Ageing and Family:

Generational Composition and Income of Poor Households in Mexico

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Introduction

The objective of this article is to explore the relationship between poverty and demographic ageing, taking in account the composition and economic participation of different generations in households. The main characteristics examined are: size, structure and composition of households with at least one elderly person, their social and family role as economic contributor with salary, pensions and remittances in their households.

Sen (2000) define poverty as the relationship between the lack of income and the abilities of individuals and families, and other vulnerabilities, as the old age, physical incapacity and illness. These disadvantages decrease the ability to perceive or to keep the level of income, to assume social and family responsibilities, and to invest in new abilities.

The ageing process itself implies an accumulation of different conditions of socio-demographic and economic vulnerabilities. The decrease of physical, muscular and sensorial abilities leads to chronic illnesses, limitations and lesions, and definitive sequels (Rangel López, 2003). Physical limitations are related to other socioeconomic vulnerabilities, as the lower labor and income opportunities (Tuirán, 2003).

Some authors suppose that this accumulation of vulnerabilities leads elderly to assume a dependent role in family and society, especially in developing countries. However, the relationship between poverty and old age also depends on the role that the elderly assume in their households.

In Mexico poverty and ageing are unevenly distributed in rural and urban areas, among individuals and families. To discuss this relationship from the family and ageing point of view, this study focuses the households where at least one person over 60 years old lives; and they named "elderly". Some characteristics indicate the role of the elderly in households: the absolute value of income; the relative weight of elderly income in the total income of the household; and types of resources, as pensions and remittances, residence in rural and urban areas[2] to indicate contextual differences.

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[1] FLACSO–México.

[2] Rural areas are those with fewer than 15 thousand inhabitants, and urban areas are those with 15 thousand or more inhabitants. This criteria is used by the Comité Técnico para la Medición de la Pobreza to construct the three poverty lines.

Authors classify poor individuals and families in several ways. In Mexico the Technical Committee to Measure Poverty (Comité Técnico para la Medición de la Pobreza) uses an monetary criteria and defines three poverty lines, based on the basic goods and services3 and on household income. The per capita income of the household represents multidimensional conditions to guarantee family welfare: food, education, health, transportation, clothes and shoes, and housing. Based on the level of per capita income the Committee defines three lines or grades of poverty. Poor people in the first line (feeding) are considered "Extremely Poor", and poor people in the last two lines (ability and patrimony) are considered "Moderately Poor". In this study I am comparing three groups by condition of poverty: the not poor, the moderately poor, and the extremely poor.

The analysis unit is individuals, to estimate the proportions of heads of poor households by age, and the households, classified as with or without elderly. The source of information is the National Survey of Income and Expenditures of the Households (ENIGH, 2002).

DEMOGRAPHIC TRANSITION IN MEXICO

1. **Poverty, elderly and position in the household**

In México poverty varies by age and sex. The pyramid of the not poor population is older, and the pyramid of the extremely poor gathers higher proportions of children, and a strong absence of young adults. On the other hand, income also varies by sex and age. The poor hardly have wages in adult life and pensions are very scarce in older age (Gomes, 2001).

In this section I analyze the proportions of heads by age, and of households with at least one elderly, according to their poverty condition, in the period 1992-2002.

1.1 Heads of households and poverty

This analysis makes evident the relationship between poverty and life-course. The not poor households are more frequent when their heads are 45-65 years old.

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3 En México, el Comité Técnico para la Medición de la Pobreza define tres líneas de pobreza: la línea de pobreza alimentaria toma en cuenta los valores monetarios para definir una canasta básica de alimentación; la línea de Extremely Poor toma en cuenta la canasta básica de alimentación y también otras medidas no monetarias como alimentación y capacidades; y la línea de pobreza de patrimonio, además de alimentación, salud y educación, incluye el vestuario, vivienda y transporte, como múltiples dimensiones del concepto de bienestar.

Se estima el ingreso total del hogar, incluidos el ingreso monetario y los ingresos en especie e imputados dividido entre el número de miembros del hogar. No se realizan ajustes a cuentas nacionales Este procedimiento tiene como objetivo evitar problemas de subestimación y/o truncamiento de la información de las encuestas frente a los valores reportados por la cuenta de hogares del sistema de cuentas nacionales, evitando los sesgos de sobreestimación del ingreso de los hogares más pobres (Cortés, at all, 2002)

Trends of not poor households are similar within the decade: the proportions of not poor households with heads 15-29 years old are high (nearly 50 percent); they reach the lowest point when heads are 30-35 years old; they increase progressively until they reach 60 percent of the households with heads 45-49 years old; and over 65 years old the proportions go back to nearly 50 percent (Graphic 1).

The extreme poor households show a bimodal curve of heads ages, with two maxim points: when heads are 30-34 years old, and over 70 yeas old.

