

Children's migration, location, and provision of support to older parents in the Philippines

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The share of older Filipinos aged 60 years and over has increased from 1.65 million in 1970 to 9.22 million in 2020 or 8.5% of the total household population in the Philippines (Abalos, 2020; Philippine Statistics Authority, 2022). This number is projected to reach 22.6 million by 2045, accounting for about 16% of the population (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2016). The provision of support for older people is one of the concerns of an aging population (Jones, 2012), since the prevalence of poor health rises (G. T. Cruz & Saito, 2019), and their earnings from work decline (C. J. P. Cruz, 2019) as individuals reach older ages. As with most developing countries, the family remains a pillar of support for older Filipinos. Previous research shows that spouses and daughters assist older Filipinos who need help in performing functional activities (Abalos, Saito, Cruz, & Booth, 2018). Filipino children also provide their parents with financial, material, and emotional support (Laguna, 2013; Marquez, 2019).

Concomitant with the aging phenomenon in the Philippines are various demographic and socioeconomic changes, such as declining fertility and increasing international migration. For example, the total fertility rate in the country declined from about 6 children in 1973 to 2.7 in 2017 (National Statistics Office [NSO] & Macro International Inc. [MI], 1994; Philippine Statistics Authority (PSA) & ICF, 2018), while the Commission of Filipino Overseas data indicates that the stock estimate of overseas Filipinos grew from 6.97 million in 1997 to 10.24 million in 2013, or about 10% of the Philippine population. These changes may impact the provision of support by either diminishing the available pool of potential caregivers or widening the geographic distance between parents and their children (Abalos et al., 2018). The implications of these changes are critical in the Philippines, given the country's underdeveloped formal support system for older adults.

The growing share of older Filipinos and the unprecedented increase in international migration from the Philippines highlight the need to examine how care for older people is provided and negotiated across distance. This study aims to investigate the relationship between children's residential location and their provision of support to their older parents. It examines this relationship while considering siblings' residential location and other characteristics that may influence older people's receipt of support and adult children's provision of support.

Although there are previous studies that examine the exchange of support between older Filipinos and their children (Laguna, 2013, 2021), these studies focus on the parent-child dyad and neither consider the siblings' residential location nor the latter's provision of support to their parents. However, as noted by Matthews (2002, p. 7), "families can be broken into pairs or dyads, but it is important to remember that such dyad members usually are part of a larger system in which the other members affect their interaction." Past studies in other settings show that behavior and residential location of sibling(s) are associated with a child's provision of parental support (Quashie, 2015; Tolkacheva, Broese van Groenou, & van

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Tilburg, 2010; Zimmer, Rada, & Stoica, 2014). Examining the relationship between the location and behavior of siblings and a child's propensity to provide support to their parents is relevant in the Philippine context. First, children of the current cohort of older Filipinos were born in a regime of high fertility; hence they have a relatively large number of siblings with whom they can share parental care duties. The 2018 Longitudinal Study of Ageing and Health in the Philippines (LSAHP) shows that older Filipinos have an average of about five living children (C. J. P. Cruz & Cruz, 2019). Second, children of older Filipinos are geographically dispersed within and outside the Philippines. Preliminary findings from the LSAHP data show that about 59% of older Filipinos have at least one child living in a different province, and around 13% have at least one child living overseas. Despite the geographic distance, children continue to provide support to their parents. For example, money from children within the country (58%) and overseas (15%), were reported by older Filipinos as some of the sources of income (C. J. P. Cruz, 2019). While we know that Filipino children continue to provide support for their parents across distance, we know very little about how they cooperate and negotiate with their siblings in providing this support. Hence, this study seeks to answer the following questions:

1. Is there an association between adult children's provision of parental support and their sibling's residential proximity to parents?
2. What types of support do non-coresident children provide to their parents, and does the provision of these types of support vary depending on the type of support provided by their siblings?

Data and methodology

Data for the analysis are drawn from the baseline survey of the 2018 LSAHP, the first nationally representative longitudinal study on aging in the Philippines. It collected comprehensive information on 5,985 older Filipinos aged 60 years and over on a range of topics, including health status, health care utilization, and exchange of support with children. More details of the survey can be found elsewhere (G. T. Cruz, Cruz, & Saito, 2019).

The unit of analysis for this study is the older person's adult child aged 15 years and over.

The study's primary variable of interest is non-coresident child's provision of support to their parents. This support can be in the form of financial, material (food, clothing, medicine), emotional (companionship, giving advice), and instrumental support (assistance in bathing and going to the toilet). The respondents were asked if they received each type of support from their coresident and non-coresident children in the past 12 months. The frequency and intensity of the support from children were not collected in the survey; hence the children's provision of support to their parents is dichotomized into "yes" and "no."

The main independent variables include the residential location of the non-coresident child and their siblings and the latter's provision of support to their parents. Non-coresident child's location is categorized into (1) the same municipality as parents, (2) internal migrant, and (3) international migrant. The sibling's residential location is coded as dummy variables indicating whether the adult child has at least one sibling in each of the following categories: coresiding with parents, living in the same municipality as parents, internal migrant, and international migrant. Sibling's provision of parental support is measured by dummy

variables representing whether the adult child has any sibling who provided each of the following types of support to their parents in the past 12 months: financial, material, emotional and instrumental.

The demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the adult children and their parents, as well as the latter's health status, will also be taken into account in the analysis. Descriptive statistics and logistic regression models will be used in this study.

Preliminary results

Compared to those who are living in the same municipality as their parents, adult children who live overseas are more likely to give financial support but are less likely to give material, instrumental and emotional support to their parents.

Having siblings who live in the same household as their parents or in areas within the Philippines is associated with adult children's lower likelihood of providing financial, material emotional and instrumental support to their parents.

In general, having siblings who provide support to their parents is associated with an adult child's propensity to give parental support.

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