms that was jointly owned by four siblings including her. She earned around Rs 10000 per month and was not expected to contribute financially in running the household. She had been living with her older brother and sister-in-law for the past 35 years. They have a domestic help who took care of household chores.

Her white sari, kohl lined eyes, lips stained with chewing of pan and her long plaited hair was what caught the eye at the first glance of Karishma. She had a frown on her face and she hardly smiled during the interview. She introduced herself as the daughter of a late renowned lawyer in Vadodara during the 1970's and 1980's. She appeared serious, self-important and was easily irritated during the initial part of the interview. As the interview progressed, she relaxed and was able to share about her life and her experiences of old age. She was a native of Vadodara and had always lived in the same three storied house that was built by her parents. The house was located just off the Fatehgunj main road in the Vadodara city. The house was old, poorly furnished and moderately maintained. The ventilation was also moderate as all the windows were kept closed and the rooms looked dusty. There were gadgets like television, washing machine and microwave which looked old and poorly maintained.

She reflected on the factors that led to her current living arrangement. She and her elder brother were inspired by her father to become advocates and went on to pursue law. She completed LLB and started practice as a Notary. Her older brother completed MLLM and was having a successful practice as an advocate in the Vadodara district court and married a doctor who was a private practitioner having a clinic of her own. Karishma's two younger brothers shifted to Ahmedabad for their employment and settled there. Her parents passed away in the 1900's.

Though some marriage proposals came for Karishma, none of them worked out. By her 30's she resigned to her fate and accepted that she would not get married, and continued to live with her older brother in the family house. Her elder brother had two daughters. Both of them were children with special needs having medical conditions and needing constant care. As her brother and sister-in-law were at the peak of their careers and were unable to give time for the care of the children, Karishma voluntarily gave up her notary practice to look after the needs of the two children. She was of the opinion that those were the best years of her life. She developed a deep attachment with her two nieces, and their failing health constantly required her to play the caregiver role. For the next 15 years of her life she was occupied with taking care of the two children. According to her, though they were not her own children she felt that she has done her best for them with selflessness. Sadly, 10 years ago, both the children passed away one after the other, succumbing to their medical conditions. This left a vacuum in her life that had turned her sour and irritable. The bereavement continued for two years and she was lonely at the home during the day while her brother and sister-in-law went out to attend their work.

She was not happy with the living arrangement she was in. It was then that she made a decision to resume the notary practice, to keep her day occupied. As she was not in touch with the outside world and being away from practice for a long time, she was also not willing to leave the comfort of her house and work at the court premises. Hence, for the past 8 years she started practicing as a notary between 2 pm to 4 pm every day in the front room of the house that was converted into an office. It was also the time when the house-maid would be around so that Karishma was not alone. She said that her brother and relatives had helped her plan such a routine to keep her engaged in useful work.

Talking about her daily routine in the current living arrangement she said that on working days her brother and sister-in-law would go out at 10 am and returned home only after 8 pm and they had a day off on Sundays. So on week days from morning to 2 pm and from 4 pm till 8 pm she was alone at the home, and did not have much to do. During this period she was attending to household chores like filling water, putting clothes in the washing machine, making her bed etc. to pass time.

According to her, by the evening, when her brother and sister-in-law came home, it was 'just three old people' in the house.

She expresses the monotony by saying,

"We would have a simple dinner and then we go to our separate rooms and sit in front of the television. We do not have common topics to talk and they are already tired and want to sleep."

She had minor health problems like fatigue and weakness because she was mostly home bound. She had no friends' circle to meet with. She went out occasionally, only when her younger brothers' children came over to Vadodara. However, during the past few years Karishma had renewed her ties with her other brothers' families who lived in Ahmedabad, interacted with the youth in the locality and started meeting some of her close acquaintances. She had also attended a few social functions of close relatives. She was attached to one of her younger brothers and his children and visited them often. They asked her to move to Ahmedabad, but she felt that it was not possible as she had her roots in Vadodara. Hence, she requested them to visit her often so that they can spend time together. Being with young people made her feel active and energetic. But she was of the opinion that these experiences with the youth were not always positive, as they slowly started to become dependent on her.

