

Maria Carinnes Alejandria-Gonzalez and John Jasper Sanchez

Thinking of Kapatiran: Older Adults' Aspirations for Well-Being In an Informal Settlement in Manila

INTRODUCTION

In 2012 the number of older adults people in the Philippines has been estimated to reached a total of 5, 905,000 which is 6.1% of the total population. This statistic is predicted to significantly shift in 2050 with a 15.3% increase in total population share that could bring the total older adults population to reach 23, 633,000. A total of 1.3 million of these older adults are considered to be experiencing poverty while 7% are identified as highly dependent on the working members of their households (Philippine Statistics Authority 2012).

The phenomenon of an aging population has been observed to have affected the socio-economic dynamics in developed countries in Europe (Edwards 2003) and North America (Wolfe et al. 1998). However, recent studies have identified an emerging aging population in developing countries in Asia (Natividad and Cruz 1997), South America (Noronha and Andrade 2005) and Africa (Noumbissi 2004) that has created gaps in policies and programs due to the overemphasis in developing policies addressing a younger population.

This demographic shift in most countries has raised new issues on population development that relate to food security, health care access, and housing security. With an aging population comes structural requirements that would address a highly dependent majority on the few working sector. Such dependency ripples from household settings wherein the dependency ratio rises with a typical two (2) working adult and five (5) dependent members of which 1.5 are from the older adults sector (EuroStat 2015; Biddlecom and Domingo 1996; Sseguya 2009). In the Philippines, the older adults sector (ages 60 onwards) consists 6.8 percent of the household population. The dependency ratio of the elderly to the working population is estimated at seven (7)

percent. However, this statistics could not be used as a blanket description for the roles that the older adults are supposedly performing. Racelis & Abrigo (2012) argued that the older adults in urban poor setting perform economic roles in their households that keep them buoyant in the continuously fluctuating prices of basic commodities. This was also supported by an earlier work where I explored the food insecurity coping strategies of selected older adults in a slum area in Manila and found out that the older adults participate in informal labor to earn additional income that could augment household budget for food (Gonzalez, In press). It was also found out that the older adults's extent of food insecurity is highly related to the performance of their perceived role within the household as caregivers and, at times, main provider for their dependent grandchildren whose parents have left them for varying socio-economic reasons.

It is from these findings that this work explores the forms of negotiation that the older adults living in an informal settlement in the city of Manila engage in to attain their aspirations for well-being in the context of their membership to a non-profit group called as Kapatiran, a Filipino term for brotherhood. It is the argument of this paper that the older adults' membership and extent of participation in the organization is motivated by their feelings of social exclusion that is mitigated by the services provided by the organization.

A total of 100 Kapatiran members were interviewed for this work. They were randomly selected from the 2000 registered members of the organization. Each interview consisted of questions relating to the following contexts: member profile, motivations for membership, activities participated in, perspectives on the efficiency of the organization in promoting their aspirations. Participant observation was also used in collecting lived experiences of the interviewees from November 2015 to April 2016. Fieldnotes and transcribed interviews were coded and analyzed using MAXQDA qualitative data analysis software.

BASECO COMPOUND AND THE STATE-SPONSORED CONSTRUCTION OF OLDER ADULTS VULNERABILITY

The marginalization of the older adults who are based in urban poor areas could be

discussed in three contexts. First is that of spatial marginalization which is rooted in the inability of the older adults to afford safer places of dwelling forcing them to choose to reside in high risks area like Baseco Compound. Second is that of social exclusion that is rooted in the demographic shifts occurring in the macro and micro levels of society. Third is that of policy exclusion which further catapults the older adults to socio-economic disenfranchisement. We see these contexts as interrelating variables that intensify the struggle of the older adults sector to achieving quality life.