This trend probably is related to the size of the household, because when heads are 30-35 years old their children born. Therefore, the birth of children increases the number of members of the household and decreases the per capita income. (Graphic 2).

GRAPHIC 1
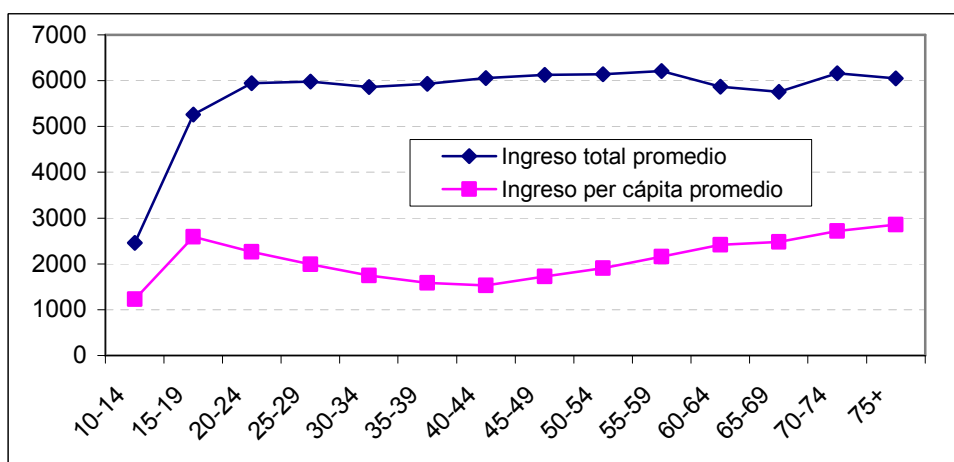
1.2. Households with elderly and poverty

I use the comparison between households with and without elderly as an approximation to the changes in domestic arrangements at the end of the life-course, named the phase of the household dissolution.

Although elderly over 60 year old represent less than seven per cent in Mexican population, one out of four households in México has at least one elderly over 60 years old, and this proportion is higher in rural areas (30.9%)[4], where elderly are more concentrated, compared to urban areas[5].

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[4] En las áreas rurales dos de cada tres hogares son pobres de capacidades (63.20%), condición de pobreza que afecta a apenas una tercera parte de los hogares de áreas urbanas (36.80%). En las

In urban areas two out of three households are not poor, but taking into account only households with elderly, the proportion of not poor households with elderly is higher (67.10%), compared to households without elderly (63.90%). Moderate poverty affects more households without elderly (24.10) than households with elderly (20.10). (Table 1)

In rural areas only nearly 40 percent of households are not poor, but if there is at least one elderly person, the proportions of poor households is still lower. Therefore, results suggest that the presence of an elderly does not imply poverty.

TABLE 1

Porcentaje of households with and without elderly by poverty condition an areas of residence

	Not poor	Moderately Poor	Extremely Poor	Total
Hogares sin adultos mayores				
Urban	76.40%	80.40%	75.80%	77.30%
Rural	66.70%	69.70%	71.40%	69.10%
Total	73.80%	76.50%	73.00%	74.30%
Hogares con adultos mayores				
Urban	23.60%	19.60%	24.20%	22.70%
Rural	33.30%	30.30%	28.60%	30.90%
Total	26.20%	23.50%	27.00%	**25.70%**
Total: Hogares con y sin adultos mayores				
Urban	73.50%	63.90%	36.80%	63.50%
Rural	26.50%	36.10%	63.20%	36.50%
Total	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

1.3. Status of elderly in the household

In general, in developing countries, the elderly are supposed to be dependent. However, most of them are the head of the household. Among the total individuals over 60 years old, 61.4 percent of them are heads of their households, 24.5 percent are spouses, and only 14.1 percent are "other parents" of the head. In rural areas proportions of elderly heads are higher (62.5%), compared to urban areas (60.6%), but the higher differences emerge from poverty conditions. In urban areas the elderly head is not poor or moderate poor in higher proportion (61.5%), than

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áreas rurales los hogares pobres de capacidades alcanzan casi 40 por ciento del total, porcentajes muy cercanas a las de hogares Not poor.

[5] La gran mayoría de los hogares Not poor y pobres moderados se encuentran en áreas urbanas (73.50% y 63.90% respectivamente), y una menor parte en áreas rurales.

extreme poor (53.6%). In rural areas elderly heads are concentrated in the two extremes: they are not poor (65.7%) or extremely poor (61.2%) in higher proportions than the moderately poor (58.2%). (Table 2)

Firstly, elderly are mainly heads, and secondly, they live in one out of four households, as a result, one out of five households in the country have an elderly head (21.90%). These households headed by elderly are more frequent in rural areas (27.10%) than in urban areas (18.90%), and are more frequently not poor than households headed by other generations.