Over the interview, she shed her seriousness and narrated that situations in her life have improved in the past few years, despite the tragedies she had faced. She acknowledged that with the help of her family, she tried to make choices to improve her life in the current living arrangement. She said,

"Though I might not have welcomed changes and have complained about how my life has been, I have made efforts to make it bearable and maybe better. Not being married or having to live with your sibling's family is not as bad a situation as I made it out to be a decade ago. It is a matter of maturity to realize that one can keep making efforts/choices so that life suits you! Time and a caring family have played an equally important role in adjusting to my living arrangement".

Karishma's current living arrangement had some advantages in it for her such as she had security and protection by staying with her older brothers' family, could age in place, she was able to work, had financial security, and engaged in activities of her choice. On the other hand, her family was not able to spend quality time with her. There were times when she was lonely. Once her brother and sister-in-law took retirement, they would stay at home. However, she was not sure yet whether she would like that change i.e. to spending the whole day with two other older people besides herself. Karishma was a lonely woman (score 54 as against 45.2 for the total sample), with slightly low levels of physical health and psychological well-being (13.1 and 14 as against 14.25 and 15.56 respectively). As evident from her narrative, her adaptation to old age (57.83) was slightly poor than that of the total sample (61.44).

Though it was generally believed that those who were both aged and unmarried might be doubly vulnerable for isolation, family life was presumed to provide opportunities for interaction with others. Karishma's life brings out the importance of family relations and support available in the living arrangements in the lives of never married women. As can be seen, she had slightly better social relationships and environment (14.6 and 14.6 as against 13.5 and 15.9 respectively). Talking about her preferences and the changes she would want to make in her living arrangement, she did not prefer to move to Ahmedabad as she did not want to leave her house and native place, and felt she could not live alone. In a way, the case study showcases the dilemma faced by unmarried women, who have few options in terms of the living arrangements, and the life circumstances in which they were situated in during old age.

### 5. Living in fear, hostility- and isolation.

Sarita *ben* is a 67 year old Hindu widow, belonging to the Chauhan caste. She and her husband migrated to Vadodara 35 years ago and started living in a slum settlement. She had been working as a domestic help in a household and earned Rs 600 p.m. She had two sons who were both married. She lived in the verandah of a house owned by her which was a cramped, ill kept poorly ventilated place. She had very few belongings and there was no furniture except an old iron bed.

She shared about the changes that took place in her life, and the factors that led to her current living arrangement. Her husband built a small 3 roomed semi pucca house on an encroached land in a slum. She, her husband, and both the married sons were staying together in that house in order to save the expenses on rent and boarding. At that time, she and her husband were solely involved in the decision making and the family treated them well. After her husband's death in 2005, for the next two years she lived amicably with her married sons and the sons' did not show any signs of disrespect toward her. She had her space and belongings, and her needs were catered to with respect. However, after the year 2008 she saw a gradual change in her sons' behavior - they became selfish and money minded. The change in their behavior started with the demand to register the house in their name, and after her refusal to do so they became hostile towards her. The data on Sarita *ben* was indicative of how in poorer environments the children might want to take hold of anything of value- land/ money/ gold possessed by the parent. According to her, during the past 3 years, her family members neglected, abused and tried to force her out of the house. She says

"I am their mother. They do not want me in the home that belongs to me; they bully me every day; they wish to abandon me and don't seem to care that I have nowhere to go. My family is against me for the small property. I fear my children's wrath. No one is trying to stop this injustice and who would support me? I feel helpless".

There was also an instance when her elder son hit her, threw all her belongings on the street and told her to leave the house. This forced her to file an FIR in order to protect herself. Basing on it, the son was arrested. However, she took back the complaint later as she did not want her son to be in trouble. When he was released from custody, he fought with her and all her belongings were dumped by him in the small verandah in the front portion of the house, while her younger son looked on in silence. For her sons, their old mother holding on to the property and asking them to leave when they did not treat her with basic respect seemed like greed and control.

According to Lang and Shutze (2002), older parents' satisfaction with life improved when children expressed affection and gave emotional support. In Sarita *ben's* case, the attitude and the behavior of her children did not seem to contribute to her emotional needs. She said that she had no support whatsoever from her sons and even in old age she had to work to fulfill her basic and health care needs. She further expressed that her sons did not reciprocate for what she has done for them. Studies (for e.g. Kim & Kim, 2003) indicated that the elderly as well as younger generations put more value on two way intergenerational relations based on mutual care and assistance, rather than simply following the traditional norm of filial responsibility. Hence, she expected her sons to be grateful to her as she brought them up against all odds, and provide her with minimum comfort during old age.

