

# Chapter 8

## Generativity, Attitudes, and Beliefs

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December 2019

**This chapter should be cited as**

Cruz, G. T. and M. K. S. I. Cabaraban (2019), 'Generativity, Attitudes, and Beliefs', in G. T. Cruz, C. J. P. Cruz, and Y. Saito (eds.), *Ageing and Health in the Philippines*, Jakarta, Indonesia: Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia, pp. 117-128.

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With advancing age, adaptive fitness declines and the balance between gains and losses in developmental outcomes becomes increasingly less positive (Baltes and Smith, 1999). At the tail end of the life course, individuals are challenged to become less focused on their individual success and happiness and more focused on giving back to society and leaving a legacy for others (Einolf, 2014). From a conservation-of-resource perspective, individuals strive to acquire and conserve limited resources following resource loss (Hobfoll, 1989). They do this by drawing upon personal strengths or characteristics (i.e. personal resources) that shape how they view themselves and their environment (Garcia, Bordia, Restubog, and Caines, 2015). With the increasing awareness of one's mortality that comes with age, individuals become selective about how they invest their time and resources, focusing on those that have greater meaning and purpose in their lives. This underscores the salience of generativity.

Generativity is a concept that relates to meaningful activities (Maselko et al., 2014). First described by Erikson (1977: 240), generativity is defined as 'a concern for others and a need to contribute something to the next generation'. It stems from man's tendency to learn from older generations, as well as the latter's need to be needed. Erikson (1997) emphasised that the social relationships older persons (OPs) form throughout the life course provide them with a range of opportunities for involvement, which allow them to feel needed and, hence, circumvent stagnation. Generativity has been variously described as a need, a drive, a concern, a task, and an issue (McAdams and De St. Aubin, 1992). It is associated with a concern to nurture and guide, preserve what is good, and make other things better for the next generation, thus defying one's own mortality. Unlike simple altruism, generativity

involves the generation of concrete outcomes that ultimately benefit and promote the continuity of larger society (McAdams and De St. Aubin, 1992).

Generativity is an essential component of successful ageing (Rowe and Kahn, 1997) because it is an important factor in maintaining one's psychological health in old age (Schoklitsch and Baumann, 2011). A growing body of literature shows its positive association with other health outcomes such as quality of life (Østbye et al., 2018), disability and mortality (Gruenewald, Liao, and Seeman, 2012), and cognitive as well as psychological well-being (An and Cooney, 2006; Maselko et al., 2014; Rothrauff and Cooney, 2008; Tabuchi, Nakagawa, Miura, and Gondo, 2015). The fulfilment of one's generative concern (represented by the OP's values and self-perceptions) through generative actions (participation in behaviours that contribute positively to the next generation) has been shown to contribute to higher levels of life satisfaction amongst OPs (Hofer, Busch, Chasiotis, Kartner, and Campos, 2008; Thiele and Whelan, 2008). Since the publication of Erikson's works, several measures have been proposed to assess generativity amongst the ageing (Schoklitsch and Baumann, 2011). Of these, the Loyola Generativity Scale (LGS) developed by McAdams and De St. Aubin (1992) is the most commonly used. The LGS is a measure of generative concern (Einoff, 2014).

The importance of generativity in gerontological research is evident in the number of emerging studies on the area, although this topic has hardly been explored in the Philippine context. One study using the LGS tried to assess the moderating role of generative concerns in the relationship between psychological contract breach and insomnia amongst full-time Filipino workers who were at least 40 years old (Garcia et al., 2015). So far, no study in the country has covered generativity amongst older Filipinos.

The Longitudinal Study of Ageing and Health in the Philippines (LSAHP) is, therefore, significant as a pioneering study on generativity amongst older Filipinos. To measure generative concern, the study used the reduced version of the LGS with six statements from the short form of the original scale as adapted from the 1995 Midlife in the United States Survey. In the LSAHP, respondents were asked to assess how often each of the following statements applies to them:

- (1) You have important skills you can pass along to others.
- (2) Many people come to you for advice.
- (3) You feel that other people need you.
- (4) You have had a good influence on the lives of other people.
- (5) You like to teach things to other people.
- (6) Others would say you have made unique contributions to society.