Moreover, taking into account only the households with elderly, they are head of 85 percent of the households they live, reproducing the same trends: they are concentrated in rural areas and in not poor group.

TABLE 2

Porcentaje of households by family rol of elderly, according poverty condition and area of residence ENIGH 2002

		Not poor	Moderately Poor	Extremely Poor	Total
Urban	Head	61.7	61.5	53.6	60.6
	Spouse	23.5	24.1	21.9	23.4
	Other	14.8	14.3	24.5	16
Rural	Head	65.7	58.2	61.2	62.5
	Spouse	26.5	27.7	23.6	25.8
	Other	7.7	14.1	15.2	11.7
Total	Head	63.1	59.9	58.6	61.4
	Spouse	24.5	25.9	23	24.5
	Other	12.4	14.2	18.4	14.1

Therefore, in Mexico, looking at the family status, elderly are not dependents, but they are heads, independently of the area of residence and condition of poverty.

Even though it is possible that people declare the head based on advanced age and cultural values, actually there is a high economic status of elderly in households, and the elderly heads are valued due to their monetary contribution to the household. Furthermore, there is an important demographic component: the lower level of dependency among households with elderly, because over 60 years old their children are leaving. In rural areas, this trend is reinforced by young emigration from rural areas to cities and to the United States. Therefore, both components -economic "independence" of elderly and small domestic arrangements with elderly- become important in the countryside.

Thus, to study poverty, ageing and family, it is important to take into account the monetary resources of each member of the household, beyond (más allá de) their declared family status. It includes their real condition as contributors or

dependents, and the general composition, according to household changes in the life-course.

2. The weight of the elderly´s income in domestic economy

2.1 Household income and the presence of elderly

The mean and median income value of the households varies according to the presence or absence of the elderly and area of residence. In general in urban areas total income is higher. However, not always the lower the level of income the higher the level of poverty. There are several exceptions, mainly when only the adult or only the elderly contribute to the income.

These results suggest that poverty depends on if one generation have to divide their income with other members of the household.

TABLE 3

Mean income of the households, by poverty, area of residence and age of the contributor

	Not poor	Moderately Poor	Extremely Poor	Total
	Sin adultos mayores (apenas adulto de 15 a 59 años)			
Urban	6762.28	5122.93	6172.59	6295.43
Rural	5265.53	6069.68	5560.47	5523.05
Total	**6372.71**	**5427.88**	**5795.7**	**6028.36**
	Hogares con adultos mayores			
Urban				
Adult 15-59 years old contribute	6451.66	6312.29	4707.57	6102.68
Only elderly over 60 contribute	7017.3	5593.34	6994.01	5275.07
Elderly over 60 and adult 15-59 contribute	7104.61	6138.28	5526.27	6737.59
Total urban	**6941.34**	**5991.98**	**5617.22**	**6579.73**
Rural				
Adult 15-59 years old contribute	4465.62	6423.25	4185.51	4923.88
Only elderly over 60 contribute	4384.92	7431.58	5525.67	6737.59
Elderly over 60 and adult 15-59 contribute	5304.12	5193.49	4687.04	5057
Total rural	**4734.83**	**6180.43**	**4976.47**	**5140.47**
Total				
Adult 15-59 years old contribute	6042.32	6353.87	4438.25	5717.25
Only elderly over 60 contribute	5863.91	6452.84	5862.24	5979.64
Elderly over 60 and adult 15-59 contribute	6586.76	5660.17	4962.96	6035.53
Total	**6199.1**	**6079.69**	**5187.48**	**5949.94**

2.2 The mean total value of the elderly´s income

2.3 Generational composition and contribution to the households income

Poverty depends on the economic role that elderly assume in the household: if he is the only contributor, if he contributes with an adult to the total income, or if he is an economic dependent.

Among households with elderly, the main group (45%) get income from two generations: elderly and adults 15-59 years old; one out of three are supported only by the elderly´s income (38.2%); the arrangement where elderly do not contribute with any income is less frequent (17.7%); and these are considered the households where elderly are economic dependent. (Table 4)

Comparing levels of poverty, the higher the poverty, the higher the elderly dependency. In other words, proportions of households where the only contributor is an adult 15-59 years old are 15.4% among not poor and 20.4% among extremely poor. On the contrary, arrangements in which only elderly contribute with income are more frequents among not poor households (40.5%), compared to extremely poor (34.5%). (Table 4)

Rural and urban areas show similar trends and results. But in rural areas households with elderly depend are much less frequent (the proportions of households where elderly do not contribute represent a half that proportions in urban areas).