After her son dumped her belongings in the verandah and warned her not to enter the house, she put up a small stove, arranged the belongings that she possessed --a few utensils, a small bed, a tattered mattress and some clothes and started cooking for herself. From then on she considered herself as living alone. In her own words,

“Yes, I live alone. They treat me as if as I am invisible, they avoid me. They do not seem to realize, even now, that their actions are wrong”.



She would start her day early as she had to prepare and eat breakfast before she left home at 7:30 am to work as a domestic help. By the time she returned at 2 pm, she felt very hungry and would directly start cooking the lunch. After the late lunch she generally took a nap and at 4 pm every day she visited her friend who lived nearby, to chit chat. She would buy her provisions daily as she could not store them at home. She often worried that her belongings would be tampered with or thrown away by her sons/ daughters-in-law when she was away at work. She had put a small barricade of cardboards against her bed and belongings. The anxiety and insecurity shown in her eyes was a testimony to her lone struggle during old age. For the past 3 years her strained relationship with her family was continuing and she felt that since the past 6 months this chronic stress has affected her physically and emotionally.

At home, there was no privacy as she stayed in the entrance to the house; she was generally not allowed to enter the other rooms in the house and to use the toilet frequently. She bathed once in a few days as she was denied daily access to the bathroom. She avoided spending time at home as her sons and daughters-in-laws sought opportunities to humiliate, or provoke her. Also, she had poor health, faced financial constraints, lacked emotional support and with increasing age she felt her condition would worsen. These factors might be cumulatively responsible for her poor well-being, feeling of loneliness and poor adaptation to old age in the current living arrangement.

According to her, the reasons for continuing to stay in the current living arrangement were: she had the right to the house, she was attached to the house and its premises, her source of livelihood was in the neighborhood, and finally, she was unwilling to stay with relatives. Also, being a widow and old she had a feeling that the house was the only shelter and future security for her. Her paternal relatives asked her to move in with them, but she felt there was still time for that. Only after she became very old and is unable to live without support she would move in with her relatives at the village. Meaning that once she made an exit, there was no possibility for her to return and saw it as her final living arrangement. She added that she would carry all her vessels & belongings with her and not a single paisa would be given to her sons' families.

Her remarks were indicative of her resolve not to do anything more for her children. It also showed how her attitude in old age changed in a bitter way due to the ill-treatment by the sons. The pain she experienced was expressed in the form of tears during the interview. Her preferential living arrangement was staying at a government old age home (free of cost services) and she was on the lookout for such a facility because,

“Now how can I trust relatives to care for me if my own children have humiliated me? The government has to set up old age homes which are free of cost and help destitute women like me. I am willing to work there till age permits me, in return of the services provided to me. So, please give me the address of an old age home in Vadodara”

The old age homes located in Vadodara are few and on payment basis, requiring recommendations for obtaining admission. The government has announced for establishment of old age homes that run free of cost in the near future.

From the circumstances faced by Sarita *ben* in the current living arrangement, it was evident that she was very lonely (score is 61 as against 45.25 for the total sample), her adaptation to old age was very poor (53 as against 61.4 for the sample). Her mean scores on all the domains of quality of life were much lower than that of the total sample and clearly showed that abuse, neglect and lack of social support & privacy in the living arrangement adversely affected her well-being.

From the case study it appeared that those elderly women who were older, widowed, having poor source of income, lower social support and some property in their name which they refuse to part with were more vulnerable to abuse, neglect and indifference in the coresidential living arrangements. Another indication was that the elderly who lived with a family having poor resources might be seen as a burden, and in such situations there is a need for ensuring institutional supports and services for the elderly and their families.

## **6. An empathic family makes all the difference!**

Kumar is an 84 year old, unmarried, Hindu Nagar Brahmin. He and his 75 year old unmarried sister were staying together since 8 years. In the past he had a business that went bankrupt. After that he did not pursue business again, nor could get a job. Their source of income was an interest of Rs 2000 p.m. on his past savings (which he did not contribute towards household expenses), his younger sisters' job pension and an interest earned on her past savings (Rs 8000 p.m. and Rs 3000 p.m. respectively) and a monetary contribution of about Rs 10000 by his niece towards the monthly bills and salary for the domestic help. According to him, he had no false feelings of ego and no botheration that he was financially dependent on others because the help was mutual. He reciprocated the support he received, by taking on a few responsibilities to maintain the living arrangement.