SPATIAL MARGINALIZATION AND THE PLIGHT OF THE OLDER ADULTS

Baseco Compound as a settlement started in the late 1950s with the establishment of the National Shipyard and Steel Corporation (NASSCO) which in 1964 was renamed to Bataan Shipping Company (BASECO) in port area, Manila. Employees and their families created makeshift dwelling structures in the adjacent parcel of land along the estuary formed by the meeting of the Pasig River and Manila Bay. This place which was locally referred to as Isla Laki (Big Island) was quickly populated not just by the employees of BASECO and their families but also by migrants coming from various provinces who aspired to gain employment in the nearby economic districts of Manila and Pasay which are known for highly frequented commercial centers like Divisoria and Baclaran. Another adjacent land area that was soon occupied was called Isla Liit. Locals instigated land reclaiming activities to extend usable land area to the estuary allowing for the construction of more dwelling structures. From an estimated 1000 identified local settlers, the population of Baseco rose to about 60,000 in 2015 (estimate retrieved from Barangay Officials). The steady and significant increase in the population and even territory due to constant efforts of the residents to reclaim parts of the estuary and the constant flow of migrants to the area has paved the legal recognition of Baseco Compound as a Barangay in February 12, 2002 by President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo. Further reclamation projects were sponsored by the government as fires broke in a span of two years that rendered 2,500 households homeless. Of these, an initial group of 750 residents were awarded by the government their Certificate of Entitlement to Lot Allocation (CELA). In 2004 two NGOs collaborated with the Philippine government, Gawad Kalinga and Habitat for Humanity, to implement a housing project for the displaced residents of Baseco allowing for the

creation of 2,000 homes.



Figure 1. Map of Baseco with highlighted area of the GK Housing Project

The awarding of CELAs to local residents was plagued with various issues that included the qualification of the recipients, the ability of the recipients to financially maintain the unit, and the social demarcation that was created between the new site and the old site. Only 14 of the 100 informants in this study live in the Gawad Kalinga (GK) area despite that about 35 have lived in Baseco Compound for at least 30 years. One of the informants said, “hindi ko nga alam pano sila napili, kami nahuli lang daw” (I don’t even know how they chose [them], they told us that we were just late”. Another informant discussed the issue of maintaining the supposed ownership of the home unit due to the monthly dues that they need to pay. They have decided instead to sell their unit and build another make-shift house in the inner blocks. Although discouraged by the government, this process of sub-letting or even selling “land rights” to other parties has been actively engaged in by the recipients in their attempt to gain economic leverage to augment household related expenses. The clear infrastructural difference between the GK area and that of the “un-rehabilitated” Baseco is so stark that one can see where the formal settler area ends and where the informal area begins by just looking at the abrupt shift of paved roads to muddy pathways, from concrete dwellings to make-shift houses.

Baseco Compound is a 52 hectares of land that is divided into 19 blocks which are observably divided according to ethnolinguistic backgrounds. In an earlier study, I have mentioned that the residents have seemed to choose to reside in a particular block because it is populated by individuals coming from the same province or region (Gonzalez, n.d.). A clear example is Block 9 which is considered as a highly Muslim community with almost 90% of the residents professing affiliation to the Islamic faith. When asked about their motivation on their decision to choose their residential block in Baseco Compound,

the informants ascribed it to their relatives' request for them to live with them. This is followed by their displacement after the fire of 2004 and the constant threat of flooding brought about by the geographic location of Baseco that is subject to weather variability and tidal shifts.

A recent study (Reyes and Gonzalez 2016) which explored the perceived vulnerability of the older adults to risks posed by weather variability and tidal shifts in the area proved that they are at high risk due to multiple contexts that include: physical incapacity to evacuate, gender-based roles that disable them to evacuate (i.e. older adult men are expected to stay in their houses to ensure that their belongings will not be looted), and caregiving roles that exacerbate their food insecurity (i.e. prioritization of food allocation for their grandchildren).

SOCIAL EXCLUSION AND THE NEED FOR SOCIALITIES

Several social factors have contributed to the demographic shifts across the world. From increased life expectancy to delayed parenthood which in turn impacts fertility rate, human populations are observably restructuring the social conditions in which individuals who are transitioning to older adult's status navigate. As households become smaller and its members get older, the older adults are faced with issues relating to limited social interactions and support. There is also the rising trend of the missing second generation which leaves the older adults to care for their grandchildren who were left by their parents for reasons like employment relocation, dissolution of marriage, and general mobility of the younger generation (Guest 2003; Natividad and Cruz 1997). Although family dynamics have proven to be a key element in advancing the quality of life among the older adults in developing countries (Olayiwola 2013; Lee, Kim, and Joe 2008; Mason 1992), the shifting structure of the household unit has created the need among the older adults to create networks and friendships outside of their homes (Wu and Chan 2012; Smith and Majmundar 2012). Gerontological literatures have often cited the significant implication of socialities in the achievement of well-being among older adults (Oliveira et al. 2016; Hemingway and Jack 2013). In the Philippines, the relationships that older adults create outside of their households becomes a pertinent discourse as demographic shifts and socio-economic conditions create structural alterations even to