TABLE 4

Porcentaje of households with elderly by kind of contributors, poverty condition and areas of residence				
	No pobre	Moderately Poor	Extremely Poor	Total
Urban				
Adult 15-59 years old contribute	18.20%	24.70%	30.30%	21.00%
Only elderly over 60 contribute	34.40%	35.40%	24.30%	33.30%
Elderly over 60 and adult 15-59 contribute	47.40%	39.90%	45.40%	45.60%
Total	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
Rural				
Adult 15-59 years old contribute	9.90%	17.00%	15.60%	13.40%
Only elderly over 60 contribute	52.50%	35.80%	39.50%	44.40%
Elderly over 60 and adult 15-59 contribute	37.60%	47.20%	44.90%	42.20%
Total	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
Total				
Adult 15-59 years old contribute	15.40%	21.10%	20.40%	17.70%
Only elderly over 60 contribute	40.50%	35.60%	34.50%	38.20%
Elderly over 60 and adult 15-59 contribute	44.10%	43.30%	45.00%	44.10%
Total	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

Households which depend only on the elderly income are not necessarily concentrated among poor. On the contrary, nearly a half of poor households have both generations collaborating. Therefore, the economic collaboration with adult generation implies that these households can be more vulnerable to poverty.

2.4 How much elderly contribute to the total income of the household

In this section I estimate the relative weight of different generations economic contributions to the domestic unit[6].

In more than a half of the households with elderly they are the main contributor of income: in 40.20 percent of their households they contribute with 100 percent of the total income and in 13.20 percent of the households elderly contribute with more than 50 percent of the total income. (Table 5)

In a smaller group of households elderly are not the main contributor (28.60%) and only in 18.00 percent they do not contribute to the total income.

In rural areas elderly economic contribution is still more important: they are the main contributor in 60 percent of the households, and in 47.60% they are the only one. In urban areas they are also very important economic contributors, but not as in rural areas. (Table 5) This result is striking, because in Mexico pensions exist almost exclusively in urban areas and are concentrated among the not poor.

TABLE 5

Proportion of the elderly contribution to the household income				
	Not poor	Moderately Poor	Extremely Poor	Total
Urban				
0	18.00%	24.70%	32.50%	21.20%
1% a 50%	31.40%	27.30%	35.00%	31.00%
50% a 99%	14.70%	11.80%	6.90%	13.10%
100%	35.80%	36.30%	25.50%	34.50%
Total	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
Rural				
0	9.80%	17.10%	16.70%	13.80%
10% a 50%	21.50%	27.70%	28.60%	25.30%
50% a 90%	12.00%	17.30%	12.60%	13.40%
100%	56.60%	38.00%	42.20%	47.60%
Total	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
Total				
0	15.30%	21.10%	21.90%	18.00%
1% a 50%	28.20%	27.40%	30.60%	28.60%
50% a 99%	13.70%	14.30%	10.60%	13.20%
100%	42.80%	37.10%	36.70%	40.20%

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[6] Este indicador se construyó a partir de la proporción que representa el ingreso del adulto mayor en el hogar, clasificado en cuatro categorías: los casos en que el ingreso del adulto mayor es igual a cero, el grupo de adultos mayores que aporta menos de la mitad del ingreso total del hogar (1 a 49% del ingreso total), el grupo de adultos mayores que aporta más de la mitad del ingreso total del hogar (50 a 99% del ingreso total), y los adultos mayores que son los únicos aportantes del hogar (100% del ingreso total)

| Total | 100.00% | 100.00% | 100.00% | 100.00% |

Therefore, the cultural value of age is not the main reason to explain why elderly are the heads of their households in Mexico, especially in rural areas. The main reason is the economic conditions: most of them are the bread-winners in their households. The minority of elderly is economically dependent of other generations.

3. Household characteristics, elderly and poverty

Next we will analyze some non-economic characteristics of the households, that have an important role in the welfare conditions or poverty, and the presence and number of dependents in the households. More children and old age can limit people's abilities, as well as the reinvestment the resources they have to generate new skills.

3.1 Household size, ageing and poverty

The size of the households varies according to rural and urban areas, but these differences are even greater if depending on the presence of elderly.

Among households with elderly the most common size is two members (26.30%), both in the not poor and the moderate poor households. Extremely poor households are bigger, and usually have five members, both in urban and rural areas (26.20 and 22.7%, respectively).

Households with one or three members are more frequent in the not poor group, whereas households with four or five members are more frequent in the moderately and extremely poor. (Table 6).

Elderly people live in smaller households: elderly households with two members represent 20 and 30 percent in urban and rural areas. The main exception is the extremely poor in urban areas, that shows a clear concentration in elderly households with more than six members, reaching the maximum size with seven members (15.10% of the total).

One person households are mainly of elderly people: more than one out of ten live alone, regardless their poverty condition or area of residence. The trend is the smaller the household, the more likely there is at least an elderly person.