They lived in a house that was previously owned by his older brother and after him by his niece, who stayed separately in another house at Vadodara. Kumar and his sister had been allowed by their niece to live at this place for the rest of their life. The house, located in a well to do area had 2 bedrooms, hall and kitchen; it was furnished in a comfortable manner, had basic household appliances and was clean and well-ventilated. He had a separate room with his belongings where he spent most of his time during the day. At the time of the interview, he wore a simple cotton shirt and trousers, looked very fit and active for his age and seemed at ease. He asked for the ID proof and letter of introduction from the researcher before he consented for the interview. He took time to answer questions, told anecdotes of his life experiences and said that he felt good talking about his life.

Kumar continued to stay with his relatives and later with his older brother's family mainly because he was unmarried, financially dependent, and there was an emotional attachment with his natal family. In the course of time, the family had shifted to various places, there had been additions to the family and some had passed away. Between 1980 and 1994, Kumar's mother and the three siblings (including Kumar) lived in Bombay with his maternal uncle as an extended family, at his uncles' estate. From the year 1994 to 2000, after the death of his maternal uncle, he stayed at Rajkot where his elder brother was transferred to on job. He lived with his brothers' family along with their mother and unmarried sister. Since the year 2000, after the death of their mother, his elder brother's family (consisting of his elder brother, sister-in-law, and 2 nieces) and the two unmarried siblings i.e. Kumar and his sister had been living in Vadodara. Eventually, the nieces got married and moved out to their in-laws place. In the year 2003, the elder brother passed away followed by his wife. As a result since then, he and his sister stayed together, helped by a domestic help who came twice a day to attend household chores. His niece provided financial assistance, required facilities, often checked on their needs and even visited them regularly.

His daily routine was simple and more or less fixed. After he woke up early in the morning and made up his bed, he first dusted and cleaned the things in his room. This was followed by a walk and daily ablutions. Later, he had breakfast prepared by his sister and read the newspaper. He said that he might watch news on the television if his sister was watching too. Later he dressed up to go out for running small errands. He returned home to have lunch and took a nap daily between 2 to 5 pm as there was nothing else to do. In the evening he usually had tea and snacks. Then he went back to his room and made an account of all the expenses incurred during the day. (An elaborate method of keeping track of every rupee spent in the past 5 years was maintained and he said that he made it his hobby). It kept him occupied for an hour or two, and also enabled him to keep track of expenses. After the accounts' entry was completed, he read newspaper/magazine, talked with his sister or went out for a walk. He also used this time to keep in touch with his other relatives on phone.

He said that in the living arrangement he was in, he was having the facilities and support he required for a simple and comfortable living. This was possible because of the concern expressed by his niece about his needs. In his opinion, at this stage of life, family and hired help would be providing the support needed and life went on though without much change. However, he made it a point to be active and spend time in a way that suited his health and mood. According to him, compared to people of his age he had good health and took medicines regularly for diabetes and blood pressure. He was respected by his family members for what he was and at the prime age of eighty, he accepted the fact that there was not much going on in life to be playing important roles or making decisions. He rarely felt bored and he somehow found ways to keep himself occupied. His feelings about not marrying were that he missed the companionship of a woman, the joys of having children, and having people who mattered the most. However, when he was 45 years old, he reconciled to his unmarried status and considered that it was a matter of fate and that it was better to be happy with what one already had. He had considered his older brothers' children as his own and took an active part in the life amidst his extended family.

Kumar replaced the absence of a spouse and children by affiliating himself with the families of his maternal uncle, his elder brother and now with his nieces and younger sister. However, his social network outside the family seemed very limited not only because of his advanced age but also because of his non-trusting nature. It might be due to his rumination about a few bitter experiences he had in the past, as a result of which he could not trust outsiders. Hence, his psychological well-being and social relationships were slightly low compared to that of total sample. Also, he was a lonely man (score of 53 as against 45.25 for the total sample) as he had consciously restricted his interaction to his family members only. It also seemed that in certain ways Kumar had disengaged himself from the larger society, owing to his age.