The response categories were as follows: 0 (*never*), 1 (*occasionally/seldom*), 2 (*fairly often*), and 3 (*very often/nearly always*). We computed for the percentage distribution, mean scores, and standard deviations. Mean generativity score ranges from 0 to 18, with a higher score indicating a higher level of generativity. Analysis was done by age and sex.

Related to the discussion on generativity is an understanding of OPs' attitudes and beliefs regarding a range of issues, including support from children and co-residential living arrangements. Understanding the values and preferences of OPs will help in planning optimal opportunities for physical, social, and mental intervention for this population sector. This is particularly relevant in the context of the decline in traditional beliefs and attitudes driven by the influx of new ideas and social development factors such as industrialisation, urbanisation, globalisation, and socioeconomic development. Mounting evidence shows that, in Asia, traditional multigenerational family systems, community, and values of filial piety have weakened with increasing urbanisation (Cheng, 2015; Löckenhoff et al., 2015). This has resulted in disjunctions between what the ageing parent wants and what children perceive and are willing to provide (Cheng, 2015). For example, OPs expect female family members to assume household and caretaking responsibilities, which may conflict with the changing roles of females, including their increasing involvement in international migration.

## Generativity

Table 8.1 provides the distribution of respondents according to their responses to the generativity statements by sex and age group. On the average, older Filipinos registered an average generativity score of 5.73 from a maximum score of 18. They scored themselves highest on being needed by other people ( $M = 1.09$ ) and having a good influence on the lives of others ( $M = 1.03$ ). Both items also registered the highest proportion who answered either fairly or very often/nearly always (19%

and 17%, respectively). The measures of generative concern with the next highest scores are feeling that many people rely on them for advice ( $M = 0.98$ ), being keen on teaching or imparting knowledge to other people ( $M = 0.96$ ) and making unique contributions to the larger society ( $M = 0.87$ ). The OPs scored themselves lowest on having important skills to pass along to others ( $M = 0.80$ ). A third (33%) think they do not have important skills that can be passed along to others. Another 27% think that others would never say they have made valuable contributions to the larger society.

**Table 8.1. Generativity by Sex and Age**

Loyola Generativity	SEX			AGE GROUP				TOTAL
	Male	Female	Sig	60-69	70-79	80+	Sig	
How often do the following statements apply to older person:								
You have important skills you can pass along to others								
Never	29.9	35.5		30.2	39.1	40.2		33.3
Occasionally/Seldom	56.8	54.7	n.s.	58.3	50.2	50.0	n.s.	55.5
Fairly often	11.1	7.6		9.7	7.8	6.6		9.0
Very often/Nearly always	2.2	2.3		1.8	2.9	3.3		2.2
Mean score (s.d.)	0.86 (±0.034)	0.77 (±0.029)	*	0.83 (±0.029)	0.75 (±0.051)	0.73 (±0.058)	n.s.	0.80 (±0.024)
Many people come to you for advice								
Never	17.2	19.7		17.7	19.0	25.8		18.7
Occasionally/Seldom	67.5	66.8	*	67.1	68.1	63.7	n.s.	67.1
Fairly often	14.1	10.4		12.9	10.2	9.1		11.9
Very often/Nearly always	1.2	3.2		2.4	2.6	1.5		2.4
Mean score (s.d.)	0.99 (±0.034)	0.97 (±0.025)	n.s.	1.00 (±0.035)	0.96 (±0.029)	0.86 (±0.040)	n.s.	0.98 (±0.023)
You feel that other people need you								
Never	13.9	12.8		11.3	16.2	20.5		13.3
Occasionally/Seldom	66.8	68.8	n.s.	68.7	66.9	65.3	n.s.	68.0
Fairly often	15.0	15.4		16.6	12.9	11.6		15.2
Very often/Nearly always	4.3	3.0		3.4	3.9	2.6		3.5
Mean score (s.d.)	1.10 (±0.029)	1.09 (±0.030)	n.s.	1.12 (±0.028)	1.05 (±0.034)	0.96 (±0.044)	**	1.09 (±0.020)
You have a good influence on the lives of other people								
Never	13.5	18.8		14.3	20.6	23.9		16.7
Occasionally/Seldom	69.8	64.4	n.s.	69.0	62.0	60.7	***	66.6
Fairly often	14.1	13.7		13.9	14.3	12.1		13.9
Very often/Nearly always	2.6	3.0		2.8	3.0	3.3		2.9
Mean score (s.d.)	1.06 (±0.029)	1.01 (±0.033)	n.s.	1.05 (±0.026)	1.00 (±0.038)	0.95 (±0.054)	n.s.	1.03 (±0.021)