TABLE 6

Household size by presence of elderly and poverty condition ENIGH 2002

Sin adultos mayores de 60

	No pobre	Moderately Poor	Extremely Poor	Total
Urban				
1	7.50%	1.30%	1.10%	5.20%
2	15.80%	5.20%	3.20%	11.70%
3	20.70%	17.10%	9.20%	18.40%
4 y más	55.80%	76.40%	86.70%	64.40%
Total	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
Rural				
1	9.90%	1.90%	1.70%	4.90%
2	16.20%	8.00%	2.60%	9.20%
3	20.90%	15.90%	10.00%	15.60%
4 y más	53.20%	74.20%	85.60%	70.10%
Total	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
Total				
1	8.10%	1.50%	1.50%	5.10%
2	15.90%	6.10%	2.80%	10.90%
3	20.70%	16.70%	9.70%	17.50%
4 y más	55.30%	75.70%	86.10%	66.50%
Total	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

Con adultos mayores

	No pobre	Moderately Poor	Extremely Poor	Total
Urban				
0	76.9	54.3	37	67.2
1	14.5	20.2	17.6	16.1
2	6.8	14.1	16.7	9.6
3	1.1	6	13.2	3.7
4 y más	0.7	5.4	15.5	3.5
Total	100	100	100	100
Rural				
0	74.8	61.7	49.6	63.3
1	17.2	13.8	15.7	16
2	6	13.8	16.8	11.4
3	1.5	6.9	10.5	5.7
4 y más	0.5	3.9	7.4	3.6
Total	100	100	100	100
Total				
0	76.2	57.7	45.4	65.5
1	15.4	17.2	16.4	16
2	6.6	13.9	16.7	10.4
3	1.2	6.4	11.4	4.6
4 y más	0.6	4.7	10.1	3.6
Total	100	100	100	100

3.2 Number of children in the household

The higher the level of poverty, the more children there are under 15, both in urban and rural areas. However, the biggest differences depend on the presence of an elderly person. In about 40 percent of urban households with elderly there are no children, whereas in more than 70 percent of rural households with elderly there are no children. (checar table)
(Table 7)

<p style="text-align:center">**TABLE 7**</p>

Propotion of households by number of children, presence of elderly, poverty condition and area of residence

	Sin adultos mayores de 60				Con adultos mayores de 60			
	No pobre (%)	Pobre moderado (%)	Pobre extremo (%)	Total	No pobre (%)	Pobre moderado (%)	Pobre extremo (%)	Total
				Rural				
1	9.9	1.9	1.7	4.9	21.4	10.7	12.5	16.0
2	16.2	8.0	2.6	9.2	30.0	25.9	21.8	26.3
3	20.9	15.9	10.0	15.6	18.5	18.0	12.5	16.3
4	23.9	27.6	19.1	22.9	12.4	12.7	12.7	12.6
5	14.8	18.2	22.7	18.6	10.4	8.9	11.3	10.3
6	9.1	13.4	17.8	13.4	3.7	10.4	9.3	7.1
7	3.3	7.7	10.9	7.2	1.5	5.9	6.5	4.2
8	1.5	2.8	6.6	3.7	1.2	3.9	6.6	3.6
9	0.6	4.5	8.5	4.3	1.0	3.7	6.7	3.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
				Urban				
1	7.5	1.3	1.1	5.2	12.6	8.2	9.1	11.2
2	15.8	5.2	3.2	11.7	27.9	25.1	12.6	25.4
3	20.7	17.1	9.2	18.4	20.3	15.2	9.9	17.9
4	28.8	28.3	23.9	28.1	14.8	12.6	8.4	13.5
5	17.6	24.2	26.2	20.2	10.8	14.3	12.0	11.6
6	5.9	11.1	16.3	8.4	7.1	10.5	13.3	8.6
7	1.9	7.7	9.5	4.2	4.3	6.8	15.1	6.2
8	1.1	2.3	4.4	1.8	1.0	2.0	5.7	1.8
9	0.5	2.8	6.4	1.7	1.4	5.3	13.5	3.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

3.3 Generational composition of households and poverty

In this analysis I construct the household composition according to the presence of children, young, adult and elderly generations. Households without elderly people are concentrated in two compositions: adults and children (35%); and adult, young people and children (34.5%).

In the not poor group there are usually no children, and there are high proportions of arrangements composed only by adults (17.8%), or by adults and young people (19.5%). Whereas in both moderately and extremely poor households the arrangements are mainly composed by three generations (41.7% and 46.2%, respectively). (Table 8)

On the other hand, usually households with elderly people are composed only by elderly (30.20, 24.5 y 24.7% of not poor, moderately poor and extremely poor, respectively). In the not poor households there is a concentration of households with elderly and adults (25-59 years old). Whereas in poor households the proportion of households with three or four generations increases.