the micro unit of the society—the family. Researches in India (Samanta, Chen, and Vanne-man 2014), Pacific Region (Martin 1989), and South Africa (Noumbissi 2004) have highlighted the significant impact of family-based support in achieving quality of life among older adults as they are represented as dependent members of their household. However, in the Philippine context, more specifically in urban poor areas, older adults do not play a simplistic role of a lolo or lola seated in a rocking chair waiting for the next meal. In these areas, older adults play a more active role in the socioeconomic processes in their households and communities. Memberships in non-family social groups have proven to aid in older age transitions that may include poor health (Cornwell and Waite 2009), widowhood (Singh and Misra 2009), and unemployment (Radovic -Markovic 2013). In the Philippines, this is a part of gerontological literature that needs further exploration as it remains scanty notwithstanding the rising numbers of older adults in the country whose later life experiences are not to be treated in isolation from the younger population's concerns due to intergenerational dependency (Williamson, McNamara, and Howling 2003). With a looming projection of older adult population rising from 4.2 billion in 2008 to about 5.9 billion by 2050, the rest of Asia is already in the process of experiencing the aging population crisis, and the Philippines is not an exemption. To complicate the situation, the rest of Asia is also experiencing low fertility rate and increased life expectancy; both triggers the lethal economic combination of high dependency ratio and low working age population. The question that this demographic shifts pose is: who shall care for the older adult population? In this current work, we deviated from the categorical arguments relating to state obligation or to that of the household unit. Instead, we argue that the older adults have actively performed non-traditional roles to reach their aspirations through which they have accessed state-sponsored benefits and household-based opportunities.

POLICY GAPS: URBAN POOR OLDER ADULTS

Local contexts of what is considered an older adult seem to differ with this general prescription. In areas where teenage pregnancy is predominant, families tend to ascribe the role and identity of an older adult to the grandparent restructuring the markers of being an older adult. With 14 percent of teenage women aged 15-19 getting pregnant, the

blurring of older adults category based on ascribed roles becomes an observable trend. In Baseco Compound, 2 out of 10 teenage women are getting pregnant. Locals as young as 45 are considered lolo [grandfather] or lola [grandmother], and with that comes socially ascribed roles and identity which include caring and providing for two younger generations.

A household with an older adult member performing the role of a primary care giver is common in Baseco Compound. Of the 100 individuals that were interviewed for this study, 83 performed the role of the head of the household which implies the multiple roles that the older adults perform in their families which range from care giving to economic provision. This is an anomalous scenario in a Philippine household context as the mainstream culture promotes a passive role, if not dependent, of the aged population on their younger relatives. This has also been observed by Racelis & Abrigo (2012) who stated that the older adults in the Philippines are actively contributing to their household economy. This shift in the roles of the aged population is primarily due to the socio-economic lag within households caused by the incapacity of the middle generation to take on their associated roles due to un/employment and internal migration. This phenomenon has also been observed in Africa as it combats the impacts of HIV/AIDS that has left the first generation to manage an orphan crisis with the death of the second generation (Guest, 2003).

The burden of child care does not only entail physical care but also financial support to provide for the basic needs of their dependents. The financial demand is what exacerbates the burden among the aged population which catapults them back into various forms of informal or contracted labor which include doing the laundry of other households (USD 7.5/day), collecting kalakal or recyclable items (USD 3.00/day), and peeling garlic for market suppliers (USD 3.00/day). Nearly 85% of their daily wage is spent in purchasing food items that are intended to feed a family of 3-4 children. This leaves other forms of need such as those related to health and education unaddressed, if not fully compromised.

These household-based issues are exacerbated by a lack of systemic support from the government. In the span of five years, three key legislations were enacted that aimed to

address the needs of the older adults sector. However, these policies remain inefficient in comprehensively dealing with the elders' key issues such as income and health security. In 2010, the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) enacted the Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program allowing indigent households to access the conditional cash transfer program. In this scheme, an indigent older adult who is caring for his/her dependent relative (grandchildren) can receive a stipend from the government to augment their financial capacity with the aim of breaking intergenerational poverty through education. The subsidy is conditional to the prescribed quarterly evaluation that assesses the academic success of the grandchildren who are under the older adult's stewardship. The social welfare bureau may revoke a grantee's access to the program when the beneficiaries exhibit poor academic performance. The grant is valued at 7.5 USD per month/child with a maximum participation of three children. This amount is below the subsistence indicator (Asian Development Bank, 2015) especially that this is not merely used for educational expenses but also to cover daily food expenses of the household. An additional provision of the government that the older adults can access is the Expanded Senior Citizen's Act of 2010 which allowed for the provision of pension amounting to 12.5 USD per month for older adults aged 75 and above. Considering the average life expectancy in the country which is 65 years old (World Bank, 2014), the policy does not allow for extensive coverage.

