



## Faculty Development Program IIHMR – Bangalore

### Care Arrangements for Older Adults: Exploring the Intergenerational Contract in Emigrant Households of Goa, India

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## Scheme of Presentation

- ✓ Introduction to Ageing in India
- ✓ Consequences of Emigration on the Household
- ✓ Objectives of the Study
- ✓ Background and Concepts
- ✓ Evidence on reciprocity
- ✓ Ageing & Migration in Goa: The Context
- ✓ Methods – ethics, data collection and analysis
- ✓ Findings
- ✓ Discussion



## Introduction:

- ✓ Share and size of elderly population is increasing over time. From 5.6% in 1961 the proportion has increased to 8.6% in 2011 (Census, 2011)
- ✓ The old-age dependency ratio climbed from 10.9% in 1961 to 14.2% in 2011 for India as a whole. For females and males, the value of the ratio was 14.9% and 13.6% in 2011 (Census, 2011).
- ✓ Demographic ageing leads to a complex reorientation of health systems, public spending, social security and living arrangements of older adults in India
- ✓ Insufficient social security systems - make families the main providers of support to older adults



## Introduction Continued:

- ✓ Increased mobility of adult children, fewer siblings & longevity of parents
- ✓ The traditional Indian family is in transition and the modified extended family where parents, children and other relatives do not necessarily live under one roof
- ✓ Cultural Norms - older adults prefer to live with and receive their care from family members
- ✓ Living alone or in old age homes is interpreted as a sign of breakdown of traditional Indian values in public discourses
- ✓ Migration of adult children is considered one of the most effective poverty reduction strategies for families in the developing world
- ✓ Physical presence of a caregiver is the most desired but often missing element



## Consequences of Migration on the Household:

- ✓ Emigration of adult children - changes household dynamics - leaves families, mainly older adults in disarray
- ✓ Migration (internal or external) tends to create nuclear family units and more often the older family members are left behind
- ✓ Migration reduces labour force participation for family members left behind, especially for women
- ✓ In LMIC's such as India, the care needs of older adults are invariably managed by family members in the absence of State supported services
- ✓ Older couples who are left behind often reside independently for longer periods until the loss of spouse leads to the widowed parent either living alone or being incorporated into one of the adult child's family
- ✓ Adult children and their older parents make efforts to live in close proximity to each other & support exchanges are clearly visible and continue through the life cycle between generations



## Research Question:

How do older adults and their caregivers recognise, negotiate and interpret reciprocal support motives that influence and result in adaptive reciprocal intergenerational care arrangements and caregiving decisions?

## Objectives of the Study:

- ✓ To explore the evolving nature of care frameworks for older adults in the Indian context and examine the changing household living arrangements and complexities that exist within households in Goa
- ✓ To identify caregiving motives and primary caregivers to older adults in an emigration context where older adults are left behind
- ✓ To contribute to theory on co-residence, acknowledge reciprocity in the caregiving process and reflect on the cultural influences that guide adaptive intergenerational care arrangements especially in an emigration context.



## Background and Concepts:

- ✓ Reciprocity has been recognized as an abiding norm that directs support exchanges between parents and their children across the life course and is a central tenet of both equity and social exchange theory (Blau, Emerson).
- ✓ Though co-residence is a form of reciprocation for parental investment - the motives to co-reside, reside close to the older parents or to remain connected through embedded households are driven by reciprocal calculations.
- ✓ Filial notions of obligation are embedded within a context of indebtedness
- ✓ The qualitative accounts of caregivers and older adults are 'situated' according to the status of the interactants and are standardized within the cultural context
- ✓ These reflect routinely expected behaviours while treating the relationship as a reciprocal one