A clear trend in this analysis is that every arrangements with children there are higher the proportions of poverty, regardless the presence of the elderly. Therefore, poverty is related to the presence of children, and not so much to the presence of young people, adults or elderly people.

This result can be explained evaluating the line of poverty, that takes into account the per capita income of the households and, therefore, children are in the denominator of the estimation, as no contributors of income.

On the other hand, the majority of the elderly do not retire in Mexico, many of them have to keep on working under precarious conditions, with lower income than people in productive ages. Although this situation, elderly do not contribute to poverty in their households.

TABLE 8

	Not poor (%)	Moderately Poor (%)	Extremely Poor (%)	Total	Not poor (%)	Moderately Poor (%)	Extremely Poor (%)	Total
Without elderly								
15-24	2.2	0.8	0.2	1.6	2.0	0.5	0.3	1.0
15-24 y 0-14	1.5	4.0	4.1	2.4	2.6	2.3	3.3	2.8
25-59	17.9	3.7	2.9	12.6	17.8	5.3	3.6	9.6
25-59 y 0-14	32.8	40.0	42.8	35.7	28.5	39.6	41.6	36.0
25-59 y 15-24	19.6	9.4	4.9	15.4	19.1	11.4	4.3	11.7
25-59, 15-24 y 0-14	26.1	42.1	45.2	32.2	30.0	40.8	46.8	38.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
With elderly								
60 y más	25.5	22.2	16.8	23.7	39.3	27.1	28.6	33.0
60 y más, 0-14	0.2	1.8	2.3	0.8	1.2	3.4	1.9	1.9
60 y más, 15-24	3.3	4.6	1.2	3.3	4.8	5.5	3.8	4.6
60 y más, 15-24 y 0-14	0.5	1.9	3.3	1.1	1.9	1.3	3.5	2.3
60 y más, 25-59	30.4	16.4	10.0	25.0	22.3	18.6	10.4	17.5
60 y más, 25-59 y 0-14	12.4	22.6	26.1	16.2	11.2	16.5	19.7	15.3
60 y más, 25-59, 15-24	17.6	11.1	9.0	15.2	8.3	10.4	6.8	8.3
60 y más, 25-59, 15-24 y 0-14	10.0	19.4	31.4	14.6	10.9	17.2	25.4	17.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

If this study is divided into urban and rural areas, the generational composition of the households shows a similar trend. The biggest difference is a bigger proportion of households composed only by elderly people in rural areas and in all the poverty conditions: 39.3% of not poor households in rural areas and 25.5% of not poor households in urban area. (Table 8).

If we combine the heads and contributors of income characteristics, we can claim that poverty seems to be strongly related to the presence of children in the household, but not necessarily to ageing or to the presence of an elderly person, who in general are not dependent, but the mainly economic contributors. They are an important economic support when they live alone as well as when they share their income with other generation.

3.4 Economic dependence index

For a better approach to the relationship between contributors and no contributors in the households, the economic dependency index was estimated [7].

It was found that households without elderly people the maximum index is in the moderately poor households (3.5 dependents out of each contributor), whereas this maximum index is cero both in not poor and extremely poor households. However, in extremely poor households there are usually five dependents per supporter. This means that extreme poverty is found in two extremes: households without dependent (probably one person households) or multigenerational households with many dependents per supporter, perhaps with many children (Table 9)

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[7] El índice de dependencia económica se calcula dividiendo el número de no aportantes por el número de aportantes de los hogares. Su lectura permite decir cuantos dependientes (no aportantes) hay para cada aportante del hogar.

TABLE 9

Dependency index by presence of elderly, poverty condition and area of residence

Índice de dependencia economica*	Sin mayores de 60				Con mayores de 60			
	Not poor (%)	Moderately Poor (%)	Extremely Poor (%)	Total	Not poor (%)	Moderately Poor (%)	Extremely Poor (%)	Total
Rural								
0	30.5	21.0	32.3	29.0	53.6	45.4	55.3	52.
0.5	2.5	0.8	0.3	1.3	1.9	0.6	0.2	1.
1	7.0	2.7	1.1	3.8	3.4	3.0	1.2	2.
1.5	16.8	13.5	4.2	11.3	18.9	20.4	7.2	15.
2	5.1	5.5	3.6	4.6	4.9	4.0	3.5	4.
2.5	16.3	15.4	10.5	13.9	6.9	6.4	7.8	7.
3	0.6	2.8	3.1	2.1	0.6	1.6	1.8	1.
3.5	10.9	18.5	13.4	13.6	4.8	5.9	4.7	5.
4	0.0	0.8	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.4	0.
4.5	6.4	9.4	11.3	9.0	3.3	5.7	6.1	4.
5	3.9	9.6	20.0	11.3	1.4	6.9	11.7	6.
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.
Urban								
0	22.9	14.0	21.2	20.5	36.5	38.0	35.2	36.
0.5	3.4	1.1	0.2	2.5	4.1	0.4	0.0	2.
1	11.9	6.4	1.3	9.3	10.0	3.0	5.2	8.
1.5	20.5	13.5	5.9	17.1	22.2	14.8	11.1	19.
2	6.1	7.6	6.4	6.5	3.6	7.1	3.3	4.
2.5	12.3	15.5	11.2	13.0	13.6	14.9	8.9	13.
3	0.9	2.7	4.2	1.7	1.2	2.3	4.5	1.
3.5	12.8	19.7	16.3	14.8	4.0	6.2	4.5	4.
4	0.0	0.5	0.9	0.2	0.1	0.7	4.7	0.
4.5	7.1	12.3	16.6	9.5	3.0	5.5	4.9	3.
5	2.0	6.7	16.0	4.8	1.9	7.1	17.6	5.
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.