In 2014, President Aquino signed Republic Act 10645 or "An Act Providing for the Mandatory PhilHealth Coverage for All Senior Citizens". This enables all senior citizens, age 60 and above, to access premium health benefits in all accredited health facilities. Though a positive step towards securing the health of the older adults sector, there remains the a need for a more comprehensive mechanism that will allow the older adults to fully access health services as PhilHealth Coverage is limited to certain amounts per case (i.e. Pneumonia has a ceiling rate of 357USD).

From their position in the family to their perceived importance for inclusion in social policy, the identity of an older adult in an urban poor society is pregnant with layers of marginalization. In a society wherein subscription to health and retirement insurances are based on employment in formal labor, elders who have never been employed in a

system-recognized labor sector would have limited access to public health care benefits nor financial assistance programs. Such structural limitations have perpetuated the phenomenon of self-supporting aging population which come in the form of participating in social support groups that offers not only psychosocial support but also information on alternative economic activities. Membership to these social support groups compensates for the lack of systemically instituted support mechanisms.

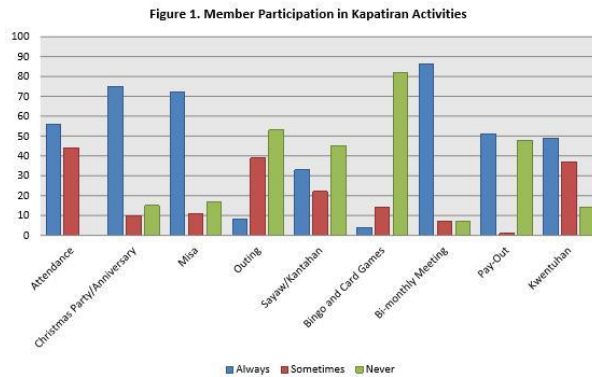
THE KAPATIRAN: HISTORY, ACTIVITIES, AND SERVICES

Kapatiran was originally founded in 2000 by Oscar Espejon who served as its first president. Kapatiran was crafted from the vision of forming an organization that will unite the senior citizens of Baseco Compound and help them access the benefits for senior citizens accorded by the Government. The organization started with only less than 20 members. Due to the growing number of older adults who want to be part of Kapatiran, Mr. Espejon processed the registration of the organization in Security Exchange Commission (SEC) to acquire the legal status of being a Non-Government Organization which they got in 2002. In January 2016, the number of registered members of Kapatiran is 332. In 2013, the barangay awarded the group its own office across the barangay hall.

To boost membership, the board allowed for the acceptance of junior members who aged 55-59 from 2006 to 2013. Although the junior members have access to the *biyayai* (benefits) offered by the organization like participation in socializing activities (i.e. Christmas parties, organization anniversary, sportsfest), they are disqualified from receiving benefits provided by the government for the senior citizens who are properly documented with a Senior Citizen ID (OSCA) issued by the local government. In some cases, private donors enable the kapatiran to distribute *biyaya* to all its members in the form of clothing and food packages, and medical reliefs.

The Figure 1 shows the annual list of activities of Kapatiran . The graph shows 3 bars per activity, the blue bar represents always, red for sometimes, and green for never. A total of 12 activities are being held by Kapatiran annually and 100 respondents took the survey to show their participation in every activity.

Attendance is one of the basic requirements of membership to the organization. All members are expected every day to go to the satellite office to have their attendance checked by the organization secretary. Consistency in attendance is considered a basis of active membership which has implications on the extent of access of the member to the *biyaya* from the organization. Prolonged absence is considered a ground for the removal of the older adult in the roster of members.



It can be seen in the graph that 56 out of 100 total interviewees said that they are regularly going to Kapatiran for their attendance. The remaining 44 interviewees said that they are not regularly having their attendance checked due to the reasons like health issues, proximity of the satellite office to their homes, and the roles that they perform in their households.

During Christmas and the organization's anniversary, the board of the Kapatiran hosts parties that aim to provide socializing venues for its members. Apart from the socials, these events also become venues for the distribution of *biyaya* which are often procured from private donors. The common types of *biyaya* given include food reliefs and maintenance medicines. The graph shows that 75 out of the 100 total interviewees said that they consistently attend these activities. The interviewees who signified that they either inconsistently attend or totally neglect these events have attributed their behavior to physical incapacity to go to the satellite office and the need to perform their ascribed roles in their households. As one of the *lolas* said, "kelangan ko muna alagaan ang mga apo ko [I need to take care of my grandchildren first]".