Caregiver Networks

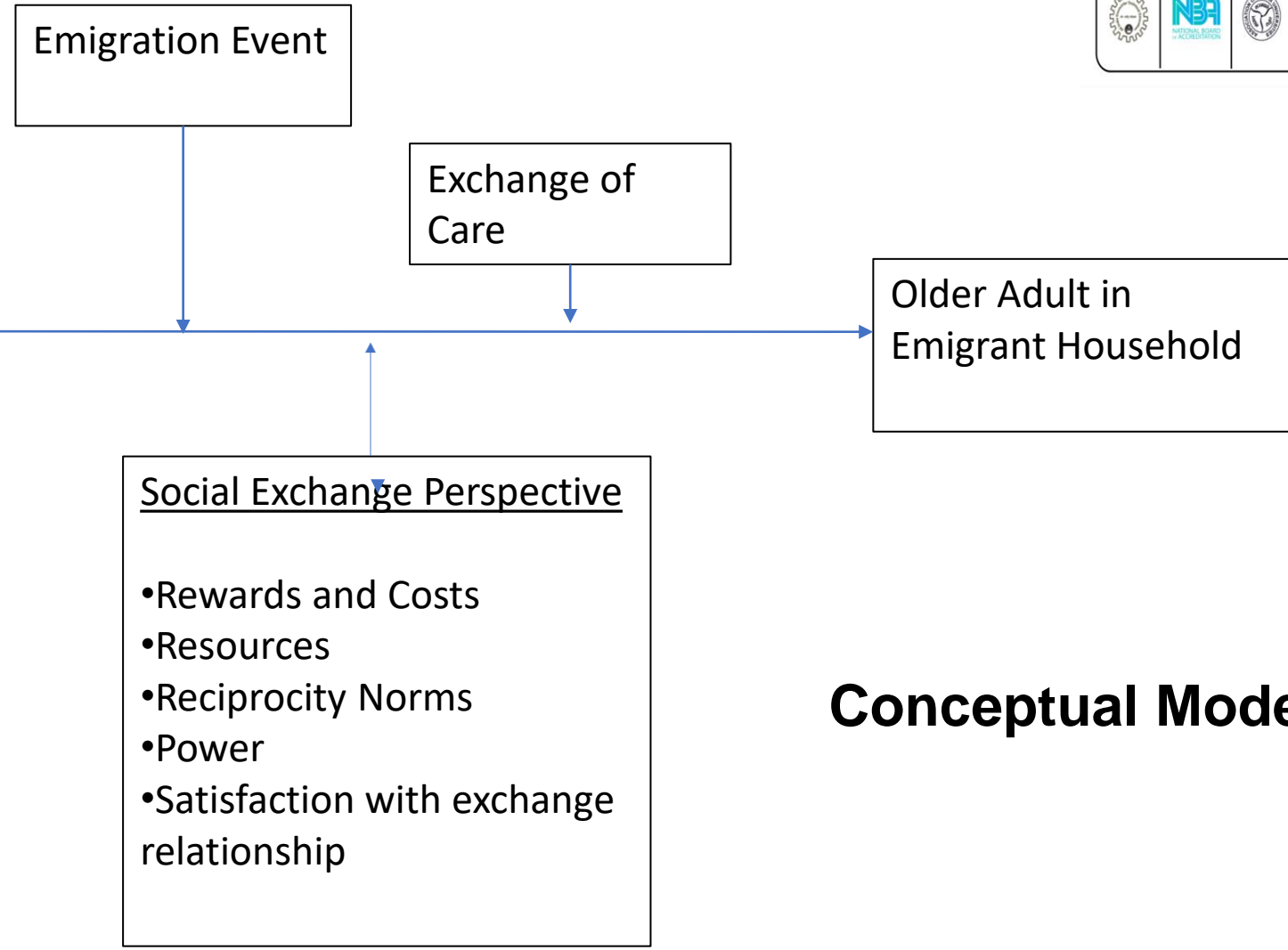
- Informal Caregiving
- Family Caregiver / Household
- Non-family / Non – Household
- Community

Nature of Caregiving Relationship

- Availability
- Familiarity
- Motivation
- Preference

Types of Support

- Emotional
- Instrumental



**Conceptual Model**

Figure 1: Author’s own representation of the concepts that helped understand exchange of care for an older adult living in an emigrant household