* El índice de dependencia representa el número de no aportantes entre el número de aportantes.

Households with elderly people show higher proportions in the cero index (more than 40 percent in the three poverty conditions). However, secondly are the arrangements with 1.5 dependents per supporter, both in not poor and moderately poor households, and a higher index –five dependents per supporter- in the extremely poor households.

In rural areas there are high proportions of households with cero economic dependency index, both in households without elderly (about 30 percent) and in households with elderly (over 50 percent), except in moderately poor, with a lower index (1.5 dependent per supporter). In urban areas the high index is also found, according to the size of multigenerational households.

3.5 Household structure, aging and poverty

The structure of the households also varies according to the presence of elderly. Households without elderly show a clear pattern of predominant nuclear family (about 80%). The higher level of poverty, the higher proportion of nuclear household (57.8%, 66.9% and 73.7% respectively), but there are not big differences according to the area of residence. (Table 10)

On the other hand, households with elderly people show a bigger diversity of structures: over 40 percent are nuclear, more than 40 percent are extended and 13 percent are one person households. The nuclear households with elderly are less frequent in the case of the extreme poverty (48, 40 y 33%, respectively), whereas the extended households increase their proportions with the level of poverty (35, 49, 54%, respectively).

It is striking that the proportions of one elderly person households are higher in extreme poverty than moderate poverty. It indicates the incidence of extreme poverty related to social and family isolation of some elderly people.

Finally, extended households with elderly are more frequent in urban than rural areas. Specially in extreme poverty urban areas there are clearly extended households that amount to 67 percent of the total proportion, whereas in rural areas it is only 22 percent. On the contrary, in rural areas nuclear households increase to 48 percent, whereas in urban areas they are only 32 percent of the total.

TABLE 10
Table 11.

Composición del parentesco de los hogares en las áreas de residencia según presencia de adulto mayor, condición de pobreza y área de residencia

	Sin mayores de 60				Con mayores de 60			
	Not poor (%)	Moderately Poor (%)	Extremely Poor (%)	Total	Not poor (%)	Moderately Poor (%)	Extremely Poor (%)	Total
Urban								
Nuclear	77.8	79.5	81.8	78.7	49.4	40.6	22.4	44.2
Couple without children	8.5	2.2	1.3	6.1	17.3	16.2	9.0	16.0
Couple with children	57.8	66.2	69.1	61.2	21.3	16.9	10.9	19.1
Head with children	11.5	11.1	11.4	11.4	10.8	7.5	2.5	9.1
Extended	13.6	18.5	16.6	15.2	37.8	50.7	67.0	44.2
Couple without children, with other relatives	0.5	0.3	0.4	0.4	1.8	2.4	4.5	2.3
Couple with children and other relatives	7.9	10.9	8.0	8.7	17.5	26.1	38.3	21.9
Head with children and other relatives	2.9	5.6	7.3	4.1	12.8	16.3	19.2	14.3
Head with other relatives	2.3	1.7	0.9	2.0	5.7	5.9	5.0	5.7
Componed	0.6	0.7	0.2	0.5	0.2	0.5	1.0	0.4
Unipersonal	7.5	1.3	1.1	5.2	12.3	8.2	8.9	11.0
Co-resident	0.5	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.7	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Rural