Loyola Generativity	SEX			AGE GROUP				TOTAL
	Male	Female	Sig	60-69	70-79	80+	Sig	
You like to teach things to other people								
Never	20.8	23.6		21.1	24.0	29.1		22.5
Occasionally/Seldom	63.8	60.4	n.s.	63.1	59.6	58.2	n.s.	61.8
Fairly often	12.5	13.5		13.4	13.5	9.4		13.1
Very often/Nearly always	2.9	2.5		2.4	3.0	3.4		2.7
Mean score (s.d.)	0.97 (±0.042)	0.95 (±0.030)	n.s.	0.97 (±0.043)	0.96 (±0.030)	0.87 (± 0.053)	n.s.	0.96 (±0.027)
Others would say you have made unique contributions to society								
Never	23.6	29.1		24.7	30.5	33.7		26.9
Occasionally/Seldom	64.3	59.8	n.s.	63.4	58.7	56.0		61.6
Fairly often	10.0	8.3		9.4	8.3	7.2		9.0
Very often/Nearly always	2.1	2.9		2.5	2.5	3.2		2.6
Mean score (s.d.)	0.91 (±0.031)	0.85 (±0.028)	n.s.	0.90 (±0.029)	0.83 (±0.052)	0.80 (±0.056)	n.s.	0.87 (± 0.023)
Total score	5.88 (±0.137)	5.63 (±0.141)	n.s.	5.87 (± 0.147)	5.54 (±0.199)	5.17 (±0.265)	n.s.	5.73 (±0.101)
N	2,194	3,258		3,615	1,400	439		5,454

\*p<0.05, \*\*p<0.01, \*\*\*p<0.001, n.s. = not significant.

Source: Calculated by DRDF using original LSAHP data.

In terms of generative concern, more males think they have important skills that can be handed on to the next generation ( $M = 0.86$ ). In contrast, the proportion of OPs who expressed more negative self-assessment of generativity is consistently higher amongst females. For instance, compared with about a third of males (30%), who said that they do not have important skills they can pass along to the younger generation, the proportion is considerably higher for females at 36%. Less of the older females say that many people come to them for advice.

Generative concern differs across age groups. Relative to the older cohorts, the youngest cohort (60–69) scored highest in their overall mean generativity scores across all six items. For example, significantly more of those in their 60s said that other people need them fairly or very often/nearly all the time, compared to those in the oldest age group (80+). The same pattern emerged for those who they have a good influence on the lives of other people. Amongst the oldest age cohort (80+), about a quarter (24%) said they are never a good influence on the lives of other people; the comparative figure for those in their 60s and 70s are 14% and 21%, respectively.

## Attitudes and Beliefs

We inquired about the attitudes and perceptions of older Filipinos regarding selected issues (Table 8.2). Results indicate that most older Filipinos continue to espouse traditional beliefs pertaining to family dynamics, gender roles, and age-appropriate behaviour. The belief that the welfare of their children must be put above all other things, even their own well-being, is almost unanimous (95%). About 9 in 10 (91%) believe that their children are, in turn, obligated to support and take responsibility for their ageing parents; the proportion who believe so increases with age. More than half of the OPs (52%) support the idea that, upon their demise, their assets should go to the children who looked after them, with no significant gender and age differences.