However, his physical health and environment were reported as being good and concur with his narration. Further, his adaptation to old age was greater at 67 as against 61.44 for the total sample. His systematic routine, taking care of his health, availability of facilities, and reciprocal relationship with his younger sister and nieces might have made the difference. This case study highlights how positive attitude and sensitivity of family members allowed them to respond to the needs of the elderly and support them. At this advanced age, Kumar did not have preference for any one arrangement nor felt the need to make any changes in his current living arrangement. He wanted to continue living the way he was doing for the past 10 years.

## **7. Passivity: When living with spouse fizzles out**

Jeevan is a 69 year old Hindu married man. He belonged to the Patel caste. He worked as a microbiologist at Alembic and his wife worked at a bank and both of them retired from work at the same time. They both started living together in the same home since the year 1998. They did not have children. His source of income was around Rs. 10000 per month, which was the interest earned on both their savings. Their house looked desolate and shabby on the outside, which was in contrast to the well-maintained houses of the posh locality where their house was situated. Inside the house all the belongings looked old and worn out. There was a swing in the middle of the medium sized living room and a bed near the window. The 2 bed rooms had furnishings that were dusty and there were no appliances or amenities. The house was poorly lit and not properly ventilated. Thus, though the couple belonged to a middle class family the house was not well-maintained. At the time of the interview, he sat in the small front porch of the house. He and his wife seemed detached and not connected with each other. He was moderately groomed and wore faded clothes- a cotton half shirt and dhoti. Over the next one and a half hour, he felt at ease and shared about their living arrangement and about his life in old age. The couple engaged themselves in the interaction, after the initial ice was broken.

While sharing information about where and with whom he had been living since the past 30 years, he said that he had shifted along with his wife to Vadodara in the year 1963 after their marriage. Both of them were pursuing 9 am to 5 pm jobs and they led a comfortable and happy life. The couple was interested in traveling and went on vacations using the vacation allowance provided at their jobs. His sisters' children used to visit them for holidays and it was fun to be with them. The couple had a disposable income to spend, as they did not have children. They were able to build and shift to a house in a well to do locality at an early stage of their life and ever since lived there. In 1972, his father moved into their house, and as a part of the daily routine they used to go out together in the evening to the community center/ Kendra kalyan hall to read newspapers, play caroms and chess. His father passed away in 1998 and then, his life went on- simple and sometimes lonely and boring. He narrated this to indicate how he and his wife were once again the only persons staying in the household.

He felt comfortable the way they were living now. However, he said...

“....but there is no spark or something to look forward to in life. Life goes on and maybe I don't have anything to complain about too”.

He added further that their only passion for traveling started to fade out as they grew older and were experiencing fatigue and health problems during and after the trips. Therefore, their life was restricted to the house and the neighborhood. He said that he hardly went out to attend social functions or for the purpose of entertainment. Many of his friends passed away and their relatives became busy in their respective lives. According to him, he did not have any health problems and was not on any medication, kept himself active and consumed a simple diet. He said that he was financially independent as he had adequate monthly income from savings to meet his needs. He felt that from the beginning, he never had an opportunity to take really important decisions in his life. He agreed that his house was shabby and there are no facilities at his house but added that it was how he chose to live. He talked in a matter of fact manner about the above aspects as if these facts did not seem to bother him.

Jeevan reported high levels of loneliness (score of 65 as against 42.25 for the total sample), but his adaptation to old age was higher (score of 65 as against 61.44 for the total sample). Certain factors identified from his narration such as having no children, disengagement with wife, and a general tendency of not interacting with others might have contributed to his loneliness. However, it might be due to his mindset of accepting the changes in old age (or of denial & passivity) because of which he might have reported a better adaptation to old age.

His lower scores on three out of the four domains of quality of life, as evident from lack of family relations, restricted social network, lack of social interaction and poor emotional well-being were probably due to the emotional disconnect with his wife at this age, in this living arrangement. However his physical health was slightly better (14.29 as against 14.25 for the total sample) because of the precautions he had taken.



When asked about what he would want to change in the next 10 years to make his life happier, he said that there was nothing in particular that he wanted to change in his life, as he lacked the motivation for it. The couple had decided among themselves that when both of them became too old and fell ill or one of them died, they would shift in with Jeevan's sister's son. There they would spend the rest of the life and depend on their nephew's family only for the basic needs of food and shelter.