## From non-co-residence to co-residence:

- ✓ With adult child migration, mobility and other factors, care and support exchange for older parents through non-co-residence is increasingly visible in the Indian context.
- ✓ Living apart from children does not necessary preclude exchanges of support between generations just as co-residence does not automatically guarantee support for the older adult.
- ✓ Since provision of care requires personal contact, greater direct costs as well as opportunity costs of caregiving arise for those who live farther away from the parent's home
- ✓ Adult children who live abroad contribute remittances to their older parents in exchange for the custodial care of grandchildren and provide emotional support exchanges through regular communication.
- ✓ Adult children could also be motivated to seek co-residence with parents when they need financial support, childcare and as a mechanism to offset the rising costs of housing



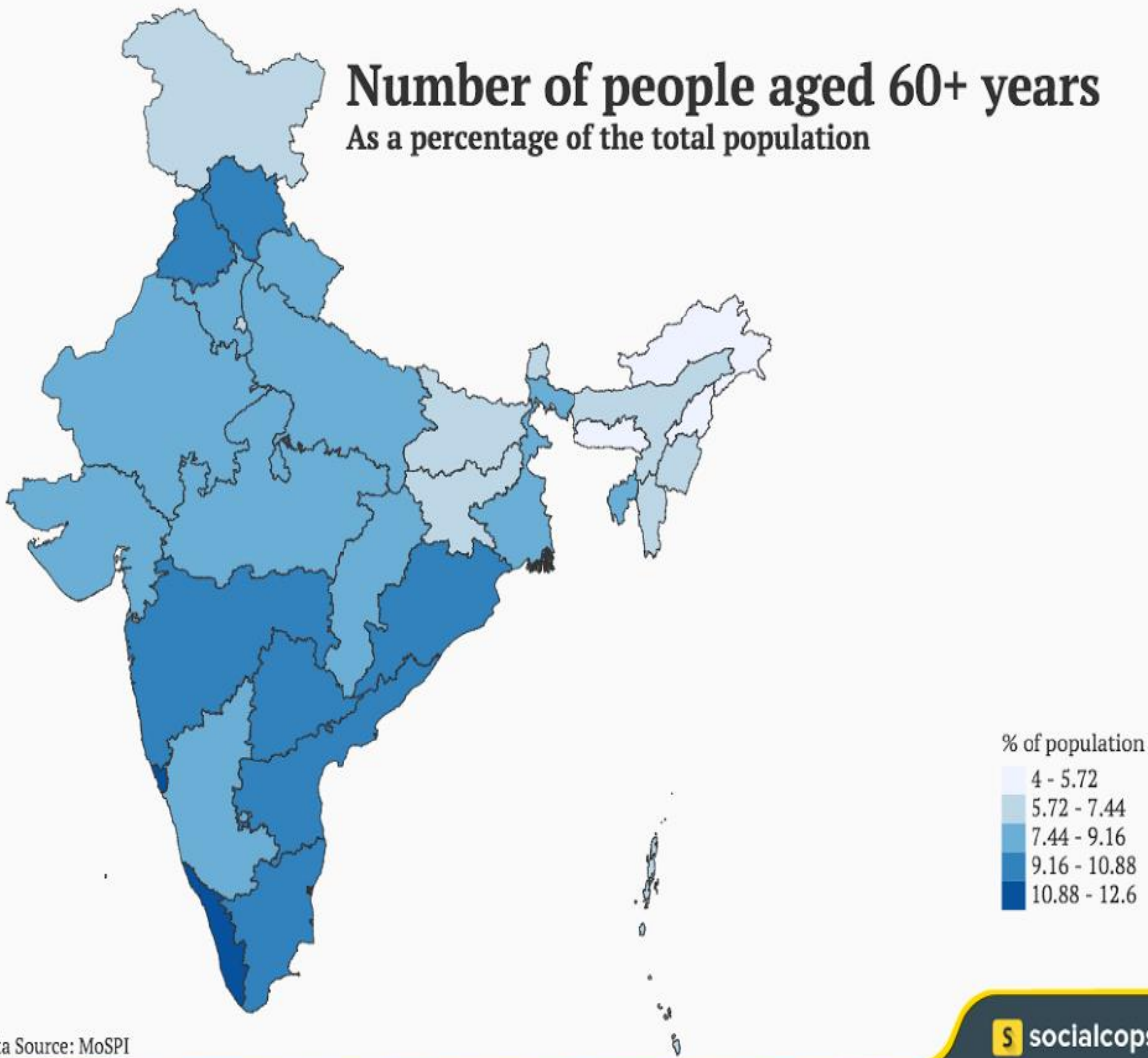
## Gender, Culture & Caregiving:

- ✓ Sons are culturally responsible for parent care
- ✓ Actual caregiving role is most often handled by their wives
- ✓ The preference to co-reside with sons (rather than daughters)
- ✓ Indian marriage customs and kinship system - daughters are considered as lost into the natal family after marriage.
- ✓ Older women have strong ties with daughters; however, there is also equal antipathy towards co-residing with daughters.
- ✓ In the physical absence of the emigrant son, the responsibility of care provision is perceived by older adults to be shared among the other children including the daughters



## Aging and Migration in Goa: The Context & Setting

- ✓ The study focuses on Goa, a known emigration pocket in India
- ✓ Salcete taluk (South Goa) - **emigration index of 40.4 emigrants per 100 households** (Government of India, 2008)
- ✓ Proportion of older adults in **Goa is 11.2%** of the total population (second only to the State of **Kerala** with a proportion of **12.6%**). Indian average is **8.6% (Census, 2011)**
- ✓ Goa - the smallest state in India with one of the best health and HDI indices among other Indian states.
- ✓ Primary language in Goa is Konkani though Marathi, Hindi and English are also commonly spoken.
- ✓ Sporadic migration from Goa, voluntary and forced, has been witnessed for centuries. Goa had been a Portuguese colony for over four centuries until 1961.





## Migration from Goa - Phases!

- ✓ During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Goans migrated primarily to the neighbouring kingdoms of India.
- ✓ During the colonial times, Goans predominantly migrated to British India and Africa.
- ✓ In the postcolonial phase, Goans migrated to the Gulf, West (Europe, Canada, USA, and Brazil) as well as to Australia and New Zealand.
- ✓ Ever since the oil-boom, Goans have been migrating to the Gulf
- ✓ In recent years, many Goans have reclaimed their Portuguese nationality
- ✓ Migration and seafaring has been a traditional and historically documented occurrence in Goa, is male-dominated and women and children are notably left behind

## Methodology:

Mixed methods research and data included:



1. **Secondary Survey Data:** BKPAI (Building knowledge base on population ageing in India (UNFPA, 2012
2. **Primary Data:** Primary data collected from emigrant households of Kerala and Goa (44 interviews in total) + Key informant interviews (9 in Goa) + observations and field notes.

## Setting and Participant Profile:

- ✓ The study was conducted in Salcete taluk of South Goa district – towns of Chinchinim, Navelim, Verna, Varca and Benaulin in Salcete taluk
- ✓ First group of participants recruited during an interactive workshop organized for older adults by Caritas at Panaji
- ✓ Snowballing technique was employed to recruit the participants (older adults had to be aged 60 years and above and have at least one emigrant adult child)
- ✓ Primary caregivers (co-residing) were identified by the older adults themselves



- ✓ Of the 22 caregivers, 9 were daughter-in-law caregivers, 5 were female spousal caregivers (wives), 1 male spousal caregiver (husband), 5 daughter-caregivers and 2 sons as caregivers.
- ✓ Caregivers ranged in age from 35 to 78 years while older adults ranged in age from 60 to 102 years.
- ✓ 9 of the older adults were currently married while 13 were widowed.
- ✓ All participants were native to the region and spoke Konkani as well as English.
- ✓ 23 interviews were conducted in Konkani and 21 interviews in English based on the participants' preference.
- ✓ Households represented the middle to lower socio-economic class of society and all families identified themselves as Catholic Christians.



## Ethics and Data Collection:



- ✓ Approved by Institutional Ethics Review Board of the University of Groningen, The Netherlands.
- ✓ Participants were informed about the study objectives and explained the interview process.
- ✓ Written informed consent obtained to conduct the interviews and to audio-record the conversations
- ✓ Privacy and anonymity were observed. Pseudonyms have been used to provide context but not to link the participant
- ✓ Co-resident participants were interviewed separately based on their convenience.