Misa refers to the holy mass that was held before the Christmas party and Anniversary

party starts. Kapatiran is known to be an ecumenical group which allows it to accept interested applicants to membership regardless of the religion. However, majority of the population of Kapatiran are Roman Catholics which influences the choice for some activities like the celebration of a catholic mass before the event. Since this activity is relatively connected to the Christmas and Anniversary party, it can be seen that the responses are close to each other. Seventy-two out of 100 are attending the mass while 17 of them seldom attend and only 11 never attended the mass. Interestingly, some of the interviewees who profess to be unaffiliated to the catholic faith would at times join the religious-based activities as a form of socialization.

Outings are the activities that are held outside the Kapatiran. Activities such as, swimming, sine (watching movies) and pasyal (to go to leisure-related spaces like parks and malls) are some of the examples of outings that the kapatiran organize. This particular activity is less structured compared to the other types of activities that the organization offers. Outings are only possible when a group of older adults plans to spend time together. Most of the time, women are more engage in this kind of activity. This is also the time were they can use their benefits like free cinema pass, discounted transportation fee, and 20% discount on food and other transactions. However, there are only 8 respondents who are actively engaging in this event. A total of 39 respondents are sometimes attending the outings and the rest of them with a total of 53 respondents said that they have never been to an outing with the members of Kapatiran. A primary factor that affects the capacity or intention of the older adult to participate in this form of organizational activity is the lack of finances and the need to secure their daily livelihood for their dependents.

Sayawan (dancing) and kantahan (singing) are the activities that they do most of the time inside the kapatiran office. One of the administrators of the office is tasked to daily operate the sound for the communal sayawan and kantahan. There are 55 informants who said that they join the communal singing and dancing. However, 45 of the total number of informants have never joined the activity saying, “di naman ako marunong sumayaw [I don’t know how to dance]” and “masyado ng matanda para diyan [I’m too old for that]”.

Card Games and Bingo are two of the most common games that are played in the Kapatiran office. The interviewees do not consider this activity as a form of gambling due to the minimal amount used for betting which ranges from 5 to 20 pesos. A percentage of the winner's income is donated to the Kapatiran for the purchase of drinking water, coffee, and sugar. Majority of the members of Kapatiran do not participate in these activities due to their perceived inappropriateness of gambling for their age and its lack of beneficial outcomes. Those who participate in these have attested that the activities are more social than they are economic. They have argued that, in most cases, they play while they discuss their personal and community issues.

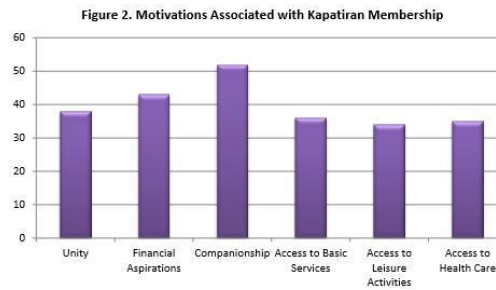
Considered by the interviewees as the most important activity of the organization based on the percentage of attendance, the bi-monthly meetings serve as a venue for announcing to the members the details of upcoming events and the conflicts that need resolution. This meeting is held every first and last Saturday of the month. Members are expected to give 10 pesos to the secretary of Kapatiran as she checks their attendance. The collected money will be spent in paying their electricity and water bill for the month and the rest will be allocated as reserved funds. It can be seen that there are a total of 82 informants who consistently attend the meetings. Pay-out is an exclusive activity where older adults aged 65 and above receive their government subsidized quarterly social pension of 1500 Pesos. The graph shows that 52 of the total respondents are already receiving the social pension. However, there are 48 interviewees who are still disqualified from receiving the social pension.

Kwentuhan (sharing of stories) is an activity that majority of the interviewees engage in when they go to the office. There are 49 informants who claimed that they spend time in the office even after the check of attendance to socialize with others through sharing of lived experiences or even stories circulating in the neighborhood. It is noticeable that the number of elders who actively participates in kwentuhan has similarly the same number of members who regularly goes to Kapatiran for the attendance. Those who have less interest in staying in the office to participate in kwentuhan have signified their need to just have their attendance checked in order to keep their membership.