## **8. Coresidence: Making culture and expectations matter**

Hamid is an 81 year old, Muslim, belonging to the Pathan caste. He and his second wife stayed with his married sons in a joint family. According to him, he got remarried two years after his first wife's death during child birth. His second wife was a poor, illiterate relative of his who had agreed to his decision to not beget any children through their union. He had 3 sons and a daughter from his first marriage and all of them were married having 3-4 children each. He was a native of Vadodara and lived in that locality for a long time. He worked as a bus driver in Gujarat State Road Transport Corporation in a temporary position and hence was not eligible for pension after the retirement. He stayed at home and as was expected by his family, he continued to play the role of head of the household. His source of income was about Rs 10000 p.m. earned by his two sons living with him. He was conservative about his religious and family values and expected that his sons live with him as a joint family, at least till he was alive. He believed that the joint family system fulfilled the emotional, social and other needs of the family members. His daughter got married and shifted to her in-laws' place in the same locality and his youngest son worked in Dubai. At the time of the study, Hamid's wife, two of his sons and their families' and the family of his youngest son who was working in Dubai were living with Hamid.

The house he lived in was owned by him and it had two rooms and a kitchen. It opened directly on to the street. The striking aspect of his house was that it accommodated a large family. It was crowded with women, men and, children inspite of it being small. The rooms were filled with clothes, mattresses and other belongings and it seemed moderately clean and poorly ventilated as the windows were small. Except for a small television and a gas stove there were no other household appliances in his house. In one of the two rooms, a bed was placed for him despite the space constraints. He had no privacy.

The benefits of living in parent and child coresidence could be observed in Hamids' case. He felt that because he was in a joint family his needs i.e. food, medical care, clothes, emotional support, and physical support were being met. Also there was someone at home, including his wife who was a constant companion, to interact and keep him occupied. His trip to Haj and Mecca Madina outside India were financed by his sons. He said that his children might be showing him concern and his needs were given preference because the property was still on his name. He further added that his sons bore a positive attitude towards the elderly. Even at that advanced age, he was able to do his activities of daily routine, though he required some help in wearing clothes. He accepted the changes that came along with old age and he wanted to have a smooth passage to death. He had already instructed his sons to take care of his wife in the event of his death. At the same time, as there was struggle to make the ends meet due to the financial constraints, he did not expect much from his sons. He felt that at his age of 81 years, he was falling ill often and regretted that his family had to spend on his medical treatment. Hence, to a great extent he reduced going out and took rest to keep illness at bay.

Hamid experienced low levels of loneliness (score of 40 as against 42.25 for the total sample) and had a greater adaptation to old age (score of 68 as against 61.44 for the total sample). One of the reasons could be the type of living arrangement he was in, which provided him family support and sustenance. Except for a higher score on environment domain of quality of life compared to that of the total sample probably because he was happy with the locality and the house built by him, on the 3 other domains he scored lower. This might be due to his health problems, reduced mobility with advancing age, shrinking social network, financial constraints, his guilt due to increasing dependency on his son's family and concern about his wife's care in the family after his death.

With regard to his preferential living arrangement he said that his desire to stay in a joint family would not change as he desired the family support during the last years of his life. He further expressed that some basic material comforts would definitely have made his life much better than it was now.

### **9. Children abroad: Parents' compromises in living arrangements**

Krishnakant is a 79 year old Hindu married man belonging to the Patel caste. He worked as a bill cashier at the Gujarat Electricity Board and did not earn any pension when he retired. From the year 1987 till recently he worked as a cashier on a voluntary basis at the Swaminath temple in Vadodara. He had 2 sons and 3 daughters who were married and have settled abroad. His source of income was the money his children regularly sent him (Rs 20000 p.m.) for his expenses. For the past 19 years only he and his wife have been staying together at their own house. His house comprised of 3 bedrooms, hall and a kitchen and was located in a posh locality. The rooms were spacious, well-furnished, well-kept and ventilated. He possessed some of the modern gadgets required to lead a comfortable life.

He narrated how he had come to stay in the current living arrangement. He said that his grandmother used to stay with them till her death in the year 1976. Later his father and stepmother moved in and stayed with him and eventually, in the year 1980 his father passed away, followed by his stepmother in the year 1992. During the period between 1978 and 1990, the major shifts in his living arrangement took place, i.e. all his 5 children one by one, moved abroad for studies. Here he revealed that his aspiration to study abroad was not fulfilled due to financial constraints, so he wanted to pursue that dream through his children, by providing that opportunity for them by 'hook or crook'. Krishnakant was 58 years old when his youngest child moved abroad, and he felt it was a great achievement for him and his family.