## Data Analysis:

- ✓ Qualitative data used included - both interview transcriptions and researcher's field notes.
- ✓ All interviews were transcribed **verbatim**
- ✓ Interviews done in Konkani were transcribed into Konkani and then translated into English for textual analysis.
- ✓ After data immersion, the text was coded using Atlas.ti Version 7.5.10 computer software.
- ✓ Refined codes and **categories** came up after multiple readings and re-examination of coded transcripts.
- ✓ From the **primary codes** that emerged we developed secondary codes such as 'expectations of care', 'care received from family', 'care options', 'caregiver perceptions', 'reciprocity', 'linked lives', 'perceptions of older adults', and 'gender'



## Findings:

The themes that emerged for Intergenerational Care Arrangements are:

### (A) Transition events and reciprocity in the formation of intergenerational co-residence:

- ✓ Transition events - widowhood, birth of a grandchild, increased parental care needs and emigration were shown to direct adult children and older adults into incorporating either one into their household and co-reside.

*“at first I used to stay at my husband’s place with my 3 children (paused), after he died (paused), then I fell sick and then my daughter brought me here, before that I used to stay at my sister’s place (paused), she got (suffered) a heart attack and expired..” (Hyacintha, older female, 72 years, Varca)*

- ✓ The reciprocal support exchanges that guide these patterns of co-residence and support and the ensuing resource flows come forth in this theme.

**(B) Intergenerational care through co-residence:**

✓ The 3 sub-themes below provide insights into how adults' decisions to co-reside with their sons, daughters-in-law or daughters were indicative of the mutual aim to adapt and accommodate and in order to keep mutual resource flows going.

**(i) Older adults co-residing with adult sons:**

✓ In co-residing with their adult sons, older adults selected one among their children and expected to receive care and support from their children and daughters-in-law in return for bequeathing ownership to the house and property

Madeleine was widowed several years ago and continued to stay in her house alone. Her youngest son, Leander, decided to return from abroad to co-reside with her along with his wife and children. Madeleine's eldest son and the eldest daughter have emigrated to the United Kingdom while her other three daughters are married and live in Goa.

*"Sometimes, those who are in Goa (daughters), they come and visit me. The one in Neura, she come every Saturday for mass, comes here for coffee, she is also a teacher, the other one also comes. I live here with Leander, his wife and his 2 sons and the servant. He has a factory there and all the people of the factory also stay here. My thinking is like that (paused), we have to put in your children's mind to do all those things when they are young to look after the elderly people (Madeleine, older female, 73 years, Benaulin)"*



## (ii) Older adults co-residing with daughter-in-law:

- ✓ Usually what began as co-residence with the adult son ended up being co-residence with the daughter-in-law and grandchildren when the son emigrates leaving behind his family.
- ✓ The emigrant son and his left-behind wife were naturally selected not only to co-reside and provide care but stood to benefit from intergenerational transfers in time to come.

*“this girl (daughter-in-law) has my responsibility (paused) she only does (paused) everything is on her, and sister-in law and brother also. yes more responsibility is on her (paused) I am free with her (paused) because she is there at home all the time (paused) ya she is at home with me”*

*(Joana, older female, 72 years, Benaulin)*





### (iii) Older adults co-residing with daughters:

- ✓ Though daughters were not expected or obliged to care for the parents after they get married as they assume caregiving duties in their husband's household, few older adults did obtain care from their daughters through co-residence.
- ✓ While older adults can benefit through investing in their children and building up beneficence, the younger generation is recognising their parents as more of a resource rather than a burden and hence filial obligations through co-residence continue in word and deed.

*“I am staying here, I think it is 3 years became since I have come down. After my dad's death, there was nobody in the house, so I had to come back. I had to leave my job. I was working in Dubai actually, so I had to leave my job and come here” (Agatha, daughter caregiver, 44 years, Chinchinim)*



### (C) Intergenerational care through close proximity households:

- ✓ Describes exchange of care between older parents and their children or children-in-law through **living in close proximity**, for example, **within the same city, village, sometimes sharing the same courtyard** such that there is ease of contact and support between adult children and their parents.
- ✓ This arrangement also facilitated sharing of filial roles between non-emigrant adult children and also between non-emigrant and emigrant siblings.