OLDER ADULTS AND THEIR MOTIVATIONS

An individual's well-being has been significantly related to the extent and quality of social support that s/he has (Woltil 2012; Hemingway and Jack 2013; Sseguya 2009; Ozbay et al. 2007). Studies have used the term social capital to refer to the social networks and ties that individuals form and engage in to achieve their goals whether it be economic, political or social (Kerri et al. 2013; Portela, Neira, and Salinas-Jime nez 2013; Yip et al. 2007). The work of K. Forsman et al. (2013) argued that the expansion of social capital among the elderly through informal social networks have allowed them to attain better quality of life and a more stable mental health. Chipps and Jarvis (2015) supported the correlation between the mental well-being of older adults and the extent with which they communicate their needs with their social support networks.

With a growing literature on the significant correlation between well-being and social network, there remains a need to look into the motivations of older adults in joining social groups. Lukas Pavelek (2012) provided a four-fold typology on the motivations of older adults who engage in voluntary work namely: disinterestedness, advisability, reciprocity and activity. However, this typology is mostly applicable to older adults living in developed countries and who have security over basic needs allowing them to have spare time for retirement-related activities. This is a stark contrast to older adults living in developing countries where issues as basic as food security dictate their quality of life. Doubova et al. (2010) showed that functional dependency existed among older adults who joined social networks that corresponded to their status, in this case widowhood. With a brewing disunity in the "Microgen" (Bengtson and Oyama 2007) in the Philippine society, the older adult cohort are further encouraged to find social ties away from their households. The motivations of older adults in joining social organizations in developing countries need to be further contextualized as literature remains scanty. Figure 2 presents the localized set of motivations that were identified by the informants. The informants were made to identify their main reasons for joining the organization. Figure 2 presents the data from 100 informants per motivation.



It can be seen that companionship with a total of 52 respondents gets the highest rating. Companionship in the context of Kapatiran refers to those members who are looking for someone to talk to and to spend time with away from home. Financial-based aspirations which refer to the assistance given by the organization in the acquisition of loan from the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD), social pension, birthday cash gift, and financial aid for burial services have a total of 43 interviewees. The graph also shows that unity got a total of 38 informants. Unity refers to those members who have joined the organization to promote camaraderie and boost social support for the elderly. It is also evident that access to basic services, access to leisure activities and access to health care are key motivations in joining the organization. These types of access refer to the benefits given by the Government such as, discounts on public transportation, food stalls, clothing, free cinema pass, hospitalization subsidies, and 20% discount on some transaction. As one interviewee stated, “mahirap magproseso ng discount mag-isa, mabuti may katulong [it is difficult to process discounts on your own. It is better to have some help].”

Overall, we can see that majority of the motivations in joining the organization falls under economic purposes. From financial aspirations to access to basic services, access to leisure activities and access to health care. However, we cannot deny the fact that a total of 52 respondents answered companionship as their motivation in joining the organization. This is due to the fact that most of them experience isolation within their households as family members leave their houses to work or attend school. As one of them said, “e wala naman ako makausap sa bahay [I don’t have anyone to talk to at home].”

Relating this to the attendance of the members to the activities of the Kapatiran, it can be

argued that two of the probable contexts to the sporadic participation of the members are their social and financial motivation. Their perceived isolation within the household and from the greater community reinforces their participation in the organization's activities. Noticeably, older adults who have lesser interactions at home were found to have higher attendance in the organization's activities. Similarly, older adults who have less financial support and lower self-efficacy were found to have closer ties with the organization as they utilize the group's assistance in accessing government-sanctioned benefits. However, older adults who consider themselves as the primary economic provider and care giver were found to have minimal participation in the organization's activities and would select attendance based on its impact on their access to economic benefits.

CONCLUSION

The aspirations of the older adults interviewed and observed for this study relate to markers of well-being that includes financial stability, food security, and good health. In most cases the attainment of these aspirations are compounded with the needs of their dependents. Membership to the organization has been seen by the interviewees as a channel to realize their aspirations in a society and household where they experience age-based exclusion. From the perceived lack of structural support that could aid them in facilitating their receipt of government-sanctioned benefits to the lack of informal social groups with whom the older adults could interact with, the significance of organizational membership varies among the interviewees. This was seen in their participation in the activities sponsored and facilitated by the organization. This process is reminiscent of contexts related to social capital like those of Cramm, van Dijk, and Nieboer (2013) which highlighted the collective approach to the facilitation of social exchanges that would often be unavailable or inaccessible to the elderly if they attempted to attain these values and resources individually. This structural dimension of social capital extends to the political in/activity of the older adults. During processes of participant observation, it was noted that the older adults who are actively engaged in the activities of the Kapatiran are also highly active with the political issues of the village (barangay) which at times lead to scheduled meetings with the barangay captain. This is a dimension that requires further exploration in another study.