Between the years 1990 and 1999, he and his wife regularly visited their children abroad and stayed there for 4-5 months in a year, and once for a whole year. When they were abroad, he and his wife rotated among their 2 sons and 3 daughters as all of them wanted to spend time with them. The adult children planned in such a way that their schedules of work and vacation were adjusted with parent's stay with them. Also the trips abroad comprised of shopping trips, eating out, sight-seeing, long rides etc which often tired the couple. He and his wife have also helped out their children by taking care of their new born grandchildren.

While abroad, he was totally dependent on the offspring's family they lived with. He felt restricted to the home and had to abide by a lot of restrictions so that he did not fall ill. Moreover, his adult children were not available at the house for most of the time due to their work and he had no one to talk to. While his wife took care of grandchildren and was cooking in the household, Jeevan had no engagement or role to play.

Over a time, his excitement for going abroad had faded away and the frequency of their visits abroad reduced. He surrendered his green card in the year 1999 as they could not visit the US every year to keep the green card from expiry. From then on, the means of contact between the couple and their adult children had been through telephone only. Though his children had arranged for their parents to visit them abroad, on their part they had visited India only for a few times. This was disturbing for him, and sometimes he regretted his enthusiasm that encouraged his children to settle abroad. At the same time, he felt that he could not judge his children when he himself was insistent and determined that they went abroad and settled.

Now, he and his wife were staying in Vadodara, and since the year 1999 they did not travel abroad. Talking about his current living arrangement he said there were no options for him to choose from. He could not have a full-time hired help as his wife did not trust anyone easily, so they were managing on their own. There was a domestic help for household chores and he availed of door delivery service that shops offered (e.g. provisions, medical stores, and restaurants). He agreed that because he was financially better off due to the monetary support from his children this was possible. He said,

“In a way what responsibilities the children are unable to fulfill by being here, they are fulfilling them by providing monetary support”.

In the locality where they stayed, most of his friends had passed away. In that sense he felt it was difficult to spend his time during the day. Where he worked as a volunteer, the billing system had been computerized and he was replaced by another person with computer skills. So, now he spent most of the time during the day at house. As his interaction with his wife led to arguments, he kept it to the minimum. According to him, he was able to move about in the neighborhood for small errands or work. But he had a few health problems and he worried that with advancing age his health might worsen. At such times he could not help the thought that if at least one of his children stayed back in India, his old age would have been secure. Hence, his preference was to live with one of his sons in India.

From the narration of his life and changes in living arrangements in the past three decades, he seemed to be a lonely man (score of 49 as against 45.25 of the total sample) because of his decreased opportunities of interaction with people. He also reported lower adaptation to old age (score of 53 as against 61.44) as to a great extent he did not feel satisfied in the current arrangement and faced some barriers in adapting well to his later life. From the narration it is evident that he experienced a lower quality of life too in this living arrangement. The main reasons being lack of emotional support, decreased social support and his moderate satisfaction with the neighborhood.

In the year 2011, his children had asked him to permanently shift to the U.S to live with them, as they will not be able to come down to India if either or both the parents passed away. Krishnakant felt this was true in a way and had agreed to finalize the sale of the family assets and planned to move abroad with his wife. He confessed that as a parent he was yearning for his children. However, he was apprehensive of the kind of life that awaited him there. Sahu, (2005) states that some of the elderly citizens moved abroad because no relations were left in India when their children settled abroad.

But his wife who was much younger to him felt that she would lose her autonomy, independence, her house and would feel out of place abroad and she was opposed to this decision. She felt that if the children were not able to come here, they might arrange for their funeral through some relative who lived here. However, by force and through lot of convincing by her husband she had agreed half-heartedly to go abroad.

The case study revealed the dilemma faced by parents whose children were settled abroad. As they grew older, the need for their children's presence and support increased, but so did the older persons' desire to age in place. The children might be in lucrative careers and hence sent monetary help, but they were far away to render any care giving or emotional support when the parents needed it. This might raise an ethical concern as to who was responsible for looking after the welfare of the elderly parents with the advancing age, while their offspring settled abroad. The insecurity and yearning felt by elderly during the later years for their children who were abroad was evident in this case study.