*“I have got three sons, so I constructed these units separately, for all the sons it is separate, this portion is actually for the son, Alistair (who emigrated to Netherlands)” (Margaret, older female, 80 years, Varca).*



### (D) Intergenerational care through 'embedded' or 'enmeshed' separate nuclear households:

- ✓ Reflects attempt to adapt and retain traditional kinship ties through functional support exchanges even though older parents and their adult children lived in **separate nuclear households**.
- ✓ Households were closely connected, spatially or remotely, through a complex web of intergenerational exchanges.
- ✓ Characteristic of adult children living in separate nuclear households where resource flows were not constrained by physical boundaries of separate households or on account of being away from the older adult

*My elder son has Skype, so we watch him on Skype, and he calls regularly every Sunday. He sends money also. All the time he asks, 'you have got money, right?' Don't stop going to the doctor because of money, like that, he is concerned. Even other sons are also the same, but since I am getting pension, so I told them, if I need money, I will ask them. Even the other two also, they send me some money. I tell them, see I don't need money at the moment; I can manage with my own. If I need, I will ask (Margaret, older female, 80 years, Varca)*



## Discussion:

- ✓ Perspective to family response to emigration and understand the reciprocal intentions and motivations that guide the formation of adaptive intergenerational care arrangements are highlighted
- ✓ Serves to initiate dialogue on the negotiated intergenerational contract that seems to have evolved in the background of changing family situations and modernization
- ✓ Adult children from emigrant households are responsive to parental needs of support and find ways to effect supportive exchanges
- ✓ Although adult children subscribe to the notion of repayment or reciprocity for past care, there were far less glimpses of feeling indebted
- ✓ Motivations of mutual need, mutual interdependence and mutual support for two-way exchanges of support and care exist





## Discussion Continued:

- ✓ Both generations are seen to adapt, adjust and mutually accommodate changing needs and circumstances
- ✓ While India's **National Policy for Senior Citizens (Government of India, 2011)** encourages filial obligation, continuing and renewed investment in the intergeneration



## Research Gaps:

- ✓ With emigration and remittances flowing in, the **need for assisted living**, need for **supportive remote monitoring** of older adults, need for **specialized communities for senior citizens** and the need for **home-based nursing care** for the left-behind older adults are opportunities and avenues that can emerge (*even research*)
- ✓ Health and social needs of older adults will necessitate a complex re-arrangement of resources and facilities in the near future in India (need for capacity building and supportive schemes)



## Limitations and Opportunities for Future Research:

- ✓ Findings reflect the meanings and interpretations that older adults and their caregivers ascribed to reciprocal support exchanges in their relationships
- ✓ Findings are limited to the experiences and characteristics of older adults and caregivers from emigrant households of Goa
- ✓ Cultural norms of the region together with religious beliefs could have influenced the interpretation of filial roles and expectations
- ✓ Reliance on personal constructions of reciprocal exchanges and linked them to the theoretical framework
- ✓ The extent of reciprocity that is expected and enacted in caregiving relationships will vary across cultural settings and is a **potential area of exploration**



## Opportunities for Future Research:

- ✓ Though caregivers demonstrated that their burden was alleviated through supportive exchanges, the motivation and choice of siblings **who decide to stay back** and **what are the underlying assumptions** that direct care provision is another area of exploration for future research
- ✓ Highly unlikely that governments in developing countries can offer **any alternatives to family-based intergenerational care** in the near future
- ✓ Most LMIC governments only penalize adult children who evade responsibility or take moral stands (**Maintenance and Welfare of Parents & Senior Citizens Act, 2007, India**)
- ✓ Hence, research that leads into policy and helps guide efforts towards social & financial security of older adult population is the need of the hour
- ✓ IIHMR's credentials offers a perfect environment to work on geriatric issues, especially health and social security mechanisms for older adults
- ✓ Fund & Grant Sources – UNFPA, ICMR, HelpAge, and many International NGOs, etc.



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