REFERENCES

- Bengtson, Vern L, and Petrice S Oyama. 2007. "Intergenerational Solidarity: Strengthening Economic and Social Ties." New York. http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/documents/egm_unhq_oct07_bengtson.pdf.
- Biddlecom, A E, and L J Domingo. 1996. "Aging Trends -- the Philippines." *Journal of Cross-Cultural Gerontology* 11 (1): 109–14.
- Chipps, Jennifer, and Mary Ann Jarvis. 2015. "Social Capital and Mental Well-Being of Older People Residing in a Residential Care Facility in Durban, South Africa." <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13607863.2015.1105196>. Routledge.
- Cornwell, Erin York, and Linda J. Waite. 2009. "Social Disconnectedness, Perceived Isolation, and Health among Older Adults." *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 50 (1): 31–48.
- Cramm, J. M., H. M. van Dijk, and A. P. Nieboer. 2013. "The Importance of Neighborhood Social Cohesion and Social Capital for the Well Being of Older Adults in the Community." *The Gerontologist* 53 (1). Oxford University Press: 142–52. doi:10.1093/geront/gns052.
- Doubova (Dubova), Svetlana, Ricardo Perez-Cuevas, Patricia Espinosa-Alarcon, Sergio FloresHernandez, H Litwin, GC Wenger, KL Fiori, et al. 2010. "Social Network Types and Functional Dependency in Older Adults in Mexico." *BMC Public Health* 10 (1). BioMed Central: 104. doi:10.1186/1471-2458-10-104.
- Edwards, James Rolph. 2003. "Economics, Politics, and The Coming Collapse of the Elderly Welfare Stat." *Journal of Libertarian Studies* 17 (1): 1–16.
- EuroStat. 2015. "Old-Age-Dependency Ratio." http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/tgm/web/_download/Eurostat_Table_tsdde510PDFDesc_0af3f532-187e-4b8f-a544-221731827642.pdf.
- Gonzalez, Maria Carinnes. n.d. "Food Insecurity and Resilience: Experiences of Hunger and Poverty among Elders in a Manila Slum." In *Aging in the Global South: Challenges and Opportunities*, edited by Niccolas Gonzalez, Maria Carinnes; Ghosh, Subharati;

- Sacco. Washinton DC: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Guest, Emma. 2003. *Children of AIDS Africa's Orphan Crisis*. Second Edi. London: Pluto Press.
- Hemingway, Ann, and Eleanor Jack. 2013. "Reducing Social Isolation and Promoting Well Being in Older People." *Quality in Ageing and Older Adults* 14 (1): 25–35. doi:10.1108/14717791311311085.
- K. FORSMAN, A., C. HERBERTS, F. NYQVIST, K. WAHLBECK, and I. SCHIERENBECK. 2013. "Understanding the Role of Social Capital for Mental Wellbeing among Older Adults." *Ageing and Society* 33 (05). Cambridge University Press: 804–25. doi:10.1017/S0144686X12000256.
- Kerri, M C, Susan Pherson, Elizabeth M Kerr, Gee Professor, Francine Cheater, and Antony Morgan. 2013. "The Role and Impact of Social Capital on the Health and Wellbeing of Children and Adolescents: A Systematic Review."
- Lee, Tae Wha, Sue Kim, and Seun Young Joe. 2008. "Changing Healthcare Issues and Context for Elderly Women in Asia: Implications for a Research Agenda for Nursing." *Nursing Outlook* 56 (6).
- Lukas Pavelek. 2012. "Understanding the Motivation for Senior Volunteering." *Advanced Research in Scientific Areas*, 976–80. file:///C:/Users/Carin/Downloads/Understanding the motivat (1).pdf.
- Martin, L G. 1989. "Living Arrangements of the Elderly in Fiji, Korea, Malaysia, and the Philippines." *Demography* 26 (4): 627–43.
- Mason, K. O. 1992. "Family Change and Support of the Elderly in Asia: What Do We Know?" *Asia-Pacific Population Journal / United Nations* 7 (3): 13–32.
- Natividad, J. N., and G. T. Cruz. 1997. "Patterns in Living Arrangements and Familial Support for the Elderly in the Philippines." *Asia-Pacific Population Journal / United Nations* 12 (4): 17–34.
- Noronha, Kenya Vale ria Micaela De Souza, and Monica Viegas Andrade. 2005. "[Social