Belief in traditional gender roles is prevalent amongst older Filipinos. About three in four OPs (73%) prefer co-residence with a daughter, significantly more so amongst females than males. The proportion who prefer living with a daughter over living with a son is highest amongst the oldest age cohort (80+), with only a quarter of those in their 80s disagreeing with this statement. For older Filipinos, the traditional division of labour (i.e. men should work for the family whilst women should stay at home and take care of the household) remains the preferred setup, more so for males than females (82% vs. 72%, respectively). The proportion of those who agree with this setup increases with age, from 74% amongst the youngest cohort (60–69) to 85% amongst the oldest cohort (80+), signifying a more traditional set of beliefs and attitudes amongst the latter.

Results show highly conservative attitudes when it comes to romantic relationships, with a great majority not agreeing with the idea of OPs falling in love in their old age. Only 31% are open to the idea, with the proportion significantly higher amongst males. Getting married in their advanced age is even less acceptable, with only a fifth of OPs finding it acceptable for someone in their 60s or older to (re)marry if they find a suitable partner. As expected, the level of acceptance is higher amongst males than females and amongst the younger than the older cohort. These findings are consistent with the prevailing conservative perceptions of traditional gender roles.

**Table 8.2. Attitudes and Beliefs by Sex and Age**

Attitudes and Beliefs	SEX			AGE GROUP				TOTAL
	Male	Female	Sig	60-69	70-79	80+	Sig	
% who agree with the following statements:								
It is the child's duty to support and take care of older/aged parents.	91.3	90.5	n.s.	89.2	92.8	97.0	***	90.8
It is acceptable for someone in their 60's or older to fall in love.	40.8	24.2	***	32.5	27.6	28.0	n.s.	30.9
It is acceptable for someone in their 60's or older to (re) marry if they find a suitable partner.	28.9	15.8	***	22.9	17.3	18.0	*	21.1
It is acceptable for children who looked after their parents to inherit larger portions of their estate when they pass away	50.9	52.2	n.s.	51.6	52.9	48.9	n.s.	51.7
It is better for the elderly parent to live with a daughter than with a son.	65.7	78.4	**	71.4	77.4	75.8	n.s.	73.3
Men should work for the family, and women should stay home and take care of the household.	81.7	71.7	**	73.6	78.3	84.9	*	75.7
It is the parents' duty to do their best for their children even at the expense of their own well-being.	96.2	94.9	n.s.	95.5	95.0	95.6	n.s.	95.4
N	2,195	3,259		3,615	1,400	439		5,454
Best living arrangement for older person according to respondent								
Live by themselves	22.8	17.4		18.4	21.5	23.1		19.6
Live by themselves but near one or more children	48.3	46.0	*	50.1	42.8	34.2	n.s.	46.9
Rotate residence among children	3.4	3.0		2.5	4.3	5.2		3.2
Live with a son	7.1	5.2		6.5	4.1	7.4		6.0
Live with a daughter	11.9	24.7		17.5	23.1	24.9		19.6
Others	6.4	3.7		5.0	4.2	5.3		4.8
N	2,196	3,259		3,615	1,401	438		5,454

\*p<0.05. \*\*p<0.01. \*\*\*p < 0.001. n.s. = not significant.

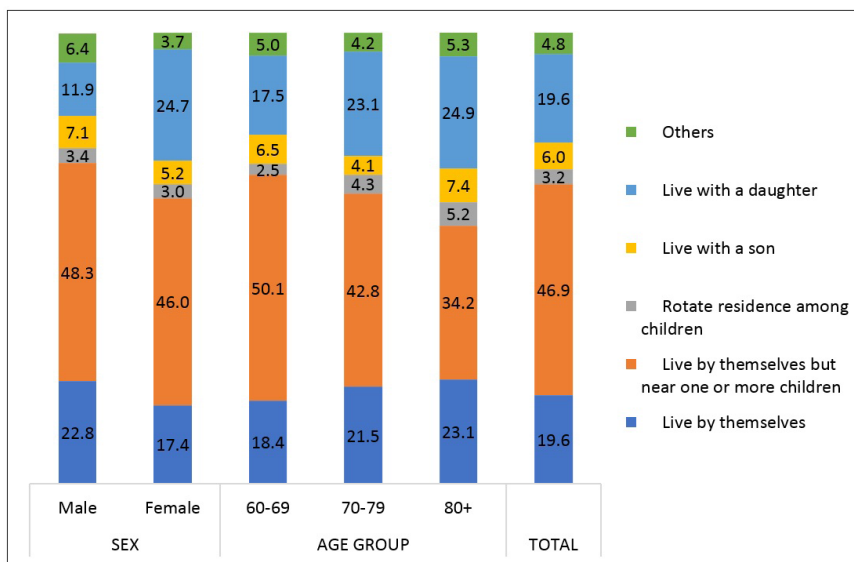
Source: Calculated by DRDF using original LSAHP data.