	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	C6	C7	C8
Nuclear		80.5	84.9	80.8	46.9	41.3	38.9	42.9
	9.2	3.6	1.6	5.1	21.1	19.1	16.6	19.1
	57.5	68.4	76.5	67.2	18.3	17.0	17.8	17.8
	10.3	8.5	6.8	8.5	7.5	5.2	4.5	6.0
Extended		17.2	13.4	14.0	31.6	47.3	48.1	40.6
	0.9	0.4	0.1	0.5	4.2	7.0	3.9	4.7
	5.9	10.8	9.2	8.3	14.6	23.1	30.2	21.7
	2.3	4.0	3.4	3.1	8.6	8.8	9.9	9.1
	3.5	2.0	0.7	2.1	4.2	8.4	4.1	5.1
Componed		0.2	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.6	0.2	0.3
Unipersonal		1.9	1.7	4.7	20.9	10.7	12.5	15.8
Co-resident		0.1	0.0	0.3	0.5	0.0	0.4	0.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Total

	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	C6	C7	C8
Nuclear		79.8	83.8	79.3	48.6	40.8	33.5	43.6
	8.6	2.7	1.5	5.7	18.6	17.5	14.1	17.4
	57.8	66.9	73.7	63.2	20.3	16.9	15.6	18.5
	11.2	10.2	8.6	10.4	9.7	6.4	3.8	7.7
Extended		18.1	14.6	14.8	35.7	49.2	54.3	42.7
	0.6	0.3	0.2	0.5	2.6	4.6	4.1	3.4
	7.5	10.9	8.7	8.5	16.5	24.7	32.8	21.9
	2.8	5.1	4.9	3.8	11.4	12.8	13.0	12.0
	2.6	1.8	0.8	2.0	5.2	7.1	4.4	5.4
Componed		0.5	0.1	0.4	0.2	0.4	0.5	0.3
Unipersonal		1.5	1.5	5.0	15.2	9.3	11.3	13.1
Co-resident		0.1	0.0	0.3	0.3	0.1	0.5	0.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

This behavior is shown in every poverty groups. However, in urban and rural areas nuclear households are more concentrated in the higher level of poverty. In urban areas, households with heads and children show a constant proportion in the poverty groups. In rural households, the higher the level of poverty, the less the concentration with the households with heads and children (10.3% of not poor, 8.5% of moderately poor and 6.8% of extremely poor). There is the same trend in the case of couples without children, which is less frequent in extreme poverty, and it characterizes the stage when children leave from parents' households, and elderly parents remain living alone. This arrangement is more frequent in rural than urban areas. The same trend is followed by one elderly person households, this is much more frequent in rural areas (20, 10 y 12 percent respectively) than in urban areas (12, 8 y 9%, respectively).

It can be said that households with elderly people show a diversity of compositions. For the not poor this diversity implies the possibility of living alone or with children (couple without children and one person household). For the poor the main trend is to aggregate another relative to the household, even tough children still live with the parents. The arrangements of couples with children and other relatives are expanding mainly by the presence of a dependent elderly, who assume the role of another relative.

On the other hand, the elderly marital status shows that those who live as a couple with or without children are concentrated mainly in the not poor group. On the other hand, the elderly who live without a spouse live basically in one person household, in the case of single men in three groups of poverty, and in the case of the not poor women. Moderate poor and extreme poor elderly women usually live in extended household.

CONCLUSIONES

De acuerdo con el objetivo de este estudio, se busca identificar a los hogares que acumulan vulnerabilidades específicas, para atender sus demandas y necesidades específicas y generar políticas públicas integrales que atiendan al envejecimiento poblacional y sus consecuencias sobre la familia, como la mayor vulnerabilidad y la pobreza. En México, como en algunos países de Europa, la pobreza y la vulnerabilidad afecta a grupos particulares de adultos mayores, y eso está interrelacionado con diversas características sociodemográficas, familiares y del contexto rural o urbano.

El análisis de los resultados descriptivos muestran que son diferentes los factores que se combinan en contextos urbanos y rurales para determinar la condición de pobreza de los hogares en los que viven adultos mayores.

Los resultados sugieren la importancia de explorar con mayor atención los arreglos familiares y su relación con el proceso de envejecimiento poblacional, que varía según la condición de pobreza. Por ejemplo, los hogares unipersonales pueden ser más frecuentes entre la población adulta mayor no pobre, pero también son una condición relacionada con la vejez en condición de Extremely Poor, indicando la posible existencia de aislamiento social y familiar. La relación entre hogares multigeneracionales y pobreza en áreas urbanas revelan que la corresidencia entre generaciones puede no ser suficiente para que la familia actúe como un factor de protección y bienestar para sus miembros. Las políticas públicas dirigidas a ofrecer soporte a estos grupos vulnerables pueden hacer la diferencia y promover que las diferentes generaciones corresidentes logren mejores condiciones de bienestar.

Los recursos monetarios con que cuenta el adulto mayor, la composición generacional, el tamaño y la estructura de los hogares en los que viven, la ancianidad y el advenimiento de limitaciones y dependencia física se combinan y conforman perfiles distintos de pobreza en contextos rurales y urbanos, que deben de ser atendidos también de manera específica por parte de las políticas públicas.

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