- Inequality in Health and the Utilization of Health Services among the Elderly in Latin America].” *Revista Panamericana de Salud Publica = Pan American Journal of Public Health* 17 (5-6): 410–18. doi:10.1590/S1020-49892005000500013.
- Noumbissi, Amadon. 2004. “Living Standards of the Elderly in South Africa.” *Etude de La Population Africaine* 19 (SUPPL. A): 201–19.
- Olayiwola, Ibiyemi. 2013. “Elderly Coping Strategy for Food Security in Ogun State Nigeria.” *African Journal of Biomedical Research*. <http://www.ajbrui.net/ojs/index.php/ajbr/article/view/287>.
- Oliveira, Denise Akemi Simões de, Jose Roberto Andrade do Nascimento Junior, Sonia Maria Marques Gomes Bertolini, and Daniel Vicentini de Oliveira. 2016. “Participation of Elderly in Social Groups: Quality of Life and Functional Capacity.” *Revista Da Rede de Enfermagem Do Nordeste* 17 (2): 278–84. doi:10.15253/2175-6783.2016000200016.
- Ozbay, Fatih, Douglas C Johnson, Eleni Dimoulas, C A Morgan, Dennis Charney, and Steven Southwick. 2007. “Social Support and Resilience to Stress: From Neurobiology to Clinical Practice.” *Psychiatry (Edgmont (Pa.: Township))* 4 (5). Matrix Medical Communications: 35–40. <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/20806028>.
- Philippine Statistics Authority. 2012. “2010 Census of Population and Housing.” Manila.
- Portela, Marta, Isabel Neira, and Maria del Mar Salinas-Jimenez. 2013. “Social Capital and Subjective Wellbeing in Europe: A New Approach on Social Capital.” *Social Indicators Research* 114 (2). Springer Netherlands: 493–511. doi:10.1007/s11205-012-0158-x.
- Racelis, Rachel H, and Michael Ralph M Abrigo. 2012. “Filipino Elderly Living Arrangements , Work Activity , and Labor Income as Old-Age Support October 2012,” no. October.
- Radovic -markovic , Mirjana. 2013. “An Aging Workforce :” *Cadmus I* (6): 142–55.
- Reyes, Hector, and Maria Carinnes Gonzalez. 2016. “Experiences Of Vulnerability During Flooding: Narratives Of Selected Elderly In Port Area, Manila.” University of

Santo Tomas.

- Samanta, Tannistha, Feinian Chen, and Reeve Vanneman. 2014. "Living Arrangements and Health of Older Adults in India." *The Journals of Gerontology* 70 (6): 937–47. doi:10.1093/geronb/gbu164.
- Singh, Archana, and Nishi Misra. 2009. "Loneliness, Depression and Sociability in Old Age." *Industrial Psychiatry Journal* 18 (1): 51–55. doi:10.4103/0972-6748.57861.
- Smith, James, and Malay Majmundar. 2012. *Aging in Asia Findings from New and Emerging Data Initiatives*. Edited by James Smith and Malay Majmundar. *Aging in Asia: Findings from New and Emerging Data Initiatives*. Washington DC: National Academies Press (US). <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK109208/>.
- Sseguya, Haroon. 2009. "Impact of Social Capital on Food Security in Southeast Uganda."
- Williamson, John B, Tay K McNamara, and Stephanie A Howling. 2003. "Generational Equity, Generational Interdependence, and the Framing of the Debate Over Social Security Reform." *Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare* 30 (3): 3–14. <https://acces.bibl.ulaval.ca/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=snh&AN=10632401&site=ehost-live>.
- Wolfe, W S, C M Olson, A Kendall, and E A Frongillo. 1998. "Hunger and Food Insecurity in the Elderly: Its Nature and Measurement." *Journal of Aging and Health* 10 (3): 327–50.
- Woltil, Jennifer. 2012. "The Impact of Emotional Social Support on Elders ' Food Security" 10 (2): 1–24.
- Wu, Treena, and Angelique Chan. 2012. "Families, Friends, and the Neighborhood of Older Adults: Evidence from Public Housing in Singapore." *Journal of Aging Research* 2012. doi:10.1155/2012/659806.
- Yip, Winnie, S V Subramanian, Andrew D Mitchell, Dominic T S Lee, Jian Wang, and Ichiro Kawachi. 2007. "Does Social Capital Enhance Health and Well-Being? Evidence from Rural China." *Social Science & Medicine* (1982) 64 (1): 35–49. doi:10.1016/j.socscimed.2006.08.027.