## Ideal Living Arrangement

Although OPs prefer co-residence with a daughter, this is not their ideal living arrangement. OPs perceive themselves as capable of looking after themselves and will therefore eschew co-residence with their children as long as they are capable. This is reflected in the results showing an overwhelming preference for independent living, although some said they would like to live near any of their children. Older males exhibited the greatest desire for independent living (71%); amongst them, 48% want to live alone but near any child (Figure 8.1).

**Figure 8.1. Best Living Arrangement of Older Persons by Sex and Age**



Source: Calculated by DRDF using original LSHP data.

For OPs, particularly females and the oldest age groups, the next best living arrangement is living with a daughter. A much smaller proportion reported living with a son as the ideal arrangement; more males than females prefer living with a son (7%) than with a daughter (5%). The least preferred living arrangement is rotating residence amongst children.

## Summary, Discussion, and Policy Implications

This chapter explored the issue of generativity amongst older Filipinos. Older Filipinos are most predisposed to feel needed by others and have a good influence on the lives of other people. On both counts, those in their 60s showed a higher level of generativity than their older counterparts. Compared with women, men assessed themselves better on feeling recognised for their valuable contributions to society. Regardless of sex, OPs had the poorest self-assessment of their ability to pass on knowledge and teach it to others. Admittedly, it is difficult to assess older Filipinos' overall generativity given the absence of a precedent study in the Philippine context. Future studies could explore the factors that explain the observed variability in the OPs' generativity. To what extent are these outcomes explained by their lower education compared with the younger generation to whom they are expected to pass on their skills and knowledge? What is the role of OPs' dependence on their children for financial, material, and instrumental support in explaining the lower generativity in advanced age? What is the effect of changing roles and values over time? These are important areas to consider, as some have argued that the perception of respect and acceptance from the younger generation is imperative to the OPs' generative action (Tabuchi, Nakagawa, Miura, and Gondo, 2015). Many of these questions can be addressed with follow-up data from a panel survey.

Our findings shed light on OPs' views and expectations. In the context of their rapidly changing environment, are older Filipinos able to preserve traditional beliefs and attitudes regarding filial responsibilities, gender expectations, and age-appropriate behaviours? Results show strong support for an intergenerational contract (Croll, 2006) between parents and their children, under which children are obliged to take responsibility for their ageing parents in exchange for their parents' sacrifices for them. In the Philippine context, this is the concept of *utang na loob* (debt of gratitude) (Hollnsteiner, 1973). Older parents in some Asian economies such as Taiwan, Japan, and the Republic of Korea look to their sons to assume caretaking responsibilities, but findings from the previous two surveys of OPs in the Philippines did not reveal a similar pattern. The 1996 Philippine Elderly Survey indicated a more gender-neutral preference in terms of intergenerational family support (Biddlecom, Chayovan, and Ofstedal, 2002). However, in a different sample about a decade later, in the 2007 Philippine Study on Aging, a preference for co-residence with a daughter became more pronounced. The LSAHP results reflect this gendered pattern of filial expectation. When asked if they would be better off living with a son or daughter, a

higher proportion of OPs were found to be keener on living with a daughter rather than a son. This is congruent with OPs' belief that household responsibilities are given to women whilst income generation is assigned to men.

Despite the prevalence of gendered filial expectations, co-residence with children is by no means the most preferred living arrangement. Whilst proximity to children is ideal, the results indicate OPs' greater desire to live in a separate household – a finding that should be considered when planning programmes and policies for older Filipinos.

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